PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XX

Vesa Vahtikari

TRAGEDY PERFORMANCES OUTSIDE ATHENS IN THE LATE FIFTH AND THE FOURTH CENTURIES BC

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HELSINKI 2014

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Preface

This volume of the *PMFIA* is a slightly revised version of my doctoral dissertation which was publicly defended at the University of Helsinki on the 24th of January 2014 (and published as an e-thesis at the following address: helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/42397).

Since the public examination of my dissertation, I have added some publications to the bibliography (and some comments and references to the footnotes), corrected some typos and asked for permissions to publish the official photos of all the vases that I discuss in the text (mostly in Chapters II and IV). I have also changed the order of the Appendices, mostly because I wanted the current Appendix III (list of tragedies) to be printed in colour. Due to copyright issues, no illustrations are included in the current Appendix II (list of vases).

I thank collectively all the personnel responsible for image licencing in all the museums that have provided me with the photos of the vases illustrated in this publication. Thanks are also due to Mr William K. Zewadski, a dedicated collector of antiquities living in Tampa, Florida, for his most kind and encouraging attitude towards the project of publishing this study.

Vesa Vahtikari
Helsinki, November 2014

Acknowledgements

ὦ πάτρας Θήβης ἔνοικοι, λεύσσετ᾽, Οἰδίπους ὅδε,
ὃς τὰ κλεὶν᾽ αἰνίγματ᾽ ἤδει καὶ κράτιστος ἦν ἀνήρ,
οὗ τίς οὐ ζήλῳ πολιτῶν ἦν τύχαις ἐπιβλέπων,
εἰς ὅσον κλύδωνα δεινῆς συμφορᾶς ἐλήλυθεν.
ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντα κείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν
ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν᾽ ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών.
(Soph. *OT* 1524−1530)

Many years ago, when I read Sophocles' *King Oedipus* for the first time in my life (in a Finnish translation), I did not know any Greek or Latin, but the text hit me with such force that I immediately wanted to learn more about Greek tragedies and Greek mythology. So I started to read Greek and Latin at the University of Helsinki. Later, when I completed my Master's thesis, on the prologues of Euripides, I still wanted to know more about Greek tragedies. Even now, as I write these final sentences to my doctoral dissertation, I still want to learn more about Greek tragedies and ancient Greek theatre. So thank you, Sophocles, for launching me on a wonderful journey which still continues.

After Sophocles, I want to thank my supervisors Professor Maarit Kaimio and Dr Martti Leiwo for their encouragement, comments and guidance on my work. Professors Jaakko Frösén and Maarit Kaimio have employed me and paid me wages in between scholarships. Dr Leena Pietilä-Castrén has commented on my work occasionally, encouraged me every now and then, and she has also employed me in between scholarships. I also worked some months for Dr Anneli Luhtala at the beginning of my academic career. So thank you Maarit, Martti, Jaakko, Leena, and Anneli. Without you I would probably have had a different, non-academic career.

The Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens granted me the Nikos Vernikos-Evgenides scholarship in 2004, and the Emil Aaltonen foundation granted me a scholarship for the years 2005 and 2006. In addition, the University of Helsinki, and the Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens provided me with grants in 2012 to finish this study. Without this financial support, of which I am most grateful, this dissertation would not have been completed.

I am also indebted to my pre-examiners Professor Oliver Taplin and Professor Luigi Todisco, and professors Mika Kajava, and Hannu K. Riikonen for their valuable comments on this study, and to Dr Estelle Strazdins for revising my English. When I was working for Arctos, Acta Philologica Fennica (2003−2006), I learned a lot about the art of editing and proofreading from Professor Heikki Solin, the editor-in-chief of the journal at that time. So thank you Oliver, Luigi, Mika, Hannu, Estelle, and Heikki.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the postgraduate students of Dr Martti Leiwo for their comments and encouragement on my work in our annual seminars in Athens, in 2008−2013. Thank you, Mr Matias Buchholz, Miss Sonja Dalhgren, Mrs Saara Kauppinen, Miss Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä, Mr Kimmo Kovanen, and Dr Marja Vierros.

When I was working at the Finnish Institute at Athens I benefitted from the help of the Institute's excellent interns Miss Heta Björklund, Miss Elina Salminen, and Mr

Miikka Mutanen. Heta created the table of vases (= Appendix II). Elina added some more vases to the Appendix II, as well as creating indices and copying Greek texts from the *TLG*. Miikka checked all the museum codes of the vases in Appendix II. I also wish to thank the entire staff of the Finnish Institute at Athens. Thank you, Dr Björn Forsén, Mrs Mémi Gourdoúba, Mrs Leena Katsantóni, Mrs María Martzoúkou, Mrs Kamila Kiriakis, and Mr Joakím Stavrópoulos for your companionship during the years 2007−2010.

I would also like to thank the helpful personnel at the Nordic Library and the Blegen Library in Athens, and at the National Library of Finland in Helsinki.

Finally, I want to thank the most important people: my wife Katja and our two lovely daughters Tyyne and Salli. Thank you, Katja, for your endurance in the face of my dedication to my work during all these years and thank you, Tyyne and Salli, for teaching me what the most valuable things in life are, i.e. the building of brick towers, celebrating princess parties, and the laughter of children.

Texts, abbreviations, and spelling

The text of Aeschylus is cited from the Teubner edition of M. L. West, the text of Sophocles from the Oxford Classical Text by H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson, and the text of Euripides from the Oxford Classical Text by J. Diggle (vols. I–III). The fragments of tragic writers are cited from the *TrGF* by B. Snell (vol. I), by B. Snell and R. Kannicht (vol. II), by S. Radt (vols. III–IV), and by R. Kannicht (vol. V); and the fragments of comic writers from the *PCG* by R. Kassel and C. Austin (vols. I–VIII). Texts of other ancient authors are cited from the *TLG*, if not otherwise stated.

The titles of the periodicals are cited according to the abbreviations used in *L'Année philologique*. Epigraphical and papyrological references follow *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Other abbreviations are listed below.

APS = A. Cambitoglou and A. D. Trendall, *Apulian Red-figure Vase-painters of the Plain Style* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts 10), Vermont−Tokyo 1961.

ARV^2 = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1963.

CAD = E. Csapo and W. J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1994.

DFA^2 = A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd rev. ed. by J. M. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1988 [1st ed. 1968].

EVP = J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-painting*, Oxford 1947.

IGD = A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971.

LCS = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967.

LCS Suppl. 1 = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. First Supplement* (*BICS* Suppl. 26), London 1970.

LCS Suppl. 2 = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Second Supplemen*t (*BICS* Suppl. 31), London 1974.

LCS Suppl. 3 = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Third Supplement* (*BICS* Suppl. 41), London 1983.

LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books (http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/).

LIMC I = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* I, Zurich 1981.

LIMC II = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II, Zurich 1984.

LIMC III = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III, Zurich 1986.

LIMC IV = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* IV, Zurich 1988.

LIMC V = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* V, Zurich 1990.

LIMC VI = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VI, Zurich 1992.

LIMC VII = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VII, Zurich 1994.

LIMC VIII = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VIII, Zurich 1997.

LIMC Suppl = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Supplementum 2009*, Düsseldorf 2009.

LSJ^9 = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, and R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996.

MTSP^2 = T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play* (*BICS* Suppl. 20), 2nd ed., London 1967.

OCD[3] = S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd rev. ed., Oxford 2003.
PCG I = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* I. *Comoedia Dorica. Mimi. Phlyaces*, Berlin−New York 2001.
PCG II = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* II. *Agathenor − Aristonymus*, Berlin−New York 1991.
PCG III.2 = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* III. *Aristophanes. Testimonia et Fragmenta*, Berlin−New York 1984.
PCG IV = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* IV. *Aristophon − Crobylus*, Berlin−New York 1983.
PCG V = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* V. *Damoxenus − Magnes*, Berlin−New York 1986.
PCG VI.2 = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* VI. *Menander*, Berlin−New York 1998.
PCG VII = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* VII. *Menecrates − Xenophon*, Berlin−New York 1989.
PCG VIII = R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* VII. *Adespota*, Berlin−New York 1995.
PHI, Inscr. =*Searchable Greek Inscriptions. A Scholarly Tool in Progress*, *The Packard Humanities Institute* (http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/).
PHI, Latin =*Classical Latin Texts*, *A Resource Prepared by The Packard Humanities Institute* (http://latin.packhum.org/index).
PhV[2] = A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* (*BICS* Suppl. 19), 2nd ed., London 1967.
RVSIS = A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*. *A handbook*, London 1989.
RVAp I = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured vases of Apulia* I. *Early and Middle Apulian*, Oxford 1982.
RVAp II = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured vases of Apulia* II. *Late Apulian*, Oxford 1982.
RVAp Suppl. 1 = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *First Supplement to The Red-figured Vases of Apulia* (*BICS* Suppl. 42), London 1983.
RVAp Suppl. 2.1 = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *Second Supplement to The Red-figured Vases of Apulia. Part I* (*BICS* Suppl. 60), London 1983.
RVAp Suppl. 2.2 = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *Second Supplement to The Red-figured Vases of Apulia. Part II* (*BICS* Suppl. 60), London 1983.
RVAp Suppl. 2.3 = A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *Second Supplement to The Red-figured Vases of Apulia. Part III* (*BICS* Suppl. 60), London 1983.
RVPa = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Paestum*, Rome 1987.
TF = A. Klotz, O. Sneel, O., and L. Voit (eds.), *Tragicorum Fragmenta* (Scenicorum Romanorum Fragmenta 1), Munich 1953.
ThesCRA III = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* III, Basel 2005.
TGF[2] = A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1926.
TGR = P. C. Rossetto and G. P. Sartorio (eds.), *Teatri greci e romani. Alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato* I–III, Rome 1994.
TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature* (http://www.tlg.uci.edu/).

TrGF I = B. Snell (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I. *Didascaliae Tragicae. Catalogi Tragicorum Tragoediarum. Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum*, Göttingen 1971.

TrGF II = R. Kannicht and B. Snell (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* II. *Testimonia Volumini 1 Addenda Indices ad Volumina 1 et 2. Fragmenta Adespota*, Göttingen 1981.

TrGF III = S. Radt (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* III. *Aeschylus*, Göttingen 1985.

TrGF IV = S. Radt (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* IV. *Sophocles*, Göttingen 1977.

TrGF V = R. Kannicht (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* V. *Euripides*, Göttingen 2004.

When referring to ancient authors, I use the abbreviations of authors and books given in the *OCD*[3], xxix−liv. All other Greek and Latin names (of persons, gods, cities, etc.) are also spelled as in the *OCD*[3]. Thus, I use the latinized forms like Aesch. *Cho*., Ar. *Ran*., Eur. *HF*, Clytemnestra, Hecuba, Iphigenia, Metapontum, and Tarentum.

When I make a cross-reference to this study, I use the following abbreviations: P. 1 = page 1 of this study, V 2 = vase number 2 in Appendix II, Fig. 3 = figure 3 of this study, App. I = appendix I of this study, etc. When referring to other studies I use abbreviations like p. = page, n. = note, fig. = figure, etc.

Centuries are abbreviated in the following way: C6 = Sixth Century; C5 = Fifth Century; C4e = Early Fourth Century; C4l = Late Fourth Century. Abbreviations of museum names follow *LIMC*.

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I. Introduction

ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἰαμβεῖ' ἐκ Φοίνικός ἐστιν Εὐριπίδου· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμ' οὐδεπώποτ' οὔτε
Θεόδωρος οὔτ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίναντο, οἷς οὗτος τὰ τρίτα λέγων διετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ
Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους
πολλάκις μὲν Θεόδωρος, πολλάκις δ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέκριται.
(Dem. 19.24)

We know that Aeschylus produced his *Aetnaeae* and *Persae* in Sicily and that Euripides presented his *Archelaus* in Macedonia.[1] It is also a known fact that, at the end of the fifth century and during the fourth century BC, both tragedies and comedies were performed in the demes of Attica at the Rural Dionysia.[2] Furthermore, it is clear from material and literary evidence that during the fourth century BC theatres were built in all major Greek cities and that many well-known poets and actors of the fourth century were non-Athenians.[3] We also know that in the fourth century BC, the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were revived and reproduced at the City Dionysia in Athens (the first known reperformance was in 386 BC, with regular performances by 341 BC).

What we do not know is: 1) which individual tragedies were performed outside Athens, 2) when the spread of tragic performances began on a wide scale, 3) where, in which cities and on what kind of occasions, tragedies were performed, and 4) how the arrangements for tragic performances outside Athens were carried out in practice.

The goal of this study is to answer most of the above-mentioned questions. To my knowledge, no study of this kind has been completed so far.[4] Question four will be answered only partially, since adequate elaboration of it would require a separate study of its own. Use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in the staging of tragedies performed outside Athens is discussed in Chapter V, and some of the arrangements of some dramatic performances outside Athens are discussed in Chapter III, but questions – such as who paid the salaries of the choruses? how fast and how far did the actors travel? what kind of stage props did they bring with them? what kind of stuff was recruited locally? were the tragedies performed in competitions with other tragedies or were they performed individually? – are left unanswered.[5] Comedy and satyr plays (even though they are, of course, discussed when necessary) and the spread of performances of comedy outside Athens have also been deemed beyond the scope of this study because they have been addressed adequately elsewhere.[6]

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[1] For discussion on the *Aetnaeae*, see P. 79−82. For *Persae*, see P. 82−86. For *Archelaus*, see P. 87−89.
[2] For discussion on the Rural Dionysia, see P. 91−98.
[3] For theatre buildings, see P. 72−78. For the non-Athenian poets and actors, see P. 123−124.
[4] Many scholars, however, such as Hall 2007; Taplin 2007a; and Csapo 2010a (esp. in ch. 3); touch upon some sectors of my study.
[5] See Taplin 2012, 236−246, for some hypothetical answers to some of these questions.
[6] See Taplin 1993; and Dearden 1988; 1990a; 1990b; 1995.

Sources of evidence and earlier research

Several aspects of this study have been investigated and discussed in numerous articles, monographs, and other publications. I mention here only some major publications which form the fundamental basis for my study, shorter studies are dealt with later, in connection with individual plays, authors, vase painters, theatre buildings, etc.

Documentary and literary sources

Inscriptions give us a lot of useful information about plays, actors, and the authors of the plays. Inscriptions are also a valuable source for festivals organized in cities outside Athens and for the activities of the so-called *Technitae* of Dionysus. In addition, inscriptions can provide information about theatre buildings that have not yet been attested by archaeology. Inscriptions and other literary evidence relating to the Great Dionysia and the Lenaea festivals are collected and discussed in *DFA*[2], Mette, and *CAD*.[7] Inscriptions and other literary and archaeological evidence concerning the Rural Dionysia and the demes of Attica have been collected and discussed in *DFA*[2], Whitehead, Moretti, Csapo, and Jones.[8] Inscriptions concerning theatre buildings are collected by Frederiksen.[9]

The number of occurrences of a tragedy in papyri can tell us something about its later popularity and perhaps about its revivals and reproductions. We can calculate roughly that there are some fourteen (with the probable addition of five more) fifth-century tragedies which occur in third-century-BC papyri (see P. 15−16). We shall see later in this study that quite a few of those tragedies have also been connected with several South Italian and Attic fourth-century-BC vases, and many of those tragedies also contain actors' interpolations and are parodied or quoted by Aristophanes (and other comedians). Papyri are important as evidence because they also complete our knowledge of the lost plays. There are several collective studies on tragic papyri, but nowadays the online databases are much more convenient to use.[10]

Although there are many cases in which the evidential value of some scholia have either been proven wrong or at least fallen under suspicion, scholia and hypotheses may still be useful sources for information about the contents of the lost tragedies and about the first performances or revivals of plays. All the relevant scholia and hypotheses will be discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV in connection with the tragedies.

Within the corpus of ancient literature, there are several anecdotes about different kinds of performances by individual actors and one-off festivals organized by Alexander the Great. All the relevant passages will be discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV.

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[7] *DFA*[2], 101−125; Mette 1977, 83−147, and *passim*; *CAD*, 103−121, 132−138, and *passim*.
[8] *DFA*[2], 42−56; Whitehead 1986; *CAD*, 124−132, and *passim*; Moretti 2001; Csapo 2004; Jones 2004.
[9] Frederiksen 2002, 97−105.
[10] See Pack 1965; Austin 1968; Carden 1974; Bouquiaux-Simon and Mertens 1992; Luppe 1997; *CEDOPAL, Mertens-Pack*[3] *online Database* (http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm); and *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/). See also Xanthakis-Karamanos 1995.

Vase paintings

The complex relationship between vase paintings and plays has been quite a popular subject for scholars during the last decades. Almost simultaneously, in 1986 and 1987, Csapo and Taplin each published an article on an Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 5697 (dating to *c*.370 BC, see Fig. 5), with both scholars claiming that the vase presents the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (689–759).[11] Taplin continued the same theme in his highly influential *Comic Angels*.[12] Long before Csapo and Taplin, however, Webster had already suggested in 1948 that the so-called phlyax vases might be connected to Athenian old and/or middle comedy.[13]

Connections between vase paintings and tragedies are much more problematic than connections between vase paintings and comedies. Nevertheless, several scholars have eagerly connected numerous individual vases with plenty of individual tragedies. In 1971, Trendall and Webster published a very well-known study (*IGD*) in which they discussed in detail over one-hundred Attic and South Italian vases, which they connected to the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (and also to some other tragedians). Some years later, Kossatz-Deissmann discussed sixty-one South Italian vases connected to the plays of Aeschylus.[14] Connecting tragedies with vases that depict mythological scenes is not a new idea. Already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Vogel, Huddilston, Engelmann, and Séchan had dealt with this issue.[15] In addition to these studies, numerous articles have been published.[16] Many articles in collections, *LIMC* for example, and editions of fragmentary plays, such as *TrGF*, and many editions of complete plays also discuss this topic.[17] Last – but not least – in this long series of studies is one by Taplin.[18] Of course, publications by Trendall and Cambitoglou form the fundamental basis for all studies of South Italian vases.[19]

Regarding the vase paintings, my aim in this study is simply to try to recognize the possible influence of actual theatre performances on the vase paintings. I shall call vases with tragic scenes (or 'mythological narratives') by the collective term 'tragedy related vases' and the so-called 'phlyax vases' (or vases with comic scenes) by the collective term 'comedy related vases'.

Tragedies

Texts of tragedies can contain information about their later popularity. In 1994, Easterling pointed out some internal traces, within the surviving texts, which might indicate that they

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[11] Csapo 1986; Taplin 1987.
[12] Taplin 1993.
[13] Webster 1948, 15−27.
[14] Kossatz-Daissmann 1978.
[15] Vogel 1886; Huddilston 1898; Engelmann 1900; Séchan 1926.
[16] See e.g. Oakley 1991; Giuliani 1996 (see esp. pp. 72–75, for 'philodramatic' vs 'iconocentric' approach); Giuliani 2001 (esp. pp. 22–27, for 'narrative versus allegorical meaning'); and Morelli 2001. See also Green 1985; 1991a; 1991b; 1995; 1996; 1999; 2001.
[17] E.g. Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1997; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004; and Jouan and van Looy 1998; 2000; 2002.
[18] Taplin 2007a.
[19] *LCS*; *RVSIS*; *RVAp* I−II; *RVAp* Suppl. 1−2.3; *RVPa.*

were perhaps produced outside Athens.[20] Five years later Taplin called this phenomenon by the name 'localization' and added some more excerpts from the tragedies to the conversation.[21] This theory – that there are some 'localizing' verses, which were written to please possible audiences outside Athens, in the texts of tragedies – is fascinating, but one has to admit that the authority of these verses as evidence for possible revivals of old plays outside Athens remains weak. (The only strong case hangs on the odd and anachronistic references to Sicily and South Italy in Eur. *Tro*. 220−229, see P. 52−53).

All extant tragedies are more or less interpolated and one explanation for some of these interpolations is that actors altered the texts of the revived old tragedies.[22] Actors' interpolations may thus give us some hints as to the revivals of some tragedies, at least those produced in Athens and perhaps also outside Athens, although it must be admitted that there is a lot of speculation involved in using actors' interpolations as evidence. Numerous actors' interpolations are suggested and explained in editions and commentaries of the extant tragedies.

Intertextual evidence

Comedies may reveal something about the reperformances of old tragedies in Athens. For instance, Aristophanes parodies, quotes verses from, or alludes to (approximately) eighteen plays of Aeschylus, who died some thirty years before Aristophanes started his career. We may rightfully ask whether the audience of Aristophanes had seen some of the ridiculed plays in recent reproductions (see P. 58−66). There is some intertextual material within the texts of tragedies too. I shall discuss all relevant cases in Chapters II, III and IV.

For the texts of the extant comedies I have used the editions in the Oxford Classical Texts and Teubner series. These editions also include discussion on the dates of the plays. Harriot and Rau have studied and discussed Aristophanes' use of both parody and the tragic texts.[23] Revermann's study on the competence of theatre audiences and editions of Aristophanes' plays with commentaries by Sommerstein have also been useful.[24]

Just like parodies and quotations in comedies, other literary quotations and allusions may also give us information about the reproductions of tragedies. Plato and Aristotle, as well as several other ancient authors, cite or imitate verses from, or allude to the texts of the tragedians. The question that needs to be asked is, had the authors of the literary quotations and allusions seen reproductions of the plays in question or did they perhaps refer to them mainly on the basis of text copies?

In addition to Plato and Aristotle, there are also some direct quotations and cases of imitations and referencing in political and forensic oratory, and, of course, numerous quotations, parodies, imitations, and translations into Latin of Greek tragedies made by ancient authors throughout the centuries. These are collected, commented on, and discussed in numerous editions of the texts.

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[20] Easterling 1994, 73−80.
[21] Taplin 1999, 43−48.
[22] See Page, *passim*; Barrett 1966[2], 46; Mastronarde 1984, 42; Hutchinson 1985, xliii and 211; and Willink 1986, lxiii and 231.
[23] Harriot 1962; Rau 1967.
[24] Revermann 2006b; Sommerstein 1990; 1994; 1996; 1998; and 2001.

Theatre buildings

Archaeological remains of the theatre buildings reveal possible venues for (re)performances of the plays. Numbers, dates, and locations of Greek theatres have been studied and discussed collectively by, for example, Anti, Mitens, Rossetto and Sartorio, Isler, Frederiksen and Baçe.[25] Csapo has combined the textual evidence with the architectural evidence into a table that shows twenty-three certain, ten probable, and twenty-nine possible venues for drama from *c*.440 to *c*.340 BC.[26] Frederiksen has counted that, all in all, there are 306 Greek theatres dating up to the second century AD.[27] The sheer number of theatre buildings clearly shows that there were plenty of suitable spaces for tragedies to be performed outside Athens. In this study, I am, of course, interested only in the theatres that have been dated to before the end of the fourth century BC.

Architectural features of the theatre buildings (i.e. the form of the orchestra, the size of the scene building, the capacity of the auditorium etc.) have been discussed in several articles and monographs.[28]

Other studies closely related to this study

Individual actors have been studied by O'Connor, Ghiron-Bistagne, Sutton, and Stephanis.[29] Two separate studies on the *Technitae* of Dionysus have been published by Le Guen and Anizieri respectively.[30] Tragedies of the fourth century BC and Hellenistic drama have been studied by Xanthakis-Karamanaos and Sifakis.[31] Reconstructions of fragmentary plays are numerous.[32]

Stagecraft (i.e. entrances and exits of the actors, use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* etc.) has been studied and discussed, for instance, by Hourmouziades, Dale, Dearden, Taplin, Seale, Halleran, Rehm, Mastronarde, Newiger, and Pöhlmann.[33] The lost comedies and the followers of Aristophanes have also been studied in several books, articles, editions, and collections.[34]

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[25] Anti 1947; Mitens 1988; *TGR* I−III; Isler 1997; Frederiksen 2002; and Baçe 2004. Earlier studies on individual theatres are referred to in these publications.
[26] Csapo 2010a, 102. The table is reproduced on P. 72.
[27] Frederiksen 2002. There is a distinct chart on p. 93.
[28] E.g. see Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2]; Bieber 1971[4]; Gogos 1984; Wiles 1997; Revermann 1999, 25−28; Frederiksen 2000, 135–175; and Moretti 1999/2000, 377–398.
[29] O'Connor, 1908; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976; Sutton 1987, 9–26; and Stephanis 1988. See also Easterling and Hall 2002.
[30] Le Guen 2001a; and Aneziri 2003. See also Le Guen 2001b, 261−298; Lightfoot 2002, 209−224; and Aneziri 2006, 217−236.
[31] Sifakis 1967; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980.
[32] E.g. see Pearson 1917; Séchan 1926; Weir Smyth 1926; Bates 1930; Bates 1940; Mette 1963; Webster 1967; Kiso 1984; Sutton 1984; Lloyd-Jones 1996; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1997; Jouan and van Looy 1998; 2000; 2002; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006; and Sommerstein and Talboy 2012. These are all collections which deal with several plays at the same time. Individual plays are, of course, also discussed in numerous monographs and articles.
[33] Hourmouziades 1965; Dale 1969, 119–129, 259–271; Dearden 1976; Taplin 1977; Seale 1982; Halleran 1985; Rehm 1988, 263−307; Mastronarde 1990, 247–294; Newiger 1990, 33–42; Pöhlmann 1995, 155–164. All these studies deal with several plays. Naturally, stagecraft is also discussed in numerous editions of individual plays and in commentaries on them.
[34] See e.g. Webster 1953; *PCG* series; Harvey and Wilkins 2002; and Olson 2007.

In this study, I am interested in individual actors, stagecraft of tragedies and the other genres[35] of theatre only if they reveal something about possible revivals of tragedies (in Athens) and productions of tragedies outside Athens.

Problems with the evidence

A great deal of important evidence for this study is either fragmentary or involves a lot of speculation. Therefore some of the conclusions of this study will remain conjectural. Different types of sources and the credibility of the evidence shall be discussed in detail in the next Chapter, only some significant problems are mentioned here.

Firstly, it is essential to ask, how trustworthy are literary anecdotes on playwrights, actors, and performances, for example, the *Lives* of the poets and the scholia? Some 'facts' that are mentioned in the *Lives* may be pure invention and there are several cases in which a scholiast has been shown to be wrong.[36] Secondly, sometimes there are problems among ancient documentary and literary sources in identifying individual plays, and in separating some plays from others that have a similar title (e.g. titles such as *Iphigenia* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*/*Tauris*; *Achilles* and *Achilles Thersitoctonus*; *Alcmaeon* and *Alcmaeon through Psophis*/*Corinth*; *Oedipus* and *Oedipus in Colonus*; *Philoctetes* and *Philoctetes at Lemnos*/*Troy*; *Thyestes* and *Thyestes in Sicyon*).[37] Thirdly, since we cannot fully trust the texts of the ancient authors, we must ask ourselves if we can even trust the studies of modern scholars. Between modern studies, there are sometimes gaps of several decades in the dates of plays, vases, inscriptions and theatres.[38] It must also be kept in mind that some vases can be forgeries.[39] The big question that needs to be asked is, which investigation and whose date is the most credible one?

Finally, when handling very fragmentary evidence, 'the danger of a vicious circle is obvious'.[40] Reconstruction of fragmentary plays is often based on too few fragments and on too many suppositions and pure guesswork. A classic case of circular reasoning may be as follows: 1) there is a vase X portraying some gods and heroic figures, and this vase somehow seems to be related to theatre; 2) some of the figures depicted on vase X are known to have appeared in a lost tragedy Y. Thus we conclude that: 1) vase X and tragedy Y are somehow related; and 2) all the figures shown on vase X must have appeared in tragedy Y. Consequently, we might further conclude that a god Z, shown on the vase, must have spoken the prologue of tragedy Y or must have appeared as a *deus*

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[35] For Sicilian comedy, pantomime, and Phlyax comedy, see Dearden 1988; 1990a; and *PCG* I. For dancers and comedy in Sparta, Corinth, Boeotia and Megara, see Webster 1956, 128–144; and Simon 1982a, 16, and 30.

[36] For critical comments on the trustworthiness of the *Lives*, see Lefkowitz 1978; and 1981. For some scholiasts' mistakes, see P. 17.

[37] For some examples of this problem, see P. 14, 17−19, 68−69, and 196.

[38] For example, an Attic/Faliscan volute-krater (V 206 in App. II), Melbourne D 87/1969 (formerly in the Pulzky collection), is dated variously to 420–400 or 380–350 BC, and a Lucanian nestoris (V 172 in App. II), Amterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 1842, is dated variously to 400–375 or 380–360 BC. For discussion on the dates of theatres, see P. 73−74.

[39] For a reminder about vase forgery, see Robinson 2004, 212, who writes: 'Paolucci believed, in 1996, that the number of faked South Italian pots entering the market exceeded the number of genuine ones. Yet little work has been done on this subject, and one wonders how firm are the foundations upon which we build all our arguments'.

[40] As Giuliani 1996, 73 reminds us.

ex machina in tragedy Y, and a nurse shown on vase X must have had a significant role in tragedy Y. Since all the details on vase X and in our reconstruction of tragedy Y match perfectly, vase X must be a tragedy related vase.[41]

Research methods and the structure of this study

My method in this study is simply to go through all the relevant sources, draw conclusions, and suggest new proposals on the basis of the evidence. I shall argue that a lot of tragedies were performed outside Athens in the fourth century BC and I am going to show that there is plenty of material to back up my argument. All the relevant evidence is accessible. It comes from both archaeological and textual sources and, although it is sporadic and fragmentary, it is still possible to draw some conclusions based upon it.

As shall be seen later in this study, my main argument is that the tragedies for which there is plenty of diverse evidence from many different sources (inscriptions, papyri, remarks and anecdotes by ancient authors, vases, localization and actors' interpolations, parody by Aristophanes and other comedians, citations and allusions by Plato and Aristotle, etc.), are tragedies that were very probably exported outside Athens. I shall take up and discuss twenty-two tragedies as examples that were very probably performed outside Athens.

Furthermore, I am going to suggest that, in addition to these twenty-two tragedies, some thirty-five others were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well. Different kinds of evidence also exist for these thirty-five plays, but not from as many sources as those tragedies that I have classed as very probably being exported plays.

I am also going to discuss possible venues for the performances of the exported plays and I shall argue that tragedies were exported all over the Greek world. In addition, I shall also discuss and suggest a probable date for the start of the exportation of tragedies on a wider scale.

Some interesting questions that arise in the course of my research are left unanswered because they would require independent research that cannot be included in this study. These questions shall be raised in the text regardless, and I hope to be able to answer them in the future.

The different kinds of evidence are discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III of this study examines all the known theatre performances outside Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens are dealt with in Chapter IV and conclusions are drawn in Chapter V. Tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens are listed and discussed briefly in Appendix I. All tragedy related vases, of which I am aware, are collected in Appendix II and all the discussed tragedies with all the relevant evidence concerning them are compiled into a table in Appendix III.

Before discussing the evidence, I shall finish the Introduction with a few words on the survival and loss of the plays. The following numbers are probably well-known facts to all students and scholars of Greek drama, but I believe they are still worth mentioning here.

We can calculate roughly that within the span of a hundred years, let us say between 440 BC and 340 BC, there were 900 tragedies (i.e. 100 years x 3 authors x 3

plays) performed at the City Dionysia alone. And if we add the 400 tragedies (i.e. 100 x 2 x 2) presented at the Lenaea, we reach the number of 1,300 tragedies. If we further add the 300 satyr plays (i.e. 100 x 3 x 1) and the 500 comedies (i.e. 100 x 5 x 1) presented at the Dionysia, as well as the 500 comedies (i.e. 100 x 5 x 1) presented at the Lenaea, we reach the number of 2,600 plays![42]

Furthermore, we know that Aeschylus wrote at least 83 plays, Sophocles either 123 or 130 plays and Euripides as many as 92 plays.[43] Of the fourth-century authors, Astydamas II, Theodectes, and Carcinus II, each produced *c*.240, 50, and 160 plays respectively.[44]

In 1926, Séchan calculated that, of the 386 then-known titles of tragedies, fifty-six of the same name had been written by two separate authors; sixteen by three; twelve by four;[45] five by five;[46] three by six;[47] two by seven,[48] and one title (*Oedipus*) by twelve separate authors.[49] From the editions of *TGF* and *TrGF* we can now calculate that at least 15 Greek authors wrote a tragic *Oedipus*[50] and at least 13 authors wrote a tragic *Medea*.[51]

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[41] There is a long tradition of reconstructing fragmentary plays by combining literary fragments and vase-paintings. E.g. see Vogel 1886; Huddilston 1899; Engelmann 1900; Séchan 1926; Bates 1930; Webster 1967. For some fine discussions on reconstructions of the fragmentary plays on the basis of much later authors, esp. Hyginus and Apollodorus, see Huys 1996; 1997a; and 1997b.

[42] I am of course aware of the changes in the number of plays presented at the Dionysia and the Lenaea. E.g. during the Peloponnesian war, there were only three comedies presented at the Dionysia, instead of the usual five (see *CAD*, 107); in 363 BC, three tragic poets competed at the Lenaea, instead of the usual two (see *SEG* 26.203; Camp 1971, 302−307; Mette 1977, 147, III D 1 col. 6; *TrGF* II, 325, sub Did A 2b adde; *DFA*^{2}, 359–360; *CAD*, 136−137, no. III.75.); in 340 BC, the tragic poets at the Dionysia offered only two tragedies each, instead of the usual three (for discussion on the performances in 340 BC, see P. 13−14). I have not taken these changes into account in this calculation. Neither have I included the performances of old tragedies, old comedies, and old satyr plays in the number. For the present purpose of estimating the number of lost plays, it is enough to use the rough figures.

[43] Of the 83 known plays by Aeschylus, 73 are mentioned in the Medicean manuscript; see e.g. Weir Smyth 1926, 375−377; Mette 1963, 236−237; and *TrGF* III, 58−59. Sophocles' *Vita* (*TrGF* IV, T 1) claims that Sophocles wrote 130 plays and the *Suda* (*TrGF* IV, T 2) states that he produced 123 plays. Of the lost plays by Sophocles, 115 titles are known and together with the seven extant ones we reach a number of 122. For discussion of the number of plays written by Sophocles, see Radt 1991, 81−83; and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 1−9. For the number of plays written by Euripides, see Jouan and van Looy 1998, xxii−xxiv. The Alexandrians knew the titles of 92 and possessed copies of 78 plays by Euripides, of which *Peirithous*, *Rhadamanthys* and *Tennes* were considered spurious. According to the *Suda*, Euripides offered 22 productions. This number of productions would mean 88 plays (66 tragedies and 22 satyr plays). It is problematic that only eight titles of Euripides' satyr plays are known (plus the pro-satyric *Alcestis*, see P. 130−132).

[44] For Astydamas I, see *TrGF* I 59 T 1 (= *Suda* α 4264) and for Astydamas II, see *TrGF* I 60 T 1 (= *Suda* α 4265). In the *Suda*, father and son have been mixed up and probably the figure of 240 plays includes plays by both of them. For Theodectes, see *TrGF* I 72 T 1 (= *Suda* θ 138). For Carcinus II, see *TrGF* I 70 T 1 (= *Suda* κ 394).

[45] These titles are: *Andromeda*, *Erigona*, *Helena*, *Hercules*, *Meleager*, *Oeneus*, *Palamedes*, *Pentheus*, *Phoenix*, *Phrixus*, *Tantalus*, and *Teucer*. It must be noted here that an *Iphigenia* was written by three individual authors and in addition to these plays, there are, of course, the two *Iphigenia* plays by Euripides, i.e. the *IA* and the *IT*.

[46] These titles are: *Alcmena*, *Bacchae*, *Ixion*, *Mysoe*, and *Orestes*.

[47] These titles are: *Alcmaeon*, *Philoctetes*, and *Telephus*. In addition to Séchan's calculation, there is, of course, Sophocles' extant *Philoctetes*.

[48] These titles are: *Achilles* and *Thyestes*. According to *TGF*, an *Achilles* was written by Iophon, Aristarchus of Tegea, Carcinus II, Astydamas II, Euaretus, Cleophon, and Diogenes of Sinope. According to *TGF*, a *Thyestes* was written by Agathon, Apollodorus, Carcinus II, Chaeremon, Cleophon, Diogenes of Sinope, and Euripides.

[49] Séchan 1926, 532.

When Aristotle claims in his *Poetics* (1453a17–22) that νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλισται τραγῳδίαι συντίθενται, οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα καὶ Οἰδίπουν καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Μελέαγρον καὶ Θυέστην καὶ Τήλεφον, he surely knows what he is talking about. The titles that he mentions are the most popular ones. We know that a tragic *Alcmaeon* was written by eight individual authors,[52] an *Oedipus* by fifteen,[53] an *Orestes* by six,[54] a *Meleager* by five,[55] a *Thyestes* by nine,[56] and a *Telephus* by seven individual authors.[57] It is truly tragic to compare the total number of plays which Aristotle saw or otherwise knew about to the seven tragedies by Aeschylus and Sophocles respectively, and 18 tragedies plus one satyr play by Euripides that we have left today.[58]

Keeping these figures in mind, it is clear that, when we see, for example, a vase which shows Medea killing her children or a vase which depicts Atreus being murdered by Thyestes or Telephus kneeling at an altar and threatening the life of young Orestes with a sword, the obvious question we need to ask is, whose *Medea*, *Thyestes* or *Telephus* is the vase reflecting?

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[50] These authors are: Sophocles (*OT* and *OC*); an anonymous author (*TrGF* II, 15, F 8); Achaeus I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 124, F 30−31); Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 287–288); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 212, F 1f); Diogenes of Sinope, C4 (*TrGF* I, 253, T 1−2, F 1f); Euripides (*TrGF* V, 569–583, F 539a–557, see also Collard 2005, 57–62); Nicomachus of Athens, C5 (*TrGF* I, 154, T 1); Nicomachus of Troad, C3 (*TrGF* I, 286, F 7); Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 139, T 1); Philocles II/Timocles, C4 (*TrGF* I, Did A 2a), won the second prize at Dionysia in 340 (Neoptolemus acted); Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 232, F 4); and Xenocles I (*TrGF* I, 153, F 1), who won at the Dionysia in 415 BC with *Oedipus*, *Lycaeon*, *Bacchae*, and a satyric *Athamas*. In addition to these, there were two separate *Oedipus* plays by Lycophron, C3 (*TrGF* I, 274, T 3), and an *Oedipodeia* by Meletus II, *c*.399 BC (*TrGF* I, 188, F 1).

[51] These authors are: Euripides; an anonymous author (*TGF*[2] 838); a second anonymous author (*TrGF* II, 201–202, F 701); Biotus, date unknown (*TrGF* I, 309, F 1); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 212, F 1e); Dicaeogenes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 191, F 1a); Diogenes of Athens, C5 (*TrGF* I, 184, T 1); Diogenes of Sinope, C4 (*TrGF* I, 253, T 1, 255, F 1e); Euripides II, C5 (*TrGF* I, 94, T 1); Neophron, C5 (*TrGF* I, 92−94, T 1–3, F 1–3); Melanthius I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 137, T 4a); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 347); and Theodorides (*TrGF* II, 325, Did A 2b addenda), who won the second prize at Lenaea in 363 with a *Medea* and a *Phaethon* (in which Androsthenes acted).

[52] These authors are: Agathon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 161, F 2), Astydamas II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 200, F 1b−1c), Euaretus, C4 (*TrGF* I, 251, T 2), Nicomachus, C3 (*TrGF* I, 285, T 1), Sophocles, C5 (*TrGF* IV, 129−130, F 108−110), Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 230−231, F 1a−2), Timotheus (*IG* II[2] 3091, see my discussion on P. 11−12), and Euripides who wrote two plays about Alcmaeon, i.e. *A. at Corinth* and *A. at Psophis* (*TrGF* V, 206−218, F 65−87a).

[53] See n. 50 above.

[54] These authors are: Euripides; an anonymous author? (*TrGF* 17, F 8c), who won the second prize at Lenaea before 363 BC; Euripides II, C5 (*TrGF* I, 94, T 1); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 213, F 1g); Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 232, F 5); and Aphareus, C4 (*TrGF* I, 239, F 1 = Did A 2a), who was third at the Great Dionysia in 341 BC (Athenodorus acted).

[55] These authors are: Euripides (*TrGF* V, 554−568, F 515−539); an anonymous author? (*TrGF* II, F 625, 632); Antiphon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 195, F 1b); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 345–347, F 401–406); and Sosiphanes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 261, F 1).

[56] In addition to the seven authors mentioned in note 48 above are: Diogenes of Athens, C5l (*TrGF* I, 184, T 1), and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 162–163 and *TrGF* IV, 239–246), who probably wrote three plays about Thyestes (an *Atreus* and a *Thyestes* and a *Thyestes in Sicyon* or *Thyestes* I and II and a *Thyestes in Sicyon*, see P. 196−198).

[57] These authors are: Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 343−346, F 238−240); Agathon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 162−163, F 4); Cleophon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 246, T 1); Iophon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 132, T 1a); Moschion, C3 (*TrGF* I, 264, F 2); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 434); and Euripides (*TrGF* V, 680−718, F 696−727c).

[58] The question of the authorship of *Prometheus Bound* is not an issue here. Neither is the question of the authorship of *Rhesus*.

Evidence

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φεραίων τύραννος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ὠμότατος εἶναι. Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητοῦ ὑποκρινομένου τὴν Μερόπην σφόδρα ἐμπαθῶς, ὃ δὲ ἐς δάκρυα ἐξέπεσεν εἶτα ἐξανέστη τοῦ θεάτρου.
(Ael. *VH* 14.40)

Before discussing the exported plays themselves, let us first take a look at the different types of evidence that could indicate a play had been (re)produced outside Athens. When discussing the evidence, I shall also briefly analyse the various problems with the sources and the credibility of the evidence. The different types of evidence are as follows: 1) documentary and literary sources, 2) vases, 3) the tragic texts themselves, and 4) intertextual evidence. In addition, theatre buildings exist as possible venues for the exported plays.

Evidence of documentary and literary sources

Inscriptions

Inscriptions are the most reliable source for this study. They give us a lot of useful information about performances at the City Dionysia and at the Rural Dionysia. This information can then be of some use when evaluating which plays may have been performed outside Athens. Let us begin with the following inscription:

Ἐ[πιχάρης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα] κωμωιδοῖς·
Ἐχφαντίδης ἐδίδασκε ⟦.⟧ Πείρας.
Θρασύβολος χορηγῶν ἐνίκα κωμωιδοῖς·
Κρατῖνος ἐδίδασκε Βουκόλος.
Θρασύβολος χορη[γ]ῶν ἐνίκα τραγωιδοῖς·
Τιμόθεος ἐδίδασκε Ἀλκμέωνα, Ἀλφεσίβο[ιαν].
Ἐπιχάρης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα τραγωιδο[ῖς]·
Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκε Τηλέφειαν.
(*IG* II² 3091, c.420–c.380 BC)[1]

This inscription (found on a cylindrical, marble statue base near Halae Aexonides) has been interpreted in various ways: 1) the inscription is a record of a single contest at Aexone (the stone was earlier assigned to the deme Aexone), in which Epichares and Thrasybulus were choregoi and each presented one old comedy and a group of old tragedies; 2) all four poets mentioned in the inscription were alive at the same time, shortly before 420 BC, and they all produced the plays named for the first time at Aexone; or 3) the choregic victories were won in contests at Athens and the two choregoi themselves

[1] For some discussions on this inscription, see Pickard-Cambridge 1933, 64–84; Mette 1977, 44–45, II A 1; *DFA*², 54–56; *CAD*, 44, no. I.104; Wilson 2000, 248–249; and Csapo 2010a, 92–93.

(who were citizens of Aexone) or their relatives (perhaps after the death of the choregoi) erected the monument at Aexone.[2]

There are objections to all the above-mentioned propositions. Against the first is that the expression ἐδίδασκε is used only of living poets, producing their own plays. Against the second, Ecphantides probably died before 442 BC. Against the third proposition is that, if the tragedies were performed at the Dionysia, titles of one tragedy and one satyr play of Timotheus, and the title of the satyr play of Sophocles are missing; if Timotheus presented only two plays, the festival must have been Lenaea and, if Sophocles was also victorious at Lenaea, Τηλέφεια must refer to a single play (meaning 'a play about Telephus', cf. Ὀδύσσεια) and the title of the other tragedy must have dropped out (it is, of course, also possible that the two festivals may have been mixed up in the inscription).[3]

Scholars have also suggested the following: 1) the otherwise unknown poet Timotheus was only a trainer and the famous Achaeus, who is known to have written a satyric[4] *Alcmaeon* and an *Alphesiboea*, was the poet; 2) the Timotheus mentioned in the inscription is the famous lyric poet; and 3) the Sophocles mentioned as being victorious with a Τηλέφεια was actually Sophocles II, the grandson of the great fifth-century poet.[5] Nevertheless, all these suggestions remain conjectural.

Csapo argues strongly for the interpretation that this inscription refers to a Rural Dionysia and he may be right, but in my opinion the dates of the performances are problematic, in that the inscription may not be referring to a single date (according to Csapo, the victories in question must begin about the middle of the fifth century and they may run as late as its final decade).[6] Csapo's suggestion would indicate that the inscription refers to four fifth-century victories of separate dates at Rural Dionysia in Halae Aexonides and that the monument was set up by the choregoi themselves or by their relatives in the early fourth century BC (the choregoi may have belonged to the same family).

From our point of view, the most important part of the inscription is its final line. It generates at least two important questions: 1) if Τηλέφεια refers to a trilogy or tetralogy, which plays comprised it? 2) if the Τηλέφεια was actually presented by the grandson of the great Sophocles, did he present an entirely new Τηλέφεια or did he perhaps present a Τηλέφεια that was a revived version of his grandfather's tragedy/trilogy/tetralogy?

Pickard-Cambridge proposes that the Τηλέφεια was composed of Ἀλεάδαι, Μυσοί, and Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος, all of which dealt with the myth of Telephus.[7] Sophocles may also have written a satyric *Telephus*.[8] The plot of Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος probably corresponded quite closely to the plot of Euripides' *Telephus*, which will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter IV of this study.[9] Perhaps of some interest is the fact that, in addition to Timotheus, seven other tragedians wrote an *Alcmaeon*, among them also Euripides, whose *Alcmaeon in Psophis* was produced in 438 BC together with *Alcestis*, *Cretan women*, and *Telephus*.[10]

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[2] Pickard-Cambridge 1933, 70−73, discusses all these alternatives.
[3] *Ibid*., 70−73, and 77.
[4] See Sutton 1980a, 125.
[5] See Wilson 2000, 375−376, n. 164, who refers to Luppe 1969 and 1973. See also *DFA*², 361.
[6] Csapo 2010a, 92−93.
[7] Pickard-Cambridge 1933, 77−84.
[8] *IG* XII.1 125; *IGUR* I 229, see Pickard-Cambridge 1933, 77; and Sutton 1984, 124.
[9] See P. 194−196.
[10] *TrGF* I, 46, Did C 11.

We can chew over this inscription all night long, but in the end we must concede that we are not able to judge for sure, whether this inscription refers to performances in the city (at the Dionysia or Lenaea) or at the Rural Dionysia (in Halae Aexonides), whether the victorious Sophocles mentioned in the inscription is the famous playwright of the fifth century or his grandson, and whether the word Τηλέφεια refers to a single tragedy, a trilogy, or a tetralogy.

This inscription is not of great importance for my study, but it shows well how fascinating and, at the same time, frustrating, inscriptions can sometimes be. They can create more questions than they solve (and just a couple of paragraphs earlier I stated that inscriptions are the most reliable source for this study!).

[ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους σατυρι]
— — — — —
1 [παλαι]ᾶι Νε[οπτόλεμος]
[Ἰφιγε]νείαι Εὐρ[ιπ]ίδο[υ]
[ποη] : Ἀστυδάμας
[Ἀχι]λλεῖ ὑπε : Θετταλός
5 Ἀθάμαντι ὑπε : Νεοπτόλ[εμος]
[Ἀν]τιγόνηι ὑπε : Ἀθηνόδω[ρος]
[Εὐ]άρετος δ[εύ :] Τεύκρωι
[ὑπ]ε : Ἀθηνόδωρος
[Ἀχι]λλεῖ ὑ[πε] : Θετταλὸς
10 [...ε]ι ὑπ[ε : Ν]εοπτόλεμος
[Ἀφαρεὺς] τρί : Πελιάσιν
[ὑπε : Νεοπτ]όλεμος
Ὀρέστηι [ὑπε : Ἀθηνόδωρος]
Αὐγηι ὑπε : Θετται[λός]
15 ὑπο : Νεοπτόλεμος ἐνίκ[α]
ἐπὶ Νικομάχου σατυρι
Τιμοκλῆς Λυκούργωι
παλαιᾶι : Νεοπτόλεμ[ος]
Ὀρέστηι Εὐριπίδο
20 ποη : Ἀστυδάμας
Παρθενοπαίωι ὑπε : Θετ[ταλός]
[Λυκά]ονι ὑπε : Νεοπτόλε[μος]
[Τιμο]κλῆς δεύ : Φρίξωι
[ὑπε :] Θετταλός
25 [Οἰδί]ποδι ὑπε : Νεοπτόλ[εμος]
[Εὐάρ]ετος τρί
[Ἀλκ]μέ[ων]ι : ὑπε : Θετται[λός]
[...λ]ηι : ὑπε : Νεοπτό[λε]
[ὑπο : Θ]ετταλὸς ἐνίκα
30 [ἐπὶ Θεο]φράστου σα[τυρι]
...8.... Φορκίσ[ι]
[παλαιᾶι· Νικ?]όστρ[ατος]
[...8.... Εὐ]ριπί[δου]
[ποη : ...7...]ο...
(*IG* II² 2320)[11]

[11] See Mette 1977, 91−92, III A 2 col. 2; *DFA*², 108–109; *CAD*, 228−229, no. IV.16; and Easterling 1997, 214−217.

This inscription gives us a lot of information about the practices of the City Dionysia in 341 and 340, but at the same time it creates a lot of questions. An initial observation is that a separate competition existed for satyr plays and tragedies. In 340, Timocles won the satyric competition, with his *Lycurgus*, and Astydamas won the tragic competition.[12] Were participants of the competition for satyr plays the same as the participants of the competition for tragedies? If they were the same people, then it was definitely Timocles who won the second prize in the competition for tragedies in 340, not Philocles as some scholars have suggested.[13] The arrangements at the City Dionysia had certainly changed dramatically, if the participants in the competition for satyr plays could be different to those in the competition for tragedies.

Secondly this inscription tells us that, in three consecutive years, a tragedy by Euripides was chosen as the old tragedy to be reperformed. Euripides' *Iphigenia* was performed in 341 and his *Orestes* in 340. The title of the play that was performed in 339 cannot be restored. Moreover, a question that cannot be answered with any certainty is, which of the two *Iphigenia* plays by Euripides was presented at the Dionysia of 341, the *IA* or the *IT*?[14]

Thirdly, the regulations pertaining to the use of leading actors were changed so that no tragedian could use only one leading actor throughout, but instead he had to use a separate actor in all three (or two) tragedies. In 341, Astydamas used Thettalus in his *Achilles*, Neoptolemus in his *Athamas*, and Athenodorus in his *Antigone*. We do not know when this practice was introduced, but clearly after 340 we should not search for evidence of the reproduction of entire trilogies, since it follows that the leading actors and their companies would have performed in the same plays outside Athens that they had performed in at the City Dionysia (or would they?).

Finally, in 340, only two tragedies by each tragedian were presented. Was the reason for this that the actor Athenodorus was missing (as Easterling suggests)?[15] Was he perhaps performing in some other place at the time of the Dionysia? We have evidence for the fact that, in the 340s, an actor had to pay a special penalty fee, if he did not show up at the festival to which he had been contracted.[16] If Athenodorus was performing somewhere else, what tragedy was he presenting? When we arrange the information of the inscription in a slightly different order, we see that in 341 Athenodorus played in Astydamas' *Antigone*, Euaretus' *Teucer*, and Aphareus' *Orestes*. To my mind, these plays are potential candidates to have been exported outside Athens (in 340 by Athenodorus), as in fact are all the plays mentioned in this inscription, including also the old plays of Euripides and the satyr play of Timocles.

These examples show us that there are many problems when using inscriptions as evidence. Nevertheless, regardless of the fact that inscriptions often give only sporadic information and that they contain lots of *lacunae*, they do give us a lot of useful information about plays, actors, and playwrights.

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[12] After Astydamas' victory in 340 BC, the Athenians erected a statue of him in the theatre. The base of the statue has partly survived, see *TrGF* I, 199, T 8b; and Goette 1999, 21–25.

[13] E.g. Mette 1977, 92. Easterling 1997, 215: 'Timocles [or Philocles?]'.

[14] Although there is plenty of evidence for revivals of both plays (see P. 170–172, and App. I, P. 231), I am inclined to think that it was the *IT*.

[15] Easterling 1997, 216.

[16] Aeschines *Embassy* 19 + schol. (= *CAD*, 4.30F, 4.30G); Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 29.1–6. For some discussions on the penalties, see Bieber 1961, 84; *DFA*^{2}, 280; Revermann 1999/2000, 455; and Wilson 2000, 287–288.

Inscriptions can also provide a lot of information about theatre buildings.[17] There are three kinds of evidence pertaining to ancient theatre buildings: 1) archaeological remains, 2) literary evidence, and 3) inscriptions. For some theatres, we can find all three types of evidence; for others, we can find only one.[18] For instance, we are fairly certain that there was a theatre in Eleusis in the mid-fourth century BC, even though archaeologists have not yet found any material remains.[19]

Papyri

We may ask if the amount of occurrences of a tragedy in papyri tells us something about its later popularity and, perhaps, also about its reproductions. In order to answer this question, let us first take a look at some figures regarding the tragic papyri.

A search in *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/, on November 25, 2011, checked again on April 10, 2013) gave a total of 216 occurrences for Euripides, fifty-two for Sophocles, forty-eight for Aeschylus, and five for Astydamas (4 or 5 for *Hector*). The most popular plays of Euripides are the *Phoenissae* (31 hits), *Orestes* (22 hits), *Medea* (20 hits), *Andromache* (16 hits), *Bacchae* (12), and *Hecuba* (11). The most popular plays of Aeschylus are the *Myrmidones*, *Semele/Hydrophoroe*, and *Septem contra Thebas* (3 hits each), and the most popular plays of Sophocles are *Ajax* (4/5? hits), *Oedipus Tyrannus* (4 hits), and *Trachiniae* (3 hits).

It has to be kept in mind that these are only rough figures for various reasons. The interpretations of some papyri are uncertain and different search terms give different results. For example, a search in the *Leuven Database* for 'Ajax' gave only one occurrence, *Ajax Locrensis*, and a search for 'Aiax' gave 5 occurrences. A search for 'Andromacha' gave 9 results and a search for 'Andromache' gave 7 results, none of which occurred within the results for 'Andromacha'.

For the sake of comparison, a search of *CEDOPAL, Mertens-Pack³ online Database* (http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm, on November 25, 2011) gave a total of 170 occurrences for Euripides (*Phoenissae* 29, *Orestes* 21, *Medea* 17, *Andromache* 15, *Bacchae* and *Hecuba* 10 hits each), thirty-six occurrences for Sophocles (*Ajax* 4, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 3, and *Trachiniae* 3 hits), thirty-two occurrences for Aeschylus (*Myrmidones* 4, *Semele/Hydrophoroe* 4 and *Septem contra Thebas* 3 hits), and four occurrences for Astydamas (all for *Hector*).

The dates of the tragic papyri vary from the third century BC to the sixth century AD. Some papyri contain excerpts and hypotheses from various plays, some papyri contain long excerpts from a single tragedy, and some papyri are actually collections of gnomes extracted from several tragedies. For our purpose, the most important papyri are the earliest ones, especially if they contain long excerpts from tragedies and perhaps also musical notation.[20] If we perform a search in *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* for 'Euripides-papyri which date from the third century BC', and exclude papyri that are comprised of anthologies[21] or hypotheses, we get as a result papyri that contain verses

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[17] See my discussion on theatre buildings, P. 72–78.

[18] Frederiksen 2002 is a very useful study which I can strongly recommend to anyone who is interested in the number and locations of ancient Greek theatres.

[19] Inscriptions concerning Eleusis are listed on P. 92. For example, an honorary decree from Eleusis, *IG* II² 1187 (dated to the mid-fourth century BC), clearly mentions the words theatre and *proedria*.

from *Iphigenia Taurica* (*LDAB* no. 1028), *Medea* (*LDAB* no. 1029), *Hypsipyle* (*LDAB* no. 1031, *LDAB* no. 1038), *Orestes* (*LDAB* no. 1032, *LDAB* no. 1047), *Hercules furens* (*LDAB* no. 1033, *LDAB* no. 1036), *Hippolytus* (*LDAB* no. 1035), *Antiope* (*LDAB* no. 1037), *Meleager* (*LDAB* no. 1039), *Erectheus* (*LDAB* no. 1040), *Archelaus* (*LDAB* no. 1043), *Alexandros* (*LDAB* no. 7117), and possibly *Hippolytus* (*LDAB* no. 1027, may be a part of an anthology), *Phaethon* (*LDAB* no. 1030, may be a part of an anthology), and *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (*LDAB* no. 1034, may be a part of an anthology). For Sophocles, we get *Niobe* (*LDAB* no. 3957), *Tyro* (*LDAB* no. 6956), and possibly an *Iphigenia* or an *Ajax* (*LDAB* no. 3959). For Aeschylus, *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* does not give any hits, but *CEDOPAL* gives one: *P.Cair.Zen*. 4.59651, which dates from the third century BC and contains verses from Aeschylus' *Myrmidones*.

After this short examination of figures relating to the tragic papyri, we can note that it is not, perhaps, simply a coincidence that almost all of the tragedies, which occur in the third-century-BC papyri, have also been connected with several vases. Many of these tragedies are also parodied or quoted by Aristophanes, and almost all of them also contain actors' interpolations.

An interesting feature, which occurs in some tragic papyri is the abbreviation, χοροῦ μέλος. *P. Sorbonne* 2252 (dating to between 250−150 BC), which contains verses 1−57 and 73−106 of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, has a gap suitable for χοροῦ μέλος between lines 57 and 73, and Barret suggests that the papyrus also had [χοροῦ μέλος] or [χοροῦ].[22] Taplin, who briefly discusses seven tragic papyri which contain or may contain the abbreviation χοροῦ μέλος, rejects Barret's suggestion because, 'there is only one song which can go in this gap, and that is the one which Euripides composed for this place', and suggests instead that *P. Sorbonne* 2252 could be part of a text for actors or for schools or that it could come from an anthology which contained only spoken parts.[23]

Only two of the seven papyri discussed by Taplin are certain; they are *P. Hib.* 4 (dating to between 299−200 BC, and sometimes attributed to Euripides' *Oeneus*, but it is more likely that it is from a post-classical tragedy) and *P. Hib*. 174 (dating to between 199−100 BC, and usually attributed to Astydamas' *Hector*).

Xanthakis-Karamanos notes that, although the role of the chorus was significantly reduced in Hellenistic times, many titles of post-classical plays seem to refer to choruses (e.g. Agathon's Μυσοί, Dicaeogenes' Κύπριοι, Cleophon's Βάκχαι, Moschion's Φεραῖοι, and Lycophron's Ἱκέται, Κασσανδρεῖς and Μαραθώνιοι).[24]

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[20] Herington 1985, 44, suggests that musical notation in the tragic papyri are proof of later reperformances; he writes: 'Once the continuity of the performing tradition of any given song had been snapped the music and dance of that song would be lost forever. ... For example, there was no apparent break in the performing tradition of Attic tragedy, and no doubt it is to this fact that we owe our two musically notated papyri of classical tragic lyric', and continues (in note 10, p. 235): 'If the theory outlined in the above paragraph is correct, it will follow that the musically notated papyri of the *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* (above, n. 8) may well preserve a memory of the actual melodies composed by Euripides ... but will themselves be memoranda made in Hellenistic times, based on a Hellenistic reperformance by a troupe which still preserved, by aural tradition, the Euripidean music'.

[21] Different kinds of anthologies already existed in the third century BC. See *O.Berol. inv*. 12319 (Mertens-Pack^3 1567), *P.Hib*. 1.7 (Mertens-Pack^3 1569), *P.Petr*. 1.3(1) (Mertens-Pack^3 1572), *O.Berol*. inv. 12311(Mertens-Pack^3 1575). It is obvious that nothing can be proved about the reperformance(s) of a tragedy, if some verses of it survive in a papyrus containing an anthology.

[22] Barret 1966, 438−439, n. 2.

[23] Taplin 1976, 47−50.

[24] Xanthakis-Karamanos 1993, 122.

The question of the abbreviation χοροῦ μέλος and the development of the role of the dramatic choruses in the fourth and third centuries BC is beyond the scope of this study, but at least it can be suggested that *P. Sorbonne* 2252 may imply that Euripides' *Hippolytus* was perhaps revived in the third century BC (since it may be part of an actor's copy or an actor may have dictated it to a copyist).[25]

Manuscripts (hypotheses and scholia)

Hypotheses to the dramatic texts sometimes give us otherwise unknown information about both the extant and the lost plays (dates, plots, *dramatis personae* etc.).[26] For instance, we know from the second hypothesis to Euripides' *Alcestis* that, in the year 438 BC, Euripides presented *Alcestis* as the fourth play, instead of a satyr play, together with his *Cretan Women*, *Alcmaeon in Psophis*, and *Telephus*.[27]

A passage in the hypothesis to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* – Ἀγαμέμνων δ ἐπί ἀπήνης ἔρχεται, εἵπετο δ αὐτῶι ἑτέρα ἀπήνη ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα – may, in turn, imply a later revival of *Agamemnon*, since lavish processions of spoils were likely to be popular in performances of the fourth century BC.[28]

Like hypotheses, scholia can also provide us with valuable information concerning performances or the contents of plays, although the evidential value of some scholia has either been disproved or at least fallen under suspicion.[29] For example, a scholiast on Euripides' *Andromache* notes that the play was not produced in Athens.[30] In *Ran*. 105, there is a quotation from Euripides' *Andromeda*, not from his *Andromache*, as the scholiast notes.[31] It has also been suggested that 'Andromache' is a scholiast's mistake for 'Andromeda' in the only quotation from Sophocles' *Andromache*, and that Sophocles never wrote an *Andromache* at all.[32]

Regardless of the above-mentioned examples, manuscripts still give us a lot of useful information about the lost plays; this information, however, has to be handled in the right way. I shall deal with all the relevant hypotheses and scholia in depth in connection with the individual plays in Chapter IV of this study.

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[25] Barret 1966, 439, n. 1: 'I observe, as a long shot, that dictation from an actor's memory might account both for the omission and for the errors'. For the comic choruses in the fourth century BC, see Sifakis 1971, 410−432; Hunter 1979, 23−38; and Dearden 1976, 103−105.

[26] See Turner 1961, 7−8, on three different kinds of hypothesis. Hypotheses have survived both in MSS and papyri. Luppe 2009, 116−123, lists all the dramatic hypotheses that survive in papyri.

[27] See *TrGF* I, 46, Did C11.

[28] See discussions in Taplin 1977, 304−305; and Easterling 2005, 25−26. See also Taplin 1977, 74−79, for chariot entrances, and schol. Eur. *Or*. 57, which claims that actors interpolated a spectacular procession at the beginning of the play.

[29] When discussing the staging and the stage resources of the fifth-century tragic theatre Taplin 1977, 47, 435−439, and *passim* strongly criticizes the credibility of the scholia. Taplin suggests (on p. 437): 'It seems to me only sound method to hold that, if much of this evidence is discredited, then *all* of it should be treated with suspicion'.

[30] Schol. Eur. *Andr*. 455: οὐ δεδίδακται γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν. See App. I, P. 222−224, for my discussion on the question of where *Andromache* might have been performed.

[31] See *TrGF* V, 255, F 144.

[32] See *TrGF* IV, 156, F 125; Pearson 1917, 78; Bates 1940, 178; Sutton 1984, 19; and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 48–49.

Remarks on and anecdotes about plays, playwrights, and actors (by ancient authors)

Plutarch (in two separate texts) and Aelian tell us about an incident which took place at Pherae during a dramatic performance in the reign of Alexander of Pherae (i.e. between 369 and 358 BC). For the sake of example, it is necessary to take a close look at all three texts. They read as follows (texts are from *TLG*, underlining is my own):

> τραγῳδὸν δέ ποτε θεώμενος Εὐριπίδου Τρῳάδας ὑποκρινόμενον, ᾤχετ' ἀπιὼν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρον. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ μηδένα πώποτε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονευομένων ἠλεηκώς, ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑκάβης καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης κακοῖς ὀφθήσεται δακρύων.
> (Plut. *Vit. Pel*. 29.5)

> Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Φεραίων τύραννος (ἔδει δὲ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν) θεώμενος τραγῳδὸν ἐμπαθέστερον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς διετέθη πρὸς τὸν οἶκτον. ἀναπηδήσας οὖν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θᾶττον ἢ βάδην ἀπῄει, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων, εἰ τοσούτους ἀποσφάττων πολίτας ὀφθήσεται τοῖς Ἑκάβης καὶ Πολυξένης πάθεσιν ἐπιδακρύων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν μικροῦ καὶ δίκην ἐπράξατο τὸν τραγῳδόν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ σίδηρον ἐμάλαξεν.
> (Plut. *Mor*. 334a)

> Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φεραίων τύραννος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ὠμότατος εἶναι. Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητοῦ ὑποκρινομένου τὴν Μερόπην σφόδρα ἐμπαθῶς, ὃ δὲ ἐς δάκρυα ἐξέπεσεν εἶτα ἐξανέστη τοῦ θεάτρου. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ ἔλεγε τῷ Θεοδώρῳ ὡς οὐ καταφρονήσας οὐδὲ ἀτιμάσας αὐτὸν ᾤχετο, ἀλλ' αἰδούμενος εἰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πάθη οἷός τε ἦν ἐλεεῖν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν οὐχί.
> (Ael. *VH* 14.40)

The basic element of the story, that Alexander burst into tears during a performance and left the theatre because he did not want his citizens to see him weeping, is told in the same way in all three excerpts, but the details are conflicting. In the first passage, Plutarch claims that Alexander wept for the sorrows of Hecuba and Andromache when he was watching a tragedian performing Euripides' *Trojan Women*. In the second, Plutarch tells that Alexander wept for the torments of Hecuba and Polyxena, but neither the title nor the author of the play in question is mentioned. The torments of Hecuba and Polyxena might well refer to, for example, Euripides' *Hecuba*. In the third excerpt, Aelian mentions the names of both the actor (Theodorus) and the character (Merope) he was acting, when Alexander burst into tears.

There are two more important details mentioned in the texts. Firstly, in all three texts, the actual word 'theatre' is mentioned as the venue of the incident. This could mean that there was a permanent theatre at Pherae in the 350s BC, but these texts alone are not sufficient evidence without any archaeological finds. Secondly, both Plutarch and Aelian tell us that Alexander wanted to explain to the actor that his departure from the theatre was not out of contempt for his acting, but because he was ashamed to have his citizens see him weeping. This may imply that the actor in question was famous one. At least Theodorus was a famous actor in mid-fourth century B.C.

In addition to the above-mentioned incident at Pherae, we know some other anecdotes about this tragic actor Theodorus.[33] Plutarch (*Mor*. 737b) tells us that the wife of Theodorus quoted verses 2 and 3 (Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν᾽ ἔξεστί σοι παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ᾽ ἀεί) of Sophocles' *Electra* before letting Theodorus into bed after winning a contest (cf. Ath. *Deipn*. 579a, in which a courtesan called Mania uses this line). Demosthenes (19.246) mentions that the actors Theodorus and Aristodemus (for whom Aeschines played the third parts) never played in the *Phoenix* of Euripides, but often played in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. Aristotle (Arist. *Pol*. 1336b27−31) claims that Theodorus insisted on always appearing in front of the spectators before any of the other actors. It has also been suggested that Theodorus played the part of Hippodameia in the *Oenomaus* of Sophocles (when Aeschines, who played the part or Oenomaus, fell from the chariot).[34] Theodorus may also have acted at the Rural Dionysia of Thoricus.[35]

We know that Merope was a character in Euripides' *Cresphontes*. Merope's intention to kill her son is mentioned by Aristotle (*Poet*. 1454a4) as an example of attempting to perform some irremediable action in ignorance of the true consequences, only to discover the truth before doing it and, in this way, avoid disaster. From Plutarch (*Mor*. 998e) we hear that, in the tragedy, Merope threatened to kill her son with an axe while he was sleeping. Some scholars prefer to read the name of Aerope instead of Merope in the text of Aelian, in which case Aelian could perhaps be referring to the *Aerope* by Carcinus II.[36]

Now, what can we take from this incident once we've put all the evidence together? It seems safe to assume that there was some kind of dramatic performance going on at Pherae in the reign of Alexander. After accepting this assumption, we are on less safe ground. Perhaps a famous actor played in the performance. The tragedy that was performed may have been *Troades*, *Hecuba*, or *Cresphontes* by Euripides. If the actor in question was Theodorus, he may well have been acting in a tragedy by Sophocles instead of a tragedy by Euripides, since all other literary anecdotes link him to the plays of Sophocles. Perhaps this play was Sophocles' lost *Polyxena*. We know nothing about the second or the third actors or the chorus (assuming that the performance in question was not a solo performance), and we can only guess whether there were other dramatic performances (i.e. other tragedies, comedies, satyr plays) as well or, even, music contests on the same occasion. In theory, the two extremes are: 1) a single actor performed solo excerpts from some tragedy in the open or at a temporary theatre; or 2) there was a festival with dramatic contests (with three actors and a chorus performing in each play) held at a permanent theatre.

In addition to the above-mentioned occasion at Pherae, there are some other interesting literary anecdotes about various plays and individual actors but they are discussed later in this study.

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[33] See O'Connor 1908, no. 230; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 329; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1157.
[34] Rees, *So-called Rule of Three Actors* 54, n. 3; O'Connor 1908, 101. For my discussion on Aeschines' part in the *Oenomaus*, see P. 96−97, 184−189.
[35] See *SEG* 34.174.
[36] See *TrGF* I, 210−211, F 1; Dearden 1990, 239; and Green 1990, 282.

Evidence of vases

Background

Any list of studies trying to analyse the complex relationship between vase paintings and plays is a long one.[37] Davidson sums up the situation of scholarly discussion in 2005:

> Much has been written about such theatrical images on vases... And in this regard, the point has been well made that the painters have probably been members of theatre audiences and have painted for purchasers who have also probably been members of audiences, also that different conventions can be seen at work in the handling of tragedy and comedy, that there were different approaches in Athens, and Tarentum or wherever, that the vases themselves were designed for different purposes, and that the painters were not attempting, at least in the case of tragedy, to provide the equivalent of a photographic record.[38]

The following statement by Csapo and Slater is also worth quoting:

> It is not clear whether the images were derived from performance, from 'high art' models (such as vase paintings), or from the painter's own imagination tempered with a knowledge of the theater and theater practice. It is probably wrong to posit a single source for this highly variable output.[39]

Regarding the relationship between vase paintings and plays, the key question is, were the vase painters influenced by first-hand observations of actual dramatic performances (i.e. had they been members of a theatre audience) or were they influenced by other genres of literature and, perhaps, had never seen theatrical performances at all (i.e. did they paint from visual models or from pure imagination)? Taplin discusses the controversy between the 'philodramatic' and the 'iconocentric' approach to this question.[40] According to Taplin the 'old' or 'philodramatic' approach argues for a close relationship between the vases and a pre-existent play, and the opposing position – the 'new' or 'iconocentric' – argues that the paintings are self-sufficient, derived from the repertoire and techniques of the painters themselves, not from drama.[41]

For comedy related vases, it is easy to accept the view that the vase paintings are not products of pure imagination. Several comedy related vases show an actual stage and, to me, there is no question of whether these vases depict an actual theatrical performance − they do. Csapo makes this point very clear when he uses a comedy related vase by the Tarporley Painter to show that the scene on this vase is not copied from an Attic model or from a book illustration. Moreover, is it neither painted after a written text nor created by the painter's imagination. All the details on the vase painting (see Pl. IX.1 of this study), the scene-specificity, the inscription (written with a local alphabet in the Attic dialect),

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[37] For a start, see the references mentioned in the Introduction, P. 3.
[38] Davidson 2005, 6.
[39] *CAD*, 54−55.
[40] Taplin 2007a, 22−26.
[41] Taplin 2007a, 23.

together with another vase by another artist (depicting another scene of exactly the same comedy) speak to the fact that this vase is illustrating a comedy unknown to us, but very well known to the painter and the purchaser of this vase.[42]

If we accept that the South Italian comedy related vases depict real performances, we need to answer whether they reflect local or Athenian comedies. Webster suggested already in 1948 that these vases depict Athenian comedies, but (as Csapo explains) 'for some forty years his observation was politely acknowledged but generally rejected'.[43] The discovery of the so-called Würzburg Telephos, an Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Martin von Wagner Mus. H 5697, *c*.370 BC (see Fig. 5), finally confirmed Webster's theory. The idea held by Csapo and Taplin that this vase presents the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (verses 689–759) has nowadays been widely accepted by scholars.[44]

With respect to tragedies, however, the relationship to vase paintings is much more ambiguous, since tragedy related vases very seldom depict an actual tragic performance on a stage or actors wearing tragic masks, but instead they show us a myth, a story, or mythical persons doing or suffering mythical things. This might have something to do with the differences in the degree of dramatic illusion between the two genres of drama.[45] In comedy, the dramatic illusion was frequently ruptured (actors could address the audience directly or make fun of the *mechane* or the *ekkyklema* etc.) but, in tragedies, the dramatic illusion was usually constantly maintained (the action of the tragedies happened in the mythical past and the actors did not address the audience).[46] It is extremely difficult to prove that some of the painters of tragedy related vases drew their inspiration directly from actual performances; indeed, in most cases, it cannot be proved.[47] Trendall, at the age of eighty years, after having studied the South Italian vases for more than fifty years, wrote:

> It has already been suggested that the scenes shown on many of the vases would make admirable posters for the plays concerned; the vase-painters probably drew their inspiration from an actual performance which remained in the memory and influenced the representation on the vases.[48]

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[42] Csapo 2010a, 40−52. The two vases discussed are an Apulian calyx-krater by the Tarporley Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund 1924 (24.97.104), *c*.400 BC (Csapo's figure 2.1; see also *IGD*, IV, 13; Taplin 1991, 30−31, pl. 10.2; *CAD*, pl. 6A), and an Apulian bell krater by the McDaniel Painter, Boston, MFA, Otis Norcross Fund 69.951, *c*.370 BC (Csapo's figure 2.2; see also *CAD*, pl. 6A; and Taplin 1991, 32, pl. 11.3).

[43] Csapo 2010a, 53.

[44] Csapo 1986; Taplin 1987. See also Trendall 1991, 165−166, fig. 68; Taplin 1993, 36−40, pl. 11.4; Green 1994, 64−67, fig. 37; *CAD*, 67−69, pl. 7A; Hughes 1996, 95−96; Taplin 2007a, 14, fig. 6; Walsh 2009, 74−79; Csapo 2010a, 52−58, fig. 2.3.

[45] As Green 1991, 40, suggests. He also reminds us: 'The occasions on which we see tragic actors or chorusmen as such are depictions of moments before or after the performance'.

[46] For a discussion on the degree of dramatic illusion in tragedy and comedy, see Taplin 1986.

[47] Green 1991a, 37−38, mentions three exceptions for the rule: 'The youths in Basle, the maenad in Berlin, and possibly the men in Munich are the only cases known to me where there is hesitation in the depiction of the "reality" of the figures. For the rest, participants in a scene which one may take to derive from the tragic theatre are shown as if they were the actual figures of the myth or story'.

[48] *RVSIS*, 262.

Even if we admitted (which I am inclined to do, as shall be seen later) that (at least some of) the painters of tragedy related vases actually painted from direct observations of what they had seen on stage, we still need to ask several more questions. What do the vases prove? How can we read the pictures? Which elements come from real scenes of tragedies acted on stage? Which elements can be explained by the conventions of the painters? Which parts are painted from models, and which from pure imagination? These are difficult questions and most of them cannot be answered definitively.

If we accept that at least some of the tragedy related vases have something to do with an actual performance of tragedy, it is still difficult to determine exactly how the tragedy related vases are connected to tragedies. Taplin offers the following solution:

> The vases are not, then, according to my approach, 'banal illustrations', nor are they dependent on or derived from the plays. They are *informed* by the plays; they mean more, and have more interest and depth, for someone who knows the play in question. That is the core of what I mean by calling a vase related to tragedy.[49]

Hughes, who has carefully analysed the Paestan comedy related vases makes the following interesting point:

> The Painter of Louvre K 240 worked from current knowledge of the theatre. As for Asteas … His early vases too were painted from recent observation of comedy in Sicily, but his later ones were painted from memory … Asteas's pupil Python seems to have little understanding of the theatre; perhaps he never saw it. We cannot be confident that anything he painted came from first-hand or current observation … The two vases of the Painter of Naples 1778 are farther from the theatre still, imitations of imitations.[50]

I find Hughes' words very convincing and I suspect that something similar was going on with the painters of the tragedy related vases too. I gather that at some point the vases became imitations of imitations because the painters had lost contact with the theatre (by *c*.300 BC?). But, on the other hand, I believe that, for a while (*c*.400–*c*.350 BC), the vase painters really did paint from direct observations of the performances of comedies and tragedies.

I am not trying to solve the question of the relationship between vase paintings and tragedies (as well as comedies) once and for all, because some points can never be proved definitively true or false. I think that most tragedy and comedy related vase paintings cannot be interpreted comprehensively. They have elements which might derive from an actual theatre performance and they have elements which seem to be copied from visual art models; surely they have elements which are drawn from the painter's imagination. All that I am trying to achieve is to uncover ways of recognizing the possible influence of actual theatre performances on the vase paintings. Perhaps it will prove a hopeless task, but it is still worth trying.

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[49] Taplin 2007a, 25.

[50] Hughes 2003, 297. It is usually maintained that Asteas moved from Sicily to Paestum around 360 BC, see *RVPa*, 18.

Towards decoding the iconographic elements

When trying to assess how vases are related to tragedy, Roscino gives a list of iconographic elements that work as indicators of theatricality.[51] Roscino's list is as follows:

1) Costumi (1.1 maschere, 1.2. Abiti e calzature)
2) Strutture scheniche (2.1 Pedane, paletti coscienziosi, scenografie, 2.2 «Scatole prospettiche», 2.3 L'«Asteas-Bühne», 2.4 Porte, 2.5 Grotte ed archi rocciosi)
3) Tipi iconografici (3.1. Erinni, Furie, Lyssa, 3.2 Il Pedagogo-messagero)
4) Colonne con tripode
5) Titoli ed iscrizioni.

Taplin gives an index of signals and two extradramatic signals.[52] His list is as follows:

1) Costume
2) Boots
3) Porticos
4) The rocky arch
5) Anonymous witness figures
6) The little old man (paidagogos-figure)
7) 'Furies' and related figures
8) Supplication scenes

The two extradramatic signals are:

1) Name labels in Attic dialect
2) Tripods

Roscino's and Taplin's lists resemble each other, but they handle and emphasize some of the signals in different ways.[53] Revermann, in turn, speaks of 'high theatricality' and 'signature scene' when suggesting cues to link a vase with a play:

> In the minimalist scenario the cues to make the case for linking a vase painting with a play are the following: a scene to match in the preserved textual evidence; high theatricality as conveyed through gesture and proxemics ('blocking'); and reason to believe that the scene depicted is a 'signature scene', memorable, flamboyant and climactic enough to function as a tag for the tragedy as a whole.[54]

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[51] Roscino 2003, 223−359.
[52] Taplin 2007a, 37−43.
[53] Taplin's numbers 1 and 2 correspond to Roscino's number 1; Taplin's numbers 3 and 4 correspond to Roscino's number 2; Taplin's numbers 5, 6 and 7 correspond to Roscino's number 3; Taplin's two extradramatic signals 1 and 2 correspond to Roscino's numbers 5 and 4 respectively. Taplin's number 8 is not handled in Roscino's list and Roscino's number 2.3 is not included in Taplin's list (Roscino's number 2.4 is only mentioned briefly).
[54] Revermann 2010, 75.

At this point, I think it is necessary to give my own list of iconographic elements which indicate that a vase painting might have been influenced by an actual theatre performance. My list is as follows:

1) Architectural features and stage props
2) Costumes of the figures
3) Expressions, gestures, and poses of the figures
4) Iconographic figures
5) Inscriptions
6) Tripods

I shall now move on to discuss these elements in greater depth.

Architectural features and stage props

Stage

Before we move on to the tragedy related vases, let us first briefly discuss some comedy related ones and the stages depicted on them.[55]

A fourth-century comic stage in Magna Graecia consisted of the following parts: a raised-platform stage supported by posts (sometimes covered with hanging draperies), a rear wall with window opening(s) and double doorway(s), a porch roof supported by buttresses, and a flight of steps. A reconstruction of a comic stage is depicted in Pl. I.1.[56] This reconstruction is based on vases found in Magna Graecia. In order to get a taste of the illustrations on these vases, one may take a look at Pl. I.2 (and also, e.g., an Apulian bell-krater from Ruvo, Milan, Museo Civico Archeologico A.0.9.2841, *c*.380 BC,[57] and an Apulian kalyx-krater from Armento by the Varrese Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 11833, 360–350 BC[58]).

I will not comment here on the matter of whether or not the stages, altars, and stairs etc. depicted on comedy related vases are temporary and portable. In this case, I will simply discuss these architectural features and stage properties as possible signs of connections between vases and theatre performances. Another question which must be left unanswered at this point is, when did the change from the raised-platform stage to the Hellenistic, high stage happen?[59] The only thing that matters to me here is that almost all

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[55] A useful study on the comic stages in Magna Graecia (with plenty of pictures) is Hughes 1996. Hughes calculates that some 44 of the known vases related to comedy show a stage, and some 59 vases and fragments seem to show some part of the stage or *skene*.

[56] I have added the text and arrows to a picture created for the THEATRON project by King's Visualisation Lab. I thank Martin Blazeby for providing me with the picture.

[57] See *PhV*[2] 38, no. 45; *IGD*, IV, 18; Taplin 1993, pl. 12.5; and Green 2001, fig. 12. It is worth noting that, the other side of this vase (which has been interpreted as reflecting a satyr play) shows two satyrs stealing the weapons of Heracles while he is holding the globe for Atlas who has gone to fetch the golden apples of the Hesperides for him. See Séchan 1926, fig. 9; Brommer 1959, no. 91; *PhV*[2], 38, no. 45, pl. 2; *MTSP*[2], 169; and *IGD*, II, 13.

[58] See *PhV*[2], 53, no. 83; Gogos 1983, 62, fig. 4; Hughes 1996, pl. 4; Green 2001, fig. 2. Robinson 2004, 211, observes that the costume of the central figure is decorated with a swastika and suggests that this vase (as also a few other phlyax vases which show characters in costumes decorated with swastikas) might be depicting a local (rather than an Athenian) play.

Fig. 1. Sicilian kalyx-krater, attributed to Gibil Gabib Group, probably by the Capodarso Painter, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" 66557, 350–325 BC. © Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" Siracusa. Su concessione dell'Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia.

architectural features and stage properties depicted on the comedy related vases can be found on tragedy related vases too.

When discussing the comic stages of Magna Graecia, Hughes lists three fragments and two vases which to him seem to represent the tragic stage.[60] Hughes' list consists of the following vases and fragments.

1) a Campanian fragment from Paestum by the Caivano Painter, Dresden ZV 2891, 340–310 BC (V 608 in App. II).[61]

2) a Sicilian kalyx-krater (fragmentary) from Syracuse*, attributed to Gibil Gabib Group, probably by the Capodarso Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 66557, 350–325 BC (Fig. 1, V 417 in App. II).

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[59] Green 2001, 51: 'It [Naples, Mus Naz. 11833] can, furthermore, stand as an example of the shift to a high stage. This seems to occur somewhere in the middle part of the fourth century, and quite likely still within the second quarter'. For discussions on the raised stage and the division of the acting area between the actors and the chorus, see Arnott 1962, 1−41; Hourmouziades 1965, 58−74; Dearden 1971, 407−409; Dearden 1976, 13−18; Taplin 1977, 441−442; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1993, 121−122; and Wiles 1997, 63−66.

[60] Hughes 1996, 105. By the word 'stage' he must mean here the stage in a broad sense, i.e. a raised platform stage with the rear wall, doors, windows, and the flight of steps etc.

[61] For an illustration of this vase, see Fig. 2 of this study.

3) fragments of an Apulian Gnathia bell-krater from Taranto, by the Konnakis Painter[62], Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 4696 + 4701, 360–350 BC (V 607 in App. II).[63]

4) a Campanian bell-krater, school of the Errera Painter / Painter of BM F63, Paris, Louvre K 404, 350–320 BC (V 366 in App. II).[64]

5) a Paestan kalyx-krater from Paestum by Asteas, Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11094, 365–340 BC (V 325 in App. II).[65]

To be exact, none of the vases listed by Hughes shows the raised-platform stage, except perhaps number 2). In addition to this vase there is one fragment and one other vase which really do depict a tragic scene acted on a raised-platform stage. They are a Sicilian krater or skyphos from Entella*, attributed to the group of Lentini-Manfria, Contessa Entellina, excavation 1989, E 856, 350–325 BC (V 61 in App. II),[66] and a Sicilian kalyx-krater from Monte Capodarso* by the Capodarso Painter (Gibil Gabib Group), Caltanissetta, Mus. Civ. 1301bis, 350–325 BC (V 617 in App. II). There is also a Lucanian squat lekythos by the Primato Painter, London, BM 1958,0214.1 360–322 BC, which shows a mask, double doors and a raised platform stage (V 181 in App. II, see Pl. II.2).

Seeberg suggests that an Attic red-figured kalpis in Charles University, Prague, inv. 60.31, 460−450 BC might depict a mid-fifth century Athenian stage and the *ekkyklema*.[67] I do not see any stage on this vase painting, although I accept the interpretation that it might be depicting a tragic scene acted upon the *ekkyklema*.

To me, a stage depicted on a vase is a sure sign of the influence of an actual theatre performance (The vase illlustrated in Pl. II.2 is an exception − it surely is connected to theatre, but maybe not to a specific tragedy). Perhaps it is significant that all three vases showing tragic actors on stage are Sicilian and they are all dated to 350–325 BC.

Porch roof and porticos

A kind of porch roof can be seen on a Paestan kalyx-krater from Paestum by Asteas, Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11094, *c*.365–*c*.340 BC (V 325 in App. II, see Pl. II.1). An Apulian volute-krater from Armento by the Lycurgus Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 80854 (Stg. 11), 375–330 BC; an Apulian situla from Ruvo* by the Painter of Athens 1714, Rome, Villa Giulia 18003, *c*.365–*c*.355 BC; a Sicilian kalyx-krater from Canicattini by the painter of Canicattini, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 47038, *c*.340−*c*.330 BC; a Sicilian calyx-krater, Adrastos Group, Lipari, Museo Eoliano 10647, c.340 BC; and an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81934 (H 3255), *c*.350–*c*.340 BC also show a kind of porch roof (VV 393, 428, 616, 619, and 352 in App. II).

As an example of a tragedy related vase showing a portico we can take a look at the fragments of an Apulian Gnathia bell-krater from Taranto, by the Konnakis Painter,

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[62] For the Konnakis Painter's name vase (which is an interesting vase, since it depicts half-open doors), see Hughes 2008, 8, fig. 3.

[63] For an illustration of this vase, see Pl. II.3 of this study.

[64] For an illustration of this vase, see *LIMC* II, Artemis 1375*.

[65] For an illustration of this vase, see Pl. II.1 of this study.

[66] It must be noted here that the relation of this fragment to tragedy is questionable, see Taplin 2012, 229, n. 18: 'Green 2007b is very probably right to say that this is related to comedy not tragedy'.

[67] Seeberg 2002/3, 64−65. Simon 2003 connects this vase with the Aeschylean tetralogy about Danaids, and interprets the two figures on the vase as Hypermestra and Lynceus. In the scene depicted on this vase a woman stands beside a sleeping male figure with a sword in her hand.

Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 4696 + 4701, 360–350 BC (V 607 in App. II, see Pl. II.3). Porticos can also be found on some 50 vases in App. II.

Usually, but not always, vases showing porch roof and porticos also show doors and/or double doorways. Porch roof and porticos depicted on a vase do not necessarily prove that there is a connection between the vase and a theatre performance.[68] Some porticos, especially those that look like the so-called '*naiskoi*'[69] that are depicted on many vases found at tombs, seem to be copies of purely iconographic elements and, as such, they do not reflect the actual stage. But it must also be kept in mind that some of the porticos, especially those that are depicted with double doors, may really reflect the actual stage (perhaps paraskenia, not the central door).[70]

Doors and double doorways

Typical double doorways with doors opening inwards are depicted, for example, on a Campanian fragment from Paestum by the Caivano Painter, Dresden ZV 2891, 340–310 BC (Fig. 2, V 608 in App. II). (See also Pls. II.1–3, III.3, XIII.2, XV.2, and XXI.1) These doors look exactly like the doors depicted on the comedy related vases (see Figs. 11 and 18). In addition to these examples, doors can be found on eighteen other vases in App. II.

I suggest that the presence of the half-opened doors on a tragedy related vase signals quite strongly that the vase painter might have been inspired by an actual theatre performance.

Fig. 2. Campanian fragment by the Caivano Painter, Dresden ZV 2891, 340–310 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 20.

[68] Although Ashby 1999, ch. 5, suggests that the porticos might be illustrating the *paraskenia* or even the *ekkyklema*.

[69] On these *naiskoi*, see Keuls 1978, 59, and references in n. 59; Trendall 1985, 139, and references in n. 22; and *RVSIS*, 266−267.

[70] According to Chancellor 1979, 135, Pickard-Cambridge 1946, 94, suggests that a central *aedicula* on Italian vases with dramatic subject matter do in fact correspond to a physical structure that existed in the theater. Obviously Chancellor has not seen the text of Pickard-Cambridge or he has misunderstood it, since a few pages later (p. 98) Pickard-Cambridge clearly states the following: 'However this may be, the occurrence of the aedicula on so many vases (for the instances might be greatly multiplied) which have nothing to do with the drama is strongly against the special connection of it with a supposed prothyron in the theatre; and there is no ground for supposing that the scheme of arrangement found in the Italian vases which have been cited goes back to an Attic original of the fifth century'.

Windows

As an example of a tragedy related vase showing windows we can take a look at a Paestan kalyx-krater by the Aphrodite Painter, St. Petersburg, Florida, 340–330 BC (Fig. 3, V 615 in App. II). See also Pl. III.3.

Fig. 3. Paestan kalyx-krater by the Aphrodite Painter, St. Petersburg, Florida, (on loan from William K. Zewadski), 340–330 BC.
Photo: courtesy of William K. Zewadski.

Windows can also be seen on an Apulian situla from Ruvo* by the Painter of Athens 1714, Rome, Villa Giulia 18003, 365–355 BC (V 428 in App. II); on a Paestan hydria from Agropoli / Paestum by Asteas, Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 20202, *c*.365–340 BC (V 527 in App. II); and on a Paestan kalyx-krater from Paestum by Asteas, Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11094, 365–330 BC (V 325 in App. II, see Pl. II.1). Taplin comments on the windows on the Madrid vase in the following way:

> The 'windows' above, with figures in them, probably do not reflect any actual theater architecture but are found in other theater-related pictures. The most plausible explanation is that they were a device to include other characters who are important in this particular narrative of the story.[71]

Taplin's suggestion sounds acceptable at first, but one may still ask, why are the windows on a tragedy related vase not able to reflect actual theatre architecture, since some windows depicted on some comedy related vases seem to do so?[72] The already mentioned Paestan painter Asteas painted windows on at least three more vases: a kalyx-krater from Lipari, Lipari Museo Eoliano inv. 927, *c*.360–350 BC (Pl. III.1);[73] a bell-krater, Vatican U 19, 350–340 BC;[74] and a bell-krater, London, BM F150 (Fig. 4).[75] At least on the last-mentioned vase the window seems to be a real one.

The windows from which the Erinyes are watching (in Fig. 3) look exactly the same as the windows on the vases painted by Asteas (Fig. 4 and Pl. III.1), but all the other

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[71] Taplin 2007a, 143.
[72] Also Hughes 2012, 72, has noticed this: 'The women look like cardboard cut-outs, but since actors sometimes woo them with ladders and lamps, it is likely that windows were a real feature of the theatre Asteas remembered'. See also Hughes 1996, 104, on symbolic and real windows in some vase-paintings.
[73] *IGD*, IV, 11 = *RVSIS*, no. 340 = *LIMC* III, Dionysos 843*.
[74] *IGD*, IV, 19 = *RVSIS*, no. 364.
[75] Wrongly referred to as F 151 in *IGD*, 134.

windows seen on tragedy related vases look like the windows seen in Pl. II.1 (which, I admit, might be explained away as Taplin does in the quotation above).

I shall argue later (P. 49−50) that Asteas definitely witnessed dramatic performances (both tragic and comic) at least in Sicily (where he was originally from before he moved to Paestum). The Aphrodite Painter (who was a follower of Asteas), in contrast, may never have seen actual theatrical performances and he may simply have copied some pictorial elements from other vases when he painted the vase illustrated in Fig. 3.[76] But, if it is admitted that some comedy related vases by Asteas reflect actual theatre architecture in Sicily, why can it not be admitted that some of his tragedy related vases do so too? In Athens, tragedies and comedies were performed in the same theatre. Why would they have been performed in separate theatres in Sicily and in Magna Graecia?

Fig. 4. Paestan bell-krater by Asteas, London, British Museum 1865,0103.27 (F150), 360−340 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

Since there are so few tragedy related vases that depict windows, nothing certain can be said about windows as possible iconographic elements that may indicate a connection with tragedy.

Columns and buttresses

Columns and buttresses can be seen on several tragedy related vases (see e.g. Figs. 1, 3, 14, 39, 49, 52, and 53, and Pl. II.1 and Pl. II.3). Sometimes they are shown supporting roofs or porticos and sometimes not. As an example of a vase showing columns without a portico, one may take an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, closely connected to the Black Fury Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82270 (H 3249), 395–350 BC (V 244 in App. II, see Pl. III.2). Sometimes single columns are shown standing by an altar (see 'altar' section below). As such, columns and buttresses cannot be taken as serious signs of tragic association, but combined with doors and an altar they might be.

Flight of steps

A flight of steps depicted on a comedy related vase signals very strongly that the painting is inspired by an actual theatre performance. Unfortunately, as far as I know, there are no tragedy related vases which show the same sort of steps as comedy related vases do (compare Fig. 11, and Pl. III.4).[77]

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[76] Taplin 1993, 24, comments on this vase painting in the following way: 'This scene has completely grown away from its theatrical origins'.

[77] Hughes 2003, 285, n. 9, sees steps in a Sicilian kalyx-krater from Monte Capodarso* by the Capodarso Painter (Gibil Gabib Group), Caltanissetta, Mus. Civ. 1301bis, 350–325 BC (V 617 in App. II).

Altar

Let us first look at a very famous vase in Würzburg, the so-called Würzburg Telephos, an Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Martin von Wagner Mus. H 5697, *c*.370 BC (Fig. 5).[78] If we compare the altar on the Würzburg vase with the altar depicted on a Lucanian bell-krater by the Ragusa Painter, Bari 12531, 400–375 BC (V 547 in App. II), we can see that the two altars are quite similar to each other. (Also, the poses of the people on the altar are the same, but this feature will be discussed later in this Chapter in connection with the body language of figures). To my mind, it seems clear that the altars depicted on these two vases must be so-called 'stage altars'.[79]

All in all, altars can be found on some 160 vases in App. II, and altars with column(s) or statue(s) can be found on at least forty-eight vases in App. II.

The altars depicted on tragedy related vases may be compared with the altar which is depicted on a Sicilian kalyx-krater from Lentini, Manfria Group, Lentini, Museo Archeologico, 340−330 BC (Fig. 6).[80] This altar is beyond doubt a stage altar. (One may also compare the four columns seen in Fig. 6 with the four columns seen in Fig. 1.)

I propose that a stage altar on a vase painting at least sometimes, if not always, suggests that the vase painter may have been painting from direct observation of an actual theatre performance.

Fig. 5.
Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Martin von Wagner Museum H 5697, *c*.370 BC. © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Foto: P. Neckermann.

[78] Csapo 1986; Taplin 1987; Trendall 1991, 165−166, fig. 68; Taplin 1993, 36−40, pl. 11.4; Green 1994, 64−67, fig. 37; *CAD*, 67−69, pl. 7A; Hughes 1996, 95−96; Taplin 2007a, 14, fig. 6; Walsh 2009, 74−79; Csapo 2010a, 52−58, fig. 2.3.

[79] A useful discussion on stage-altars with plenty of illustrations can be found in Gogos 1984. Rehm 1988 doubts the use of the stage altar and suggests that the actors used the actual altar at the centre of the orchestra for acting in the so-called suppliant plays. For discussion on the staging of plays which required an altar, see also Arnott 1962, 42−71. Ashby 1999, 42−61, opposes the conventional view that the permanent altars which could serve for religious sacrifice stood at the very centre of the orchestra and claims that the permanent altars in Greek theatres sat on the periphery of the orchestra. Wiles 1997, 70−71, proposes that there were four different categories of theatrical altar: 1) portable altars (i.e. the stage altars), 2) small sacrificial altars (on different locations), 3) large sacrificial altars (on different locations), and 4) the *thymele* (at the centre of the orchestra).

[80] *IGD*, IV, 24. For more references, see *PhV*^{2}, 51, no. 79.

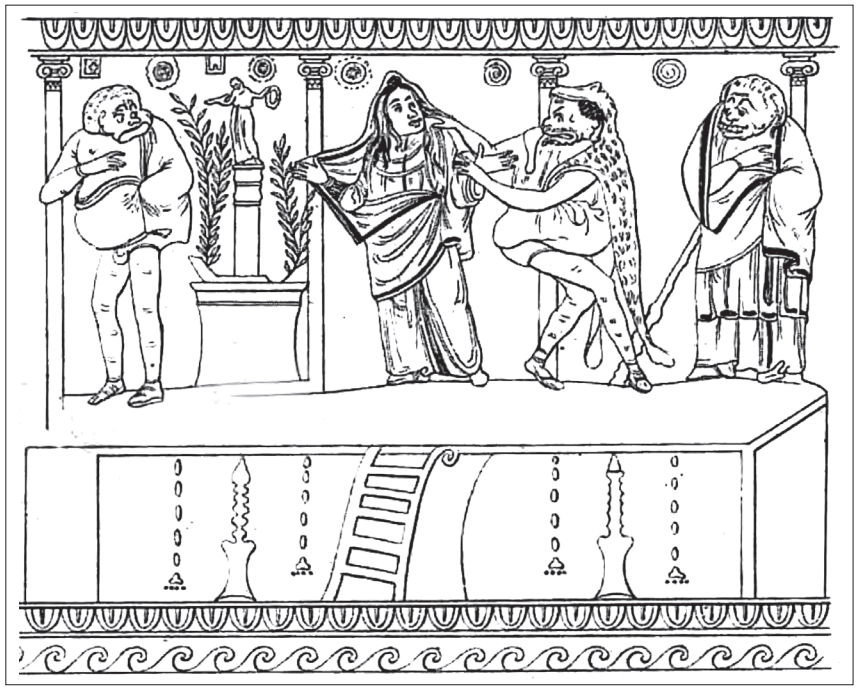

Fig. 6. Sicilian kalyx-krater, Manfria Group, Lentini, Museo Archeologico, 340−330 BC.
The drawing is reproduced from Wieseler 1851, pl. 3.18.

Throne and couch

An Apulian kalyx-krater from Bari by the Varrese Painter, London, BM F269, 350−325 BC[81] (see Pl. III.4) shows a stage and steps, and, in addition to these elements, it also shows a throne on the stage. There can be no doubt that there is some kind of theatre performance going on here. If it is easy to accept that this vase depicts a performance of a comic play, why do we find it difficult to accept that an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81947 (H 3253), 340–330 BC (V 446 in App. II)[82] could have something to do with a performance of a tragedy (in this case, possibly a *Persae*) or that an Apulian amphora by the Darius Painter, Boston, MFA 1991.437, 340–330 BC (V 558 in App. II)[83] could have been inspired by a tragedy about Thyestes (possibly *Thyestes in Sicyon* by Sophocles) or that an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa, by the Underworld Painter, Munich, Antikenslg. 3296 (J. 810), 330–320 BC (V 382 in App. II)[84] could have something to do with a *Medea*. A throne like this on a vase strongly implies some form of connection between the vase and a tragedy. Thrones can be found on some forty vases in App. II. Couches are similar pieces of furniture to thrones and they can also indicate that a scene on a vase may have drawn its inspiration from a stage performance. Couches can be found on some twenty vases in App. II).

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[81] *PhV*^{2}, 81; *IGD*, IV, 21; *LIMC II*, Ares 73*; Hughes 1996, pl. 8.
[82] For my discussion on this vase, see P. 82−83. See also Pl. VII.1.
[83] For my discussion on this vase, see P. 197.
[84] For my discussion on this vase, see P. 174−175, with Pl. XIV.1.

The rocky arch

As an example of a vase showing a rocky arch one may take a look at an Apulian kalyx-krater from Sybaris* by the Branca Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. 1969.9, 350–320 BC (Fig. 7, V 479 in App. II).

In addition to this vase, the rocky arch can be found on 13 vases in App. II. I agree with Taplin, who suggests: 'It is plausible to conjecture that this rocky arch on the vases is based on a standard piece of portable stage set used by the acting troupes', and propose that a rocky arch depicted on a vase probably indicates a tragic connection.[85]

Fig. 7. Apulian kalyx-krater by the Branca Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1969.9, 350–320 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

Ladders

Ladders are shown on some comedy related vases (see e.g. Fig. 4), but the only tragedy related vase (that I am aware of) showing ladders is a Campanian neck-amphora, attributed to the Caivano Painter, Malibu, Getty Mus. 92.AE.86, *c*.330 BC (V 610 in App. II, see Pl. III.3).[86] Therefore, nothing conclusive can be said about ladders as possible signs of the influence of an actual theatre performance on a vase painting.

Trees, sprigs, and stones

Several tragedy related vases show little trees, sprigs, and stones (see e.g. Figs. 3, 17, 35, 41, 63, and Pls. III.2, V.1, VIII.2, XI.2, XIII.2, XIX.2, XX.2). Exactly the same kind of trees, sprigs, and stones can be seen on some comedy related vases too.[87] I argue that they may be reflecting some stage props that were taken from nature for the staging of plays.

Other small stage props

At least the following stage props are depicted on comedy related vases: small movable porches, altars, furniture (tables, thrones, and chairs), ladders, tripods, basins, baskets, boxes, chests, weapons (lances, pair of spears, axes, shields, bows, swords, and clubs), sceptres, keys, torches, urns, and lyres. All these objects can be found on the tragedy related vases too.[88] By themselves these objects cannot be taken as signs of a possible connection between a vase and a theatre performance, but they can be of help when deciphering

[85] See the discussion in Taplin 2007a, 39. I discuss some vases that show the rocky arch in connection with Euripides' and Sophocles' respective *Andromeda* plays, see P. 137−142.
[86] Note that this vase shows also windows and double doors. Professor Mika Kajava informed me that this vase painting matches well with verses 127−140 of Sophocles' *Antigone*.
[87] See for instance Figs. 6, 8, and 10.
[88] For a discussions on tragic stage properties, see Taplin 1978, 77−100. For discussions on stage properties in Greek drama (both tragedies and comedies), see Revermann 2013, 77−88; and Tordoff 2013, 89−110. For a discussion on stage properties in both Greek and Roman theatre, see Ley 2007, 268−285.

what is going on in a vase painting. We must also bear in mind that these small objects in tragedy related vase paintings may reflect quite accurately the actual stage props. As examples of such stage props I mention here a letter (see Figs. 49 and 56), usually seen on vases connected with tragedies about Iphigenia and Stheneboea, and a temple key (see Pls. III.2, V.3, and XII.3) held (or dropped) by a fleeing priestess, usually seen on vases connected with plays about the Locrian Ajax. The letter can be seen depicted on 21 and the temple key[89] on 19 vases in App. II).

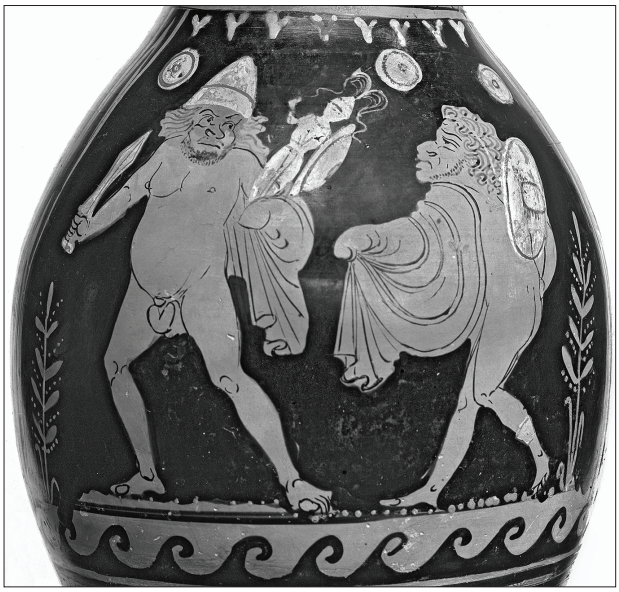

Fig. 8. Apulian oinochoe, attributed to the Felton Painter, London, British Museum 1884,0409.9 (F366), 380−360 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Statues are also depicted on several tragedy related vases (e.g. Pl. V.3). As examples of statues as stage props we can take a look at Figs. 7 and 8: an Apulian oinochoe, attributed to the Felton Painter, London, BM F366, 380−360 BC;[90] and a Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas, from Buccino, Rome, Villa Giulia 50279.[91]

Fig. 9. Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas, Rome, Villa Giulia 50279, 360–340 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 14.

One more small object worth mentioning is found both on the comedy and the tragedy related vase paintings. It is a bucranium (with or without pendant fillets). Usually it is said to be a mark of a sacred place. I am not certain whether it is a stage prop or not, but to me it has thus far been ill-explained and should

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[89] See Moret 1975, 137−147.

[90] Moret 1975, pl. 41/1 = *LIMC* III, Diomedes I, 31*.

[91] See *MTSP*², 147; *PV*² 54, no. 86; *IGD*, IV, 30; Moret 1975, 11, no. 15; *RVPa*, 85, no. 130, pl 54b; *LIMC* I, Aias II 107*; *LIMC* II, Athena 96. Walsh 2009, 84−85, proposes that this painting may simply be reflecting a comic stage production rather than being a visual parody (as suggested by Taplin 1993, 81−82). Note that the priestess is holding a temple key.

Fig. 10. Apulian kalyx-krater, Tampa, Florida, Tampa Museum of Art 7.94.8 (on loan from William K. Zewadski), 350−325 BC. Photo: courtesy of William K. Zewadski.

be studied further. An Apulian kalyx-krater from Taranto, Tampa Museum of Art 7.94.8, on loan from William K. Zewadski, 350−325 BC portrays a comic actor (inscribed, ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ) dancing cheerfully in between two bucrania (Fig. 10).[92] For more bucrania, see, for example, Figs. 64, 68, and Pls. VI.1, VII.1, XIII.1, XVI.1, XIX.1−2, XXI.3. All in all, bucrania can be seen on thirty-eight vases in App. II), and also on some comedy related vases.[93]

Costumes of the figures

An actor's costume consisted of a mask,[94] clothes, and shoes. The clothes of an actor of old and middle comedy consisted of the undercostume and the outerwear. The undercostume consisted of a torso, padded at the buttocks, stomach, and sometimes breasts, with tights and a phallus attached to it. When wearing only the undercostume, a comic actor was thought to be 'stage naked'. The outerwear of the comic actor usually consisted of a short tunic, a cloak, and shoes.[95] A tragic actor usually put on a mask, a long ornamented tunic with long fitted sleeves, a cloak, and soft boots.[96]

Fig. 11, based on a very well-known Apulian bell-krater, the so-called Khoregoi vase, once in New York (Fleischmann coll. F93) and formerly in Malibu (Getty Mus. 96.AE.29), *c*.380 BC,[97] illustrates well the costumes of both comic and tragic actors.

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[92] For some comments on this vase, see Green 1994, xv; Green 2010, 312−313, fig. 14.14; and Hughes 2012, 150. The pose of Dercylus may be compared with the pose of Thyestes on an Apulian amphora by the Darius Painter, earlier in Boston (MFA 1991.437) and now returned to Italy (see *Nostoi*, no. 50), 340–330 BC (V 558 in App. II). Also Thyestes is dancing cheerfully with exactly the same steps as Dercylus and, to the left of Thyestes' head, there is a bucranium.

[93] See e.g. Pl. III.4; and the so-called Bari Piper vase, *RVAp* I, 400, no. 28, pl. 140.5.

[94] On masks, see e.g. Wiles 2007, esp. ch. 2.

[95] For a detailed discussion (with illustrations) on the costumes of old and middle comedy, see Hughes 2006a. See also Dearden 1976, 111−121; and *DFA*^{2}, 210−231.

[96] For discussions on the costumes of the actors of tragedy and satyr plays, see *DFA*^{2}, 180−209; Wyles 2010, 231−253; and Wyles 2011. See also the discussion of Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 281−294, on the theatrical oriental costume.

[97] *RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 7, no. 124, pl. I,3−4; Trendall 1991, 164, fig. 67; Taplin 1993, pl. 9.1; Green 1994, 46−47, fig. 2.21; Gilula 1995, 5−10; Davidson 2005, 13, n. 77; Taplin 2007a, 27−28, fig. 7. The vase has now been returned to Italy. I have handled the figure in Photshop.

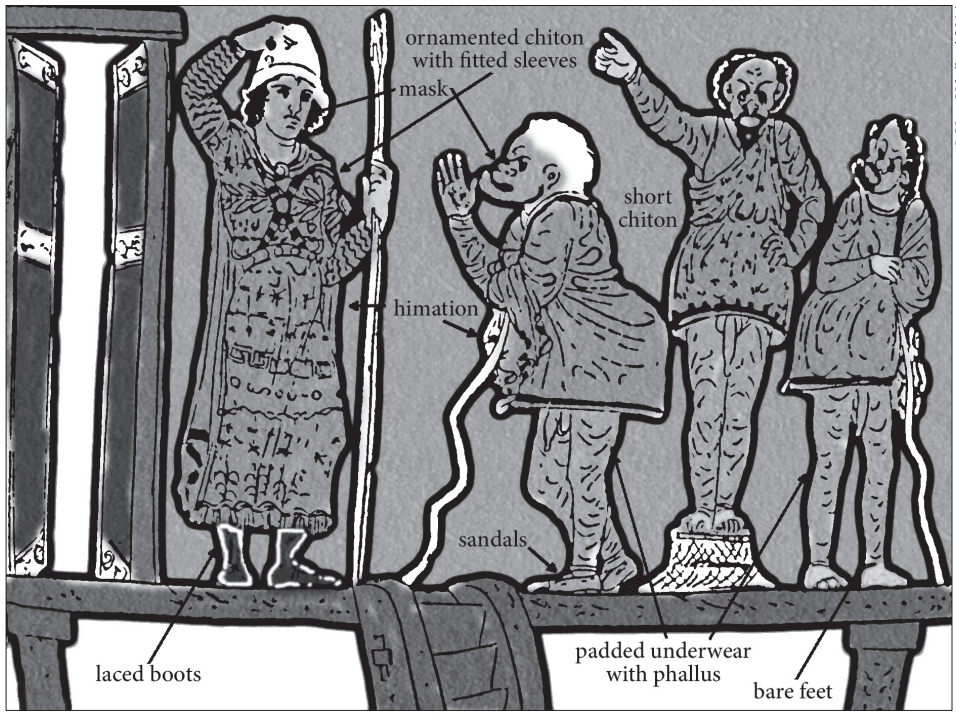

Fig. 11. Costumes of comic and tragic actors (based on an Apulian bell-krater, formerly in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.29, *c*.380 BC).

Let us next take a look at a very famous vase, an Apulian (Gnathia) bell-krater from Taranto, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 4600 (L 832), 360−340 BC (Fig. 12, V 605 in App. II). When comparing the costume of this actor to the costume of the messenger in another famous vase, a fragmentary Sicilian kalyx-krater probably by the Capodarso Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 66557, 350–325 BC, mentioned above in connection with the stage (Fig. 1), we can see that the costumes of these figures are almost identical.[98] These kinds

Fig. 12. Apulian bell-krater fragment, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4600 (L 832), 360−340 BC. © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Foto: P. Neckermann.

[98] One may compare these figures also with the paidagogos-messenger in *ThesCRA* IV, 124b*, Taranto 101114.

of costumes can be found on several vases, especially clothing the so-called paidagogos-messenger figure (I shall be discussing this figure later in this section).

A costume of a figure on a vase painting is not itself a sufficient signal to suggest that the vase might have something to do with an actual theatre performance. But, if we otherwise (on the basis of some other signs) accept that a vase actually reflects a theatre performance, we should also notice that the costume of the figure might be a reflection of the actual stage costume (as is the case with the above-mentioned Khoregoi vase and the costumes of the figures seen on stage).

Expressions, gestures, and poses of the figures

This is a rich and potentially rewarding feature of vase paintings and it should be analysed to a far greater extent than has previously been attempted. Green and Hughes both briefly touch upon this subject, Neiiendam analyses the comic vases, and Boegehold discusses some gestures on several tragedy related vases, but so far I have not seen a large-scale analysis of expressions and gestures on tragedy related vases.[99] A study on this subject is greatly needed. Unfortunately, it goes far beyond the scope of this dissertation. I shall therefore only briefly discuss some of the gestures and expressions which I think seem to be drawn from actual theatre performances, and I hope to be able to tackle this topic more comprehensively in the near future.

It must be acknowledged that all the expressions and gestures seen in the theatre ultimately derive from actual everyday life (because theatre imitates life). Therefore it cannot be proved definitively that the gestures on the vases derive from theatre performances (because they might derive from everyday life). Of course, there must have been some differences between the gestures seen on the stage and the gestures seen on the streets and in the agoras. Because the actors wore masks, the theatre audience could not see the expressions on their faces (e.g. wrinkling of the forehead, raising of the eyebrows, biting of the lips, shedding of tears etc.). Certain feelings that can be easily expressed with contortions of the face in a real life conversation (like wailing or looking aside) had to be pointed to in speech by the actors on the stage (i.e. they were indicated in the texts).[100] It must also be mentioned here that many of the actors' movements that must have been easily seen by the audience (such as taking one's hand, raising it up, and touching another's knees, chin, or hand in the act of supplication) were usually indicated in the texts as well.[101] In addition, there certainly were many small gestures that were acted on stage but were not mentioned in the dramatic texts. The following notion by Poe is worth quoting:

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[99] Neiiendam 1992, 57−61; Boegehold 1999 (esp. ch. 5); Green 2001, 58−59; and Hughes 2012, 154−157. After having analysed the comedy related vases, Neiiendam gives a list of twenty-one effects shown in the vase-paintings. His list is as follows: 1) Contempt, 2) Alarm, 3) Dismay, 4) Dismay and cowardice, 5) Temptation, the tempter, 6) Temptation, the tempted, 7) Effrontery, 8) Old man's decrepitude, 9) Avarice, 10) Gluttony, 11) Helpless despair, 12) Stop; Enough!, 13) Indifference, 14) Reluctance, 15) Curiosity, 16) Brashness, 17) Horror, 18) Greed for food, 19) Greed, stealing food, 20) Anger and Frustration, 21) Anger. See also *DFA*^{2}, 171−176; Green 2002, 105−111; and Roselli 2005, 31.

[100] Two random examples: Eur. *Hec*. 739−740: τί μοι προσώπωι νῶτον ἐγκλίνασα σὸν δύρηι, and Eur. *Hec*. 968: αἰσχύνομαί σε προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον.

> In a play as full of activity as *Ajax*, for example, Tecmessa surely does not stand motionless as she pleads with Ajax to spare his life (485−524). … During the stichomythic exchange immediately preceding Alcestis' death (380−391), no specific indication is given to the reader that Admetus ever touches Alcestis, … The gestures that we can be pretty sure that Admetus made, probably embracing his wife, perhaps trying to raise her head and to turn it, can hardly have been without their effect on the spectators.[102]

Furthermore, some gestures (e.g. nodding, raising the shoulders, and leaning forwards or backwards) that belong to a normal face-to-face conversation could not be seen easily by the audience. Therefore, the gestures of actors must have been distinct and sometimes overdramatic for the audience to fully understand the feelings and the moods of the characters. I suggest that there must have been certain gestures which the actors used to express certain feelings and that the spectators recognized at least the most important gestures.[103] I further suggest that some of the gestures that were acted on stage are reflected on comedy and tragedy related vases.

Even though I acknowledge the great danger of misinterpreting the gestures and poses of static characters painted more than two thousand years ago, the risk is worth the potential reward and I will provide a list of gestures and poses, the inspiration for which might have come from actual tragic performances seen on stage.[104] Unfortunately we do not have any ancient treatise on the gestures of actors. However, we do have Quintilian's treatise on oratory. When speaking of the gestures of an orator, Quintilian describes the importance of hand gestures with the following words (text is from *PHI*, Latin):

> Manus uero, sine quibus trunca esset actio ac debilis, uix dici potest quot motus habeant, cum paene ipsam uerborum copiam persequantur. Nam ceterae partes loquentem adiuuant, hae, prope est ut dicam, ipsae locuntur. An non his poscimus pollicemur, uocamus dimittimus, minamur supplicamus, abominamur timemus, interrogamus negamus, gaudium tristitiam dubitationem confessionem paenitentiam modum copiam numerum tempus ostendimus? non eaedem concitant inhibent [supplicant] probant admirantur uerecundantur? non in demonstrandis locis atque personis aduerbiorum atque pronominum optinent uicem?—ut in tanta per omnis gentes nationesque linguae diuersitate hic mihi omnium hominum communis sermo uideatur.
> (Quint. *Inst*. 11.3.85−87)

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[101] Some other randomly selected examples: οἳ 'γώ, προλείπω: λύεται δέ μου μέλη. ὦ θύγατερ, ἅψαι μητρός, ἔκτεινον χέρα, δός (Eur. *Hec*. 438−440); ἀνίστασ', ὦ δύστηνε, καὶ μετάρσιον πλευρὰν ἔπαιρε καὶ τὸ πάλλευκον κάρα (Eur. *Hec*. 499−500); Ἀγάμεμνον, ἱκετεύω σε τῶνδε γουνάτων καὶ σοῦ γενείου δεξιᾶς τ' εὐδαίμονος (Eur. *Hec*. 752−753). On the question of actual 'stage directions', see Taplin 1977, 121−132; Chancellor 1979, 133−152; and Poe 2003, 420−448. Taplin claims that Greek dramatists did not write stage directions in the usual sense but signalled all the significant stage business in the words of the play and that the close relation of text and stage action was originally directed to the audience in the theatre. According to Chancellor, the authors were careful to place all the necessary staging information in the dialogue because they also had the reading public in mind. I agree with Poe who doubts that any 'stage directions' could have been written with readers in mind.

[102] Poe 2003, 441−442.

[103] See also my discussion on the competence of theatre audiences, P. 65.

[104] Green 2002, 115, warns us of the danger of misinterpreting finger gestures: 'Finger gestures are the most culturally specific of all human gestures and it is unsafe to interpret them through contemporary analogy'.

Quintilian also describes accurately several hand gestures in his treatise and advises when and which gestures an orator should use.[105]

In the following short discussion I do not try to interpret all the gestures exhaustively. I just want to point some of them out. For the sake of convenience, I have given certain names to the gestures and poses, being fully aware that some names might be wrong. My list of the gestures and poses is as follows:

1) Dismay
2) Horror
3) Despair
4) Mourning
5) Distress
6) Compassion
7) Supplication
8) Consolation
9) Speaking gesture
10) Indignation
11) Astonishment
12) Bystander

Let us now move on to discuss these expressions and gestures more particularly.

Dismay

This gesture (Fig. 13 = detail of Fig. 2. See also Figs. 64 –66, and Pls. II.1, XIII.3), in which all fingers are folded into the palm, and the fist is touching the forehead, can be seen on at least 17 vases in App. II). Figures who use this gesture in tragedy related vase paintings are usually witnessing horrible events. I suggest that this gesture is a specific stage gesture used by actors who are playing characters experiencing dismay.

Fig. 13. Detail of a Campanian fragment by the Caivano Painter, Dresden ZV 2891, 340–310 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 20.

Horror

On an Apulian bell-krater, said to be from Sicily, by the Sarpedon Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.140, 400–380 BC (V 302 in App. II) we see a person witnessing two winged creatures carrying the body of a man (see Pl. IV.1).[106] This person is standing still; he has

[105] A useful study on the gestures used by Roman orators (with clear drawings) is Aldrete 1999. Aldrete also discusses the gestures of the actors depicted in the manuscripts of Terence's plays. Some of the gestures discussed and illustrated in Aldrete's book are the same as the gestures discussed here. For discussions on the gestures of Roman actors and orators, see also Graf 1991, 36−58; and Dutch 2013, 409−431.

[106] The winged creatures are Sleep and Death and the dead person is Sarpedon, who was killed in the Trojan war. This vase has been related to Aeschylus' *Europa*/*Cares*, see App. I, P. 238.

raised both of his hands in front of him and his palms are directed towards the horrible sight. On an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, close the Black Fury Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 82270 (H 3249), 395–350 BC (V 244 in App. II) we see a scared woman fleeing to the left from the main scene (see Pl. III.2).[107] She too has raised both hands, but she has not directed her hands towards the horrible sight (maybe because she is fleeing from it). Although these two poses are slightly different, I see both of them as poses which portray horror. These poses of horror can be seen on at least fifteen other vases in App. II. I suggest that by raising both hands and showing one's palms an actor expressed that his character was experiencing horror.

Despair

Fragments of an Apulian bell-krater, circle of the Darius Painter, Basel inv. HC 225 a–c, after mid-fourth century (V 211 in App. II) show a sad looking man who is sitting and leaning his cheek on his left hand, and on an Apulian kalyx-krater by the Laodamia Painter, London, British Museum 1870,0710.2 (F272), 350–340 BC (V 334 in App. II, see Pl. IV.2) we can see a slightly altered pose (a sad looking woman is sitting on a four-legged stool, with downcast face, legs crossed and hands clasped on her right knee).[108] Obviously both the man and the woman are in despair. These kinds of poses can be found on at least fifty tragedy related vases in App. II and I am quite certain that they were frequently seen on the stage too.

Mourning

On an early Lucanian bell-krater, close to the Policoro Painter, Cleveland, the Cleveland Museum of Art 1991.1 (once Fort Worth, Kimbel Art Mus., Hunt Coll.), 410–390 BC (V 391 in App. II) we see an old woman tearing her hair beside an altar on which lie the bodies of two boys.[109] Perhaps surprisingly, this posture can be seen only on two other tragedy related vases (VV 486 and 543 in App. II). Nevertheless, I suggest that it was frequently seen on the stage.

Distress

An Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Darius Painter, London, BM F279, 350–330 BC (V 331 in App. II) shows an old man who has raised his left hand in the air and turned the palm of the raised hand upwards (see Pl. V.1).[110] He seems to be in distress. This gesture can be found on some thirty tragedy related vases in App. II, and I am certain that it was regularly seen on stage.

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[107] The woman is a priestess at Delphi and she is fleeing the sight of the Erinyes that chase Orestres who is at the omphalos.
[108] The man is Daedalus and the vase has been connected with Euripides' *Cretes*, see App. I, P. 237. The woman is Phaedra and the vase has been connected with Euripides' *Hippolytus*, see P. 168−169.
[109] The old woman is the nurse of the boys and this vase has been connected with Euripides' *Medea*. For tearing one's hair as a sign of mourning, see e.g. Shapiro 1991 (esp. figs. 18 and 19).
[110] The old man is a typical paidagogos-messenger figure, on which see below, P. 44−46.

Compassion

As an example of a person showing compassion, we can examine an old woman who is standing to the right of Alcestis' death couch on an Apulian loutrophoros by a forerunner of the circle of the Darius and the Underworld Painters, Basel, Antikenmuseum S 21, 350–325 BC (V 51 in App. II, see Pl. XI.1). She is leaning her cheek on her left hand and she is pointing to the dying Alcestis (name inscribed) with her right hand, of which all fingers, except the thumb, are extended. Although this pose can be found on no other vase in App. II, it is not hard to imagine that it was occasionally seen on the tragic stage.

Supplication[111]

Generally speaking, an act of supplication can either include physical contact between the supplicant and the supplicated person, or it can be a figurative one (i.e. purely verbal). The supplicated person can be a human being (in which case the supplicant touches, or tries to touch, the knees, the hands, or the chin of the supplicated person) or a god (in which case the supplicant is in contact with an altar, a statue, or other sacred object).

At least the following types of supplication are illustrated on tragedy related vases:

1) Sitting on an altar

A Paestan bell-krater from S. Agata dei Goti, by Python, London, BM F149, 365–320 BC shows a woman sitting on an altar (V 60 in App. II, see Pl. V.2).[112] She has raised her hand in the air and all the fingers are extended. This detail is not consistent across all representations of people sitting on altars. Some figures are shown simply sitting on the altar with a calm expression. All in all, persons sitting on altars can be seen on at least forty-seven vases in App. II.

2) Knee on the altar

An Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 5697, *c*.370 BC shows a person who has put his knee on a stage altar (see Fig. 5).[113] This kind of supplication is illustrated on at least twenty-seven other vases in App. II.

3) Touching a statue

A Campanian hydria, attributed to the Danaid Group, London, BM F 209, 340–320 BC shows a woman (Cassandra) touching the statue of a goddess (Athena) in an act of supplication when being harassed by a man (Ajax, son of Oeleus) (V 46 in App. II, see Pl. V.3).[114] This kind of supplication is shown on nine other vases in App. II.

4) Touching knees

An Apulian column-krater from Ruvo by the Painter of Boston 00.348/Painter of London, BM F57, Ruvo, Jatta 32, 380–350 BC illustrates an act of supplication in which the supplicant is touching the knees of the supplicated person (Fig. 14, V 222 in App. II).[115] This variation of the act of supplication is seen on one other vase (V 221 in App. II).

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[111] For discussions on supplication in general, see Gould 1973, 74−103, and Naiden 2006. For a discussion on illustrations of supplication, see *ThesCRA* III, 193−216. For discussions on supplication scenes in tragedy, see Kopperschmitdt 1971, 321−346, and Kaimio 1988, 49−61.

[112] The woman is Heracles' mother Alcmena and she is supplicating Zeus. This vase has been connected with Euripides' *Alcmena*, see P. 132−135.

[113] For my comments on this vases, see P. 30 and 195.

[114] This vase has been connected with Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus*, see P. 127−130.

[115] This vase has been connected with Aeschylus' *Edonoe*, see App. I, P. 230.

Fig. 14. Apulian column-krater, Ruvo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Jatta 32, 380–360 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 19.

5) Kneeling before

A Sicilian kalyx-krater from Monte Capodarso* by the Capodarso Painter (Gibil Gabib Group), Caltanissetta, Mus. Civ. 1301bis, 350–325 BC (V 617 in App. II) shows a person kneeling in front of another person. In the vase painting, this pose is acted on stage, so there is no doubt that this kind of supplication act was really seen in the theatre. This pose is illustrated on thirteen other vases in App. II.

6) Orestes at the omphalos in Delphi

A special case among the different acts of supplication seen in the vase paintings is Orestes in Delphi seeking shelter from the Erinyes. As an example of Orestes' act of supplication, one can take a look at an Apulian bell-krater by the Eumenides Painter, London, BM F166, 380–360 BC (V 247 in App. II, see Pl. VI.1). Orestes at the omphalos can be seen on fourteen other vases in App. II. In these vase paintings the omphalos is always depicted as a sign of the place, Delphi. Orestes is sometimes depicted with his knee on an altar or in the air, and sometimes he is depicted sitting on an altar.

7) Knee in the air/on the ground, not necessarily supplication

As an example of this pose, which is not necessarily supplication, one can take a look at an Attic bell-krater by the Lykaon Painter, Boston, MFA, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 00.346, 440 BC (V 568 in App. II, see Pl. VI.3).[116] This pose is depicted on at least eighteen other vases in App. II.

[116] This vase is discussed also in connection with the *kalos*-inscriptions, P. 48. See also App. I, P. 233–234 (Aeschylus' *Toxotides*).

Consolation

An Apulian kalyx-krater by the Darius Painter, Boston, MFA 1987.53, *c*.340–330 BC (V 557 in App. II, see Pl. XVI.1) shows two people (Pelopeia and Amphithea) consoling each other. They embrace and hold hands in a way which may have been the way people consoled each other in real life, as well as on stage. This pose (with little variation) can be seen on two other vases, on an Apulian volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, Atlanta, Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1994.1, *c*.330–320 BC (a nurse consoling Melanippe, V 392 in App. II, see Pl. VI.2) and on an Apulian loutrophoros by (the workshop of) the Darius Painter, London, BM 1900.5–19.1, 350–325 BC (a Trojan woman consoling Hecuba?, VV 311 in App. II, see Fig. 48).[117]

Speaking gesture

A Sicilian kalyx-krater (fragmentary) from Syracuse*, attributed to Gibil Gabib Group, probably by the Capodarso Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 66557, 350–325 BC (V 417 in App. II, see Fig. 1), an Apulian panathenaic amphora from Ceglie by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3240, 340–320 BC (Fig. 15, V 104 in App. II), and an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81947 (H 3253), 340–330 BC (V 446 in App. II, see Pl. VII.1) all show a person speaking to other persons. In all these vase paintings the person speaking has his left or right hand extended, with the index and middle fingers also extended and spread, and the ring and little fingers folded into the palm.[118]

Fig. 15. Speaking gesture. Detail of an Apulian panathenaic amphora by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3240, 340–320 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Gerhard 1845, pl. 11.

Csapo sharply observes that the old man (in Fig. 1) looks straight at the viewer (of the vase), but makes the speaking gesture to the other (adult) people on stage.[119] Boegehold labels this gesture with the phrase 'alerting the audience'.[120] Green refers to it as either 'speaking gesture'[121] or 'gesture of address'.[122] As Green reminds us, this gesture later passed into the Christian liturgy.

A slightly altered speaking gesture (in which all fingers are extended) can be seen on an Apulian kalyx-krater by the Darius Painter, Boston, MFA 1987.53, 340–330 BC (V 557 in App. II, see Pl. XVI.1).[123] All in all, speaking gestures are

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[117] The Boston vase has been connected with Sophocles' T*hyestes in Sicyon* (see P. 196−198); the Atlanta vase has been connected with Euripides' *Melanippe sophe* (see App. I, P. 231−232); and the London vase has been connected with Euripides' *Hecuba*, see P. 163−166.
[118] For the interpretations of these vases and their connections with Sophocles' *OT,* Astydamas II's *Antigone,* and Aeschylus' *Persae*, see P. 82−84, 142−147, and 181−183. See also Fig. 40.
[119] Csapo 2010a, 69.
[120] Boegehold 1999, 25.
[121] Green 1994, 61.
[122] Green 2002, 108.
[123] This vase has been connected with Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon*, see P. 196−198.

depicted on over one hundred vases in App. II. I suggest that the actors used these very same speaking gestures on the stage as well.[124]

Fig. 16. Astonishment (based on an Apulian bell-krater, formerly in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.29, *c*.380 BC).

Indignation

On an Apulian volute-krater from Ceglie, by a follower of the Varrese Painter, Boston, MFA. 1900.03.804, *c*.340 BC (V 1 in App. II),[125] the royal person on the left seems to be very angry and indignant. He holds his left hand palm upwards and seems to be asking for some sort of explanation (see Pl. X.1). I call this gesture a 'gesture of indignation'. It can be found on at least thirteen other vases in App. II (see also Pl. IV.2 and Pl. VII.1).

Astonishment

The so-called Khoregoi vase, once in New York (Fleischmann coll. F93) and formerly in Malibu (Getty Mus. 96.AE.29), *c*.380 BC, shows a tragic figure rubbing his head with his right hand, of which all the fingers are extended (Fig. 16 = detail of Fig. 11). I call this gesture the 'gesture of astonishment'. There is no doubt that this gesture was seen on stage too, since this figure is depicted actually standing on a comic stage (see Fig. 11). Perhaps surprisingly, this gesture is seen only on seven tragedy related vases in App. II (e.g., on an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Ilioupersis Painter, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 82113 (H 3223), 350–340 BC (Fig. 17, Pl. XIII.2).

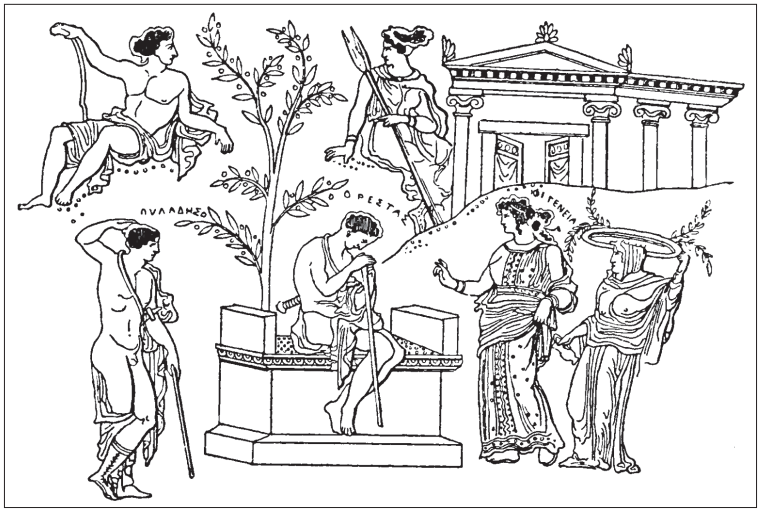

Fig. 17. Apulian volute-krater by the Ilioupersis Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82113 (H 3223), 350–340 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Huddilston 1898, fig. 18.

[124] For some speaking gestures on comedy related vases, see *PhV*^{2}, 49, no. 74, pl. VIa; and 62, no. 112, pl. VIIb. See also Figs. 17, 52, 56, and Pls. XVIII.2, XIX.2.
[125] This vase has been connected with Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus*, see P. 129, Fig. 69.

Bystander

An Apulian loutrophoros by a forerunner of the circle of the Darius and Underworld Painters, Basel, Antikenmuseum S 21, 350–325 BC (V 51 in App. II) shows a figure (on the right) watching Alcestis on her death couch (see Fig. Pl. XI.1). This figure is bending a little bit forward, leaning on his stick and he has both his hands under his jaw. He has a sad but calm look on his face. I refer to this kind of iconographic figure by the term 'bystander'. He is not telling a story; he is just witnessing an event. In tragedies, there are always characters who are standing by at sad events. It is not hard to imagine that this is an actual pose seen on stage. I suggest that this pose illustrates well how the actors playing the parts of bystanders looked on stage.

Although I cannot prove my case with any genuinely concrete evidence, I have a hunch that the poses and the gestures of the figures depicted on the tragedy related vases are extremely important elements when trying to decode the complex iconographical language of the vase paintings. Of course, I realize the obvious danger of circular reasoning (poses on tragedy related vases look like poses that could have been seen on stage; these poses may indicate a connection with theatre; vases showing these poses are tragedy related; because these vases are related to tragedy, the poses depicted on them are poses seen on stage), but I still believe that at least some of the poses and the gestures discussed above are quite strong indicators of possible direct connections between vases and tragedies.

Some of the above-discussed gestures are also depicted on comedy related vases. For instance, the gesture denoting horror is depicted on a Paestan kalyx-krater, from Buccino, signed by the painter Asteas, Rome Villa Giulia 50279 (see Fig. 9), and the 'speaking gesture' can be found on an Apulian calyx-krater, Bari 2795, 380–370 BC.[126] The painters of comedy related vases painted the props, the costumes, and the stages quite accurately. Why would they have painted the gestures of the characters inaccurately?

In addition to the above-mentioned gestures, there are some other gestures not discussed here. I hope to be able to analyse all the gestures on tragedy related vases more thoroughly in the near future.

Iconographic figures

Paidagogos-messenger

This easily recognizable figure can be called by a lot of names (he may have performed, for example, the role of a guardian, a herdsman, or a messenger in tragedies). Green has chosen to use the conventional term, 'Paidagogos'; Easterling uses the term, 'Tragic newsbringer'; and Taplin calls this figure by the name, 'The little old man (paidagogos figure)'.[127] I call him by the term, 'Paidagogos-messenger', since this figure seems to be either witnessing, or narrating, horrible events on numerous tragedy related vase paintings. He is usually portrayed as a white-haired old man with a stick, a short chiton,

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[126] *PI*^{2}, 49, no. 74, pl. VIa. There is also an Attic terracotta figurine, Amsterdam, Allad Pierson Museum 881, 400–375 BC, which represents a comic actor gesturing dismay in the tragic manner, see Hughes 2012, fig. 4.
[127] Green 1999, Easterling 2004, Taplin 2007a.

a cloak, and boots. A typical illustration of this figure can be seen, for example, in Figs. 64, 68, and Pls. IV.2, V.1, XI.1, XIV.1, XVIII.2, XIX.2, XX.3.[128] (Cf. also Figs. 1 and 12.)

Green has listed fifty-three vases depicting this figure.[129] Of these, two were made in Syracuse, three in Campania, and all the rest are Apulian. The dates of the vases in question range from 375 to 325 BC. Thirteen vases are attributed to the Darius Painter and six vases are attributed to the Underworld Painter. Having discussed many of these vases Green proposes, 'There is a way, then, in which the presence of the paidagogos figure on a vase is a means of saying "this is a scene from a play"'.[130] I find Green's theory and his arguments very convincing. The paidagogos-messenger figure is depicted in so many tragic scenes in connection with so many tragic figures (Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, Oedipus, Niobe, Phrixus, Chryshippus, etc.) that it can hardly be a coincidence. Furthermore, this figure is depicted on the two Sicilian vases that undeniably show an actual stage.[131]

Green notes that about two thirds of the forty-eight Tarentine vases that involve *paidagogoi* may not reflect fifth-century tragedies, and suggests that the roles of the *paidagogoi* were played by the star actors of the fourth century.[132] Easterling, inspired by Green's paper, discusses some anonymous newsbringers and ponders which actor played their roles (Soph. *Ant*. 1155–1256, protagonist; Soph. *OT* 1223–1296, deuteragonist; Soph. *OC* 1579–1669, protagonist; Eur. *Hipp*. 1153–1264, protagonist).[133] Easterling's small sampling seems to support Green's proposition.

Messengers are standard figures in Greek tragedy.[134] There are messengers in four of the seven tragedies by Aeschylus, in six of the seven tragedies by Sophocles, and in seventeen of the nineteen plays by Euripides: Aesch. *Ag*. 503–680 (Κῆρυξ); *Cho*. 734–782 (Τροφός), and 875–886 (Οἰκέτης); *Pers*. 249–514 (Ἄγγελος); Soph. *Aj*. 719–802 (Ἄγγελος); *Ant*. 1155–1256 (Ἄγγελος), and 1278–1316 (Ἐξάγγελος); *El*. 660–799 (Παιδαγωγός); *OC* 1579–1669 (Ἄγγελος); *OT* 1223–1296 (Ἐξάγγελος); *Trach*. 180–199 (Ἄγγελος), 734–820 (Ὕλλος), and 871–946 (Τροφός); Eur. *Alc*. 141–212 (Θεράπαινα); *Bacch*. 660–774 (Ἄγγελος), and 1024–1152 (Ἄγγελος B); *El*. 761–858 (Ἄγγελος); *Hec*. 484–582 (Ταλθύβιος); *Hel*. 597–621 (Θεράπων), and 1512–1618 (Ἄγγελος); *Heracl*. 784–891 (Ἄγγελος); *HF* 910–1015 (Ἐξάγγελος); *Hipp*. 1153–1264 (Ἄγγελος); *IA* 414–439 (Ἄγγελος A), and 1532–1612 (Ἄγγελος B); *Ion* 1106–1228 (Θεράπων); *IT* 238–339 (Βουκόλος), and 1284–1419 (Ἄγγελος); *Med*. 1121–1230 (Ἄγγελος); *Or*. 852–956 (Ἄγγελος), and 1369–1502 (Φρύξ); *Phoen*. 1067–1263 (Ἄγγελος A), and 1335–1479 (Ἄγγελος B); *Supp*. 634–770 (Ἄγγελος), and *Rhes*. 264–316 (Ἄγγελος), and 729–802 (Ἡνίοχος).[135]

It could be rewarding to study whether the above-mentioned messenger parts were mostly played by the protagonists and contemplate if the 'star actors' are somehow

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[128] For discussions of the illustrations of this figure, see Trendall 1990a, 227–228; Green 1996; Green 1999; Catucci 2003; Taplin 2007a, 4 and *passim*.
[129] Green 1999.
[130] Green 1999, 49.
[131] Also Taplin 2007a, 40, points out this fact.
[132] Green 1999, 50–54.
[133] Easterling 2004.
[134] For studies on messengers in Greek tragedy, see de Jong 1991; Stéfanis 1997, Barrett 2002, and Easterling 2004. See also Rijksbaron 1976.

reflected in the vase paintings that have been related to these tragedies.[136] Unfortunately, this kind of study would require too much space here, but hopefully I shall return to this question in the future.

I think that the presence of the paidagogos-messenger figure in a vase painting is a strong indicator of a connection between that vase and a tragedy. Regarding the appearance of the paidagogos-messenger figure, I assume that the vases depict him quite faithfully in the way he really appeared on the actual stage.[137]

Nurse

Nurses appear in several tragedies.[138] Like the paidagogos-messenger figure, nurses also share the sufferings of the main characters and sometimes they are the key factors in crucial turns of events in the plot. As an example of a vase showing a nurse figure, one can consider an early Lucanian bell-krater, close to the Policoro Painter, Cleveland, the Cleveland Museum of Art 1991.1 (once Fort Worth, Kimbel Art Mus., Hunt Coll.), 410–390 BC (V 391 in App. II), see also Pls. IV.2, VI.2, XI.1, and XIX.2 All in all, nurses can also be found on some five other vases in App. II.

Anonymous witness figures

In a sense, both the paidagogos and the nurse are anonymous witness figures. In addition to them, there are some other anonymous figures, both in the tragedies themselves and in the vase paintings. Taplin mentions silent attendants, choruses, and anonymous speaking roles in the tragedies and 'two maidservants', 'Phrygians', a 'Herdsman', a 'Phrygian', an 'Aetolian' (under Agamemnon in Pl. X.1), a 'servant' (under Diomedes in Pl. X.1), and a 'tropheus' as examples in vase paintings.[139] Taplin suggests that labels that are given to these figures on the vases are 'a prima facie indication of speaking characters within the associated tragedy', and I think he is right.

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[135] I include in these figures only messengers who are not among the principal characters of the plays and are identified in the manuscripts as messengers, servants, heralds, herdsmen or such. *Rhesus* is included among the plays of Euripides in this list, but no judgement about its authenticity is intended. 'Messenger-speeches' which are spoken by some other characters, e.g. a main character of a play or a god, are not included in these figures. They are as follows: Danaus in Aesch. *Sup*. 600−624, and 980−1013; Hermes in Aesch. *PV* 944−1035; Lichas (229−328), and Deianeira (663−730) in Soph. *Trach*. For slightly different lists of the appearances of messengers in the extant Greek tragedies, see Stéfanis 1997, 243; and Barrett 2002, 224.

[136] Tragic actor Nicostratus is said to have acted best in messenger roles (*Paroema Gr*. 1.395). For other information about this actor, see O'Connor 1908, no. 368; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 347; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1861. See also my discussion concerning Nicostratus' and Callippides' performance in the area of Aeolis in 399 BC, P. 116−117. For a study on protagonists, see Kaimio 1993.

[137] As also Green 1999, 40 suggests: 'But the consistency of his appearance in all these pictures may lead one to suspect that we see a fairly accurate reflection of the stage costume'.

[138] Aesch. *Cho*.; Soph. *Trach*.; Eur. *Med*.; Eur. *Hipp*.; Eur. *Andr*. In addition to these extant tragedies, nurses appeared also in Euripides' *Alope*, *Danae*, *Phaethon*, *Hypsipyle*, *Melanippe sophe*, and *Stheneboea*; in Sophocles' *Tereus*, and perhaps also in Aeschylus' *Niobe*, and *Semele* or *Hydrophoroe*; and in Euripides' *Aeolus*, *Alcmena*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Auge*, *Cretes*, and *Protesilaus*.

[139] Taplin 2007a, 39−40. The vases referred to are as follows: 'two maidservants' (Taplin 2007a, no. 95; V 558 in App. I), 'Phrygians' (Taplin 2007a, no. 96; V 587 in App. I), a 'Herdsman' (Taplin 2007a, no. 68; V 392 in App. I), a 'Phrygian' (Taplin 2007a, no. 71; V 428 in App. I), an 'Aitolian' and a 'servant' (Taplin 2007a, no. 91; V 1 in App. I), and a 'tropheus' (Taplin 2007a, no. 81; V 461 in App. I).

Furies, ghosts, and related figures

Both Taplin and Roscino have furies on their lists. Furies are depicted especially on vases that have been connected with Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (e.g. Fig. 3 and Pl. XII.3), but they do figure on some other vases as well (e.g. VV 112, 414, 418, and 557 in App. II). Taplin's suggestion that an Erinys signifies that the story includes an element of retribution or psychic disturbance is plausible.

There are ghosts in three extant tragedies (the ghost of Darius in Aesch. *Pers*., the ghost of Clytemnestra in Aesch. *Eum*., and the ghost of Polydorus in Eur. *Hec*.) and there could have been other ghosts in the fragmentary tragedies.[140] Ghosts are also depicted in some vase paintings. An Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Underworld painter, Munich, Antikenslg. Inv. SH 3296, 330–320 BC (V 382 in App. II, see Pl. XIV.1) shows a figure that can with good certainty be identified as a tragic ghost. The figure is identified with an inscription ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΑΗΤΟΥ (see Pl. XIV.1). The ghost of Clytemnestra is depicted, together with the furies, on an Apulian bell-krater from Armento by the Eumenides Painter, Paris, Louvre K 710, 390–380 BC (V 248 in App. II). The ghost of Teiresias is portrayed on a Lucanian kalyx-krater by the Dolon Painter, Paris, Cab. Méd. 422, 400−370 BC.[141] A ghost can also be found on an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. 1984.39, *c*.360–340 BC (V. 487 in App. II, see Fig. 63), and an Attic column-krater, Basel BS 415, *c*.490 BC, shows a chorus dancing in front of a pyre from which a ghost is rising.[142]

In addition to furies and ghosts, there are some other horrifying figures that appear in tragedies, for instance, Might and Force (Κράτος and Βία) in Aesch. *PV*; Death (Θάνατος) in Eur. *Alc*.; and Iris and Madness (Ἶρις and Λύσσα) in Eur. *HF*.

I think that none of the above-mentioned horrifying figures is a sure sign of theatricality but, since they appear in tragedies, their appearance in vase paintings, together with some other pictorial elements (e.g. inscriptions, altars, paidagogos-messenger figure etc.), can be taken as an indication of a tragic connection.

Aulos-player

An aulos-player (who accompanied the performances of tragedies, comedies, and satyr plays) is illustrated on the so-called 'Melbourne auletris' vase, a Campanian bell-krater by the Libation Painter, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria D14/1973, 350−325 BC (see Pl. VIII.1).[143] In addition to the 'Melbourne auletris', aulos-players are illustrated on some fifth-century vases that are related to tragedy and satyr plays, and on some fourth-century vases that are related to comedy.[144] The most famous aulos player depicted in a vase painting is, without question, Pronomos who is sitting in the center of the painting on an Attic volute-krater from Ruvo, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81673 (H 3240), of *c*.400 BC.[145]

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[140] E.g. the ghost of Teiresias and perhaps the ghosts of Elpenor, Anticleia, and Heracles in Aeschylus' *Psychagogoe*, and the ghost of Achilles in Sophocles' *Polyxena*. For studies of ghosts on stage and on vase-paintings, see Bardel 2000; and 2005.

[141] *LIMC* VII, Perimedes 2*; *RVSIS*, fig. 79.

[142] See e.g. *CAD*, pl. 1A; Taplin 2007a, 29, fig. 8; Csapo 2010a, 6−8, fig. 1.2; and Csapo 2010b, 96−97, fig. 7.9.

[143] For discussions and illustrations of this vase, see *RVSIS*, no. 304; Taplin 1991, 33, pl. 2.2; Taplin 1993, 72, pl. 15.13; Hughes 1996, 103, pl. 11; Green 2012, 324−325, no. 57, fig. 14.19. For aulos-players in general, see Wilson 1999 and 2002.

In comedies, the aulos-player could be a target of metatheatrical jokes.[146] He is also an important criterion for identifying representations of satyr plays on vases.[147] I am aware of two vase fragments that probably depict an aulos-player accompanying a tragic performance.[148] In my opinion, an aulos-player on a vase is at least as sure a sign of theatricality as a paidagogos-messenger figure.

Inscriptions

Kalos-inscriptions

An Attic white-ground kalyx-krater by the Phiale Painter, Agrigento, Museo Nazionale AG 7, 450–440 BC (V 88 in App. II) shows Perseus wondering at the sight of Andromeda who is tied to posts (see Pl. VIII.2). Beside Perseus' head there is an inscription which runs, ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΙΣΚΗΥΛΟΥ. In order to explain this inscription scholars have suggested that Aeschylus' son Euaeon, who was a tragic actor, played the part of Perseus in Sophocles' *Andromeda*. This same Euaeon can also be seen portrayed in the roles of Actaeon in his father's *Toxotides* (inscription: ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΑΚΤΑΙΟΝ, see Pl. VI.3) and Argiope in Sophocles' *Thamyras* (inscriptions: ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ and ΚΗΟΡΟΝΙΚΑ).[149] There is also an Attic pelike, Berlin 3223, that depicts a maenad and an aulos-player on both sides of the vase.[150] Above the head of one maenad, there is an inscription, ΚΑΛΟΣ. The above-mentioned inscriptions are sure signs of connections between the vases and the tragedies in question. There is no other reasonable explanation for them.

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[144] For illustrations and discussion of the aulos-player on vases that are related to tragedy (figs. 35, 36, 50a, and 50c) and satyr plays (figs. 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49), see *DFA*², 180−188. Beazley 1955, 305−319, pls. 85−88, discusses some important Attic vases on which the aulos-player 'is seen in strange company'. For discussions on some Attic fifth-century vases that have been related to satyr plays, see Lissarrague 1990, 228−236, pls. 1, and 7−16; Simon 1982c, 123−148, pls. 30−39; and Hedreen 1992, 105−124, figs. 31−34. Eight known representations of an official aulos-player (or actors pretending to play the aulos) on South Italian vases are discussed in Taplin 1993, 70−75 (see also Taplin 1991).

[145] For discussions on the Pronomos vase, see Brommer 1959, 9–11, fig. 11; *ARV*² 1336, no. 1; *MTSP*², 47–48 (AV 25); *DFA*² 186–187 (fig. 49); *IGD*, 29 II,1; Simon 1982a, 17–19, pl. 9; Lissarrague 1990, 228–230, 233; Green 1994, 44, 84–85 (fig. 2.19); *CAD*, 69–70 (pl. 8); and Taplin and Wyles 2010.

[146] Metatheatrical allusions and lines directly addressed to the aulos-player in comedies are dealt with in Taplin 1993, 105−110 (see also Taplin 1991).

[147] Hedreen 1992, 105, nicely outlines the criteria: 'In an effort to identify objectively representations of satyr-plays on vases, scholars have used two general criteria. The first is the presence of aspects of theatrical production (costumes, accompanists, choreography) in scenes of silens; the second is the presence of silens − often without any trace of costume − in the company of gods or heroes with whom the silens have no business, or in situations that seem out of character for them'. The aulos player belongs to the first category (an accompanist of theatrical production). Brommer 1959 has collected some 300 vases that he relates to satyr plays (mostly by the criterion that satyrs are seen in situations or in company, to which they do not belong).

[148] They are: 1) fragments of an Attic vase by the Leningrad Painter, Corinth T 1144, 480−450 BC (V 445 in App. II); and 2) a fragment of an Attic Bell-krater from Olbia, Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences, 430/420 BC (see Taplin 2007a, 29−30, fig. 9; Csapo 2010b, 97−98, fig. 7.10).

[149] For Euaeon as Actaeon, see V 568 in App. II. For Euaeon as Argiope, see *IGD* III.2.9; see also Green 2002, 96, with n. 5.

[150] Beazley 1955, 312−313, pl. 87.

Inscriptions of potters

Fig. 18. Paeastan kalyx-krater by Asteas, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3044, 350–325 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

A Paestan kalyx-krater from Paestum, Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11094, *c*.365–*c*.340 BC is signed by the painter Asteas, ΑΣΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ (see Pl. II.1).[151] We know twelve vases signed by this painter, and the scenes depicted on them are as follows: 1) Phlyax scene − robbing the miser, 2) Phrixos and Helle on the Ram, 3) Madness of Heracles, 4) Telephus on the altar, 5) Europa on the bull, 6) Phlyax scene − the Rape of Ajax, 7) Cadmus and the dragon, 8) Orestes on the omphalos at Delphi, 9) Proteus handing the letter to Bellerophon, 10) Heracles in the garden of Hesperides, and 11) Symposium with *kottabos*.[152] One of the vases is so fragmentary that nothing can be said of the scene depicted on it. The two phlyax scenes are without any doubt related to some kind of comic performances, and I claim that at least numbers 3), 4), 8), and 9) of the above-mentioned scenes are surely related to performances of tragedies. If we accept that a Paeastan kalyx-krater from S. Agata dei Goti, by Asteas, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3044, 350−325 BC (Fig. 18) is related to a comic performance it should not be too difficult to accept that a Paestan kalyx-krater, by the same painter, San Antonio, Museum of Art 86.134.167, *c*.340 BC (V 548 in App. II, see Pl. VIII.3) is related to a tragic performance. In the symposium scene, there are comic masks hanging from the walls near the symposiasts which makes it certain that this vase is related to a comic performance. It is also interesting that almost all the vases (except numbers 8, 9, and 10) signed by Asteas have a Dionysiac scene (Dionysus with his retinue) depicted on the b-side.

In addition to the vases signed by Asteas, there are several other vases attributed or closely related to Asteas that depict either Dionysus and his retinue, comic actors, or mythological scenes.[153] All these vases may well have some relation to theatre performances.

According to Trendall, the influence of the Sicilian forerunners of Asteas (especially the Painter of Louvre K 240) is clear in the early Paestan vases, and so Trendall suggests that the manufacture of red-figured pottery at Paestum begun around 360 BC, as the result of a migration of potters from Sicily.[154] So the paintings of Asteas may, as a matter of fact, be reflecting theatre performances that Asteas saw in Sicily before he migrated to Paestum.[155]

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[151] Trendall, *RVPa* 54, notes that Asteas always spells his name with the double sigma in the first syllable and uses the imperfect ἔγραφε rather than the aorist ἔγραψε, which is the regular form on Attic vases.
[152] Trendall lists eleven vases in *RVPa* , 84−86, pls. 44−57; and Simon 2004, 111, figs. 9.7, 9.8, 9.10 adds the twelfth.
[153] See *RVPa*, 61−83, and 104−135, especially nos. 10, 19, 22, 33, 36, 40, 45, 63, 64, 172−177, 180 (depicting phlyax actors); and nos. 140−144 (depicting scenes of Apollo and Marsyas, Cadmus and the dragon, the purification of Orestes at Delphi, and the golden fleece).
[154] *RVPa*, 18, 55, and 62.

Asteas' pupil and colleague, Python, signed two vases (with the inscription: ΠΥΘΩΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ): a Paestan bell-krater from S. Agata dei Goti, London, BM F149, 350–325 BC (V 60 in App. II, see Pl. V.2), and a Paestan neck-amphora from C. Andriuolo, Paestum 21370.[156] The first of these vases depicts Alcmene on an altar appealing to Zeus and the second shows the birth of Helen. On the other sides of both vases, there is a Dionysiac scene. Among vases that are assigned to Python, or are closely related to him, many depict Dionysiac scenes (e.g. Dionysus, maenads, satyrs, papposilenos), with some others showing mythological scenes, comic actors, or comic scenes.[157]

Even if Python never actually saw theatre performances and he was only copying scenes from Asteas,[158] his vases may still bear some relation to theatre, since many of the vases painted by Asteas (at least the early ones) probably reflect real theatre performances. For me, the inscriptions, ΑΣΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ and ΠΥΘΩΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ, set off the alarm. They could tell us something about dramatic performances, maybe not in Paestum, but in Sicily where Asteas migrated from (around 360 BC).

Other peculiar inscriptions

The only known vase painting that transcribes dramatic dialogue is on an Apulian kalyx-krater from Ruvo,[159] by the Tarporley Painter, New York, MMA, Fletcher Fund 1924 (24.97.104), 400–390 BC (see Pl. IX.1).[160] The vase painting depicts a comic performance acted on stage. At the center of the painting there is an old man who says, 'he has tied up my hands' (inscription: ΚΑΤΕΔΗΣΑΝΩΤΩΧΕΙΡΕ). An old woman to the right says, 'I shall hand ... over' (inscription: ΕΓΟΠΑΡΗΕΞΩ), and a young man to the left says, 'Noraretteblo' (inscription: ΝΟΡΑΡΕΤΤΕΒΛΟ), which means as much in Greek as it does in English or in Finnish.

In addition to this unique case of inscribed dialogue, there are some other interesting inscriptions on some tragedy related vases. On an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81947 (H 3253), 340–330 BC (V 446 in App. II, see Pl. VII.1), the person in the middle of the painting is standing on a podium on which there is the inscription, ΠΕΡΣΑΙ. Does this mean that the title of the tragedy to which this vase is perhaps related was *Persians*?

In addition to the above-mentioned vases, there are some other vases that have some peculiar inscriptions. For instance, on an Attic pelike, attributed to the Jena Painter,

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[155] As already mentioned (P. 22), Hughes 2003, 297, proposes that the Painter of Louvre K 240 worked from current knowledge of the theatre, and the early vases of Asteas too were painted from recent observation of comedy in Sicily, but his later ones were painted from memory, and Asteas' pupil Python perhaps never saw theatre.

[156] *RVPa*, 139−140, no. 240, pl. 89.

[157] See *RVPa*, 143−172, especially nos. 242 (depicting death of Opheltes, V 351 in App. I), 244 (depicting Orestes at Delphi, V 286 in App. I), 245 (depicting three actors playing kottabos), 249 (depicting Oeneus, Periboea, Diomedes, and Agrius, V 418 in App. I), 250 (depicting Electra and Orestes, V 195 in App. I); and 280 (depicting a comic scene taking place on a stage), and 281, 282, 295, 297, 306.

[158] E.g. Python's Cadmus and the dragon (*RVPa*, 143, no. 241, pl. 90) seems to be copying some elements of Asteas' vase, which depicts the same theme (*RVPa*, 85−86, no. 133, pl. 52).

[159] See Carpenter 2009, 113; and Taplin 2012, 249.

[160] *IGD*, IV, 13; Taplin 1991, 30−31, pl. 10.2; *CAD*, pl. 6A; Csapo 2010a, 46−49, fig. 2.1. This vase was mentioned already at the beginning of my discussion on the evidence of vases, see P. 20−21.

Univ. of Exeter, (unnumbered), *c*.380 BC (V 153 in App. II), that depicts Orestes, Pylades and Elektra at the tomb of Agamemnon, there is an inscription, AΓ]AMEMNONOΣ, on the base of the tomb and, on an Apulian loutrophoros, attributed to the Darius Painter, formerly in Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 1989.29, *c*.330 BC (V 412 in App. II), depicting the petrification of Niobe, there is an inscription, AMΦ[, on a tomb.[161]

Although none of the above-mentioned vases with peculiar inscriptions has yet been interpreted exhaustively, I find these inscriptions extremely interesting, and I argue that at least some of the inscriptions may be taken as indications of some sort of connection between the vase in question and a dramatic performance.

Name labels of the figures

The name labels of anonymous witness figures may denote that a vase is dramatically inspired (see above). Also, name labels of characters that are written in Attic dialect (as they usually are on many tragedy related vases) may be signalling a dramatic connection.[162]

Tripods

Both Taplin and Roscino have tripods on their lists of iconographic elements. Tripods are displayed, for example, on the famous Pronomos vase, an Attic volute-krater from Ruvo, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81673 (H 3240), of *c*.400 BC, which undoubtedly is inspired by an actual theatre performance.[163] Taplin suggests that tripods 'add up to quite a plausible connection with victory and dedication' and he may be right. Although tripods do not figure on many theatre-related vases they still earn their place on my list. All in all, tripods can be seen on twenty-five tragedy related vases in App. II.

Tragedy related vases show at minimum that certain myths were popular in certain areas at certain times. The question of whether these myths were known to the painters and their customers through performances of epic poetry by rhapsodes or performances of tragedies by wandering, or local, theatre companies or from orally told stories by older people in the household cannot be answered with certainty. In my opinion, the most logical explanation is that the most popular myths were known to a large audience via actual theatre performances.

It must be admitted, however, that evidence based on uncertain interpretation of the vase paintings is not enough. In order to show that a certain myth was popular in a certain area at a certain time, specifically because that myth had been enacted in (re)performances of tragedies, one needs, in addition to the evidence of vases, other evidence as well. In what follows, I will discuss evidence from the dramatic texts themselves and other literary evidence.

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[161] AMΦ[must mean Amphion, Niobes' Theban husband. This vase is discussed in connection with Aeschylus' *Niobe*, P. 178−179. The Attic vase by the Jena Painter is discussed in connection with the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, see P. 153.
[162] See comments in Taplin 2007a, 234 (with note 38); and Csapo 2010a, 49.
[163] For a list of references, see n. 145 above.

Evidence of the tragic texts

Localization

In 1994, Easterling pointed out some internal traces within the surviving tragedies which might indicate that they were perhaps produced, or meant to be produced, outside Athens.[164] Five years later Taplin called this phenomenon by the name 'localization' and added some more tragic excerpts to the conversation.[165]

Perhaps the clearest and most obvious example of this phenomenon is verses 187−234 (especially 220−229) of Euripides' *Troades*. In this passage the chorus of Trojan women lists the possible destinations were they might be going as captives. First the chorus mentions the lands of the Argives and Phthians, then the spring of Peirene (i.e. Corinth), then the land of Theseus (i.e. Athens), the land of Helen (i.e. Sparta), and then the river Peneus and Mt. Olympus. Then come the following verses:

> καὶ τὰν Αἰτναίαν Ἡφαίστου
> Φοινίκας ἀντήρη χώραν,
> Σικελῶν ὀρέων ματέρ᾽, ἀκούω
> καρύσσεσθαι στεφάνοις ἀρετᾶς.
> τάν τ᾽ ἀγχιστεύουσαν γᾶν
> † Ἰονίῳ ναύται πόντῳ, †
> ἃν ὑγραίνει καλλιστεύων
> ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων
> Κρᾶθις ζαθέαις πηγαῖσι τρέφων
> εὔανδρόν τ᾽ ὀλβίζων γᾶν.
> (Eur. *Tro*. 220−229)

As Easterling explains, the first sentence must refer to Sicily (although it leaves unclear exactly which place is intended) and the second sentence to Thurii on the Tarentine gulf (the river Crathis makes the reference precise).[166] The references in these verses to Sicily and Ionian cities under Mt. Etna are anachronistic, since the Greek colonies were not yet founded at the time of the Trojan War. Easterling suggests: 'If Euripides was composing the play with future performances in mind at some Sicilian location and at Thurii the references are entirely understandable'.[167] This suggestion sounds reasonable (it should be noted, however, that it is also possible that Euripides wrote totally different lines than the ones we have, which could have been written by actors).

In the same article, Easterling also discusses Eur. *Hec*. 444−483 (in which Doric lands, Phthia and the river Apidanus, Delos, and the city of Pallas are all mentioned as possible destinations for the Trojan women), Eur. *Bacch*. 409−411 and 560−575 (where Pieria, Mt. Olympus and the Macedonian rivers Axius and Lydias are mentioned), Eur. *El*.

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[164] Easterling 1994, 73−80.
[165] Taplin 1999, 43−48.
[166] Easterling 1994, 76. Regarding the place referred to in the first sentence, Easterling notes that any of the three Ionian cities under Mt. Etna (Leontini, Naxos, Catana) are possible candidates.
[167] *Ibid*.

1347−1353 (where 'Sicilian sea' is mentioned), and mentions briefly Eur. *Cycl*. 702−703 ('Sicilian sea') and Eur. *Phoen*. 208−213 (Sicily). Easterling has even noticed a typology of encomiast themes in *Bacch*. 560−575, *Hec*. 451−454, and *Tro.* 220−229: the prosperity of land, the fertilizing effect of rivers with their beautiful waters, and the phrase, 'as I hear'.[168]

Taplin looks for poetry referring to local topography, nurturing rivers, fine buildings, walls, temples, altars, cults and festivals, and local aetiologies, and adds the following verses to the conversation: Eur. *Alc*. 835−836 (which refer to the northern cemetery of ancient Pherae), Eur. *Alc*. 1153−1156 (rituals for Heracles and maybe Alcestis); Eur. *Andr*. 16−20, 43−44, 1176, 1187, 1211 (Thessalian material); Eur. *Andr*. 1243–1249 (Molossian material); Soph. *Phil*. 490−492, 721−729, 1428−1433 (Thessalian material); Soph. *Trach*. 633−639 (Thessalian material); and Eur. *HF* 364−374; Eur. *Bacch*. 410, 565ff; Eur. *IA* 234, 808, 954, 1031ff (more Thessalian material).[169] Also Allan discusses the Thessalian and Molossian material in Euripides' *Andromache*,[170] and Kowalzig has found some verses concerning the coastline of Italy in Sophocles' *Triptolemus*.[171]

In addition to the passages discovered and discussed by Easterling, Taplin, Allan, and Kowalzig, one should perhaps mention the following tragedies which might also contain some localization: Aeschylus' *Prometheus vinctus*, and Euripides' *Electra*, *Hercules furens*, *Hippolytus*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (the list of ships), and *Melanippe desmotis*. The most important verses of some of these tragedies (from the point of view of localization) shall be discussed in Chapter IV.

It seems clear that the odd and anachronistic references in Eur. *Tro*. 220−229 are best explained as Easterling has done. Regarding the rest of the occurrences of the phenomenon called localization, one has to admit that their authority as evidence for possible revivals of old plays outside Athens remains weak.

At this point, the logical question is, how much Attic localization exists in the tragic texts? The percentage of Attic myths and Athenian material used in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides has been estimated by several scholars. Bremer notes: 'The poets chose an Attic myth as a subject for their play on the average only in one out of ten cases'.[172] But in addition to the use of Attic myths, Athens and Attica can be incorporated into the texts of plays in several other ways: showing Athens as a refuge for suppliants (e.g. Aesch. *Eum*.; Soph. *OC*; Eur. *Heracl*., *HF*, *Med*., *Or*., *Supp*.); dealing with historical events (Aesch. *Pers*.); referencing some cult by way of an aetiology (e.g. Eur. *HF* 1326−1333, *Hipp*. 33, *Ion* 1581−1588, *IT* 1450−1465); inserting a passing complimentary mention of Athens (e.g. Soph. *Aj*. 421−423, *El*. 707, 730; Eur. *Tro*. 208−209).[173] Taplin reminds us: 'About one third of the plays in the surviving corpus have a conspicuous element of Athenian matter in them'.[174]

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[168] Easterling 1994, 78.
[169] Taplin 1999, 43−48.
[170] Allan 2000, *passim*.
[171] Kowalzig 2008, 145−146; *TrGF* III, F 598, and 600. See also Zacharia 2003, 57−76, who discusses the use of some specifically western myths and the adding of important western twists to existing myths.
[172] Bremer 1991, 58.
[173] See Bremer 1991, 58−59.
[174] Taplin 1999, 49.

For the sake of comparison we can take a look at the following figures compiled by Radt for the sources on which the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides drew. For material deriving from the Attic myth cycle, the respective figures are: Aeschylus 5/7.5% (4 certain, plus 2 probable, tragedies out of 80 definitely known titles); Sophocles 6.6/8.2% (8 certain, plus 2 probable, tragedies out of 122 definitely known titles); Euripides 13/14% (10 certain, plus 1 probable, tragedies out of 78 definitely known titles). The Attic myth cycle is used as much as is, for example, the Theban myth cycle: Aeschylus 7.5% (6 certain tragedies out of 80 definitely known titles); Sophocles 5% (6 certain tragedies out of 122 definitely known titles); Euripides 9/10% (7 certain, plus 1 probable, tragedies out of 78 definitely known titles). The Trojan myth cycle is the most favoured one: Aeschylus 21/26 % (18 certain, plus 3 probable, tragedies out of 80 definitely known titles); Sophocles 28/37% (32 certain, plus 13 probable, tragedies out of 122 definitely known titles); Euripides 19/22% (15 certain, plus 2 probable, tragedies out of 78 definitely known titles).[175]

One can also speculate using titles of and scenes from the plays. For instance, the episodes of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* were located at Aetna, Xuthia, Aetna, Leontini, and Syracuse respectively.[176] Kowalzig proposes: 'Deinomenid grain power somehow had a role in tragic negotiation and affected where tragedy sailed to. For it seems that, more generally, the routes taken by Athenian tragedy and western grain at least in part coincided'.[177] To support her proposal, Kowalzig enumerates tragedies that were set in localities of substantial economic promise (Euripides' *Melanippe desmotis* was placed in Metapontum; Euripides' *Aeolus* was situated in Lipari islands; Sophocles' *Camicoe* dealt with the death of Minos in Sicilian Camicus; Sophocles' *Antenoridae* involved the sons of the Trojan Antenor, who settled the fertile Po delta; Aeschylus' *Cabeiroe* and Sophocles' *Lemniae* were each set on an island that was an important cleruchy on the way to the Black Sea).[178] I find Kowalzig's proposal very probable.

It is, of course, possible (and maybe even probable) that the verses which contain localization (or at least some of them) were not written by the tragedians but, instead, altered by the actors and therefore the phenomenon of 'localization' (excluding the above-mentioned cases of titles and scenes) may actually be part of a separate phenomenon called 'actors' interpolations'.

Actors' interpolations

There is a large variety of evidence by which an interpolation in a tragic text can be identified, both external (papyri, scholia, manuscripts, quotations in other authors) and internal (problems of coherence or continuity and obscurities of syntax and vocabulary).[179]

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[175] Radt 1991, 85–89.
[176] For my discussion on the *Aetnaeae*, see P. 79–82.
[177] Kowalzig 2008, 147.
[178] *Ibid*., 148–149. Kowalzig also claims (p. 150): 'It is unlikely to be coincidence that the personnel of tragic myth, with or without the tragedies themselves, travelled so widely along the–long-standing and familiar–trading routes west, far west, north, and far north. ... Wherever it was actually performed, tragedy constituted a forum in which to work out in myth relations between Athens and other localities'.
[179] A good and compact overview is given by Mastronarde 1994, 39–49.

Of all the extant Greek tragedies, Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis* is perhaps the tragedy which has the biggest number of suspect lines. In his classic study, Page suggests that between 370 and 250 BC actors (or producers) altered the text of *IA* in several different ways (by changing or rewriting the prologue of the play and by adding, cutting, and altering lines for spectacular, melodramatic, and topical purposes).[180] All other tragedies are more or less interpolated as well and one explanation for at least some of the interpolations is that, during the fourth and third centuries BC, the actors adapted the texts of revived old tragedies to better suit the taste of the audience of the revivals.[181]

Before attacking the potential actors' interpolations, one has to be aware of the whole history of tragic texts which, in short, is as follows.[182] After the premieres of the plays the copies of the texts were probably kept in the possession of the families of the playwrights, but copies were also made for booksellers. A publisher perhaps dictated the text of an actor's copy or a prompt-copy[183] (or actors recited their parts) to the copyists. Later, when the 'old tragedies' were revived, actors (or producers) made interpolations in the texts (and booksellers made copies of these revised texts).

As a result of this process, there were plenty of different copies on the market of the most popular tragedies. Thus, the official copies of the plays of the three major tragedians were made during the reign of Lycurgus (338–326 BC). The texts of these *c*.300 tragedies were then studied, copied, commented on, and edited in Alexandria by scholars like Aristophanes of Byzantium (*c*.257–180, librarian *c*.195 BC) and Didymus (*c*.65 BC–AD 10). After the time of Didymus, during the six following centuries, plays and commentaries continued to be copied and the change from roll to codex took place gradually. During these centuries, perhaps in the late second century AD, selections were made for use by schoolmasters.[184]

The 'chosen' tragedies of Euripides were *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, *Troades*, and *Bacchae*. The rest of the extant plays of Euripides begin with the letters E, H, I, and K, thus scholars speak of the 'alphabetical' plays of Euripides. For some reason there are seven selected plays for both Aeschylus and Sophocles. (It has been suggested that the number of seven to ten plays could have constituted the most reasonable fit for an ancient codex). All the chosen plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (except *Bacchae*) have survived with scholia. As time went on, the number of preferred plays narrowed down and the so-called 'Byzantine Triad' became a favourite transmission unit. The Aeschylean triad was comprised of *Prometheus vinctus*, *Septem*, and *Persae*; the Sophoclean triad included *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus Tyrannus*; and the Euripidean triad was comprised of *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae*. When speaking of the survival of tragic texts, it must be kept in

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[180] Page 1934, *passim*.

[181] See e.g. Page, *passim*; Barrett 1966², 46; Mastronarde 1984, 42; Hutchinson 1985, xliii and 211; and Willink 1986, lxiii and 231.

[182] I follow here mainly Page 1934, 1–14, 112–115; and Barrett 1966², 45–80. See also Mastronarde 1984, 39–49; and Hutchinson 1985, xl–lii.

[183] The prompt-copy probably contained stage-directions, some of which were transmitted to the sources of our scholia and even to the body of the text. See Page 1934, 113–114.

[184] See Liapis 2012, lxxv, n. 266: 'The selection may reflect certain cultural tendencies, such as a more or less established repertoire of plays considered classic (possibly as early as the 4th c. BC), or may be due to the exigencies of school curriculum, in which Christian supremacy would have allowed only limited room for pagan plays'.

mind that anthologies of gnomes from the texts of the tragedians were also compiled and copied through the centuries.[185]

Interpolations of the texts have occurred in many phases: before the play was first performed (as is perhaps the case with the prologue of Eur. *IA*),[186] before the making of the official copies of the plays, in late antiquity, and during Byzantine times. I am, of course, interested only in interpolations which might indicate or can be explained by revisions made for reproductions of tragedies in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries BC.

Let us start with Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. The following passages have been condemned as spurious by several editors of the text: verses 1−163 (prologue), 590−597 (secondary chorus), and 1578−1629 (end).[187] There were probably two different prologues (anapestic and iambic) to the play, and at some point they were combined together in the text. Regarding the end of the play, Page claims that 'there were at least two, and quite probably three, conclusions known in the fourth century: none of them was the work of Euripides'.[188]

Also the authenticity of the end scene of Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* has been questioned by several scholars.[189] This scene is closely related to the final scene of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, and Hutchinson suggests, 'when the play actually was revived at some point in the fourth or early third century, it was rendered more acceptable to contemporary taste by addition of a scene which was adapted from the popular *Phoenissae*'.[190] Hutchinson's suggestion that the final scene of the *Septem* is an imitation of the final scene of the *Phoenissae* is reasonable, but unfortunately the date of the revival in question of the *Septem* remains too open. It must have been later than 411−409 BC and, as Hutchinson notes, there are also indications of a post-classical date.[191]

Euripides' *Orestes* is yet another play which has plenty of interpolations. Lines 902−916 of the play have widely been accepted as spurious.[192] We know that Euripides' *Orestes* was the winning 'old tragedy' at the Dionysia in 340 and that the famous actor Neoptolemus acted in it. Willink suggests 'that [341/0] is a plausible date for at least one generally recognized interpolation [902−916]'.[193] Kovacs proposes another, earlier revival of the play in 356−346 BC, for which the actor Neoptolemus made some alterations in the text.[194]

The prologues of several plays (Eur. *Archelaus*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, *Meleager*, *Melanippe sophe*, *Rhesus*) are interpolated, and Page asks: 'Did Theopompos alter the text at the beginning of some plays, to allow himself to appear as the first speaker?'[195]

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[185] *P.Hibeh* 7 proves that anthologies already existed in the third century BC.
[186] It seems that perhaps Euripides junior altered the text of Euripides before the play was performed in Athens soon after the death of the author.
[187] See e.g. Page 1934, 131−140, 158−160, 195−204; and Kovacs 2003, 77−103.
[188] Page 1934, 203.
[189] See references in Hutchinson 1985, 209.
[190] Hutchinson 1985, xliii.
[191] Hutchinson 1985, 211, enumerates prosody and the use of the perfect, and some other features of language and style.
[192] See e.g. Willink 1986, 231.
[193] Willink 1986, lxii. This suggestion sounds reasonable.
[194] Kovacs 2007, 259−268.
[195] Page 1934, 94. For interpolations in the prologues of *Rhesus*, *Archelaus*, *Meleager*, and *Melanippe sophe*, see Page 1934, 91−95. For other anecdotes about the actor Theodorus, see P. 18−19.

Although Page made a mistake with the name of the actor, his suggestion sounds reasonable. Page must mean Theodorus (not Theopompos), since the text of Aristotle to which Page refers (Arist. *Pol*. 1336b27−31) reads: ἴσως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ τοιοῦτον Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτής οὐθενὶ γὰρ πώποτε παρῆκεν ἑαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς οἰκειουμένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς. In my opinion, it is highly probable that actors made alterations to the prologues of the revived tragedies.

A special case within actors' interpolations are the tail-pieces which occur in several Euripides' plays. *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae* all end with the following prayer for victory (which has also intruded into some manuscripts of *Hippolytus* after the present tail-piece):

> ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, τὸν ἐμὸν
> βίοτον κατέχοις
> καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.
> (*IT* 1497−1499 = *Or*. 1691−1693 = *Phoen*. 1764−1766)

According to Barrett: 'This illusion-destroying prayer for victory is surely spurious'.[196] Euripides' *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, and *Medea* end, in turn, with the following platitude:

> πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
> πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί·
> καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ᾽ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
> τῶν δ᾽ ἀδοκήτων πόρον ηὗρε θεός.
> τοιόνδ᾽ ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.
> (*Alc*. 1159−1163 = *Andr*. 1284−1288 = *Bacch*. 1388−1392 = *Hel*. 1688−1692 ≈ *Med*. 1415−1419, *Med*. 1415 is slightly altered)[197]

It is impossible to say which one of the above-mentioned plays was first interpolated and how (by actors or by copyists), but at least it seems clear that the tail-pieces in question are not genuine Euripides. If we accept that these lines are not by Euripides, can we then presume that the lines were perhaps altered by actors for revivals (in Athens or outside Athens)? I think we can.

When discussing actors' interpolations in the texts of tragedies, one should keep in mind that there may have been a lot of 'visual interpolation'[198] involved in the revivals of the old tragedies (i.e. extra action and spectacle, visual effects, gestures, movements

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[196] Barrett 1966², 417. Willink 1986, 360, puts the blame on actors: 'But the same cliché occurs also at the end of *IT* and *Ph*., and was probably added by actors'.

[197] Barrett 1966², 417, comments on the platitude: 'Suspicion deepens when one observes that only in *Al*. is the platitude really appropriate − in *An*., *Hel*., and *Ba*. it is no more than tolerable, and in *Med*. it is grossly out of place'. Barrett counts (on p. 418) that eight of seventeen plays have one or other of the two suspect tail-pieces and suggests that the tail-pieces of the other nine must also come under suspicion. For an opposing view, see Roberts 1987, 51−64, whose argument (on p. 63) is, 'not that all our extant endings are genuine, but that they should not be automatically suspect or automatically despised'.

[198] Taplin 1977, 22 uses this term.

etc. which were not included in the premiere). We cannot spot the visual interpolations anymore since they are not reflected in the text (although some visual interpolations may be reflected in vase paintings).

All in all, actors interpolations can give us some hints about the revivals of some tragedies, at least those produced in Athens and maybe also outside Athens. It has to be admitted, though, that the authority of actors' interpolations as evidence for revivals is quite weak and that there is too much speculation involved in the study of interpolations.[199] Nevertheless, I suggest that the most interpolated plays (Aesch. *Sept*.; Soph. *Ant*.; Eur. *Andr*. *IA*, *IT*, *Hec*., *Heracl*., *Med*., *Or*., *Phoen*.) are good candidates for plays to have been revived in Athens and exported outside Athens in the fourth century BC. In addition to the above-mentioned examples, there are some more interpolations which will be discussed in Chapter IV in connection with the individual plays.

Intertextual evidence

Comedies

Comedies may reveal something about the reperformances of old tragedies in Athens. Furthermore, the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides that were revived in Athens, for example, *c*.350 BC are in my opinion good candidates for plays that may also have been exported elsewhere. There are plenty of parodies, imitations and quotations of, and allusions to tragedies in the comedies of Aristophanes and other comedians. I mention only some examples below.

Aristophanes quotes verses (104, 109, 111) of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (first performed at Athens in 458 BC) in *Ran*. (1276, 1285, 1289), and *Ran*. 1214 echoes the dying cries of Agamemnon (*Ag*. 1343 and 1345). Aristophanes also quotes a verse of Aeschylus' *Thressae* (date unknown) in *Ran*. 1294.[200]

Euripides' *Telephus* (produced in 438 BC) is parodied by Aristophanes in two plays (*Ach.* 280–625; *Thesm*. 209–274) and quoted or alluded to in eight plays (quotations in *Nub*. 138; *Lys*. 706; *Ach.* 1188; *Eq*. 813, *Plut*. 601; *Ach*. 8; *Nub*. 891; *Pax* 528; allusions in *Ach*. 411, 413; *Nub*. 922−924; *Pax* 146ff; *Thesm*. 23f; *Ran*. 842, 846, 855, 864).

Aristophanes parodies, quotes from or alludes to Euripides' *Aeolus* at *Nub*. 1372; *Pax* 114–115; *Pax* 119; *Thesm*. 177–178; *Ran*. 850; *Ran*. 863ff; *Ran*. 1081; and *Ran*. 1475.[201] The premiere of Euripides' *Aeolus* was in Athens before the year 423 BC.[202]

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[199] Hamilton 1974 ends his article with the following words: 'In any case, we can say that although there was clearly reworking of plays for dramatic production, there is no objective external evidence that the dramatic texts had any influence on our texts. The apparent evidence turns out to be a few notes on two plays, concerned with stage business and actors' slips. Probably in the first century BC the theory of actors' interpolations was applied to some textual problems, and it is this that has been wrongly backdated by several centuries and elevated to the status of fact'.

[200] *TrGF* III, 208, F 84. See also Sommerstein 1996, 272.

[201] These, except *Ran*. 863ff, are presented (with scholia) in *TrGF* V, 159–161 (test. iva–ivb2), 164–169 (F 17+18, 19, 28). Aristophanes' parodies of Euripides' *Aeolus* are also listed in Rau 1967, 214–215.

[202] The *terminus ante quem* is Aristophanes' *Clouds*. Webster 1967, 4, dates the play to between 427–423 BC; and Cropp and Fick 1985, 70–71, date the play between 455–423/1.

Aristophanes' plays in question were produced in 423 (*Nub*.), 421 (*Pax*), 411 (*Thesm*.), and 405 BC (*Ran*.) respectively.

Euripides' *Andromeda* (produced in 412 BC) is parodied extensively (Andromeda's lyric monody, Echo's response to Andromeda, Perseus' arrival and his falling in love with Andromeda) in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (1008–1135), which was produced in the following year.

Aristophanes' parody, paratragedy, and his use of the texts of the tragedians can be classified in several ways, producing different sets of useful statistics. One can classify the different categories of parody by the nature of their models (i.e. literary genre, tragic locus, tragic scene, formal element from tragedy, tragic convention, tragic motif); one can define different categories of parody on the basis of their relation to the original text (i.e. exact quotations, adaptations etc.), or one can concentrate on the 'point' of the parody (i.e. the stance and the spirit of the speaker which might be, for example, comic or critical).[203] At this point, terms like 'parody' and 'paratragedy' need to be defined. Silk makes the following definitions, with which I fully agree:

> By way of working distinction, let me suggest that paratragedy is the cover term for all of comedy's intertextual dependence on tragedy, some of which is parodic, but some is not; and that parody is any kind of distorting representation of an original, which in the present context will be a tragic original. All Aristophanic parody of tragedy, then, is paratragic; but not all Aristophanic paratragedy is parodic.[204]

It must be noted also that the titles of comedies may sometimes imply that there may have been a reperformance of a tragedy with the same name. For instance, Aristophanes wrote two (lost) plays entitled *Aeolosicon* in which he probably parodied Euripides' *Aeolus*.[205] In addition to these two Aristophanic comedies, two fourth-century comedies (by Antiphanes and Eriphus) entitled *Aeolus* are known.[206] The question we need to ask is, were revivals of Euripides' *Aeolus* the targets of Aristophanes', Antiphanes', and Eriphus' parodies or did their comedies perhaps parody some other lost *Aeolus*?

Let us next take a look at the known titles of some of the most prolific fourth-century comedians. They may tell us something about the titles of both new and 'old' tragedies, which were produced at the Great Dionysia and at the Lenaea in the fourth century BC. Many of the following mythical titles are the same as the titles of tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and at least some of the following comedies may have ridiculed a (revived) lost or extant tragedy.

We know 137 titles of the comedies of Alexis (*PCG* II, 21−195), who staged 245 plays and was victorious at least once at the City Dionysia in 347 BC (*IG* II^2 2318, 278).[207] The following titles of comedies by Alexis are interesting from our point of view: *Helen* (*PCG* II, 58, F 70), *The Rape of Helen* (*PCG* II, 58−59, F 71−72), *The Suitors of Helen* (*PCG* II, 59−60, F 73−75), *Seven Against Thebes* (*PCG* II, 64, F 83), *Cycnus* (*PCG* II,

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[203] See Silk 1993, 478−479.
[204] Silk 1993, 479.
[205] See App. I, P. 229.
[206] On Antiphanes' *Aeolus* see *PCG* II, 319–320, F 19–20. On Eriphus' *Aeolus* see *PCG* V, 178, F 1.
[207] The English titles are from Olson 2007, 402−403.

90, F 124), *Linus* (*PCG* II, 99–101, F 140), *Minos* (*PCG* II, 110, F 156), *Orestes* (*PCG* II, 118, F 171), *Sciron* (*PCG* II, 139–140, F 210), *Tyndareus* (*PCG* II, 155–156, F 241). Perhaps it is worth mentioning that Alexis was from Thurii in Southern Italy.[208]

Of the 41 known titles of Anaxandrides (*PCG* II, 236–278), who was victorious ten times (three victories at Lenaea, seven victories at the City Dionysia), the first in 374 BC (*FGrHist* 239 A 70 = test. 3), we should take note of the following: *Achilles* (*PCG* II, 240, F 4–5), *Helena* (*PCG* II 244, F 12), *Erectheus* (*PCG* II, 244, F 13), *Heracles* (*PCG* II, 245–246, F 16), *Theseus* (*PCG* II, 247–248, F 20–21), *Io* (*PCG* II, 248), *Lycurgus* (*PCG* II, 250–251, F 28), *Nereus* (*PCG* II, 252, F 31–32), *Nereids* (*PCG* II, 253, F 33), *Odysseus* (*PCG* II, 253–255, F 34–35), *Protesilaus* (*PCG* II, 259–264, F 41–42), *Tereus* (*PCG* II, 265).[209] Anaxandrides may have been from the city of Camirus on Rhodes.[210]

Antiphanes (*PCG* II, 312–481), who was victorious eight times at Lenaea, first probably in the late 360s or 350s (*IG* II^2 2325, 146), wrote perhaps as many as 365 or as few as 280 comedies (*PCG* II, 312, T 1–2).[211] Of these comedies, 138 titles are known, of which the following ones must be mentioned here: *Adonis* (*PCG* II, 317–318, F 14–16), *Athamas* (*PCG* II, 318, F 17), *Aeolus* (*PCG* II, 319–320, F 19–20), *Alcestis* (*PCG* II, 325–326, F 30–31), *Andromeda* (*PCG* II, 327, F 33), *Arcas* (*PCG* II, 331–332, F 42–43), *Bacchants* (*PCG* II, 342–343, F 58), *Bousiris* (*PCG* II, 345–346, F 66–68), *Ganymede* (*PCG* II, 349–351, F 74–75), *Glaucus* (*PCG* II, 352, F 76), *Deucalion* (*PCG* II, 353, F 78–79), *Thamyras* (*PCG* II, 365–366, F 104), *Carians* (*PCG* II, 370, F 111), *Cyclops* (*PCG* II, 381–383, F 129–131), *Meleager* (*PCG* II, 392, F 148), *Medea* (*PCG* II, 394, F 151), *Minos* (*PCG* II, 396, F 156), *Oenomaus or Pelops* (*PCG* II, 405–406, F 170), *Omphale* (*PCG* II, 408–409, F 174–175), *Orpheus* (*PCG* II, 411, F 178). It is disputed where Antiphanes was from (Chios, Smyrna, Rhodes, or Thessalian Larissa).[212]

Eubulus (*PCG* V, 188–273), who was victorious six times at the Lenaea, probably for the first time in the late 370s or 360s (*IG* II^2 2325, 144), produced 104 comedies.[213] Of his 58 known titles, we should mention the following ones: *Ancylion* (*PCG* V, 188–190, F 1–3), *Anchises* (*PCG* V, 190, F 4–5), *Amaltheia* (*PCG* V, 191–193, F 6–7), *Antiope* (*PCG* V, 194–196, F 9–12), *Auge* (*PCG* V, 197–199, F 14), *Bellerophon* (*PCG* V, 199, F 15), *Ganymede* (*PCG* V, 199–200, F 16–17), *Glaucus* (*PCG* V, 200–201, F 18–19), *Daedalus* (*PCG* V, 202, 20–21), *Danae* (*PCG* 202–203, F 22), *Deucalion* (*PCG* V, 203, F 23), *Dolon* (*PCG* V, 206–207, F 29–31), *Europa* (*PCG* V, 208, F 33), *Ixion* (*PCG* V, 209, F 35), *Ion* (*PCG* V, 210–211, F 36–38), *Cercopes* (*PCG* V, 218–219, F 52–53), *Spartans or Leda* (*PCG* V 223–225, F 60–64), *Medea* (*PCG* V, 225, F 64), *Mysians* (*PCG* V, 226–227, F 66), *Nausicaa* (*PCG* V, 229, F 68), *Xythus* (*PCG* V, 230, F 70), *Odysseus or Men Who See Everything* (*PCG* V, 231, F 71), *Oedipus* (*PCG* V, 231–232, F 72), *Oenomaus or Pelops* (*PCG* V, 232, F 73), *Procris* (*PCG* V, 242–243, F 89–91), *Semele or Dionysos* (*PCG* V, 243–246, F 93–95), *Phoenix* (*PCG* V, 257, F 113).

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[208] See *Suda* α 1138.
[209] The English titles are from Olson 2007, 403–404.
[210] See *Suda* α 1982.
[211] The estimated dates and the English titles are from Olson 2007, 404–406.
[212] See *PCG* II, 312, T 1–2.
[213] The estimated dates and the English titles are from Olson 2007, 410–411.

We shall never know which tragedies were the targets of the above-mentioned comedies. For example, was Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* the model for the comedies entitled *Seven Against Thebes* by Alexis and Amphis, and was Euripides' or Sophocles' *Oenomaus* the target of the *Oenomaus* comedies by Antiphanes and Eubulus? Luckily, we do know of some quotations of (or adaptations from) the extant tragedies in the fourth-century comedies.

Eubulus quotes both Euripides' *Medea* (476, slightly abbreviated) and *Andromeda* (F 129, slightly altered) in a fragment of his *Dionysius*:

> Εὐριπίδου δ' "ἔσωσά σ' ὡς ἴσασ' ὅσοι"
> καὶ "παρθέν', εἰ σώσαιμί σ', ἔξεις μοι χάριν;"·
> καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐγγελῶσι πήμασι
> τὰ σίγμα συλλέξαντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ σοφοί
> (Eubulus, *PCG* V, 204, F 26)

Antiphanes has adapted lines from Sophocles' *Antigone*[214]:

> ὁρᾷς παρὰ ῥείθροισι χειμάρροις ὅσα
> δένδρων ὑπείκει, κλῶνας ὡς ἐκσῴζεται,
> τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται.
> (Soph. *Ant*. 712−714)

to this unknown play:

> δένδρων ἀεὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
> βρέχεται, μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος οἷα γίγνεται,
> τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' αὐτόπρεμ' ἀπόλλυται
> (Antiphanes, *PCG* II, 448, F 228.4−6)

In addition to the above-mentioned examples, we may note the following quotations or adaptations of lines from fifth-century tragedies in fourth-century comedies. Diphilus, who was originally from the city of Sinope and was at least once victorious at Lenaea, first probably in the early 310s, borrowed lines from Euripides' *Antiope* and *Iphigenia Taurica* (535) for his *Synoris* (*PCG* V, F 74, 7−9).[215] Philemon, who was from Syracuse, and won at least once at the City Dionysia in 327 BC (Marm. Par. *FGrH* 239 B 7), parodied Euripides' *Medea* (57−58) in his comedy called *The Soldier* (*PCG* VII, F 82, 1−2). Xenarchus probably parodied Euripides' *Hippolytus* (415−416) in his comedy *The Pentathlete* (*PCG* VII, F 4, 21), and an anonymous comedian (*PCG* VIII, 355, F 1062, 3) borrowed a phrase from Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (892).[216]

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[214] Olson 2007, 178, reminds us that this gnome was famous enough to be adapted also at Eup. fr. 260, 23−25.
[215] The estimated date is from Olson 2007, 408.
[216] Olson 2007, 418, does not give any date for Xenarchus, except that he is assumed to be a 'middle comic' poet. The quotation of Soph. *OC* 892 must be later than 401 BC, the year in which the *OC* was first performed in Athens.

Can we suppose, based on the evidence of the above-mentioned quotations, that Euripides' *Medea*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Iphigenia Taurica* and perhaps *Hippolytus*, and Sophocles' *Antigone* and perhaps *Oedipus Coloneus* were reproduced in Athens sometime during the fourth century BC? I think we can (if we take into account the evidence of vases and other evidence as well). It would be most interesting to know which tragedies the protagonist of Alexis' comedy, *The Man Who Loved Tragedy* (*PCG* II, 164, F 254), loved. Was he perhaps fond of the 'old tragedies' (and, in that case, which ones?) or did he love contemporary tragedies more?

After this short excursion through the comedies of the fourth century BC, let us return to Aristophanes. What matters here is the time-lag between a comedy and the tragedy of which it makes fun. Is a time-lag of, for example, over twenty years too great? Could the audience of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (425 BC) remember the scenes and the lines of Euripides' *Telephus* (438 BC), which Aristophanes parodied? Was the audience of the Lenaea of 405 BC able to recognize Aristophanes' quotation of a verse from Aeschylus' *Thressae*? It must be remembered that Aeschylus had been dead for fifty years when Aristophanes produced his *Frogs*. We may rightfully ask whether the audience at the Lenaea of 405 BC had seen the ridiculed plays in a recent reproduction. It is obvious that the audience of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (411 BC) remembered very well what had happened in Euripides' *Andromeda* (412 BC), but could they remember lines from Euripides' *Aeolus* (produced before 423 BC)?

At this point, it might be helpful to look at some figures in the form of tables.[217] I have listed Aristophanes' parodies, quotations from and allusions to the tragedies of Aeschylus,[218] Sophocles,[219] and Euripides[220] in the following three tables.

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[217] In the following tables, the figures pertaining to quotations include exact quotations and adapted lines, the figures pertaining to allusions include allusions to the plays or themes or characters of the plays, parodies include parodies of whole scenes, and probable parodies include probable parodies in lost plays, e.g. E. *Aeolus* − Ar. *Aeolosicon*; E. *Phoenissae* − Ar. *Phoenissae*.

[218] The plays of Aeschylus that Aristophanes parodies, quotes verses from, or alludes to are listed in Rau 1967, 213–214 and in *TrGF* III, 56–57.

[219] In this table, I have mainly used the information given by Rau 1967, 214. See also Schlesinger 1937, 296–297; and Roselli 2005, 36−37, n. 152.

[220] In this table, I have combined the information given by Harriot 1962, 6−7, and Rau 1967, 214−217, and added the dates of the lost plays of Euripides (as given by Cropp and Fick 1985). Figures like 13/17 (in *Telephus*) mean quotations counted by Harriot (13) and Rau (17). Q = Quotations, A = Allusions, P = Parodies.

Table 1. Aristophanes' parodies, quotations from, and allusions to the tragedies of Aeschylus.

Play	Date	Quotations	Dates of quotations	Allusions	Dates of allusions	Parodies	Dates of parodies
Glaucus Potnieus	472			2	405		
Persae	472			2	405		
Hiketides	468/ 463			1	423		
Hedonoe	467	2	414, 411				
Laius	467			1	405		
Septem contra Thebas	467	4?	425, 421, 411	1	405		
Sphinx (*satyric*)	467	1	405				
Agamemnon	458	4	405				
Choephoroe	458	3?	425, 423, 414	2	423, 405		
Eumenides	458			1	405		
Prometheus Vinctus	440?	4?	425, 424, 414	1	424		
Europa/Cares	?			1	423		
Cycnus	?	1	405				
Dictyoulcoe	?			1	421		
Hiereiae	?	1	405				
Hoplon crisis	?	1	425				
Iphigenia	?	1	405				
Memnon	?	1	405	1	405		
Myrmidones	?	10	421, 414, 405, 393	1	405		
Niobe	?	1	414	3	422, 405		
Philoctetes	?	1	405				
Phryges/*Hectoros lutra*	?			2	?, 405		
Psychagogoe	?	1	405				
Psychostasia	?			1	405		
Salaminiae	?			1	405		
Thressae	?	1	405				
Telephus	?	1	405				

Table 2. Aristophanes' parodies, quotations from, and allusions to the tragedies of Sophocles.

Play	Date	Quotations	Dates of quotations	Allusions	Dates of allusions	Parodies	Dates of parodies
Antigone	441?	1		1	411		
Oedipus Tyrannus	*c*.430?	2?	425	1	424		
Teucer	pre-423	1	423, 388?				
Helenas apaetesis	pre-424	1	424				
Oecles	pre-424	5	424				
Peleus	pre-424		424, 423, 414, 411				
Athamas	pre-423			1	423		
Niobe	pre-422	3		1	422		
Electra	415?	3	?, 411				
Aias Locrus	pre-414	1	?, 414, 411				
Chryses	pre-414	1	414				
Oenomaus	pre-414		414				
Tereus	pre-414	3		1	414	1	414
Tyro	pre-414		414, 411, 405				
Camicoe	?	1				1	?
Laocoon	?	1	405				
Phineus	?		388				

Table 3. Aristophanes' parodies, quotations from, and allusions to the tragedies of Euripides.

Play	Date	Q	Dates of quotations	A	Dates of allusions	P	Dates of parodies	Probable parodies	Dates of probable parodies
Alcestis	438	7/ 10	425, 424, 423, 422, 414, 411						
Alcmaeon in Psophis	438	1	424						
Cressae	438	1	422	2					
Telephus	438	13/17	425, 424, 423, 421, 411,	5	425, 423, 421, 411, 405	2/3	425, 411		
Medea	431	5/7	425, 421, 414, 411, 405						
Philoctetes	431	1	405	1	425				
Hippolytus	428?	11	425, 424, 422, 411, 405, ?	2	405				
Cretes	455-428	1	405						
Heracleidae	430-427	2	424, 421						
Bellerophon	455-425	6/5	424, 422, 421	5/3	425, 421, 411, 405	2	411		
Danae	455-425			1	411				
Ino	455-425			2	425, 422				
Oeneus	455-425	3/2	425, 421, 405	1	425				
Phoenix	455-425	2/3	411, ?	1	425			1	?
Thyestes	455-425	2	421, ?	1	425				
Cresphontes	455-424	1	?						
Aeolus	455-423	4	421, 411, 405	4	423, 405			1	388-
Andromache	*c*.425?	2	422	1	411				
Hecuba	*c*.424	3/5	423, 405, ?	1	?				
Stheneboea	455-422	5	422, 421, 411, 405	2/3	411, 405				
Theseus	455-422	2/6	422		423, 405				
Peleus	pre-417	1?	?	1/2?					
Phrixus	455-*c*.416	1/4	405						
Hercules furens	*c*.415	2/3	422, 411		411				
Alexander	415	2	405						
Palamedes	415	1		3		1	411		
Pleisthenes	455-414	1	414						
Electra	422-413	1	405		405				
Iphigenia Taurica	414-413	2/1	405, ?		411				
Andromeda	412	5	411, 405	1	411	3	411		
Helena	412	15	411	1	388				
Melanippe sophe	455-411	5	411, 405	1					
Ion	419-410			1					
Alcmena	455-410	1/2	405		405				
Erectheus	421-410	2/3	411, ?						
Auge	414-406			1					
Antiope	411-409?	1	?						
Hypsipyle	411-409?	4/5	405			1	405	1	?
Phoenissae	411-409	1	?					1	?
Orestes	408	3/1	405, 388						
Archelaus	408-407	1?	405						
Temenidae	422-406	1?	405						
Antigone	420-406	3/2	405		405				
Polyidus	421-406	1	405					1	?
Meleager	418-406	5	414, 405	2	414				
Iphigenia Aulidensis	405?	1	405						
Licymnius	any			1					

The competence of the theatre audience is also an important matter. The key question is, how much did the audience have to know about the tragedies that were the targets of jokes and parody in order to be able to recognize the occasions when tragic phrases and passages were being quoted and parodied? The following thoughts by Revermann are worth quoting:

> If the theatrical event can be described as a complex exchange of signs between actors and audience, competence in the theatrical communication is the ability to decode and encode those signs. ... What makes theatrical communication so fascinating is its sheer complexity. Hence I use 'theatrical competence' as a correspondingly loose umbrella-notion which encompasses a multitude of (sub) skill-sets, be they of linguistic, visual, behavioural, inter-textual (or rather inter-theatrical), cognitive or broadly cultural nature.[221]

We can be sure that the theatre audience at Athens was competent enough to decode the usual formal elements and structural patterns of the tragedies (music, costume, movements of the chorus, entrances and exits of the actors, messenger-speeches, use of the *ekkyklema* etc.), and it surely must also have been competent enough to spot the targets of the jokes in comedies (otherwise these jokes would not have worked). We, however, can never reach exactly the same level of theatrical competence as the theatre audience of fifth- and fourth-century-BC Athens, but we can try to spot certain elements, in this case inter-textual (or inter-theatrical) elements, between comedies and tragedies.

At the same time, we must admit that there were plenty of elements in comic performances that we simply cannot spot anymore by reading the texts. Not only individual scenes or lines from tragedies, but also actors and their actions could be parodied. Rhythm, pitch, intonation and volume of the speech of tragic actors, as well as their gestures, movements and costumes could be mocked. Also, the music of tragedies (its melody, rhythm, tonal colour, pitch, and volume) could be a target for comedians.[222]

How, then, had the audience acquired their knowledge of the tragedies that were the targets of parody and jokes? Was it by having read the dramatic texts, by having heard the lines in banquets, by having been members of choruses, by having copied the texts at school, by having read collections of sentences, or by having seen the original productions and/or revivals?[223] It seems reasonable that the audience probably acquired their knowledge of tragedies by all these means, but I suggest that the majority of the audience was familiar with the texts of the tragedies mostly by having seen them performed.[224]

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[221] Revermann 2006b, 105−106.

[222] See the discussion on signs of paratragedy in Revermann 2006b, 103.

[223] For observations and discussion on the number of book copies and the size of the reading public, see Harriot 1962, 3; Hamilton 1974, 392−393; and *CAD*, 1−5. Harriot 1962, 3−4, proposes that lines from tragedies were read aloud at banquets, see also *CAD*, 7, no, I.7 (= Ar. *Nub*. 1353−1372), which suggests that reciting tragic speeches had become symposium entertainment by the late 5th century BC. For some rough calculations of the number of the adult male citizens who had been members of choruses, see Revermann 2006b, 108−109. On the school texts and on the collections of sentences and their circulation, see P. 55.

[224] The composition and size of theatre audiences is also of some concern here. For a useful and compact discussion (with references) on the composition and size of the audience, see Roselli 2005, 6−7, n. 26.

Of course there must have been many more quotations from and references to the extant tragedies in the lost comedies, and there surely are quotations from, and references and allusions to, the lost tragedies in the extant comedies, but in the absence of the relevant texts (and scholia) we are not able to recognize them anymore.

I suggest that parodies of whole scenes of tragedies may imply that the tragedy which was made fun of was (re)produced not many years before the comedy in which it was parodied. Quotations of individual lines of tragedies do not necessarily prove anything about a recent (re)production, since good lines could be remembered for a long time. Titles of the fourth-century comedies may be of some importance, but it is hard to prove anything on that basis.

Now, let us look at the tables above again. The following tragedies strike my eye as possible candidates for plays that may have been revived in Athens: Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, *Choephoroe*, *Prometheus vinctus*, and *Myrmidones*; and Euripides' *Telephus*, *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Aeolus*, and *Hippolytus.* At least we know that Euripides' *Medea* and *Hippolytus*, as well as his *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Iphigenia Taurica,* and perhaps *Hippolytus*, and Sophocles' *Antigone*, and perhaps his *Oedipus Coloneus* were parodied or alluded to in some fourth-century comedies. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that all these plays have also been connected with South Italian vases. There are also some fourth-century Attic vases that have been related to some of the above-mentioned tragedies.[225] These tragedies, then, are all good candidates for tragedies that very probably were exported outside Athens.

Tragedies

There is intertextual material contained in the texts of the tragedies too. For example, the dying cries of Agamemnon (Aesch. *Ag*. 1343 and 1345) are imitated by Sophocles in his *Electra* (1415–1417), in which Clytemnestra uses the same words as Agamemnon (Aesch. *Ag*. 1343: ὤμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω. Aesch. *Ag*. 1345: ὤμοι μάλ' αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος. Soph. *El*. 1415: ὤμοι πέπληγμαι. Soph. *El*. 1417: ὤμοι μάλ' αὖθις).[226] Sophocles' *Electra* could have been produced between 420 and 410 BC.[227] Does this mean that Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was perhaps reproduced in Athens in the 420s?

Scholars also noted a long time ago that the recognition scene between Electra and Orestes in Euripides' *Electra* (487−584, esp. 518−544) must have been written with the recognition scene of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* in mind. In the Euripidean version, all the Aeschylean recognition tokens (lock of hair, footprints and garment) are rejected and replaced with Orestes' scar.[228] Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* was produced in 458 BC, and Euripides' *Electra* was probably produced between 422–413 BC.[229] Does this mean that Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* was perhaps reproduced in Athens a little bit before 422 BC?

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[225] *Cho*. V 153 in App I; *IT* V 365 in App I; *Telephus* VV 538−540 in App I.

[226] Later Aristophanes quotes the last words of Clytemnestra (Soph. *El*. 1415) and Agamemnon (Aesch. *Ag*. 1345) in *Plut*. (935: οἴμοι μάλ' αὖθις).

[227] See e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1994, 9.

[228] For discussion, see Revermann 2006b, 100−101, and the references in n. 5.

[229] Many scholars favour the year 413 BC. See e.g. Denniston 1939, xxxiii−xxxix. Webster 1967, 4, dates the play to 421−415 BC; and Diggle 1981b, 58 to 422−416 BC.

Revivals of Sophocles' *Antigone* (premiere *c*.441 BC) may have had influence on the surviving texts of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (premiere 411–409 BC) and Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* (premiere in 467 BC). In the final scene of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, Antigone defies Creon's refusal to bury Polynices and, at the end of Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, Antigone objects to the edict that Polynices should be denied burial. Hall suggests:

> It seems probable that the version of *Seven against Thebes* that we possess is the result of alterations to its original form, perhaps made by actors preparing a revival within decades of the play's premiere, who were responding directly to the popularity of Sophocles' international play.[230]

It could be argued (and rightfully so) that the above-mentioned scenes of Sophocles' *Electra* and Euripides' *Electra*, and the final scenes of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* and Euripides' *Phoenissae* function perfectly and appeal to the audience without any knowledge of their Aeschylean or Sophoclean models. Euripides' *Phoenissae* was written some thirty years after Sophocles' *Antigone* and, therefore, the end of *Phoenissae* could have been written with the original performance of *Antigone* in mind, but it is much more plausible that Euripides had seen a revival of Sophocles' play. On the other hand, it is easy to believe that these scenes were written knowing that (at least some) members of the audience could recognize the connections between the plays. This in turn suggests that both the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroe* were perhaps reproduced in Athens (maybe in the late 420s?), just as the *Septem contra Thebas* (after 441 BC?) and Sophocles' *Antigone* (slightly before 411 BC?) probably were. If these plays were reproduced in Athens, it is of course possible that they were reproduced elsewhere too.

Other ancient literature

Plato and Aristotle

Plato and Aristotle, as well as several other ancient authors, cite or imitate verses from, or allude to the texts of the tragedians. For example, Plato alludes to Euripides' *Aeolus* (or at least to a play in which Macareus is a character) in his *Laws* when he speaks about Thyestes, Oedipus, and Macareus (who is having secret intercourse with one of his sisters) as having been brought to the stage:

> τὸ δ᾽ αἴτιον ἆρ᾽ οὐ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστί, τὸ μηδένα ἄλλως λέγειν αὐτά, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς γενόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ἀκούειν τε λεγόντων ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ταῦτα, ἐν γελοίοις τε ἅμα ἐν πάσῃ τε σπουδῇ τραγικῇ λεγομένῃ πολλάκις, ὅταν ἢ Θυέστας ἢ τινας Οἰδίποδας εἰσάγωσιν, ἢ Μακαρέας τινὰς ἀδελφαῖς μειχθέντας λαθραίως, ὀφθέντας δὲ ἑτοίμως θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέντας δίκην τῆς ἁμαρτίας;
> (Pl. *Leg*. 838c)

[230] Hall 2011, 59.

As the scholiast explains, all these characters were involved in an incestuous affair: Thyestes with his daughter Pelopeia, Oedipus with his mother Jocaste, and Macareus with his sister Canace. In my opinion, Plato clearly claims that Macareus was often (πολλάκις) brought to the stage around 350 BC (when the *Laws* was written). We happen to know that at least the characters of Oedipus and Thyestes were often seen on stage.[231] The only play we know in which Macareus was a character is Euripides' *Aeolus*. Consequently, I think that Plato's comment could be implying that he had seen a revival of Euripides' *Aeolus* in Athens in around 350 BC. As regards the characters of Thyestes and Oedipus, we have no way of knowing to which individual tragedies Plato is referring.

In addition to this allusion, the following allusions to the texts of the tragedians can be found within the texts of Plato: Pl. *Alc*. 146a (allusion to Eur. *Antiope*); Pl. [*Ax*.] 368a (allusion to Eur. *Cresphontes*); Pl. *Gorg*. 484e (allusion to Eur. *Antiope*), 485e (allusion to Eur. *Antiope*), 486c (quotations from Eur. *Antiope*); Pl. *Ion* 533d (allusion to Eur. *Oeneus*); Pl. *Symp.* 177a (allusion to Eur. *Melanippe sophe*); Pl. *Resp.* 380a (allusion to Aesch. *Niobe*), 383b (allusion to Aesch. *Xantriae*), 391c–e (allusion to Aesch. *Niobe*).

Wilson has calculated that Aristotle quotes Euripides seventeen times, Sophocles five times, Agathon twice and Theodectes twice in his *Rhetoric*.[232] In addition to quotations from tragedies, Aristotle also makes allusions to them. I have calculated the following figures (which differ slightly from those of Wilson) from the *Rhetoric*: Euripides, eighteen quotations and one allusion; Sophocles, six quotations and four allusions; Theodectes, four allusions; Antiphon, three quotations and one allusion; Carcinus II, two allusions; Agathon, one quotation; Aeschylus, one allusion; and Chaeremon, one allusion.[233] If we look specifically at individual tragedies, we get the following figures: Sophocles' *Antigone* (four quotations, two allusions), Euripides' *Troades* (three quotations), Antiphon's *Meleager* (two quotations, one allusion), Euripides' *Orestes*, *Medea*, and *IT* (two quotations each), and Theodectes' *Ajax* (two allusions).

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[231] I mentioned already in the Introduction (P. 8–9) that a tragic *Oedipus* was written by at least fifteen and a tragic *Thyestes* by at least ten separate authors.

[232] Wilson 1996, 327, n.30.

[233] Euripides: (quotations) Arist. *Rh.*1370b4 (Eur. *Andromeda*, *TrGF* V, F 131), Arist. *Rh.*1371a28 (Eur. *Or.* 234), Arist. *Rh.*1371b33–34 (Eur. *Antiope*, *TrGF* V, F 183), Arist. *Rh.*1394a29–30 (Eur. *Med.* 294–295), Arist. *Rh.*1394a33–34 (Eur. *Med.* 296–297), Arist. *Rh.*1394b2 (Eur. fr. 661), Arist. *Rh.*1394b3–6 (Eur. *Hec.* 864–865), Arist. *Rh.*1394b16 (Eur. *Tro.* 1051), Arist. *Rh.*1397a17–19 (Eur. *Thyestes*, *TrGF* V, 396), Arist. *Rh.*1400b24 (Eur. *Tro.* 990), Arist. *Rh.*1405a27 (Eur. *Telephus*, fr. 705), Arist. *Rh.*1405b21–22 (Eur. *Or.* 1587–1588), Arist. *Rh.*1407b35 (Eur. *IT* 727), Arist. *Rh.*14909b10 (Eur. *Meleager* 1), Arist. *Rh.*1411b29 (Eur. *IA* 80), Arist. *Rh.*1415b21 (Eur. *IT* 1162), Arist. *Rh.*1416a30 (Eur. *Hip.* 612), Arist. *Rh.*1418b21–22 (Eur. *Troades* 969–971) + one allusion to *Oeneus,* perhaps of Euripides? (Arist. *Rh.* 1417a15). Sophocles: Arist. *Rh.* 1373b12–13 (quotation, Soph. *Ant.* 456–457), Arist. *Rh.* 1375b1–2 (quotation, Soph. *Ant.*, 456, 458), Arist. *Rh.* 1398a5 (allusion, Soph. *Teucer*, *TrGF* IV, 433, F 579b), Arist. *Rh.*1400b16 (quotation, Soph. *Tyro*, *TrGF* IV, 467, F 658), Arist. *Rh.* 1415a20 (quotation, Soph. *OT* 774), Arist. *Rh.* 1415b20 (quotation, Soph. *Ant.* 223), Arist. *Rh.* 1416a36 (allusion, Soph. *Teucer*, *TrGF* IV, 433, F 579a), Arist. *Rh.* 1417a32–33 (quotation, Soph. *Ant.*, 911–912), Arist. *Rh.* 1417b20 (allusion, Soph. *Ant.*), Arist. *Rh.* 1418b32–33 (allusion, Soph. *Ant.*). Theodectes: (allusions) Arist. *Rh.* 1397b2–6 (Theodectes *Alcmaeon*), Arist. *Rh.* 1399b29 (Theodectes *Ajax*), Arist. *Rh.* 1400a26–27 (Theodectes *Ajax*), Arist. *Rh.* 1401a35 (Theodectes *Orestes*). Antiphon: Arist. *Rh.* 1379b13 (allusion, Antiphon *Meleager*), Arist. *Rh.* 1392b7–9 (quotation, Antiphon unknown tragedy), Arist. *Rh.* 1397b21–22 (quotation, unknown tragedy, perhaps *Meleager*), Arist. *Rh.* 1399b27–28 (quotation, Antiphon *Meleager*). Carcinus: Arist. *Rh.* 1400b10 (allusion, Carcinus *Medea*), Arist. *Rh.* 1417b18 (allusion, Carcinus *Oedipus*). Agathon: Arist. *Rh.* 1402a11–12 (quotation, Agathon unknown tragedy). Aeschylus: Arist. *Rh.* 1412b2 (allusion, Aesch. *Pers.* 778). Chaeremon: Arist. *Rh.* 1400b25 (allusion, Chaeremon *Pentheus*).

From Aristotle's *Poetics*, I counted the following figures: Euripides, fourteen/twelve allusions; Sophocles, eight/six allusions; Aeschylus, four/three allusions, one quotation; Theodectes, three allusions; Agathon, three/two allusions; Carcinus II, two allusions; Polyidus, two allusions; Astydamas II, one allusion; Dicaeogenes, one allusion; two/three allusions to tragedies by unknown authors.[234] When we calculate allusions to individual tragedies in the *Poetics* we get the following figures: Euripides' *IT* (five allusions), Sophocles' *OT* (three allusions), Euripides' *Medea*, Polyidus' *IT*, and Theodectes *Lynceus* (two allusions each).

In addition to the quotations and allusions discussed above, the following allusions are worth mentioning: Arist. *Eth. Eud*. 1239a37 (Antiphon's *Andromache*), Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1150b9 (Theodectes' *Philoctetes*, and the *Alope* of Carcinus II).

All in all, Aristotle discusses the tragedies of the fifth century more than the tragedies of the fourth century and he takes many more examples from the plays of Euripides and Sophocles than from the tragedies of his contemporaries, Astydamas II, Carcinus II, and Theodectes.[235] According to his extant texts, Aristotle's favourite tragedies are Euripides' *IT* (five allusions, two quotations), Sophocles' *Antigone* (four quotations, two allusions), Sophocles' *OT* (three allusions, one quotation), and Euripides' *Medea* (two allusions, two quotations). The question that needs to be asked is, had Aristotle seen reproductions of these tragedies (perhaps in Athens or Macedonia) or did he perhaps refer to them mainly on the basis of text copies which he possessed? We may never know the answer to this question, but it seems reasonable that the most frequently quoted or alluded to of the above-mentioned tragedies (Eur. *IT* and *Med*., Soph. *Ant*. and *OT*) are good candidates for tragedies that may have been revived in Athens and exported outside Athens as well.

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[234] Euripides: Arist. *Poet*. 1452b5−8 (Eur. *IT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454a5−7 (Eur. *Cresphontes*, *IT*, *Helle*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454a31 (Eur. *Melanippe sophe*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b1 (Eur. *Med.*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b32 (Eur. *IT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a18−21 (Eur. *IT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455b2ff (Eur. *IT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1456a1−2 (Soph./Eur.? *Peleus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1458b23 (Eur. *Philoctetes*), Arist. *Poet*. 1460a30−32 (Aesch./Soph./Eur./Agathon/Nicomachus? *Mysoe*), Arist. *Poet*. 1461b20−22 (Eur. *Med*., Eur. *Or.*). Sophocles: Arist. *Poet*. 1452a25 (Soph. *OT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b7 (Soph. *OT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b23−25 (Soph. *Tyro*), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b35 (Soph. *Tereus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a18−21 (Soph. *OT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1456a1−2 (Soph. *Phtiatides*, Soph./Eur.? *Peleus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1460a30−32 (Soph. *El.*, Aesch./Soph./Eur./Agathon/Nicomachus? *Mysoe*). Aeschylus: Arist. *Poet*. 1454a4 (*Aesch. Cho.*), Arist. *Poet*. 1456a1−2 (Aesch. *Phorcides*, Aesch. *Prometheus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1458b23 (quotation Aesch. *Philoctetes*, *TrGF* III, 357, F 253), Arist. *Poet*. 1460a30−32 (Soph. *El.*, Aesch./Soph./Eur./Agathon/Nicomachus? *Mysoe*). Theodectes: Arist. *Poet*. 1452a28−30 (Theodectes *Lynceus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a9 (Theodectes *Tydeus*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455b29−31 (Theodectes *Lynceus*). Agathon: Arist. *Poet*. 1451b19. (Agathon *Antheus*, *TrGF* I, F, 161−162, 2a); Arist. *Poet*. 1454b11 (Agathon *Unknown tragedy*, *TrGF* I, 164, F [10]), Arist. *Poet*. 1460a30−32 (Soph. *El.*, Aesch./Soph./Eur./Agathon/Nicomachus? *Mysoe*). Carcinus: Arist. *Poet*. 1454b23−25 (Carcinus *Thyestes*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a26 (Carcinus *Amphiaraus*?). Polyidus: Arist. *Poet*. 1455a6 (Polyidus *IT*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455b2ff (Polyidus *IT*). Astydamas: Arist. *Poet*. 1453b33 (Astydamas *Alcmaeon*). Dicaeogenes: Arist. *Poet*. 1454b36−38 (Dicaeogenes *Cyprioe*). Unknown Authors: Arist. *Poet*. 1454a31 (an unknown tragedy *Scylla* or Timotheus' dithyramb *Scylla*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a9 (*Phineades*), Arist. *Poet*. 1455a13−15 (*Oedipus as messenger*). Arist. *Poet*. 1453a19−21 (where Aristotle says that many tragedies are about Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, and Telephus) and Arist. *Poet*. 1459b4−6 (where Aristotle enumerates tragedies which are made on the basis of the *Little Ilias*, i.e. *Hoplon crisis*, *Philoctetes*, *Neoptolemus*, *Eurypylus*, *Odysseus as beggar*, *Lacaenae*, *Ilioupersis*, *Apoplous*, *Sinon*, *Troades*) are not taken into account in these figures since there were so many authors of a tragic *Oedipus*, *Thyestes*, *Telephus*, *Philoctetes* etc.

[235] Kannicht 1997, 69, has counted the following figures from the works of Aristotle: about 170 allusions and quotations, 80 verbatim citations, of which 2 are from Antiphon, 2 from Chaeremon, 3 from Theodectes, 4 from Aeschylus, 5 from Agathon, 15 from Sophocles, 15 from an unknown source, and 37 from Euripides.

Quotations, imitations and referencing in political and forensic oratory

Wilson discusses some examples of direct quotations by public speakers.[236] For example, Lycurgus quotes fifty-five lines from a speech by Praxithea in Euripides' *Erechtheus* (455−422 BC) and, in his speech *Against Leocrates* (330 BC), Aeschines quotes two lines from Euripides' *Stheneboea* (422 BC?); in his speech *Against Timarchus* (345 BC) and in his *On the False Embassy* (343 BC), Demosthenes cites lines from Euripides' *Phoenix* (455−425 BC), which Aeschines had also used in his speech *Against Timarchus*.[237] According to Wilson: 'In these instances fifth-century tragedy is, like Homer, a source of implicit authority, and a storehouse of edifying moral and political models ... It is the tragedy of the past, not of the present, that has the power.'[238]

It is easy to believe with Wilson that the orators of the fourth century quoted lines from the tragedies of the fifth century particularly due to the authority of the tragic texts. Therefore, it cannot be suggested that, for example, Lycurgus (or the audience of his speech) had seen a recent reproduction of Euripides' *Erectheus*. Nonetheless, Aeschines' speeches may actually give us clues to some reproductions, since Aeschines was also a tragic actor.[239] During his career as an actor, he acted as a tritagonist with 'bad actors' Simylus and Socrates (who performed in the countryside), played the part of Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone* and the part of Oenomaus in Sophocles'(?) *Oenomaus*; he also acted (as tritagonist) in plays about Thyestes and Troy, and he may also have played the roles of Polydorus (in Euripides' *Hecuba*?) and Cresphontes (in Euripides' *Cresphontes*?).[240]

So, when Aeschines cites lines from Euripides' *Phoenix*, we need to discern whether or not he had previously acted in a reproduction of the play in question. At least Demosthenes seems to imply so (Dem. 19.246). Unfortunately, we do not have many quotations from tragedies in Aeschines' speeches. In addition to his quotation from Euripides' *Phoenix*, there are only some verses from Euripides' *Stheneboea* (Aeschin. *In Tim*. 151).

Other ancient authors

There are also quotations of tragic verses by historical persons. For instance, Isocrates quoted the first verses from Euripides' *Archelaus*, *IT*, and *Phrixus* before he died in 338/7 BC ([Plut.] *X orat*. 837e). Had Isocrates perhaps seen these tragedies in recent revivals or did he quote them on the basis of text copies that he had been able to read?

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[236] Wilson 1996, 312−315. Of course, the interaction between drama and oratory was mutual. For discussions on the influence of rhetoric on drama, see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1979, 66−76; and Scodel 1997, 489−504. For the use of tragedy by rhetoricians, see McDonald 2007, 473−489.

[237] *Erectheus*: Lycurg. *Leoc.* 100 = *TrGF* V, 398−402, F 360; *Stheneboea*: Aesch. *In Tim*. 151 = *TrGF* V, 651, F 661.24−25; *Phoenix*: Dem. 19.246 = *TrGF* V, 847, T v; Aesch. *In Tim*. 152 = *TrGF* V, 851, F 812.

[238] Wilson 1996, 315.

[239] See O'Connor 1908, no. 15; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 307; and Stephanis 1988, no. 90.

[240] For Aeschines as a tritagonist of Simylus and Socrates, see Dem. *De cor*. 262; and *Vit*. *Aeschin*. 2.27−28. For Aeschines as Creon and Oenomaus, see Dem. *De cor*. 180, and 242; *Vit*. *Aeschin*. 1.17, 2.25; and P. 96−97, 144−145, 189. For Aeschines in plays about Thyestes and Troy, see Dem. 19.337; and P. 198. For Aeschines in *Hecuba* and *Cresphontes*, see Dem. *De cor*. 267, and P. 165.

Some Macedonian rulers are said to have quoted (or heard quotations of) Euripidean verses.[241] Anaxarchus quoted Eur. *Or*. 271 to Alexander the Great (Plut. *Mor*. 737a) and Alexander himself quoted Euripides on several occasions: Eur. *Med*. 288 in 336 BC (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 10.7); Eur. *Andr.* 693 in 328 BC (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 51.8); Eur. *Andromeda*? in 328 BC (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 53); a scene from Eur. *Andromeda* (Ath. *Deipn.* 12.537d); and Eur. *Bacch*. 266 in 328 BC (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 53.3). See also Arr. *Anab*. 7.16.6, for Alexander's Euripidean quotations (*TrGF* V, 969, F973) in 323 BC. Antigonus I is said to have quoted Eur. *Pho* 396 in 306 BC to his son Demetrius I (Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 14.34), and Demetrius I, in turn, is said to have quoted Eur. *Bacch*. 4−5 (Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 45.3). It should also be noted that Timoleon used an adapted line of Eur. *Med*. 215, when he was speaking in Sicily in 339 BC (Plut. *Vit. Tim*. 32).

We may wonder whether Alexander, Antigonus, and Demetrius had perhaps seen the plays in question in productions in Macedonia.[242] On the other hand, we have evidence that Alexander, at least, may also have learned the lines in question from texts of the tragedies.[243] Plato (Pl. *Leg*. 811a) mentions that there are people who learn whole poets by heart and others who compile summaries of poets.

In addition to the above-mentioned quotations and allusions made by Plato, Aristotle, orators, and Alexander the Great, there are, of course, numerous quotations, parodies, and imitations of Greek tragedies in Latin, as well as translations into Latin, made by ancient authors throughout the centuries. Page has compiled a table of quotations from Euripides' *IA* made by some twenty ancient authors.[244] In Page's table, the approximate dates of quotations vary from 375 BC to AD 500, and the cases of parody, translation, imitation, quoting from anthologies, and quoting a proverbial phrase are separated from actual quotations.

Perhaps too much emphasis should not be put on the sheer number of quotations from individual plays. Collard's table shows the randomness of the number, nature, and extent of the sources for Euripidean fragmentary plays − for some plays, there are many papyri but no (or only a few) quotations, and for others, there are a lot of quotations but no papyri.[245] For our study, the most important cases are actual quotations made by fourth-century-BC authors, since they might tell us something about the reperformances of tragedies that are quoted. The most important quotations from individual tragedies are discussed in Chapter IV.

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[241] Moloney 2003, 103, reminds us: 'Such anecdotes, though wonderfully theatrical, unfortunately tend to tell us more about the style and techniques used by our sources than they do about the place of the genre at the Macedonian court'.

[242] At least a performance of Eur. *Bacch*. in Macedonia has been suggested by some scholars, see P. 89−90, and 152.

[243] Plutarch (Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 8.2−3) tells us that when Alexander could find no books in the interior of Asia, Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestus and Philoxenus. It is, of course, also perfectly possible that all these quotations (and the story about the sending of the books) are simply made up by Plutarch (or his sources). For the story about Harpalus sending books to Alexander, see also P. 111.

[244] Page 1936, 128.

[245] Collard 2005, 50.

Evidence of theatre buildings

Theatres (see e.g. Figs. 19–20, 24) are, of course, the most obvious venues for theatre performances, although theatres were also used for public meetings, performances of dithyrambs, musical contests, etc. Csapo's table containing certain, probable, and very possible venues for drama from *c*.440 to *c*.340 BC is worth reproducing here.[246]

Table 4. Attested venues for drama from *c*.440 to *c*.340 BC (after Csapo 2010a).[247]

By	Certain	Possible	Very possible
c.440	Syracuse	Gela	Thoricus
	Athenian Dionysia	Megara (Sicilian)	Catana
	Athenian Lenaea		Metapontum
	Megara (Mainland)		Anagyrous
			Icarium
			Sparta
			Argos
c.420	Anagyrus	Icarium	Eleusis
		Thoricus	Thebes
c.400	Icarium	Piraeus	Elea
	Thoricus	Thurii	Euonymum
	Acharnae	Tarentum	Oropus
	Eleusis	Metapontum	Chaeroneia
	Dion (or Aegae)		Ishtmia
			Thasos
			Cyrene
c.370	Euonymum	Rhodes	Corinth
	Collytus		Phigaleia
			Salamis
			Aegae
c.340	Piraeus	Cyrene	Locri
	Brauron		Aexone
	Paeania		Sphettus
	Rhamnus		Morgantina
	Aegilia		Iaitas
	Myrrhinus		Leontini
	Halae Araphenides		Thebae Phthiotides
	Lemnos		Philippi
	Rhodes		Cos
	Samos		

Csapo notes: 'There is every reason to believe that these numbers represent only a view of the "tip of the iceberg" permitted by the random and fortuitous survival of evidence'.[248]

[246] Csapo 2010a, 102. The table is a revised version of the table in Csapo 2004, 67.
[247] Theatres in Csapo's table are either attested by archaeology or mentioned in inscriptions or in literature (some of them have not yet been found by archaeologists).
[248] Csapo 2010a, 103.

Fig. 19. Theatre of Eretria in April 2004. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
With the permission of ΙΑ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

Frederiksen has calculated the following figures for all Greek theatres dating down to the second century AD.[249] There are 251 theatres attested to by archaeology, twenty-eight theatres known exclusively from literary sources (all in all, sixty-nine theatres are mentioned in literature), and twenty-seven theatres known exclusively from inscriptions (overall, seventy-six theatres are mentioned in inscriptions), which in total makes 306 theatres.

If we take into account only theatres that have been dated to before the end of the fourth century BC (or thereabouts), we can calculate the following approximate figures: fourteen theatres in Attica, twenty-one theatres in South Italy and Sicily (7 in South Italy, 14 in Sicily), and eighty-four theatres on mainland Greece, on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor, which in total makes 119 theatres. If we eliminate from this figure theatres that are probably from the third century BC (i.e. Callatis, Dodona, Demetrias, Mesambria, Sicyon), theatres that were probably used for assemblies and for cultic purposes rather than for dramatic performances (i.e. Dreros, Lato), and the dubious cases of some literary descriptions (i.e. Abydus, Aeolis, Gedrosia, Salmous), we still have around one hundred theatres as possible venues for drama performances in the fourth century BC.

It must also be noted that scholars are not unanimous about the dates of some theatres and in some cities there are actually two separate theatres.[250] Furthermore, there are some cities that very probably had a theatre, of which there is no archaeological or written evidence.[251] Regardless, the above-mentioned figures show clearly that the

[249] Frederiksen 2002. There is a distinct chart on p. 93.

Fig. 20. Theatre of Elis in July 2004. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
With the permission of Ζ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

number of possible venues for performances of the exported plays is tremendous. To illustrate the spread of theatres all over the Greek world in the fourth century BC, I have placed all theatres (either attested by archaeology or known from epigraphic or literary sources) that have been dated to before 300 BC (or close to it), on the following maps.[252]

Fig. 21 shows the theatres of South Italy and Sicily. Theatres on mainland Greece, on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor are collected in Figs. 22 and 23. Theatres that do not fit in Figs. 22 and 23 are illustrated in Fig. 31 (together with sites that shall be discussed in Chapter III in connection with Alexander the Great). Locations of all Attic demes that either still have a theatre or are otherwise known to have had a theatre, or that are known to have hosted theatrical performances are illustrated in Fig. 28 (and will be discussed in Chapter III in connection with the Rural Dionysia).

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[250] For instance, the theatre of Tyndaris in Sicily, theatre of Hephaestia in Lemnos, and theatre of Thera in Santorini have all been variously dated to three or four different centuries. There are two theatres at least in Ambracia, Argos, Dion (one Greek and one Roman theatre), Cassope, Epidaurus, Ilion, Lato (probably for cultic use), Messene, Oropus, and Piraeus (one Greek and one Roman theatre).

[251] E.g. Gela in Sicily (see Csapo 2010a, 96−97), Meligounis on Lipari (see Hughes 2012, 68−69); and Thurii in Italy (see e.g. Taplin 1993, 14−16; and 2007a, 9: 'But no one could doubt, surely, that there was a theatre at Thourioi').

[252] I have combined information for the maps from the following sources: Whitehead 1986, 212−222; *DFA*^{2}, 45−56; Mitens 1988, *passim*; *TGR*, *passim*; Moretti 2001, 127−135; Frederiksen 2002, appendices II−IV, and *passim*; Bąçe 2004, *passim*; Hansen, and Nielsen 2004, 1378−1381; and Csapo 2010a, 100−103. See also table 9.1 and the discussion in Marconi 2012. The basic models of the maps are taken from Talbert 1985, but I have handled and modified them in Photoshop.

Fig. 21. Theatres of South Italy and Sicily (either attested by archaeology or known from literary sources) that have been dated to before 300 BC (or close to it).

Fig. 22. Theatres on mainland Greece (either attested by archaeology or known from literary sources) that have been dated to before 300 BC (or close to it).

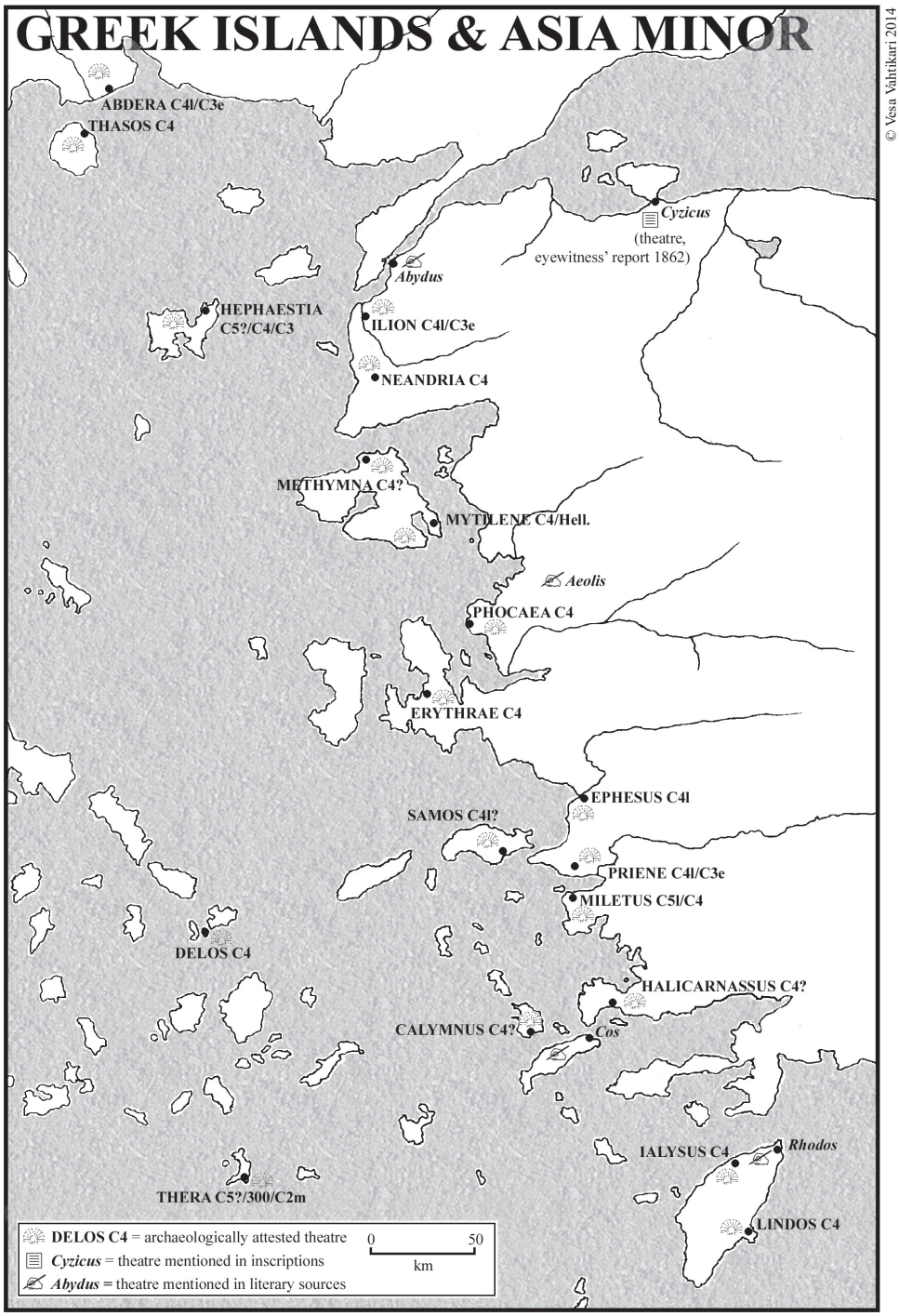

Fig. 23. Theatres on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor (either attested by archaeology or known from epigraphic or literary sources) that have been dated to before 300 BC (or close to it).

When trying to conjecture the most popular tragedies which were probably exported outside Athens, vases constitute the richest and at the same time the most problematic source. Problems arise from two factors: 1) most of the tragedies are lost, and 2) vases are found by chance. Therefore it is very rare that one can connect dramatic texts and vases to each other with any kind of certainty. Evidence from documentary and literary sources is sporadic, and sometimes the information from two different sources is contradictory. Evidence from the tragic texts is slight: there are only a few plausible examples of localization. Actors' interpolations may tell us something about the later popularity of some plays, but they involve a lot of speculation. Intertextual evidence may occasionally be of some help but, like evidence from the tragic texts, it is speculative. Therefore it may seem a hopeless task to try to establish some kind of repertoire of the most popular tragedies in the fourth century BC. Even so, this is exactly what I am going to do later in this study.

A sharp-eyed reader may have noticed that some tragedies (e.g. Eur. *IT*, *Med*., and *Telephus*, and Soph. *Ant*., and *OT*) figure again and again as examples in this Chapter. I shall argue later in this study that these tragedies (and some others as well) were often revived in Athens, as well as reproduced outside Athens. But before discussing the tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries, I shall shortly go through the known theatre performances outside Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Fig. 24. Theatre of Cassope in June 2009. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
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III. Known theatre performances outside Athens

γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τραγῳδοὶ μὲν οἱ περὶ Θετταλὸν καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον,
ὧν ἀνταγωνιζομένων ἀλλήλοις, ἐχορήγουν μὲν οἱ Κύπριοι βασιλεῖς ἔκρινον δ' οἱ
δοκιμώτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν.
(Plut. *Mor*. 334e)

Aeschylus in Sicily

Aeschylus visited Sicily at least twice − one visit must have happened between the spring of 472 BC (the production of the *Persae* in Athens) and the spring of 467 BC (the production of the Theban trilogy in Athens), and the other visit must have happened after the spring of 458 BC (the production of the *Oresteia* trilogy in Athens) and ended with the death of the poet in Gela in 456/5 BC.[1] Aeschylus' visits to Sicily and his death at Gela are not questioned by ancient authors; Athenaeus even claims: 'It is no wonder that Aeschylus, who spent some time in Sicily, has used many Sicilian words' (ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν).[2]

Aetnaeae

Aeschylus' *Vita* states clearly that the *Aetnaeae* was produced in Sicily: ἐλθὼν τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν Ἱέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἰτναίας οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν.[3] Nevertheless, the year of the production remains disputed − it may have been in 476/5 BC or after 472 BC, probably in 470 BC (when Pind. *Pyth.* 1 was performed).[4] The question of whether Aeschylus made a separate visit for the production of the *Aetnaeae* or produced both the *Aetnaeae* and the *Persae* during one and the same visit cannot be answered with any certainty.[5]

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[1] For some discussions and references to earlier studies see Herington 1967, 75−76; Griffith 1978, 106−107; *TrGF* III, 61−62; Ippolito 1997, 4−6; and Garvie 2009, liii−liv. Aeschylus produced the *Aetnaeae* in Sicily when Hieron was founding the city of *Aetna* (*Vit. Aesch*. 9), and Diod. Sic. 11.49 dates the foundation of Aetna in 476/5 BC. Aeschylus also reproduced the *Persae* in Sicily (*Vit. Aesch*. 18), and the premiere of the *Persae* in Athens is dated to 472 BC by the play's hypothesis. *Marm. Par.* A 59 (= *TrGF* III, T 3) dates the death of Aeschylus to 456/5 BC: Ἀισχύλος ὁ ποιητής βιώσας ἔτη ξθ΄ ἐτελεύτησαν ἐγ [Γελ]ᾳ τῆς Σικελίας, ἔτη ρϙγ΄ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου τοῦ προτέρου.

[2] Ath. *Deipn*. 9.376b = *TrGF* III, T 92a. Translation is from Herington 1967, 78. For some discussions on Sicilian influence on the extant work of Aeschylus (Sicilian words and forms; Pythagorean elements; similarities to the view of Empedocles; similarities to the work of Epicharmus), see Herington 1967, 78−81; and Griffith 1978, 106−117.

[3] *Vit. Aesch*. 9 = *TrGF* III, T 1, 33−34.

[4] Griffith 1978, 106, supposes: 'It is quite possible that the performance of *Aitnaiai*, to celebrate the founding of Hieron's city, took place in 470 rather than 476−5: Pindar's *First Pythian*, written for the same occasion, celebrates a victory of that year'. There are some similarities of subject matter, treatment, and language in Pind. *Pyth* 1.15−18 and in Aesch. *PV* 351−372, which both refer to an eruption of Aetna (probably in 475 BC). For a discussion on the question of who is borrowing from whom, see Griffith 1978, 117−120.

[5] Herington 1967, 76, reminds us: 'founding a city may be a lengthy process ... and inaugural festivities may reasonably be expected only towards the end of the process'. I find it most probable that Aeschylus made only two visits to Sicily.

The play may have covered the following episodes.[6] Zeus, disguised as an eagle, snatched a Sicilian maiden named Thalia into the air and had intercourse with her on mount Aetna. After the intercourse, the maiden prayed that the earth might swallow her up and it obliged. At the time of her delivery, earth opened again and twins, called Palici, came forth and the cult of the Palici was foretold at the end of the play.

There is no certainty about the characters of the play or the identity of the chorus.[7] The play itself was rather uniquely set in five different places (as told in the hypothesis of the play): the first setting is Aetna; the second, Xuthia; the third, Aetna; then Leontini, Syracuse, and Temenite (a suburb of Syracuse).[8] The *mechane* and so-called Charon's steps may have been used in the staging of the play.[9]

A question of some interest is where in Sicily the *Aetnaea*e was performed. Both Aetna and Syracuse have been suggested, but there is no certainty about the place of the Sicilian performance of the play; although, in my opinion, the use of the *mechane* and perhaps also the changes of scenes (in *Aetnaeae*), and the chariot entrance and the ghost of Darius (in *Persae*, if it is assumed that the two plays were performed during the same visit) suggest a performance in Syracuse rather than in Aetna.[10]

Another question is whether or not the *Aetnaeae* was part of a trilogy?[11] Regarding Aeschylean trilogies, it has been suggested that Aeschylus' son Euphorion composed (or completed) his father's plays and produced some trilogies under his father's name.[12]

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[6] For reconstructions of the plot of the play, see Mette 1963, 14−16; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 33−35; *LIMC* VII, 896–898; Ippolito 1997, 6−12; and Poli-Palladini 2001, 296−311.

[7] Scholars have suggested that either women of the city of Aetna or nymphs of mount Aetna formed the chorus, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 33; Ippolito 1997, 8−9; and Poli-Palladini 2001, 304.

[8] The hypothesis has survived on a papyrus (*P.Oxy*. 2257 fr.1). See Taplin 1977, 416−418, for a discussion on the exits and re-entries of the chorus between the acts. Also Poli-Palladini 2001, 290−296, discusses the changes of scenes in the *Aetnaeae*, she writes (on p. 291): 'It has been maintained that these frequent changes of scene were made easier and far from disturbing by the innovative equipment available in the new theatre of Syracuse, which included such appliances as some sort of orchestra pitch, and poles for quickly changing backcloths. Of course, this point depends on whether the play was performed in Syracuse'.

[9] The Charon's steps are suggested by Taplin 1977, 447, and the *mechane* is suggested by Poli-Palladini 2001, 318–319.

[10] For discussions of and references to the site of the Sicilian performance, see Poli-Palladini 2001, 316–317. For the theatre of Syracuse, see *TGR* III, 34−37. See also Mitens 1986, 116−120; and Dearden 1990a, 158−159. Underneath the currently visible Roman theatre of Catana, there are remains of a Greek theatre in which Alcibiades gave a speech to the people of the city at an assembly in 415 BC, but it is not at all guaranteed that the city had a theatre in Aeschylus' time, see Thuc. 6.51; Polyaenus, *Strat*. 1.40.4; Diod. Sic. 13.4.4; and Frontin. *Str*. 3.2.6. Frontinus mentions that the city, in which the assembly in question was held, was Acragas (modern Agrigento), but this must be a mistake, since all the other authors mention Catana. For the theatre of Catana, see *TGR* II, 428−430; and also Mitens 1986, 100−103. Catana (modern Catania), is the place where Hieron founded the city of Aetna *c*.475 BC, and in 461 BC Aetna was relocated to Inessa, see e.g. *OCD*, s.v. Aetna (2), and Catana; and *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Aetna (2), and Katane.

[11] For some discussions of (verified and suggested) Aeschylean trilogies, see e.g. *TrGF* III, 111−119; Garvie 1986, xxvi−xxvii; and Sommerstein 2010, 32−44. Poli-Palladini 2001, 315−316 refers to Lloyd-Jones, Il *Prometeo incatenato* di Eschilo, *Dioniso* 43 (1969), 211−218, and discusses (quite convincingly) several points against Lloyd-Jones' hypothesis that the *Aetnaeae* formed a trilogy with the *Prometheus vinctus* and the *Prometheus solutus*.

[12] See West 2000, 338−352, who proposes that at least the Prometheus trilogy, the Achilles trilogy, and the Memnon trilogy were produced in Athens by Euphorion. *Suda* ε 3800 claims that Euphorion won four times with his father's previously unperformed plays.

The mentioning of the local cult of the Palici, and the Sicilian setting can perhaps be considered 'localization'.[13] The following four vases have been connected with this play[14]:

1) A fragment of an Apulian bell-krater, Cambridge (Mass.), Group of the Black Fury Painter, Sachler Mus., 1952.33 (once Rome, Curtius Collection), *c*.400/390 BC (V 24 in App. II).

2) An Apulian hydria, Gravina Painter/circle of the Tarporley Painter, Trieste, Mus. Civico S. 437, *c*.400/370 BC (V 25 in App. II).

3) An Apulian amphora from Ceglie by the Darius Painter, *c*.330 BC, Berlin, Antikelslg. F 3239 (V 27 in App. II).

4) A Paestan amphora from Nola, circle of the Boston Orestes Painter, lost (once Naples, Hamilton Collection), 340–310 BC (V 28 in App. II)

If the above-mentioned vases really do reflect Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* (we are not aware of any other tragic *Aetnaeae*, or *Thalia* or *Palici* for that matter), they may suggest that the play was reperformed in Magna Graecia around 400, and around 340 BC. Or do they? It has to be noted that the time gap between the premiere of the play and the date of the vases is quite large, from 70 (470−400 BC) to 160 (470−310 BC) years.

Could it be that the play was first reperformed in Athens in around 410−400 and then it was again reperformed in Southern Italy? Or could it be the case that the painters of the above-mentioned vases simply copied old models (which in turn were inspired by an actual theatre performance in Sicily around 470 BC) and never saw the play in question? There are few signals of connection with drama on the above-mentioned vases. In the Apulian vase paintings, numbers 1), 2), and 3), only the hand gesture (distress) of the maiden who is being abducted can be counted as such a signal.

On the Paestan vase, number 4), there is an object on the left which clearly looks like a stage altar. It has to be kept in mind that the first manufacturers of red-figured pottery at Paestum were probably potters who had migrated there from Sicily.[15] So maybe the Paestan vase is a copy of an older Paestan vase, which in turn somehow reflects a (re)performance of the *Aetnaeae*, not in Paestum, but in Sicily.

But then again, there is the vase painted by the Darius painter, i.e. vase number 3), on which two other tragic scenes are also depicted: Chrysippus' abduction by Laius (which was the subject of Euripides' *Chrysippus*) and the death of Actaeon (which was the subject of Aeschylus' *Toxotides*).[16] At least in the Actaeon scene, some indicators of tragic connection are clearly seen (supplication (knee on ground), and the Erinys figure). How should this particular vase be interpreted, keeping in mind that the Darius Painter painted a huge number of other tragedy related vases? Had the Darius Painter perhaps seen a performance of a tragedy in which a maiden was abducted by an eagle (told in a messenger speech/acted on stage with the help of a *mechane*?), or was he just making a copy of a copy? Or had he perhaps painted the Actaeon scene on this vase after having

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[13] The twins are called σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς (*TrGF* III, F 6) because they came back (πάλιν ἵκειν) from underground. For some discussions on the cult of the Palici, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 34−35; Ippolito 1997, 7−8; and Poli-Palladini 2001, 319–321.

[14] In addition to the vases, there are also two fourth-/third-century-BC capitals (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 11, 12), and a fragmentary plastic group from the fourth century BC (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 13)

[15] See my discussion on the painter called Asteas, P. 49−50.

[16] For Euripides' *Chrysippus*, see App. I, P. 235−236. For Aeschylus' *Toxotides*, see App. I, P. 233−234.

seen a tragedy about the death of Actaeon and then just filled up an empty space on this same vase with a scene of a maiden being abducted (from a model)? Or was the Actaeon scene also painted from some model (which in turn was originally inspired by an actual theatre performance)?

Apart from the above-mentioned vases, we have no evidence of reperformances of the *Aetnaeae* in Athens or anywhere else, although it must be mentioned that the *Catalogue of Aeschylus' Plays*, which is found in some manuscripts (*TrGF* III, 58−59, T 78), lists both a genuine and a spurious *Aetnaeae* (Αἰτναῖαι γνήσιοι and Αἰτναῖαι νόθοι). It has been suggested that the so-called spurious play was in fact a version of the original one and that either Aeschylus, or his son Euphorion, revived the play for a production in Athens.[17]

Because of the long-time gap between the date of the first performance of the play and the dates of the vases, and because we are not aware of any parody of, allusions to, or quotations from the *Aetnaeae* made by Aristophanes (or by any other comedian) to back up the theory of a reperformance of the play in Athens, no reperformance of the play in Magna Graecia or in Athens can be suggested. In addition, it is far from certain that the above-mentioned vases really do reflect Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* (they might as well be related to an unknown tragedy by an unknown author).[18]

Persae

The play was produced in Athens in 472 BC together with *Phineus*, *Glaucus*, and *Prometheus*, and Aeschylus won the first prize in the competition.[19] The action of the play is located in Susa and the plot in brief is as follows: Xerxes has been defeated at Salamis. The ghost of Darius prophesies the defeat at Plataea. Xerxes returns home. The characters of the play are: Atossa, Xerxes, the ghost of Darius, a messenger, and the chorus is formed of the Persian elders.

The following two vases must be mentioned here (although neither of the vases is probably connected with Aeschylus' *Persae*):

1) Fragments of an Attic vase by the Leningrad Painter, Corinth T 1144, 480−450 BC (V 445 in App. II). These fragments have been interpreted as depicting either a tragedy about Croesus or Darius rising from the tomb in Aeschylus' *Persae*.[20] The aulos-player in the first of the five fragments surely is a strong indicator of a tragic connection, but the other four fragments are simply too small to supply enough information for any kind of exact interpretation.

2) An Apulian volute-krater from Canosa by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81947 (H 3253), 340–330 BC (V 446 in App. II, see Pl. VII.1). On this vase, there are numerous iconographic elements which indicate that the vase painter could have been influenced by an actual theatre performance: stage properties (altar, throne, bucranium),

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[17] See Poli-Palladini 2001, 309; and Sommerstein 2008, 7. For other plays that were revived by their author, see Garvie 1969, 19−21.

[18] See Poli-Palladini 2001, 309.

[19] *Hypoth. Pers.*: Ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγῳδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνίκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ, Προμηθεῖ. The *Prometheus* in question is the satyric *Prometheus pyrcaeus*.

[20] Croesus: Beazley 1995, 305−319; Darius: Hammond and Moon 1978, 371−374. For other discussions on this vase, see *DFA*^{2}, 182−183, fig. 36; Taplin 1997, 69−70; and Bardel 2005, 106–111.

costumes of the central figures, gestures (speaking gesture, distress, indignation, supplication (both sitting on an altar and kneeling before)), a paidagogos-messenger figure. There are also inscriptions (ΠΕΡΣΑΙ, and name labels for some figures), but the figure of Darius, who is sitting in the middle of the picture, makes it clear that this vase has nothing to do with the *Persae* of Aeschylus (since in Aeschylus' play Darius appeared as a ghost, not in person).[21]

We are not aware of any other tragic *Persae*, but Epicharmus (who was Aeschylus' contemporary), and Pherecrates (who lived in the fifth century BC) are both known to have written a comic *Persae*.[22] Chionides (who lived in the fifth century BC) wrote a comedy entitled either *Persae* or *Assyrioe*, and Metagenes (who lived in the fifth and fourth centuries BC) wrote a comedy entitled *Thuriopersae*.[23] There was also a satyric *Persae* by Anaxion of Mytilene, but the date of the play is unknown.[24]

In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Aeschylus first alludes to the *Persae* and then Dionysus says that he enjoyed it when the chorus clapped their hands and shouted, 'ἰαυοῖ', when they heard about the death of Darius/listened to the dead Darius:

> Αἰ. εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα
> νικᾶν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον.
> Δι. ἐχάρην γοῦν, †ἡνίκ᾽ ἤκουσα περὶ Δαρείου τεθνεῶτος,†
> ὁ χορὸς δ᾽ εὐθὺς τῶ χεῖρ᾽ ὠδὶ συγκρούσας εἶπεν 'ἰαυοῖ.'
> (Ar. *Ran*. 1026−1029)

Obviously Aristophanes saw a version of the play, which was different from the version that we have today, since in the extant *Persae* there is no clapping of hands or shouting of ἰαυοῖ by the chorus.[25] It must also be noted that Athenaeus (*Deipn*. 86b) quotes this play, but the passage is corrupt and the words that Athenaeus quotes do not occur in the text of the *Persae* that we have.

Both Aeschylus' *Vita* and a scholiast on Aristophanes' *Ranae* state that the *Persae* was reperformed in Sicily (on Hieron's request):

> φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος ἀξιωθέντα ἀναδιδάξαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ λίαν εὐδομινεῖν.
> (*Vit*. *Aesch*. 18)

> δοκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου δεδιδάχθαι ἐν Συρακούσαις, σπουδάσαντος
> Ἱέρωνος, ὥς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν γ΄ περὶ κωμῳδιῶν.
> (Schol. Ar. *Ran*. 1028)

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[21] Taplin 2007a, 235−237, who describes this vase as 'possibly, but far from definitely, related to a tragedy called *Persians*', is hesitant on whether the narrative behind this vase painting is tragic or some other kind of poetry or even prose.

[22] For Epicharmus' *Persae* see *PCG* I, 15, 71, T 35.4. For Pherecrates' *Persae* see *PCG* VII, 167–172, F 132–143.

[23] For Chionides' *Persae* or *Assyrioe*, see *PCG* IV, 73. For Metagenes' *Thuriopersae*, see *PCG* VII, 6–8, F 6–9; and Revermann 2006a, 71−72.

[24] See *TrGF* I, 319.

[25] Garvie 2009, liv proposes: 'Aristophanes refers here to what must have been a recent reproduction of *Persae* in Athens'. See Garvie 2009, liv−lv, and 264−265, for discussion and references to other scholars' solutions to the problem of ἰαυοῖ.

The performance of Aeschylus' *Persae* in Sicily is the oldest known reperformance of a tragedy outside Athens. There is no way of knowing how much the Sicilian production differed from the first Athenian production (or from a reproduction of the play which Aristophanes probably saw before he wrote his *Frogs*) or how the Sicilian production was arranged.[26] There are two stage spectacles in the *Persae* that need to be mentioned here because they require some facilities to be available in the theatre in which the play is (re)performed, namely the chariot-borne entrance of the Queen (*Pers*. 155)[27] and the appearance of the ghost of Darius (*Pers*. 681−842).[28]

Prometheus vinctus?

Some peculiarities in the text of the *PV* have led several scholars to suggest that Aeschylus wrote the play either during his first visit to Sicily or during his last years on the island.[29] The question of the authorship of the *PV* is not a big issue here, although it must be noted that Euphorion has been suggested as the possible author of the play.[30] A much more important question, from our point of view, is whether the play was also (re)produced in Sicily or not. The evidence is as follows. There are two vases related to this tragedy (one Attic, V 482 in App. II, one Lucanian, V 483 in App. II); there are Aristophanes' quotations and allusions: *PV* 59 (in *Eq.* 759), *PV* 125f? (in *Av*. 1182f), *PV* 547 (in *Av*. 686f), *PV* 613 (in *Eq*. 836), *PV* 682 (in *Ach*. 235), and supposed Sicilian influence in the text of *PV*; there is also the supposed parody by Epicharmus. Nevertheless, I still hesitate to suggest a performance of the play in Sicily, although it is possible that it was originally written in Sicily by Aeschylus, and then later revived (with several alterations) in Athens by Euphorion.[31] From the point of view of localization, it has to be mentioned that in a passage referring to an eruption of Aetna, Mt. Aetna (367) and fertile Sicily (371) are mentioned, and in a passage referring to Io's forthcoming wanderings (707–735, 790–

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[26] Wilamowitz suggests (in *Pindaros*, Berlin 1922, 228): 'the limitations of a Sicilian production, above all the lack of skill and experience on the part of the members of the chorus, forced Aeschylus to cut their lyrics to the barest minimum'. Griffith 1978, 120−121, who discusses the proportion of the choral lyrics in Aeschylean plays and Wilamowitz's suggestion, writes: 'We have no reason to believe that Aeschylus radically altered the choral sections of *Pers*. when the play was produced in Sicily'.

[27] For discussion of the chariot-borne entrance, see Taplin 1977, 75–79.

[28] For discussion of the staging of the appearance of the ghost of Darius, see Bardel 2005, 108–111. See also Taplin 1977, 447, who suggests that the so-called Charon's steps were used in the staging of the scene.

[29] See Griffith 1978, 106, with notes 1 and 2 for references to other scholars.

[30] West 2000, 349−350. West 1979, 135–140, dates the *PV* (together with *Prom*. *lyomenos* and *Prom*. *pyrphoros*) to *c*.440 BC.

[31] Sommerstein 2010, 234, n. 23, suggests a performance of the play by Euphorion in Athens in 431 BC. The Lucanian vase depicts a woman with cow's horns on her forehead, and in *PV* 588 (κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;), Io is referred to as such a creature, but otherwise it is not easy to connect this vase with the *PV*. Aristophanes' parody may have something to do with a revival of the play in Athens, but our knowledge of Epicharmus' *Prometheus or Pyrrha* is far too fragmentary for us to be able to judge whether Epicharmus had seen (or otherwise knew about) the *PV*. Regarding the alleged Sicilianisms, Griffith 1978, 124, sums up his excellent study in the following way: 'In sum, the evidence for Sicilian influence on *Prom*. is no greater than it is for any of the undisputed plays of Aeschylus ... If *Prom*. is indeed the work of Aeschylus, which I doubt, we should acknowledge that it is a desperate resort to try to refer its peculiarities to Sicily. ... The play is different from the other six: that is all we can say'.

814, 823–876), Molossia, Dodona, and Thesprotian Zeus are mentioned.[32] The *mechane*, the *ekkyklema*, and some sort of thunder machine may or may not have been required in the staging of the *PV*.[33]

Aeschylus' *Vita* claims that he won thirteen victories in dramatic contests and 'not a few after his death': νίκας δὲ τὰς πάσας εἴληφε τρεισκαίδεκα· οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ μετὰ τελευτὴν νίκας ἀπηνέγκατο (*Vit. Aesch.* 13 = *TrGF* III, T 1, 51−52). The *Suda* claims that he achieved either twenty-eight or thirteen victories: νίκας δὲ εἶλεν η΄ καὶ κ΄· οἱ δὲ τρισκαίδεκά φασι (*Sud.* αι 357 = *TrGF* III, T 2). It has been proposed that the larger figure from the *Suda* must include the posthumous ones.[34] If this proposition is correct (as I believe), it means that Aeschylus won as many as fifteen victories after his death.

If it is assumed that not even Aeschylus could win every time that he participated, we can tentatively estimate that Aeschylus' tragedies were revived in Athens after the death of the poet on as many as fifteen occasions (if he won every time) or thirty occasions (if he won every second time) or even on forty-five occasions (if he won every third time). The first known performance of 'old tragedies' was in 386 BC at the Great Dionysia.[35] In addition, Athenians may have witnessed (re)performances of Aeschylus' plays even before the practice of presenting old tragedies began, since Euphorion could have included in competition some of his father's previously presented plays (in revised form), or some of his father's previously unperformed plays together with his own plays.[36]

Keeping in mind that parodies of, quotations from, and allusions to the plays of Aeschylus made by Aristophanes[37] may reveal something about the number of Aeschylus' posthumous reperformances in Athens, one may also hypothesize that the titles of Epicharmus may reveal something about the (re)performances of Aeschylus' plays in Sicily. At least the following titles (which bear the same name as Aeschylean plays) excite our interest: *Bacchae*, *Persae*, *Philoctetes*, and *Sphinx*.[38] There was also a play called *Prometheus or Pyrrha*, or *Pyrrha and Prometheus*, or *Pyrrha*, or *Prometheus*, or *Deucalion*, or *Pyrrha or Leucarion*,[39] and a play entitled *Thearoe*.[40] Unfortunately we

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[32] Finkelberg 1998, 119–141, who discusses the geography of *PV*, ends her discussion with a proposal: 'the geographical sketch of the P.V. is a late interpolation purporting to bring the original geography up to date ... we can assume the end of the fourth century BC as a likely date of the geographical sketch of the P.V.'

[33] For a discussion on how the opening scene of the play was staged, see Taplin 1977, 240−245 (rejecting the use of a giant dummy on the *ekkyklema*), and 260−262 (rejecting the use of the *mechane* for the entrance of Oceanus at 264). For a discussion of the arrival of the Oceanids at 114−135 and at 271−283 on some sort of vehicles/on the *mechane*; and the earthquake, thunder and lightning at 1016−1088, see West 1979, 135−140.

[34] Sommerstein 2010, 13.

[35] *IG* II² 2318, col. viii.

[36] E.g. the *Aetnaeae* or the *PV*, see notes 12, 17, and 30 above.

[37] See my discussion on P. 58−66 (with Tables 1−3).

[38] For Epicharmus' *Bacchae*, see *PCG* I, 23, F 16−17; for his *Persae*, see *PCG* I, 71; for his *Philoctetes*, see *PCG* I, 99; and for his *Sphinx*, see *PCG* I, 96. Aeschylus' *Sphinx* was a satyr play, see e.g. Germar, and Krumeich 1999, 189−196. For Aeschylus' *Bacchae*, see *TrGF* III, 137. For Aeschylus' *Philoctetes*, see *TrGF* III, 352—359, F 249—257.

[39] *PCG* I, 73−93, F 113−120. See also discussion by Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 265−268, who writes: 'The second papyrus fragment (*Oxyrh. Pap.* 2427, fr. 27), if the above interpretation is accepted, suggests that Epicharmus knew the *Prometheus Vinctus* or at least the *Prometheus Pyrkaeus* of Aeschylus. ... This play may have been acted again in Sicily when the *Persae*, which was produced with it in Athens, was played again for Hiero, probably in 470 BC. If the *Prometheus Vinctus* was produced, as there is some reason for thinking, in 469 BC, it may also have been played in Syracuse before Aeschylus returned'.

[40] *PCG* I, 48−49, F 68−69. Aeschylus wrote a satyric *Thearoe or Isthmiastae*, see e.g. Wessels, and Krumeich 1999, 131−148.

know far too little about the contents of these plays to be able to say whether Epicharmus really parodied (or even saw) Aeschylus' plays.[41]

In summary, the *Aetnaeae* of Aeschylus was performed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse) around 470 BC, but no reperformance of the play in Athens or in Magna Graecia can be suggested. The *Persae* was first performed in Athens in 472 BC and then reperformed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse), probably around 470 BC. It is impossible to estimate with any certainty what alterations were made to the *Persae* between the premiere and the reperformance of the play in Sicily. It is likely that the *Persae* was also reperformed in Athens close to 406 BC. The plays of Aeschylus must have been reperformed often in Athens and very probably also in Magna Graecia[42] after the death of the poet. It is very probable that Aeschylus' son(s) Euphorion (and Euaeon) made alterations to the revived plays.[43] A performance of *Prometheus Vinctus* in Sicily is possible but not very probable.

Finally, there is a piece of information in Aeschylus' *Vita* that raises some questions and suggests some propositions: εἰς τὸ μνῆμα δὲ φοιτῶντες ὅσοις ἐν τραγῳδίαις ἦν ὁ βίος ἐνήγιζόν τε καὶ τὰ δράματα ὑπεκρίνοντο (*Vit. Aesch.* 11 = *TrGF* III, T 1, 46–47).[44] This might mean that Gela was among the places to which actors went to perform on their tour (in the fourth century BC). If so, there may have been a theatre at Gela.[45] Moreover, if the actors went to visit Aeschylus' tomb, I doubt that they really presented (i.e. acted or recited) whole plays either from their repertoire or from the plays of Aeschylus more generally at the tomb.[46]

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[41] Although at least Griffith 1978, 116, and Rehm 1989, 33, claim that he did. For Epicharmus' plays, see Dearden 1990a, 157–158. For Epicharmus' paratragedy, see Revermann 2006a, 70–72.

[42] This will be seen in Chapter IV, where Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Niobe* are discussed. His *Bassarae*, *Callisto*, *Edonoe*, *Europa*/*Cares*, *Phineus*, *Phryges*/*Hectoros lutra*, *Prometheus lyomenos*, *Thressae*, and *Toxotides* are briefly discussed in Appendix I.

[43] Sommerstein 2010, 13 writes: 'evidence suggests a substantial age-gap between the brothers, with Euphorion born no later than about 480, and Euaeon no earlier than about 467'. There are some Attic vases (dating to *c.*440 BC) with kalos-inscriptions which prove that Euaeon played the part of Perseus in Sophocles' *Andromeda*, the role of Actaeon in his father's *Toxotides*, and the role of Argiope in Sophocles' *Thamyras*, see P. 48 (with Pl. VIII.1 and note 149). It is very probable that Euphorion presented the *Toxotides* in Athens around 440 BC, with Euaeon acting in it. For *Toxotides*, see App. I, P. 233–234.

[44] Lefkowitz 1981, 159, translates this passage as follows (underlining is my own): 'All who made their living in the tragic theatre went to his tomb to offer sacrifices and recited their plays there'. Alternatively, Csapo 2010a, 97, translates the passage as follows (underlining is mine): 'all those who gained their livelihood from tragedy used to visit the monument, both to make offerings to his spirit and to perform his dramas'. Both translations are possible, but I suggest that we should not interpret this passage too literally.

[45] According to *TGR* II, 471, the existence of a theatre in Gela is purely hypothetical. For some references to possible traces of a theatre in Gela, see Wilson 2007, 358, n. 29.

[46] I do not know what visitors do at the grave of Jim Morrison or that of Elvis Presley, but I can imagine that the visitors at the tomb of Aeschylus perhaps recalled some verses of the poet, but did not really re-enact whole tragedies. Clay 2004, 95, writes: 'Tragic actors would assemble at his monument and perform his tragedies, probably, on the day of his birth when his festival was celebrated', but does not pay any attention to the question of how the tragedies were performed. For the performance tradition at Gela, see Csapo 2010a, 97. See also Wilson 2007, 351–377, who suggests (on p. 357): 'It is, therefore, a possibility that our tablet relates to competitive tragic performance staged as part of a hero cult for Aiskhylos in Gela'.

Euripides in Macedonia

There are plenty of anecdotes about Euripides that have clearly been invented by later authors. For example, it was claimed that Euripides was born on the day of the battle of Salamis, that he later kept a cave there, that both his first and second wives were unchaste (and that he hated all women for this reason), that he was killed accidentally by dogs, and that both his tomb in Macedonia and his cenotaph in Athens were struck by lightning.[47] But, even if we took the sceptical view that almost all anecdotes about the life of Euripides (including the stories about Euripides in Macedonia[48]) are fiction,[49] we would still have to deal with Aristotle who also tells us an anecdote about Archelaus and Euripides,[50] and 'Aristotle must have been well acquainted with the Macedonian court and the stories about it'.[51] So, if we admit that Euripides really went to Macedonia (as I believe) and spent some time there, the question that we need to ask is: what plays did he present there?

Archelaus

It is widely admitted that Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia (on the evidence of *Vit. Eur*. 11: εἰς Μακεδονίαν παρὰ Ἀρχέλαον γεγόμενος διέτριψε καὶ χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ δρᾶμα ὁμονύμως ἔγραψε), but the date and the place of the performance of the play are disputed. Most scholars favour the years 408–407 BC, but there are other propositions as well.[52] Regarding the place of the first performance of the play, probable candidates include Aegae (because it was the old capital and its foundation is mentioned in the play), Dion (because Dion possibly hosted the festival in honour of the Muses instituted by Archelaus), and Pella (because it became the new capital).[53]

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[47] The ancient sources for the life of Euripides are conveniently collected in Kovacs 1994a, 2−29 (in Greek with English translations); and in *TrGF* V, 45−101.

[48] For the ancient sources on Euripides in Macedonia see Kovacs 1994a, 63−67; and *TrGF* V, 101−108. See also Lefkowitz 1978, 465−466, and Lefkowitz 1981, 97−98, who shows that a lot of material in Euripides' biography is drawn either from Aristophanes' (*Ach*., *Ran*., *Thesm*.) or from Euripides' own works (*Bacch*.).

[49] It has even been suggested that Euripides never went (or only made a short visit) to Macedonia. Scullion 2003, 394, writes: 'Euripides then may simply have sent off to Macedon the script of Archelaus (together with those of *Temenos* and *Temenidai* if Zielinski's conjecture that these plays formed a trilogy is right), perhaps entrusting its production there to his nephew or son Euripides, who we are told later supervised the posthumous productions of *Bacchae*, *Alcmaeon at Corinth*, and *Iphigenia in Aulis.* It is also possible that the poet went to Macedon to supervise the production himself. In either event, it seems certain on the basis of *Frogs* that he was back in Athens at the time of his death'. Lefkowitz 1981, 103, states: 'Any dating based on the biography must be questioned'.

[50] Aristotle (Arist. *Pol*. 1311b30−34) tells that Archelaus handed a certain Decamnichus to Euripides to be whipped.

[51] As Bremer 1991, 42, reminds us. Also Csapo 2010a, 99, n. 136, makes this point: '[Aristotle] was hardly likely to have depended on lurid tales invented by armchair scholars for his knowledge'. Alternatively, Scullion 2003, 396, states: 'Surely, then, Aristotle attests only to the existence of such stories as anecdotes, not to their historical accuracy; in any event, the story of Decamnichus is on chronological and general grounds a fairly obvious fiction'. See also Atkinson 2002, 7.

[52] For some discussions, see Harder 1985, 125−126; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 281; Moloney 2003, n. 55; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 337. Scullion 2003, 395 (and Scullion 2006, 196), suggests that Archelaus commissioned the play earlier in his reign, say about 410 BC, and that Euripides then produced it in Athens (or on the deme-circuit) in time for it to be familiar to Aristophanes' audience in 405 BC.

The outline of the plot was probably as follows.[54] Archelaus is exiled from Argos. He goes to Thrace and saves King Cisseus from his enemies. The king refuses to give his daughter to Archelaus and instead starts to plot against him. Apollo tells Archelaus to follow a goat and to found the town of Aegae. The play was set in Thrace (the exact setting is uncertain), in front of the palace of Cisseus. Among the characters of the play may have been Cisseus, Archelaus, a friend of Cisseus, a slave, a messenger, a daughter of Cisseus, and Apollo, and the chorus was formed of old citizens.[55] Probably a *mechane* was used in the staging of the play.[56]

There are two competing beginnings of *Archelaus*. Firstly, there are the verses quoted by Aristophanes:

> Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ὁ πλεῖστος ἔσπαρται λόγος,
> ξὺν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ
> Ἄργος κατασχών
> (Ar. *Ran*. 1206−1208 = *TrGF* V, F 846)

and then there are the verses quoted by several later writers:

> Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ
> Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον †ἐκ γαίας† ὕδωρ,
> ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ῥοὰς
> Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν τακῇ χιών
> †τεθριππεύοντος† ἡλίου κατ᾽ αἰθέρα,
> ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾤκισ᾽ Ἰνάχου πόλιν·
> Πελασγιώτας δ᾽ ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρίν
> Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ᾽ ἀν᾽ Ἑλλάδα.
> (*TrGF* V, F 228)

Schol. Ar. *Ran*. 1206−1208 claims: ‘This is the beginning of *Archelaus*, as some say falsely. For no such passage of Euripides is in circulation. For it is not, says Aristarchus, from *Archelaus*, unless he himself [sc. Euripides] altered it later, but Aristophanes quoted the original beginning’.[57] On the basis of this, scholars have suggested that: 1) those who say that Ar. *Ran*. 1206 is the real beginning must have made a mistake, and the Euripidean

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[53] Ridgeway 1926, 6: ‘There can be no doubt that the place was Aegae, the capital of the kingdom until after Philip II’s accession in 359 BC’; Dodds 1960, xxxix: ‘*Archelaus* ... may have been acted in the new theatre built by Archelaus in Dion’; Harder 1985, 126−127; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 281; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 337; Katsouris 2005, 209: ‘It appears therefore that Dion is the most probable candidate, if the king intended the play to be a ‘political manifesto’ to the people of Macedonia’. In my opinion, Aegae is the most probable place for the performance of the play (because the foundation of the city is mentioned at the end of the play, and because the festival for the Muses was more probably celebrated at Aegae than at Dion, see my discussion P. 101−102.

[54] The plot has been reconstructed by Bates 1930, 225–227; Webster 1967, 252–257; Harder 1985, 131−139; . Jouan and van Looy 1998, 282−290; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 330−333; and Katsouris 2005, 210−224. Reconstructions are mainly based on Hyg. *Fab*. 219.

[55] See Harder 1985, 138; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 282; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 336−337; Katsouris 2005, 210–211; and *TrGF* V, 314.

[56] As suggested by Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 331, 336–337; and Katsouris 2005, 223.

[57] The translation is from Scullion 2006, 185.

play in which F 846 belonged was lost before the time of Aristarchus; 2) Euripides, or more probably a fourth-century actor, changed the beginning of the play; or 3) F 228 and F 846 were originally both part of the same prologue.[58] It is impossible to give a secure solution to the problem of the ἀρχή of *Archelaus*, but that the beginning of the play is somehow interpolated matches well with the fact that the play was revived and reperformed after its premiere.[59] Indeed, there is an inscription from Tegea (*SIG*[3] 1080, 276–219 BC), which shows that *Archelaus* was performed at the Heraia in Argos and at the Naia in Dodona in the third century BC.[60]

From the point of the view of localization, it should be noted that there is a long list of Macedonian ancestors in the continuation of the prologue that has been preserved in *P.Hamb*. 118a (*TrGF* V, 228a). In this fragment, Euripides nicely places the name of Archelaus (instead of Perdiccas[61]) in the following genealogy (Fig. 25) and, if this is not localization (combined with flattery of the patron), then nothing is:

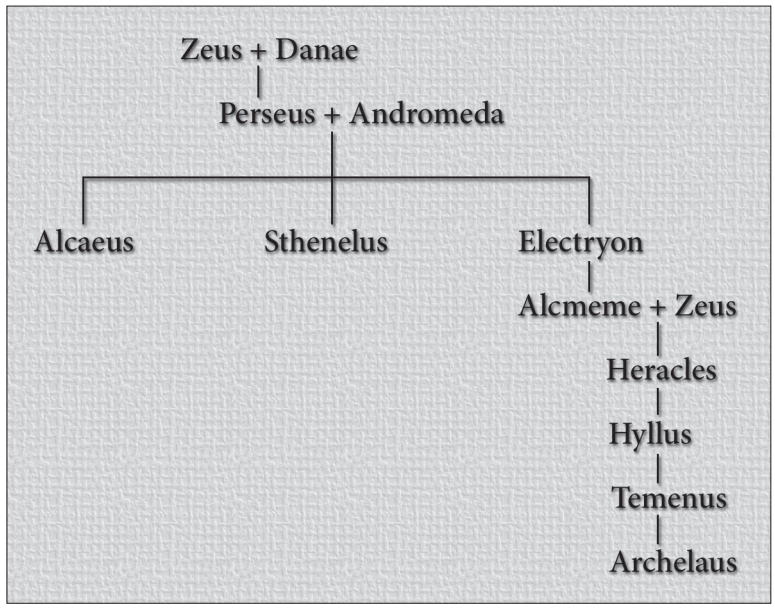

Fig. 25. Genealogy of Archelaus after Euripides' *Archelaus*.

Bacchae, *Temenus*, *Temenidae*, *Rhesus*?

Several scholars have suggested that Euripides' *Bacchae* was written and performed in Macedonia (or at least written with a Macedonian audience in mind). Suggestions are based mainly on Eur. *Bacch*. 409−411 and 560−575 (in which Pieria, Mt. Olympus, and

[58] For some discussions, see Page 1934, 92–93; Harder 1985, 179−182; Katsouris 2005, 212−213; and Scullion 2006, 185−191.
[59] For other Euripidean prologues that are interpolated, see P. 56−57.
[60] For my discussion on this inscription, see P. 120−122.
[61] For discussions on the genealogies of the Macedonian kings (e.g. in Hdt. 8.137−138; and Thuc. 2.99), see Ridgeway 1926, 4−5; and Harder 1985, 133−137.

the Macedonian rivers Axius and Lydias are mentioned).[62] Scholars have also argued for decades over the question of whether *Archelaus* formed a trilogy with Euripides' two other tragedies based on the myths of the return of the Heraclids and the division of the Peloponnese, i.e. *Temenus* and *Temenidae*.[63] It has also been suggested that *Rhesus* was composed and performed by Euripides in Macedonia as well.[64]

In short: Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia during the reign of Archelaus, but there is no certainty about the place of performance (Aegae/Dion/Pella). In addition, the *Bacchae* may also have been (written and) performed in Macedonia. No (re)performance of any other Euripidean play in Macedonia can be posited, although it may be hypothesized that Archelaus and other Macedonian rulers would have liked to see plays about Heracles, his lineage, and his descendants. The following Euripidean plays at least told about the fates of people who appear in the above-mentioned family tree: Danae (in *Danae* and in *Dictys*), Perseus (in *Andromeda* and possibly in *Dictys*), Andromeda (in *Andromeda*), Alcmena (in *Alcmena* and in *Heracleidae*.), Temenus (in *Temenus*), and Archelaus (in *Archelaus*).[65]

From the point of the view of staging arrangements, it has to be noted here that any performance of the *Archelaus* probably required the use of the *mechane* (at the end of the play), and a performance of the *Bacchae* may have required some sort of 'special effects' (i.e. earthquake, lightning, and flames at 585−603).[66] The use of the *mechane* in staging the epiphany of Dionysus (at 1329/30–1387) is disputed.[67]

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[62] See e.g. Ridgeway 1926, 8 (who proposes that *Rhesus* was also composed and performed in Aegae); Dodds 1960, xxxix−xl; Polacco 1986, 18−21; Bosworth 1996, 145; Seaford 1996, 184; Csapo 1999/2000, 414 (whose proposition is based on the high percentage of choral song); Revermann 1999/2000, 461–462; and Atkinson 2002. For my discussion on *Bacchae*, see P. 150−152. See also my discussion on localization, P. 52−54.

[63] Zielinski 1925, 236, was the first scholar to propose a trilogy *Temenus*-*Temenidae*-*Archelaus*. For some discussions (with further references) on the question, see Harder 1985, 127−129 (who rejects Zielinski's proposition); Katsouris 2005, 206−208; and Scullion 2006, 191−197 (who accepts Zielinski's proposition). For the fragments and reconstructions of the *Temenus* and the *Temenidae* see Harder 1991, 117–135. Both Harder and Scullion have some good points, but in the end I am inclined to believe (with Harder) that *Archelaus* did not form a trilogy with *Temenus* and *Temenidae*.

[64] See Ridgeway 1926, 8−19. In my opinion, Ridgeway's discussion is not convincing. Liapis 2009, 71−88; and Liapis 2010, lxx−lxxv, suggest that *Rhesus* was written in the fourth century BC with a Macedonian audience in mind, and that the author of the play was not a dramatist but a professional actor, probably Neoptolemus. For the date and the author of *Rhesus*, see App. I, P. 233. For Neoptolemus in Macedonia, see P. 99−100.

[65] See also my discussion on P. 112−113 on Alexander the Great and plays about Achilles, Heracles, and Dionysus.

[66] Although, Taplin 1977, 274 suggests: 'seismic upheavals are generally supposed to have been left to the imagination of the audience'. Alternatively, West 1979, 139 (discussing *PV* 1016−1088), writes: 'Not all of these phenomena could be simulated in the theatre, but thunder and lightning could be and no doubt were'. Whatever the case, the costs of the staging arrangements were probably not important issues for Archelaus (or for Philip or Alexander the Great for that matter).

[67] Dodds 1960, 234, comments on 1329: 'Dionysus now appears above the castle on the θεολογεῖον'. Hourmouziades 1965, 163 and 169, sees the use of the *mechane* as 'very probable' and suggests that: 'the only way of showing the contrast between the god entering in disguise ... and the god appearing after his triumph, would be to mark the two instances by staging them in two different ways'. Walton 1987, 169, also maintains that at the start of the play Dionysus, disguised as a mortal, appeared on the the stage, and that at the end of the play, as a god, he appeared on the *mechane*. Newiger 1990, 36, removes *Bacchae* from Hourmouziades' list of plays in which the *mechane* was used (because of the lacuna in the text). Mastronarde 1990, 284, accepts the use of the *mechane*. Seaford 1996, 139, suggests that Dionysus is 'appearing above the house'.

Rural Dionysia

The festivities of the Rural Dionysia were celebrated in the month of Poseideon (roughly December), but probably not on the same day(s) in different demes.[68] It seems that the programme of the Rural Dionysia varied substantially between the demes.[69] Also a wider audience than that at the Great Dionysia (i.e. women, children, slaves, metics, and non-*demotai*) has been suggested.[70] There is no need to discuss here in detail the arrangements (programme, schedule, finance, etc.) of the festival.[71] Suffice it to mention that we have direct or indirect evidence for theatrical activity in the following twenty-two demes of Attica (plus the non-demes of Brauron and Salamis):

1) Acharnae
- C4 theatre (Fig. 26)
- *IG* II² 1206, C4l (decree: theatre)
- *IG* II² 3092, C4e (choregic dedication: dithyramb)
- *IG* II² 3106, *c*.350 (choregic dedication: comedy + dithyramb?)
- *SEG* 43.26 A&B, 315/4 (decree: proedria, Dionysia, agon)

Fig. 26. Theatre of Acharnae in March 2007.
Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of Β΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

2) Aegilia
- *IG* II² 3096, before 350 (choregic dedication)

3) Aexone
- *IG* II² 1197, *c*.330 (proedria, theatre)
- *IG* II² 1198, 326/5 (decree: 2 choregoi, theatre)
- *IG* II² 1200, 317/6 (decree: choregoi)
- *IG* II² 1202, 313/2 (decree: comedy, Dionysia, theatre)
- *SEG* 36.186, 313/2 (decree: 2 choregoi, comedy, theatre)

4) Anagyrus
- *IG* I³ 969, 440−431 (choregic dedication: tragedy)
- *IG* II² 1210, C4l (proedria, Dionysia, tragedies (restored tex))
- *IG* II² 3101, *c*.350 (choregic dedication: Dionysia, comedy)

5) Athmonum
- *SEG* 51.193, C4? (aulos player, didaskalos)[72]

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[68] See *DFA*², 42; and Jones 2004, 153.
[69] Whitehead 1986, 216, notes: 'From the evidence as a whole it looks as though we may conclude that the individual demes could stage any or all of tragedy, comedy, and dithyramb, as they pleased and as they felt able'.
[70] Jones 2004, 152. Jones also notes that the capacities of theatres at Thoricus and Piraeus exceed by far the number of adult male citizen members in these demes.
[71] For details and references see Whitehead 1986, 212−222; *DFA*², 42−56; *CAD*, 121−132; and Jones 2004, 124−158.
[72] See Csapo 2010a, 95.

6) Cephale
- Eyewitness' report, 1723 (theatre)[73]

7) Cholleidae (location unknown)
- Ar. *Ach*. 202, 250, 406 (Dionysia 425)

8) Collytus
- Aeschin. 1.157 (comedy C4m)
- Demosth. 18.180, 18.262; *Vita Aeschini* 1.15−17, 2.23−31 (tragedy C4m)

9) Eleusis
- *IG* II² 1185, C4m (proedria, theatre)
- *IG* II² 1186, C4m (dithyramb + tragedy)
- *IG* II² 1187, C4m (proedria, theatre, tragedy)
- *IG* II² 1189, 334/3 (proedria, Dionysia)
- *IG* II² 1192, C4l (proedria, Dionysia, theatre (restored text))
- *IG* II² 1193, C4l (proedria, Dionysia, tragedies)
- *IG* II² 1194 + 1274 + new fragment C4l/C3e (proedria)
- *IG* II² 3090, 425−406 (comedy + tragedy)
- *IG* II² 3100, C4m (choregic dedication: comedy)
- *IG* II² 3167, C4 (choregic dedication)

10) Euonymum (Trachones)
- C5l/C4m theatre

11) Hagnous
- *IG* II² 1183, after C4m (Dionysia)

12) Halae Aexonides
- *IG* II² 3091, C4e (choregic dedication: tragedy + comedy)[74]

13) Halae Araphenides
- *Ergon* 1957, 24−25, 341/0 (degree: Dionysia)
- *SEG* 34.103, 350−300 (proedria, agones)

14) Icarium
- C6l/C5/C4e theatre
- *IG* I³ 254, C5 (decree: choregoi, tragedy?)
- *IG* II² 1178, before C4m (decree: two choregoi, agon for Dionysus)
- *IG* II² 3094, C4e (choregic dedication: comedy/dithyramb?)
- *IG* II² 3095, before 350 (choregic dedication: tragedy)
- *IG* II² 3098, C4m (choregic dedication: tragedy)

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[73] According to Frederiksen 2002, 83, n. 92, a theatre in Cephale is reported in G. Wheler, *Voyage de Dalmatie de Gréce et du Levant*, Hague 1723, 260.
[74] See my discussion on P. 11−13.

- *IG* II² 3099, C4m (choregic dedication: tragedy)
- *SEG* 22.117, *c*.330 (decree: tragedies, Dionysia)
- *SEG* 44.131, *c*.300 (choregic dedication)

15) Lamptrae (Upper/Lower)
- *IG* II² 1161, C4l (decree: Dionysia)

16) Myrrhinus
- *IG* II² 1182, *c*.350 (proedria (restored text))
- *IG* II² 1183, 350−300 (Dionysia)

17) Paeania (Upper/Lower)
- *IG* II² 3097, C4m (choregic dedication: tragedy)

18) Piraeus (Munichia)
- C5 theatre
- *IG* II² 456, 307−306 (decree: Dionysia)
- *IG* II² 1176, 324/3 (proedria: theatre)
- *IG* II² 1214, 350−250 (proedria)
- *IG* II² 1496, 334−330 (Dionysia)
- Thuc. 8.93; Lys. 13.32.2, 13.55.7; Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.33 (theatre C5l)
- Demosth. 21.10 (Dionysia, tragedies + comedies C4m)
- Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 54.8 (Dionysia C4m)
- Ael. *VH* 2.13 (tragedy C5l)

19) Phlya
- Isaeus 8.15−16 (Dionysia 383−363)

20) Rhamnus
- C4 theatre
- *IG* II² 3108, C4? (choregic dedication: comedy (restored text))
- *IG* II² 3109, C3e (choregic dedication: dithyramb?, comedy)
- *SEG* 22.120, C3m (proedria, Dionysia, agon)

21) Sphettus
- *SEG* 36.187, 350−300 (proedria, theatre (restored text))

22) Thoricus
- C6l theatre (Fig. 27)
- *SEG* 26.136, 380−375 (sacrificial calendar: Dionysia)
- *SEG* 34.107, *c*.400 (decree: three choregoi)
- *SEG* 34.174, 375−325 (choregic dedication: comedy + tragedy)
- *SEG* 40.128, C4 (degree: choregoi, comedy + tragedy)
- *Thorikos* IX no. 85 (choregic dedication)

We can calculate that there is evidence for a rural Dionysia in fifteen demes (plus the non-demes of Brauron and Salamis) and evidence for dramatic performances in eleven

Fig. 27. Theatre of Thoricus in September 2008. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
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demes (plus Salamis) − tragedy in Anagyrus, Collytus, Eleusis, Halae Aexonides, Icarium, Paeania, Piraeus, Salamis, and Thoricus, and comedy in Acharnae, Aexone, Anagyrus, Collytus, Eleusis, Halae Aexonides, Icarium, Rhamnous, and Thoricus − and that there are or were theatre buildings in at least twelve demes (plus at Oropus, the sanctuary of Amphiaraus) − six archaeologically attested theatres (at Acharnae, Euonymum (Trachones), Icarium, Piraeus (Munichia), Rhamnous, Thoricus) and six theatres that are mentioned in literary or epigraphical sources (Anagyrus, Cephale, Eleusis, Halae Araphanides, Myrrhinus, Sphettus).[75] I shall not discuss in detail what happened in every single deme, but there are some cases that deserve a closer look.

Aelian mentions that when Euripides was competing at Piraeus, Socrates went there:

> ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπάνιον μὲν ἐπεφοίτα τοῖς θεάτροις, εἴ ποτε δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ἠγωνίζετο καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, τότε γε ἀφικνεῖτο. καὶ Πειραιοῖ δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ κατήει•
> (Ael. *VH* 2.13)[76]

[75] For references and discussions see Whitehead 1986, 212−222, and 123, n. 12; *DFA*², 42−56; *CAD*, 121−132; Moretti 2001, 127−134; Frederiksen 2002, 82−83, and *passim*; Jones 2004, 124−158; Csapo 2010a, 89−95; and Paga 2010, 351−384.
[76] See Dearden 1999, 213; Allan 2001, 78; *CAD*, 125, 49G; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 5; Jones 2004, 134.

This brief anecdote is doubtful, since Aelian claims that Socrates attended the theatre when Euripides competed with 'new tragedies'. The first known performance of an 'old tragedy' at the Great Dionysia was in 386 BC[77] and, as far as we know, in Euripides' time the tragedies that were performed were always 'new'. Either the convention of performing old tragedies as revivals started earlier at the Rural Dionysia in Piraeus (and perhaps also in other demes) than at the Great Dionysia (i.e. already during Euripides' lifetime) or the text of Aelian is somehow corrupt.[78] Euripides competing at Piraeus is not an extraordinary incident; Aristophanes and Sophocles are also known to have directed their own plays at Rural Dionysia, namely at Eleusis (text is from *PHI*, Inscr.):

[Γ]νάθις Τιμοκ[ήδ]ο[ς, Ἀ]ναξανδρίδης Τιμα[γ]όρο
χορηγοῦντες κωμωιδοῖς ἐνίκων.
Ἀριστοφάνης ἐ[δ]ίδασκεν.
ἑτέρα νίκη τραγωιδοῖς.
Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκεν.
(*IG* II² 3090)[79]

There is also an inscription (dated to 440−431 BC) concerning Euripides that may refer to a performance at the Rural Dionysia at Anagyrus (text is from *PHI*, Inscr.):

Σωκράτης ἀνέθηκεν·
Εὐριπίδης ἐδίδασκε·
τραγωιδοί· vv Ἀμφίδημος
Πύθων vvvvv Εὐθύδικος
Ἐχεκλῆς vvv Λυσίας
Μενάλκης vv Σῶν
Φιλοκράτης Κριτόδημος
Ἔχυλλος vvv Χαρίας
Μέλητος vvv Φαίδων
Ἐμπορίων vacat
(*IG* I³ 969)

The 'problem' with this inscription, is that it names only fourteen members of the chorus (instead of the normal fifteen),[80] but a far more important question, from our point of view, is whether this inscription refers to the Great Dionysia or to the Rural Dionysia.[81]

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[77] *IG* II² 2318, col. viii.

[78] Maybe there really was an actual performance at Piraeus by Euripides, but the words καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς were accidentally inserted in the text by the author of Aelian's (AD 165/70−230/5) source text (which Kovacs 1994a, 35, dates to the fourth century or later). Another possible solution to the problem might be that the words καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς mean that Euripides was competing in Piraeus with a tragedy that premiered there (as Maarit Kaimio suggested to me in an e-mail). Actually the words καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς do not refer to performances in Piraeus (as Mika Kajava explained to me in an e-mail). Aelian does not specify where Euripides was performing 'new tragedies' in the first sentence (so Aelian may be referring to the Great Dionysia) and, in the second sentence, the nature of the Euripidean tragedies performed in Piraeus is not defined either (they may have been 'new' or 'old'). Whatever the truth, the words καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς are anachronistic in this excerpt.

[79] For discussion and references, see *DFA*², 47−48; *CAD* 129, III.52A; In *DFA*², 52, it is stated laconically: 'The plays may have been new or already performed in the city'.

Worth mentioning is also an incident that happened at the intramural deme of Collytus. Demosthenes and Aeschines' *Vita* tell us that Aeschines fell disgracefully when playing the part of Oenomaus in Collytus.[82] The essential texts run as follows (texts are from *TLG*, underlining is mine):

> καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίν᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ᾽ ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτ᾽ Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας;
> (Dem. *De cor*. 180)

> πονηρόν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ᾽ ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει τῇ πατρίδι;
> (Dem. *De cor.* 242)

> ἔπειτα ἀποστὰς τούτου τριταγωνιστὴς ἐγένετο τραγῳδιῶν, καὶ ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον ὑποκρινόμενος κατέπεσεν.
> (*Vita Aeschini* 1.15−17)

> Δημοχάρης δ᾽ ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Δημοσθένους, εἰ ἄρα πιστευτέον αὐτῷ λέγοντι περὶ Αἰσχίνου, φησὶν Ἰσχάνδρου τοῦ τραγῳδοποιοῦ τριταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον Οἰνόμαον διώκοντα Πέλοπα αἰσχρῶς πεσεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ Σαννίωνος τοῦ χοροδιδασκάλου (ἐνθένδ᾽ οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης Οἰνόμαον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει, πρὸς εἰδότας τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπισκώπτων), καὶ μετὰ Σωκράτους καὶ Σιμύλου τῶν κακῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἁλᾶσθαι κατ᾽ ἀγρούς· εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐνθένδ᾽ ἀρουραῖος λεγόμενος. ἦν δὲ τῶν δήμων Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης.
> (*Vita Aeschini* 2.23−31)

Even though the *Vitae* of ancient authors are not generally regarded as the most trustworthy texts from antiquity, I think we can still accept (because of the testimony of Demosthenes) that something in Aeschines' acting went wrong at a performance of an *Oenomaus* at Collytus. Demosthenes calls Aeschines 'rural Oenomaus' and says that Aeschines once 'murdered' Oenomaus at Collytus. Aeschines' *Vita* adds more details

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[80] Wilson 2000, 133, suggests that the dedicator, Socrates of Anagurys, acted himself as the chorus-leader. Another possibility, according to Wilson, is that the missing person was an outsider in some way (i.e. not a member of the deme of Anagyrus like the rest of the chorus members must have been). In *DFA*^{2}, 361, a possibility of a 'reduced team' is suggested.

[81] For references and discussion, see Whitehead 1986, 220, n. 261, and 234 (according to whom the inscription refers to the City Dionysia); *DFA*^{2}, 361 (according to whom the inscription probably refers to the City Dionysia, alternatively to the Rural Dionysia with a reduced team); Wilson 2000, 131−133 (according to whom the inscription refers to the City Dionysia); Csapo 2010a, 91−92 (according to whom the inscription refers to the Rural Dionysia).

[82] In *CAD*, 129−130, it is suggested: 'Kollytos is located within the city walls of Athens, not more than five minutes' walk from the Athenian acropolis, and its Dionysia was very likely conducted in the Theater of Dionysus. The date of Aeschines' performance must be ca. 370−360 BC'.

to the incident. Aeschines is said to have fallen disgracefully (from the chariot?) when chasing Pelops in the role of Oenomaus (as the third actor), and *Khorodidaskalos* Sannion had to lift Aeschines back up. It is also said that later Aeschines performed 'in the fields' with Socrates and Simylus, who were 'bad actors'.[83]

There is no certainty about who was the author of the tragic *Oenomaus* (or *Pelops*) that was performed at Collytus, although Sophocles is perhaps the most probable candidate.[84] If the Oenomaus in question was written by Sophocles (or Euripides), Aeschines was acting in a revival of an 'old tragedy'.[85] Although it may not be very probable, it is still not totally impossible that the tragedy in which Aeschines was acting at Collytus was written by some anonymous author and that the performance in question was the premiere of the play. In theory, we have three options. The performance was: 1) a revival of an *Oenomaus* by Sophocles or Euripides, 2) a premiere of an *Oenomaus* by an anonymous author, 3) a revival of an *Oenomaus* by an anonymous author.

To summarize: we know that tragedies were performed in at least nine demes (also comedies were performed in at least nine demes) and we even know the titles of some plays that were performed − an *Oenomaus* at Collytus and the plays mentioned in the inscription from Halae Aexonides (the comedies *Boucolus* and *Alphesiboea*, and the tragedies *Alcmaeon*, *Alphesiboea*, and a (trilogy?) *Telepheia*).[86]

We do not know any other titles of the plays that were performed, either in premieres or as revivals, at the Rural Dionysia. Considering the phenomenon of localization, it must be wondered whether the inhabitants of Colonus would have been pleased to see revivals of Sophocles' *OC*, or would Eleusinians have enjoyed seeing tragedies about Demeter and Persephone as much as Salaminians would have enjoyed seeing tragedies about the greater Ajax. Unfortunately we do not have any evidence about such performances.

For the convenience of my readers, I have placed the locations of the above-mentioned demes (plus Brauron and Salamis, as well as Oropus) on a map which is illustrated in Fig. 28.[87]

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[83] See P. 70 (with n. 240) on the acting career of Aeschines. For Sannion, see Stephanis 1988, no. 2212. For Ischandrus, see O'Connor 1908, no. 264; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 333; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1303. For actors Socrates and Simylus, see O'Connor 1908, nos. 440 and 448; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 356; and Stephanis 1988, nos. 2277 and 2329.

[84] Demosthenes, Aechines' *Vita*, or the scholia do not name the author, but Hesychius (α 7381) says that Aeschines acted in Sophocles' *Oenomaus*. E.g. Sutton 1984, 96; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 243; and Jouan and van Looy 2000, 480, believe Hesychius and are sure that the *Oenomaus* in question was that of Sophocles. Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 90−91, in turn, are a little bit more hesitant. See P. 183−189 for my discussion on the *Oenomaus* tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides.

[85] In addition to the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, we are not aware of any other tragedies written about the fate of Oenomaus. In the fourth century BC, Antiphanes (*PCG* II, 405–406, F 170), and Eubulus (*PCG* V, 232) wrote comedies about Oenomaus.

[86] See my discussion above, P. 11−13.

[87] Literary and epigraphic references concerning Brauron, Salamis, and Oropus are as follows: Brauron (Schol. Ar. *Pax* 874: Dionysia); Salamis (*IG* II^2 1008, 118/7, decree: agon, tragedies, Dionysia; *IG* II^2 1011, 106/5, decree: agon, tragedies, Dionysia; *IG* II^2 1227, 131−105, decree, tragedy, Dionysia; *IG* II^2 3093, C4m, choregic dedication, dithyramb); Oropus, sanctuary of Amphiaraus (*IG* VII 4225, 338−322, decree, theatre).

Fig. 28. Demes of Attica from which there is direct or indirect evidence for theatrical activity.

Alexander the Great

During his life, Alexander the Great witnessed numerous theatrical performances on several occasions. Some of these performances are worth exploring closely. In the following pages, I shall discuss them in chronological order (texts are from *TLG*, underlining is mine).

Fig. 29. Theatre of Aegae in September 2010. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of ΙΖ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

Actor Neoptolemus in Aegae

The wedding of Alexander of Epirus, the Molossian king, and Cleopatra, the daughter of Philip and Olympias, were celebrated at Aegae in October 336 BC. Early in the morning of the second day of festivities, Philip II was murdered in the theatre (Fig. 29, see also Pl. IX.2).[88] Diodorus tells us that a tragic actor called Neoptolemus performed excerpts from some tragedies at a state symposium on the last night before the murder:

> ἐν γὰρ τῷ βασιλικῷ πότῳ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τραγῳδός, πρωτεύων τῇ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ, προστάξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου προενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων ποιημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν στρατείαν, ὁ μὲν τεχνίτης κρίνας οἰκεῖον ὑπολεφθήσεσθαι τὸ ποίημα τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιπλῆξαι βουλόμενος τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καίπερ οὖσαν μεγάλην καὶ περιβόητον, ὅπως μεταπέσοι ποτ᾽ ἂν εἰς τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἤρξατο λέγειν τόδε τὸ ποίημα:
> "φρονεῖτε νῦν αἰθέρος ὑψηλότερον
> καὶ μεγάλων πεδίων ἀρούρας,
> φρονεῖθ᾽ ὑπερβαλλόμενοι
> δόμων δόμους, ἀφροσύνᾳ
> πρόσω βιοτὰν τεκμαιρόμενοι.
> ὁ δ᾽ ἀμφιβάλλει ταχύπουν
> κέλευθον ἕρπων σκοτίαν,
> ἄφνω δ᾽ ἅφαντος προσέβα
> μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας
> θνατῶν πολύμοχθος Ἅιδας"
> καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐφεξῆς προσσυνεῖρε, πάντα πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν φερόμενα διάνοιαν.
> (Diod. Sic. 16.92.3)[89]

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[88] The assassination of Philip by Pausanias is recounted in Diod. Sic. 16.92.5−94.4. Hughes 2012, 257, n. 23, oddly claims that Philip was killed at Pella − not Aegae.

[89] We have to keep in mind that when we are reading the text of Diodorus, we may actually be reading the text of his sources. Hammond 1983, 50, describes Diodorus' working manners with the following words: 'He was no creative author ... There were a great many texts available ... He chose Diyllus, *Syntaxis* II and *Syntaxis* III, probably for three main reasons: the scale of the work ... the fullness of detail and the picture of A, D's hero ... But he found one defect in Diyllus. The accounts of sieges and battles were relatively brief ... and they lacked sensational effects. D. turned to the most popular writer of the day on A, Cleitarchus, who excelled in sensationalism'.

In the text of Diodorus, Neoptolemus is referred to as, 'first in the loudness of his voice and in his repute' (πρωτεύων τῇ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ). Taken literally, this means that Philip had chosen to hire a first-rate actor for the occasion. So also did his son Alexander several times during his reign, a circumstance which I shall come to later.

The excerpts that Neoptolemus was asked to perform were to be chosen from τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων ποιημάτων. So, at a symposium at Aegae in October 336 BC, one of the most famous actors of the era was performing verses from the most successful tragedies (or poems?). What were these tragedies? Clearly Neoptolemus was performing alone at the symposium (i.e. not with other actors or a chorus). Did Neoptolemus perhaps sing something, potentially with accompaniment by an aulos-player, or did he only recite spoken verses on this occasion? Diodorus says that Neoptolemus started to recite the poem (ἤρξατο λέγειν τόδε τὸ ποίημα), but the verses in question are dactylic, choriambic and Wilamowitzian,[90] so Neoptolemus must have been singing.[91]

By combining the evidence of Suet. *Calig*. 57.4 (before the murder of Emperor Gaius, Mnestor danced the tragedy that Neoptolemus had once acted at the games at which Philip was killed) and Joseph. *AJ* 19.95 (at the anniversary of Philip's murder, Gaius saw two shows, a mime and a performance by a dancer of a drama called *Cinyras*) some scholars have concluded that Neoptolemus performed a *Cinyras* at Aegae, but this may be too eager a conclusion.[92] Unfortunately we shall never know how many and from which tragedies excerpts were performed at Philip's party, but we can still speculate some, since we happen to know some other details about this actor Neoptolemus.[93]

Neoptolemus was originally from Scyros.[94] He was the winning tragic actor at Lenaea in *c*.360 BC.[95] He went to Macedonia after the peace of 346 BC.[96] In 341 BC, Neoptolemus was recognized as the best actor at the Great Dionysia, where he produced the *Iphigenia* of Euripides as an 'old tragedy', and acted in the *Athamas* of Astydamas, in a tragedy of Euaretus, and in the *Peliades* of Aphareus.[97] At the Dionysia of 340 BC, he produced the *Orestes* of Euripides as an 'old tragedy', and acted in the *Lycaon* of Astydamas, *Oedipus* of Timo/Philocles, and a tragedy of Euaretus.[98]

Although none of the above-mentioned tragedies seem like a good choice for a wedding banquet, we may still consider whether Neoptolemus performed some of them on some other occasion during his stay in Macedonia. If he did so, the further question is, did he perhaps perform them with other actors and a chorus or did he perform only excerpts from the plays alone in theatre(s)/at symposia? If Pausanias had not murdered Philip, would Neoptolemus have performed some tragedies in their entirety at the theatre of Aegae (with other actors and a chorus) the day after the symposium? Perhaps, yes.[99] It is not hard to imagine that at least the end of Euripides' *Andromache* would have pleased the groom and the parents-in-law.[100]

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[90] According to *TrGF* II, 53, F 127.
[91] Easterling 1997, 220, writes: 'It is clear from the metre of the passage quoted that Neoptolemus is singing'.
[92] See *CAD*, IV. 30I; and Easterling 1997, 219–220.
[93] For Neoptolemus, see O'Connor 1908, no. 359; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 345; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1797.
[94] Schol. Dem. 5.6.
[95] *IG* II^2 2325, col. ii.
[96] Dem. 5.6.
[97] *IG* II^2 2320.
[98] *Ibid*. For my discussion on the performances of 341 and 340 BC, see P. 13–14.
[99] As Easterling 1997, 220 suggests.

Fig. 30. Theatre of Dion in September 2010. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of ΚΖ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων. The theatre has been excaved by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki under the direction of Professor Dimítrios Pandermalís.

Dramatic festival at Dion/Aegae

In November/December 335 BC, when Alexander returned to Macedonia after the fall of Thebes, he presided over a festival/two separate festivals at Dion (Fig. 30)/Aegae. Our sources Diodorus and Arrian describe the arrangements of the festival(s) as follows:

> διδάξας οὖν αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ παρορμήσας διὰ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις, οὓς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ προβασιλεύσας πρῶτος κατέδειξε. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ἐφ᾽ἡμέρας ἐννέα συνετέλεσεν, ἑκάστῃ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπώνυμον ἡμέραν ἀναδείξας. σκηνὴν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος ἑκατοντάκλινον τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. λαμπραῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἑστιάσας, πάσῃ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει διαδοὺς ἱερεῖα καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν ἀνήκοντα προσανέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον.
> (Diod. Sic. 17.16)[101]

> καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε.
> (Ar. *Anab*. 1.11.1)[102]

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[100] At the end of the play, Thetis foretells that the line of Peleus will continue in Andromache's son (Molossus) by Helenus.

[101] According to Hammond 1983, 51, Diodorus' source for this account was Diyllus. Diyllus of Athens (early 3rd cent. BC) is frequently considered a major source for Diodorus' books 16 and 17, see *OCD*[3], 489.

[102] Hammond 1993, 218, suggests that Arrian's account came from Ptolemy and/or Aristobulus. Hammond 1983, 3−4, describes Ptolemy with the following words: 'A close friend of Alexander from youth onwards, a Companion cavalryman, then from 331−330 BC a commander (*hegemon*) and finally a King's Own Bodyguard (*somatophylax*), he was better qualified than anyone to write a history of Alexander's military achievements', and Aristobulus with the following words, '[he] wrote up his memories in the form of a history of Alexander which was published in parts perhaps between 305 BC and 290 BC, when he was an old man living in Cassandrea in Macedonia. His interests were scientific and geographical rather than military'.

There are two essential questions that need to be asked: 1) exactly what kind of occasion was in question, and 2) in which city was it held? Diodorus says that Alexander sacrificed to the gods at Dion and held dramatic contests for Zeus and the Muses (which Archelaus had initiated). Arrian, in turn, claims that Alexander made a sacrifice (which was customary from Archelaus' time) to Olympian Zeus and then held the Olympic games at Aegae, and, as some say, also contests for the Muses.

As we can see, our ancient sources are not unanimous about the setting and the nature of the occasion(s).[103] Modern scholars have interpreted these passages by Diodorus and Arrian in various ways. I will mention only some examples here. In *DFA*[2] it is claimed: 'After the capture of Thebes in 335 BC he held a nine-day festival at Dion devoted mainly to dramatic contests and another such festival in 332 at Tyre'.[104] Hammond (following Arrian[105]) suggests that Alexander first conducted the traditional sacrifice of thanksgiving to Zeus of Olympus at Dion and then celebrated the Olympian festival at Aegae, where he also instituted the nine-day dramatic competition in honour of the Pierian Muses.[106] In the *OCD*, a theatre festival at Dion is mentioned as part of Archelaus' 'Hellenizing' policy.[107] In my opinion, the text of Diodorus can also be understood to indicate that Alexander first sacrificed at Dion and then held the contests at Aegae.[108]

If there were theatrical contests (σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας) at Aegae (in honour of the Muses) exactly what kind of occasion was in question? Can these contests be compared (as is done in *DFA*[2]) to the dramatic contest at Tyre in 332 BC (which will be discussed below in the next sub-section)? Our sources do not give us any names of actors or other performers. Alexander is said to have spent a lot of money on the arrangements (λαμπραῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος). There is no reason to doubt this and we can be pretty sure that if, for example, a *mechane* or an *ekkyklema* or any other kind of 'special effect' was needed (assuming that tragedies were performed at the festival), it was provided by Alexander.

According to Diodorus, Archelaus was the founding ruler of these theatrical contests. It would be most interesting to know what the nature of the contests was and what kind of dramatic performances were seen in Macedonia already during his reign.[109]

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[103] Hammond 1983, 166 (citing Badian), notes that 'the main problem in any serious interpretation of Alexander is, of course, that of the sources', and Hammond 1997, ix, summarises the central problem which faces any Alexander-historian as follows: 'The narratives which survive were written between three and five centuries after Alexander's career, and their portrayals of Alexander vary widely not only in what might be regarded as matters of fact but also in interpretations of Alexander's personality'.

[104] *DFA*[2], 280. In parentheses it is noted that 'Arrian 1.11.1 says it was Aigai'.

[105] Hammond 1983, 3: 'D. [Diodorus], J. [Justin] and C. [Curtius] are inevitably contrasted with Arrian, from whom they differ radically ... What is more, Arrian alone of the Alexander-historians stated who his sources were and why he had chosen them: namely Ptolemy and Aristobulus, because they had campaigned with A and were the most trustworthy of all the authors whose works he read'.

[106] Hammond 1989, 63. Already Ridgeway 1926, 8, made the following suggestion: '(1) that there were old games at Aegae; (2) that Archelaus established dramatic contests there; (3) that he founded the sacrifice to Zeus at Dium; (4) that Alexander sacrificed to Olympic Zeus at Dium; (5) that he celebrated the ancient games at Aegae, but after the fashion of the Olympic contests ... ; and (6) he held in honour of the Muses the dramatic contests which had been set up by Archelaus, but ... not to the Muses, an innovation made by Alexander'.

[107] *OCD*, 144.

[108] Oldfather 1954, 162, n. 1, notes that Arrian's words, 'others say that he held games in honour of the Muses', mean that the games for the Muses were not mentioned by Ptolemy or Aristobulus, Arrian's primary sources.

[109] Did Euripides perhaps produce his plays at this festival?

Actors Thettalus, Athenodorus, and Lycon in Tyre

In early spring 332 BC, having returned from Egypt into Phoenicia, Alexander organized contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies in Tyre. This time Plutarch (in two excerpts) is our source:[110]

> γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τραγῳδοὶ μὲν οἱ περὶ Θετταλὸν καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον, ὧν ἀνταγωνιζομένων ἀλλήλοις, ἐχορήγουν μὲν οἱ Κύπριοι βασιλεῖς ἔκρινον δ' οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηνόδωρος, 'ἐβουλόμην ἄν' ἔφη 'μᾶλλον ἀπολωλεκέναι μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἢ Θετταλὸν ἐπιδεῖν ἡττημένον.' ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐνέτυχε τοῖς κριταῖς οὔτε τὴν κρίσιν ἐμέμψατο, πάντων οἰόμενος δεῖν περιεῖναι, τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἡττᾶσθαι. κωμῳδοὶ δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Λύκωνα τὸν Σκαρφέα· τούτῳ δ' εἷς τινα κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντι στίχον αἰτητικὸν γελάσας ἔδωκε δέκα τάλαντα. κιθαρῳδοὶ δ' ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀριστόνικος, ὃς ἐν μάχῃ τινὶ προσβοηθήσας ἔπεσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι χαλκοῦν ἀνδριάντα καὶ σταθῆναι Πυθοῖ, κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ δόρυ προβεβλημένον, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μουσικὴν κοσμῶν ὡς ἀνδροποιὸν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πληροῦσαν ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ ὁρμῆς τοὺς γνησίως ἐντρεφομένους.
> (Plut. *Mor*. 334e–f)

> Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν [ἐγ]κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἁμίλλαις λαμπροὺς γενομένους. ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι κατὰ φυλάς, καὶ ἠγωνίζοντο θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφιλονίκησαν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδώρῳ, Νικοκρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν Ἀθηνόδωρον. τότε δ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἠξίου γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.
> (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 29.1–6)

There are several pieces of important information in these two excerpts:

1) There were brilliant (λαμπροὺς) contests for dithyrambic choruses and tragedies, and there were choregoi and judges, just like in Athens (ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν).

2) The choregoi competed ambitiously (θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ) against each other with the most famous actors (τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς).

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[110] Hammond 1993, 61, claims that Plutarch's most likely source is Chares, 'who wrote of such occasions'. Chares of Mytilene was Alexander's chamberlain (εἰσαγγελεύς), see Pearson 1960, 50–61, and *OCD*[3], 317–318. Pearson 1960, 61, describes Chares with the following words: 'Chares was interested in the details of festivities, in articles of food and drink, furniture and dress, and probably in foreign customs. His fragments show no trace of rhetoric or moralizing or indeed of any interest in military and political history'.

3) Athenodorus had been fined by the Athenians for not being present at the City Dionysia (Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς). Alexander paid the penalty on Athenodorus' behalf. We also know that a tragic actor by the name of Aristodemus was under an obligation to compete in some cities under penalty of fines (in the spring of 346 BC).[111]

4) In the second excerpt, Plutarch uses the actual word 'theatre' (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ). Does this mean that there was a theatre in Tyre?[112]

5) Plutarch also provides evidence for a single case of an actor's interpolation. He tells us that the comic actor Lycon 'inserted into the comedy that he was performing a verse containing a request for ten talents' (στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντω).[113]

We do not know who the people referred to as οἱ περὶ Θετταλὸν καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον were, what plays and how many of them they performed. If the system of Athens' Great Dionysia was imitated precisely, Athenodorus and Thettalus performed three tragedies and one satyr play with their troupes (i.e. the people referred to as οἱ περὶ ...). They may have performed some plays in Tyre that they had performed earlier in Athens.

Plutarch seems to be hinting that Thettalus was Alexander's favourite actor. Let us take a look at what we know about this Thettalus.[114] He won twice at Lenaea (in *c*.356 BC) and twice at the Great Dionysia (in 347 and 340 BC).[115] At the Dionysia of 341 BC, he acted in *Achilles* by Astydamas, in *Achilles* by Euaretus, and in *Auge* by Aphareus, and at the Dionysia of 340 BC, he acted in the *Parthenopaeus* of Astydamas, in the *Phrixus* of Timo/Philo]cles and in the *Alcmaeon* of Euaretus.[116] In 338/6 BC, Alexander sent Thettalus as his agent to Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, to convince him to marry Cleopatra, his daughter, to Alexander instead of Arrhidaeus.[117] Philip, who was offended, wrote to the Corinthians (since Thettalus was in Corinth then), suggesting that they should send Thettalus back to Macedonia in chains.[118] In 324 BC, Thettalus performed at Susa, together with the tragic actors Athenodorus and Aristocritus, and comic actors Lycon, Phormion, and Ariston.[119]

About the career of Athenodorus we know the following facts.[120] He won twice at the Great Dionysia (in *c*.342 and in 329 BC) and probably twice at the Lenaea (*c*.342 BC).[121] At the Dionysia of 341 BC, he acted in the *Antigone* of Astydamas II, in the *Teucer* of Euaretus and in the *Orestes* of Aphareus.[122] Surprisingly, he was not present at the City

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[111] See Aeschin. 2.19; and *CAD* 4.30F. For other references to Aristodemus, see O'Connor 1908, no. 62; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 312; and Stephanis 1988, no. 332.

[112] Frederiksen 2002 does not have Tyre on his list. Neither does *TGR*.

[113] For actors' interpolations, see P. 54–58. One may compare Lycon's request with the tail-pieces which occur in several Euripides' plays, see P. 57.

[114] See O'Connor 1908 no. 239; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 330; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1200.

[115] *IG* II^2 2325, col. ii, and *IG* II^2 2318, col. xii.

[116] *IG* II^2 2320.

[117] Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 10.1–3. For the Pixodarus affair, see O'Brien 1992, 31–32; Hammond 1989, 37; and 1993, 15–16. Both Hammond and O'Brien date the Pixodarus affair to 336, but e.g. O'Connor 1908, 103, and Stephanis 1988, 219, date it to 338 BC. The date of the affair is not crucial since the whole story may be fiction. Hammond 1989, 37, claims that the Pixodarus story was probably imaginary. According to Hammond 1993, 16, Plutarch's source was Satyrus and 'his account of the affair has rightly been regarded as unhistorical by critical historians'. Nevertheless, Hornblower 1982, 220–222, takes Plutarch's account as a true story. For references to diplomatic activities of other actors, namely Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, see *DFA*^{2}, 279, n. 2.

[118] Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 10.3. O'Connor 1908, 103, suggests that 'Thettalus was probably then acting at Corinth'.

[119] Ath. *Deipn*. 12.538c–539a. What happened at Susa shall be discussed later, see P. 108–109.

[120] On this actor, see O'Connor 1908 no. 13; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 307; and Stephanis 1988, no. 75.

Dionysia of 340 BC.[123] Like Thettalus, he was one of the performers at Susa in 324 BC. The comic actor Lycon[124] was twice victor at the Lenaea (*c*. 350 BC).[125] As already mentioned, he also performed at Susa in 324 BC. Philodemus says that Lycon was everything in comedy, like Callippides and Nicotratus were everything in tragedy.[126] Unfortunately, we have no hints about what plays were performed at Tyre in 331 BC by Thettalus, Athenodorus, and Lycon (all of whom were award-winning actors).

Festival at Salmous

Diodorus tells us that when Alexander was holding dramatic contests at Salmous he met mariners from Nearchus' naval expedition (in 326/5/4 BC):

> Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως διατρίβοντος ἔν τινι παραθαλαττίῳ πόλει ὀνομαζομένῃ Σαλμοῦντι καὶ σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιοῦντος κατέπλευσαν οἱ δι' Ὠκεανοῦ πλεῖν τὴν παραθαλάττιον ἀπεσταλμένοι καὶ παραχρῆμα εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθόντες τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἠσπάσαντο καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπήγγειλαν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἡσθέντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κρότῳ μεγάλῳ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπεσημήναντο καὶ πᾶν τὸ θέατρον μεστὸν ἦν χαρᾶς ἀνυπερβλήτου.
> (Diod. Sic. 17.106)[127]

The city of Salmous has not been identified. It has been suggested that Diodorus made a mistake with this account and that he is actually referring to the reunion of Nearchus and Alexander at Susa in spring 324 BC or to an occasion that happened in the theatre at Gedrosia in 325 BC.[128]

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[121] *IG* II² 2318, col. xi; *IG* II² 2318, col. xiii; and *IG* II² 2325, col. iii which reads [Ἀθηνόδωρ]ος. See also *IG* II² 2325, col. ii (referring to *c*.385 BC) which reads Ἀθη[.

[122] *IG* II² 2320.

[123] See P. 13−14.

[124] For Lycon, see O'Connor 1908 no. 319; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 340; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1567.

[125] *IG* II² 2325, col. x = Mette 1977, 179, V C 2 col. 3.14.

[126] Phld. *De Rhet*. Col. XV[a], 3−10 (Νὴ Δι' ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης καὶ πρῶτον ἔλεγε καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον εἶναι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐν τ[ῇ ῥητο]ρικῇι, Καλλίππι[δης δ]ὲ καὶ Νεικόστρατος − ἐγὼ φήσ[ω] − τὸ πᾶν ἐν τραγῳδίαι, Λύκων δ' ἐν κωμῳδ[ία]ι).

[127] According to Hammond 1983, 71−72, 79, Diodorus' source for this account was Cleitarchus. Cleitarchus did not take part in Alexander's expedition, but he collected stories from persons who had served with or against Alexander, and he was also able to read other works on Alexander. His work on Alexander comprised at least twelve books, the first came out after the death of Alexander and before 314, the last book around 290 BC. For Cleitarchus, see Tarn 1950, 43−55; Pearson 1960, 212−242; Hammond 1989, 2−3; and *OCD*³, 344.

[128] Oldfather 1954, 429, n. 4, notes: 'Nearchus gave an account of his joining Alexander on two occasions, once, very dramatically, in Carmania (Arrian 6.28.5−6; Arrian *Indica* 33−36), and again after sailing up the Pasitigris to Susa (Arrian *Indica* 42). Curtius 10.1.10 and Plut. *Alexander* 68.2 seem to refer only to the former meeting. Neither meeting was on the coast. Salmus is not identified. Reference to the dramatic festival makes it likely that Diodorus is here referring to the reunion at Susa (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 6.100, with reference to Nearchus and Onesicritus), but inserting it in the wrong place in his narrative. Pliny states that the voyage of Nearchus took six months, so the time would now be the spring of 324 BC. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, 1 (1893), 153, note 5, calculated the length of the voyage as about seventy-five days, which would bring the reunion rather to December of 325.' Hammond 1983, 194, n. 24, writes: 'This [event at Salmous] surely is the same occasion [as Alexander kissing Bagoas in theatre in Gedrosia, see next page of this study]. It is evident, then, that some writer produced a pair of *coups de théatre* on that happy day. That they were unhistorical is certain, since the report by Nearchus that he met A far inland must be preferred by any sensible critic (Arr. *Ind*. 33−36)'.

Whether or not Diodorus made a mistake concerning the place, the occasion is clearly referred to as a dramatic contest in a theatre (σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ). If, after all, Diodorus is right, the obvious question is, can we assume that something similar happened at Salmous (wherever it may be) as what happened at Dion/Aegae in 335, or at Tyre in 331 BC. This time the names or the number of performers are not mentioned. Furthermore, we probably cannot assume that there was a theatre in Salmous in 326/5/4 BC.

Satyric *Agen* near river Hydaspes

When discussing the mistresses of famous men Athenaeus informs us that a certain satyric drama *Agen* was performed on the banks of the river Hydaspes (either in the Punjab in 326 BC or somewhere in Persia in 324 BC[129]). The text of Athenaeus reads as follows:

> συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς, ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου [τοῦ] ποταμοῦ, εἴτε Πύθων ἦν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ [ὁ] Βυζάντιος ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα ἤδη φυγόντος τοῦ Ἁρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀποστάντος. καὶ τῆς μὲν Πυθιονίκης ὡς τεθνηκυίας μέμνηται, τῆς δὲ Γλυκέρας ὡς οὔσης παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰτίας γινομένης τοῦ δωρεὰς λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἁρπάλου, λέγων ὧδε. (Ath. *Deipn*. 13.595e–f)[130]

The story of *Agen* probably handled the following events:[131] Harpalus[132] has erected a temple in Babylon for his dead hetaira Pythionike. Satyrs dressed as barbarian μάγοι summon up the ghost of Pythionike. Harpalus' new hetaira, Glycera, is also present at Babylon, and Alexander may have appeared in person in the drama.

Python is otherwise a completely unknown poet and Athenaeus had already suggested that Alexander himself wrote the satyr play in question. From the remaining fragments of the play, we can see that the author of *Agen* (whoever he may be) managed to quote Sophocles at least twice in eighteen lines.[133]

Concerning the text of Athenaeus, some further questions and observations arise. What exactly is a δραμάτιον? Is it perhaps not a whole drama but only a short minidrama?

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[129] Snell 1964, 113–117, favours the first date and discusses also the possibility of the existence of another Hydaspes in Media (in addition to the Hydaspes in India). O'Brien 1992, 185 (with many other scholars), favours the year 324. See also Moloney 2003, 110, n. 103.

[130] Athenaeus states a little earlier in his text that his source for this account is Theopompus (ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ). Theopompus of Chios (*c*.378–320 BC) was a historian and an orator. For Theopompus' works, see *OCD*[3], 1505–1506.

[131] For the remaining fragments of the play, see Ath. *Deipn*. 13.595f–596b = *TrGF* I, 260, F 1. For reconstructions of the plot, see Snell 1964, 99–138, esp. 118–119; Sutton 1980b, 75–81; Günther 1999, 595–601; and Catucci 2003, 147–160.

[132] Harpalus was a Macedonian noble and a friend of Alexander's since boyhood. He was also Alexander's chief administrative officer in Babylon where he controlled the finances of the central satrapies, see Snell 1964, 133–134, and *OCD*[3], 667.

[133] Lines 2–3: οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ᾽ ὅδε πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός quote and parody lines 7–8 of Sophocles' *Electra*: οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ᾽ ὅδε Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός. See Snell 1964, 105. Compare also ἄορνον, on line 2, with Sophocles' F 682 (*TrGF* III, 523). See Snell 1964, 106. According to Snell 1964, 102, n. 6, line 11 of *Agen*: ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον is reminiscent of Soph. *Trach*. 302: αἳ πρὶν μὲν ἦσαν ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἴσως ἀνδρῶν, τανῦν δὲ δοῦλον ἴσχουσιν βίον, 'since this is apparently the only place where δοῦλον βίον is attested'.

What does Athenaeus (or his source) mean with the words ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων? Is Athenaeus hinting that the performance of *Agen* was only part of a bigger Dionysia festival (which included other plays as well)? No names of any actors involved in the performance of the play are given. Also the exact place of the performance remains unknown. It must be noted also that the actual word 'theatre' is not mentioned in the text of Athenaeus. Since so many questions about this play remain unanswered, we can truly agree with Snell: 'Surely, Python's *Agen* deserves to be better known'.[134]

Alexander at the theatre in Gedrosia

In October 325 BC Alexander was again sitting in a theatre (or at least watching some kind of a performance), this time in Gedrosia. Our sources Plutarch and Athenaeus read as follows:

> λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μεθύοντα θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν, τὸν δ' ἐρώμενον Βαγώαν χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσαι παρ' αὐτόν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας κροτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν φιλῆσαι κελεύοντας, ἄχρι οὗ περιβαλὼν κατεφίλησεν.
> (Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 67.4)[135]

> Δικαίαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ Θυσίας Βαγώου τοῦ εὐνούχου οὕτως αὐτόν φησιν ἡττᾶσθαι ὡς ἐν ὄψει θεάτρου ὅλου καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλάσαντα,καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνησάντων μετὰ κρότου οὐκ ἀπειθήσας πάλιν ἀνακλάσας ἐφίλησεν.
> (Ath. *Deipn*. 13.603b)

The basic anecdote, that Alexander kissed his favourite eunuch Bagoas in front of a theatre audience, is told in both of these text excerpts, and there is nothing to explore there. But from our point of view, there are some questions that need to be asked.

Exactly what kind of performance was in question (ἀγῶνας χορῶν)? A contest for (dithyrambic) choruses? A dancing contest? Plutarch mentions that Bagoas won a prize in dancing (Βαγώαν χορεύοντα νικῆσαι). Was he dancing alone or in a chorus? According to *LSJ*[9], χορεύω usually means to 'dance a round or choral dance', 'to be one of a chorus', and it is used 'esp. of the Dionysiac chorus or dance', but in Pl. *Leg*. 655d, τὰ χορευθέντα means 'things represented in mimic dance'.[136] (Plato uses the expressions τὰ ῥηθέντα, μελῳδηθέντα, and χορευθέντα when speaking of choric performances).

In both texts − as in so many other excerpts referring to Alexander watching some kind of performance − the actual word 'theatre' is again mentioned. Does this mean that there was a theatre in Gedrosia? Tarn argues that the whole story about Alexander kissing Bagoas in the theatre is fiction (because the story is set in a theatre).[137] Frederiksen, who has examined the use of the term θέατρον in literature and in inscriptions, argues that

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[134] Snell 1964, 138.
[135] Hammond 1993, 125, notes that 'the opening word "it is said" indicates that the story did not come from the source of what preceded, namely from Cleitarchus'. According to Hammond 1993, 182, Plutarch's source for this account was Dicaearchus (who is the source of Athenaeus in the next excerpt). Dicaearchus of Messana was a pupil of Aristotle and contemporary of Theophrastus and Aristoxenus. For the works of Dicaearchus see *OCD*[3], 464.
[136] *LSJ*[9], 1998.

almost always the term refers to an actual theatre.[138] In my opinion, the word 'theatre' does not necessarily have to refer to a permanent theatre made of stone. There is a fourth-century-BC theatre at Babylon[139] and there may well have been a temporary theatre made of wood in Gedrosia.[140]

Actors Thettalus, Athenodorus, Aristocritus, Lycon, Phormion, and Ariston at Susa

In early spring of 324 BC, a mass marriage was celebrated at Susa. Athenaeus and Aelian describe the events in the following way:

> ἐπὶ πέντε δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπετελέσθησαν οἱ γάμοι, καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαυματοποιοὶ ἦσαν διαπρέποντες ... Σκύμνος Ταραντῖνος καὶ Φιλιστίδης Συρακόσιος Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Μιτυληναῖος· μεθ' οὓς ἐπεδείξατο ῥαψῳδὸς Ἄλεξις Ταραντῖνος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ ψιλοκιθαρισταὶ Κρατῖνος Μηθυμναῖος, Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Τήιος· ἐκιθαρῴδησαν δὲ Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος. αὐλῳδοὶ δὲ παρῆλθον Διονύσιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης, Ὑπέρβολος Κυζικηνός· παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐληταί, οἳ πρῶτον τὸ Πυθικὸν ηὔλησαν, εἶθ' ἑξῆς μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, Τιμόθεος, Φρύνιχος, Καφισίας, Διόφαντος, ἔτι δὲ Εὔιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. καὶ ἔκτοτε οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Διονυσοκόλακες Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν δώρων ὑπερβολάς, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἥσθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὑπεκρίθησαν δὲ τραγῳδοὶ μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῳδοὶ δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων καὶ Ἀρίστων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Φασίμηλος ὁ ψάλτης.
> (Ath. *Deipn*. 12.538e–539a)[141]

> πέντε δὲ ἡμέρας καθεξῆς τοὺς γάμους ἔθυεν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ μουσουργοὶ καὶ ὑποκριταί, οἳ μὲν κωμῳδίας οἳ δὲ τραγῳδίας, πάμπολλοι. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαυματοποιοὶ διαπρέποντες, καὶ ἔδοξαν δὲ αὐτοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν.
> (Ael. *VH* 8.7.)[142]

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[137] Tarn 1950, 322: 'But these absurdities are not the real point; the point is that the story is an anachronism. Alexander kisses Bagoas in a *theatre*, and in Alexander's day there was no such thing as a theatre in Iran, or anywhere east of Asia Minor, though there were plenty later on; but Greeks could not imagine a town without a theatre, and we get exactly the same anachronism elsewhere [Ecbatana and Salmous]. The theatre damns the story completely, and therewith the invented figure of 'the eunuch Bagoas' vanishes from history; and with him vanishes the theory which he had been invented to sustain [namely that Alexander was homosexual and promiscuous]'. For some comments by and references to other scholars who contradict Tarn's suggestion, see Hamilton 1969, 186.

[138] Frederiksen 2002, 69−78, and apps. II and III. Frederiksen's conclusion (on p. 75) is: 'by far the majority of the references to a θέατρον are in fact references to theatres proper'.

[139] See *TGR* II, 331−332.

[140] In his preliminary examination report of my dissertation manuscript, Taplin noted that wooden theatres were 'more substantial and widespread and well equipped than acknowledged − even at Athens before later 4th C.' and referred to Csapo 2007, 87−121, who argues that the *theatron* of the theatre of Dionysus in Athens was built of wood until the construction of the theatre known as Lycurgan, that the fifth-century *theatron* was trapedzoidal, that the seating was temporary and reassembled for each festival or season of usage, and that its capacity was between 4000 and 7000.

[141] Athenaeus says in the beginning of his narrative that his source is Chares: Χάρης δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν 'ὅτε,' φησίν ... (Ath. *Deipn*. 12.538b).

[142] Aelian does not reveal his source for this account. Wilson 1997, 269, n. a, proposes: 'The contents of this ch. may well derive from Athenaeus 538BF'.

The careers of Athenodorus, Thettalus, and Lycon have already been discussed and we know nothing else about Aristocritus and Ariston.[143] Phormion[144] may have been victor at Lenaea *c*.360–*c*.345 BC.[145]

Our sources do not give us the exact number of the performers but we are told that in addition to tragic and comic actors, there were several kinds of other performers, conjurors from India, a rhapsode, aulos players, etc., and Athenaeus carefully enumerates their names, which, in my opinion, strengthens the credibility of his account.

Can we compare the wedding at Susa with the wedding celebrated at Aegae in 336 BC? Did the actors perhaps perform for Alexander and his company in (several) symposia during the festivities (in addition to their performances in the theatre), like Neoptolemus did at Aegae? Unfortunately we do not have any information about the plays that Athenodorus, Thettalus and other actors performed at Susa.

Festival at Ecbatana

When Alexander reached Ecbatana in Media, in autumn of 324 BC, he organized a festival that included some kind of (theatrical) contests. We have three descriptions of the event by three ancient authors. The texts of Diodorus, Plutarch and Arrian read as follows:

> διήνυσεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδείας. [7] ταύτης δέ φασι διακοσίων μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ὑπάρχειν, βασίλεια δ᾽ ἔχειν τῆς ὅλης Μηδείας καὶ θησαυροὺς πολλῶν χρημάτων. ἔνθα δὴ χρόνον τινὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἀγῶνάς τε θυμελικοὺς ἐποίει καὶ πότους συνεχεῖς τῶν φίλων, [8] ἐν οἷς Ἡφαιστίων ἀκαίροις μέθαις χρησάμενος καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀρρωστίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν.
> (Diod. Sic. 17.110.7–8)[146]

> ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὐτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφιγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσων: οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβῆ δίαιταν, ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον περὶ ἄριστον γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγὼν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐφθὸν καὶ ψυκτῆρα μέγαν ἐκπιὼν οἴνου κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἀπέθανε.
> (Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 72.1)[147]

> (1.) Ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἑταίροις. -- (10) ἀγῶνά τε ἐπενόει ποιῆσαι γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικὸν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγίᾳ πολύ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλότερον· τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς σύμπαντας παρεσκεύασε.
> (Ar. *Anab*. 7.14)[148]

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[143] For Aristocritus see O'Connor 1908, no. 65; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 312; and Stephanis 1988, no. 352. For Ariston, see O'Connor 1908, no. 74; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 314; and Stephanis 1988, no. 377.
[144] For Phormion, see O'Connor 1908, no. 498; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 362; and Stephanis 1988, no. 2579.
[145] [Φο]ρ[μίων IG II² 2325, col. x = Mette 1977, 179, V C 2 col. 3.17.
[146] According to Hammond 1983, 79, and Hammond 1993, 137, Diodorus' source is Diyllus.
[147] Hammond 1993, 137, claims that Plutarch's source for this account was Cleitarchus.
[148] According to Hammond 1993, 137, Arrian's sources for this account were Ptolemy and/or Aristobulus.

Again, the first question we must ask is, exactly what kind of an occasion did Alexander organize this time? Did he organize 1) theatrical contests (ἀγῶνάς τε θυμελικοὺς ἐποίει), or 2) a festival including theatre performances (πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν), or 3) athletic and music contests (ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν)?

The actual word 'theatre' is mentioned only in one excerpt, namely Plutarch. Are we to assume that there was a theatre at Ecbatana in 324 BC?[149]

No names of the performers are given in any of our sources, but the number of the performers is exactly the same in two sources (Plutarch and Arrian). We are told that as many as three thousand artists came from Greece to perform at Ecbatana. This is a huge number, even if one compares it to the number of Alexander's troops. It has been estimated that in 324 BC, the number of Alexander's Macedonian citizen troops in Asia totalled 25,000 (23,000 infantrymen, plus more than 2000 cavalrymen).[150] If the number of the performers is even approximately correct, the arrangements of the festival at Ecbatana must have been laborious. We can only imagine how all the performers were chosen and invited to the occasion, and how their transportation, accommodation and provisioning was organized.[151]

If there were really as many as 3000 performers at Ecbatana, it would not be hard to imagine that there were also some actors present. Perhaps Thettalus, Athenodorus, Aristocritus, Lycon, Phormion, and Ariston, who had all been performing at Susa, performed also at Ecbatana, or perhaps the satyric *Agen*, that was possibly performed near the Hydaspes river earlier in the same year, was performed at Ecbatana.[152]

A short summary about Alexander the Great and theatre

Alexander, like his father, spent a lot of money on festivals. This is reflected in the narratives of the events at Aegae in 336 BC, at Dion/Aegae in 335 BC, at Tyre in 331 BC, at Susa in 324 BC, and at Ecbatana in 324 BC, and usually the best or the most famous actors were invited, as at Aegae in 336 BC, at Tyre in 331 BC, and at Susa in 324 BC.

At least once Alexander imitated the system of the Great Dionysia of Athens, namely at Tyre in 331 BC. Alexander had visited Athens in the autumn of 338 BC, after the battle of Chaeronea, when he was leading the guard of honour that brought the ashes of the dead Athenians to Athens.[153] On his visit to Athens, he must have seen the theatre on the southern slope of the Acropolis and perhaps heard about the performances and practises at the Great Dionysia.[154]

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[149] At least Revermann 1999/2000, 457, seems to think so. Frederiksen 2002 does not have Ecbatana on his list, but *TGR* II, 325 has.

[150] Hammond 1997, 187.

[151] Csapo 2010a, 174 notes: 'Alexander's ability to mobilize actors is indeed far more impressive than his ability to mobilize troops'.

[152] Moloney 2003, 110 (referring to Hamilton 1969, 199), suggests: 'It is a matter of debate, but the *Agen* probably dates to 324 and was most likely performed at the Dionysia held at Ecbatana in the autumn of that year'.

[153] Just. *Epit*. 4.9.5. Justin was epitomizing Pompeius Trogus' very long work *Historiae Philippicae*. For Justin's sources, see Hammond 1983, 86−115. For Alexander in Athens, see O'Brien 1992, 26−28.

[154] Alexander visited Athens just one year after the end of the date of the above-discussed fragment of *IG* II^2 2320 that names the performances of 341−339 BC (see P. 13−14). We may imagine that Alexander was perhaps told about the contests of 338 BC. (of which we shall never know anything unless new evidence comes to light).

A clear pattern seems to arise from the literary descriptions: 1) Alexander is coming back from somewhere, 2) he rests with his troops, and 3) he holds a festival / a dramatic contest / a drinking party / a Dionysiac revel.[155]

The events discussed above demonstrate Alexander's enthusiasm for theatre and festivals. But Alexander was also interested in, and familiar with, the texts of tragedies. This is revealed by Alexander's quotations[156] from tragedies and also by the following anecdote. Plutarch tells us that Harpalus[157] sent some books (including tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus) to Alexander. The text of Plutarch reads as follows:

> καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων, ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν, εἶχε δὲ ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος ἱστόρηκε, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὐπορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις Ἅρπαλον ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι. [3] κἀκεῖνος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τάς τε Φιλίστου βίβλους καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συχνάς, καὶ Τελέστου καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους.
> (Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 8.2−3)[158]

Harpalus' book delivery is not a unique case in ancient history. In the *Life of Aristophanes* it is mentioned that Plato sent texts of Aristophanes to Dionysius I, when the tyrant wanted to have an insight into Athens.[159]

Worth mentioning also is an anecdote told by Plutarch on Alexander paying tribute to Theodectes' statue in the marketplace at Phaselis (in 334 BC):

> διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει διέτριψεν ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος ἦν δὲ Φασηλίτης ἰδὼν εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν παιδιᾷ ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι᾽ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.
> (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 17.9)

Ancient sources claim that Theodectes, a tragic poet and a writer on rhetoric, was a pupil of Plato, Isocrates and Aristotle (although he was older than Aristotle).[160] Theodectes won seven times at the Great Dionysia (his first victory soon after 372 BC) and

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[155] Diod. Sic. 17.16. (A. returned to Macedonia ... held dramatic contests ... put his army in a fine humour); Diod. Sic. 17.106 ([In Gedrosia] A. rested his army ... lead a Dionysiac κῶμος for seven days. ... A. was resting in Salmous and holding a dramatic contest in a theatre); Diod. Sic. 17.110 ([In Ecbatana] A. refreshed his army and staged a dramatic festival); Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 29 (A. returned from Egypt to Phoenicia ... held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies); Plut. *Vita Alex*. 67 (A. refreshed his army and revelled seven days through Carmania ... came back, gave his army time for rest and held a festival ... contests in singing and dancing); Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 72 (A. came to Ecbatana, after having dealt with urgent business, he was again occupied with theatres and festivals).

[156] For Alexander's quotations from tragedies, see P. 71.

[157] This is the same Harpalus who was among the *dramatis personae* in Python's satyric *Agen*, see P. 106−107.

[158] Plutarch states in his text that his source is Onesicritus. Onesicritus of Astypalaea was a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic and he personally accompanied Alexander on his journey, as steersman of Alexander's ship and as his Chief Steersman under Nearchus command (on the voyage from the mouth of the Indus into the Persian Gulf). For Onesicritus and his work, see Pearson 1960, 83−111.

[159] *Vit*. *Ar*. 46−49. For other evidence about the sending of texts, see Dearden 1999, 227−228.

[160] See *Suda* θ 138; and *OCD*[3], 1499.

wrote altogether fifty tragedies, of which the following titles are known: *Ajax*, *Alcmaeon*, *Helen*, *Lynceus*, *Mausolus*, *Oedipus*, *Orestes*, *Philoctetes*, and *Tydeus*.[161] Perhaps Aristotle had acquainted Alexander with the tragedies of Theodectes. At least Aristotle himself was familiar with some of Theodectes' works, since, all in all, Aristotle alludes to Theodectes' tragedies eight times in his works.[162] We can only imagine which tragedies Alexander read (or saw) during the years that Aristotle was his teacher.[163]

Alexander's ancestors and heroic models were Achilles and Heracles, and to some extent also Dionysus.[164] The Macedonian royal family traced their origin to Heracles and, from his mother's side, Alexander was a descendant of Achilles.[165] Alexander's devotion to his ancestor Heracles is manifested, for example, in coins that depict Alexander as Heracles (wearing a lion skin), and Alexander also honoured Heracles on many occasions during his journey.[166] Also Alexander's son by Barsine, daughter of the Persian Artabazus, was named Heracles.[167]

Arrian tells us that, since his boyhood, Alexander had wanted to imitate Achilles.[168] Outside Troy, in 334 BC, Alexander laid a wreath at the tomb of Achilles, and Hephaestion, Alexander's beloved friend, laid one on the tomb of Patroclus.[169] There is also a story told by Curtius, that after the siege of Gaza (September/November 332 BC), Batis, the ruler of Gaza, was dragged around the walls by Alexander, in imitation of Achilles dragging Hector around the walls of Troy.[170]

So, it is not hard to imagine that Alexander would have been pleased to see tragedies (and comedies) about Achilles, Heracles, and Dionysus. Before the birth of Alexander, or during his lifetime, tragedies entitled *Achilles* were written by Chaeremon (*Achilles Thersitoctonus*), Iophon, Aristarchus of Tegea, Carcinus II, Astydamas II, Euaretus, Cleophon, and Diogenes of Sinope.[171] We know for sure that Alexander's favourite actor Thettalus had acted in two of these *Achilles* plays, namely in the *Achilles* of Astydamas II, and in the *Achilles* of Euaretus, both presented in Athens at the Great Dionysia of 341 BC.[172] Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to suggest that Thettalus performed these tragedies (or at least excerpts from them) for Alexander on some occasion of which we have no ancient testimony.

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[161] See *TrGF* I, 227–237, and *TrGF* I, Did A 3a = *IG* II² 2325, line 45: [Θεο]δέκτας. For *Mausolus* see P. 117–118.
[162] *Rhetoric*, four allusions; *Poetics*, three allusions; *Nicomachean Ethics*, one allusion, see P. 68–69.
[163] For Aristotle's favourite tragedies, see P. 69.
[164] For Alexander and Achilleus, see e.g. Tarn 1950, 52–53. For Alexander and Dionysus, see e.g. O'Brien 1992, 1–8, 14–16, 152–153, and 188–189; Revermann 1999/2000, 458–462; and Bosworth 1996.
[165] See e.g. Diod. Sic. 17.1.5; and Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 2.1.
[166] For Alexander honouring Heracles, see e.g. Tarn 1950, 51–52.
[167] Alexander had two or perhaps three sons, one by Barsine, and two boys by the Bactrian Roxane (a boy who died in infancy, and Alexander IV, born after the death of Alexander). See Hammond 1989, 269. Tarn 1950, 330–337, claims that the story about Barsine the captive and her son by Alexander is fiction.
[168] Arr. *Anab*. 7.14.4: καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὅντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν.
[169] Arr. *Anab*. 1.12.1.
[170] Curtius 4.6.7–30. See Hammond 1997, 96. According to Hammond this story (probably drawn from Cleitarchus) is to be rejected, for Alexander always honoured the brave. The other ancient source on the siege of Gaza, Ar. *Anab*. 2.25.4–27.7, does not mention the dragging of Batis by Alexander.
[171] See P. 131.
[172] *IG* II² 2320, see P. 13–14.

Euripides wrote a tragedy about Heracles (*Hercules furens*) and another tragedy about his children (*Heracleidae*), and tragedies entitled *Heracles* were written by Diogenes of Athens and by Diogenes of Sinope.[173] Sophocles and Astydamas II both wrote a satyric *Heracles*, and at least four comedies entitled *Heracles* were written.[174] Philetaerus wrote a comedy entitled *Achilles*,[175] and Anaxandrides a *Heracles* or an *Achilles*.[176] Dionysus appeared in person in Euripides' *Bacchae* and in Aristophanes' *Ranae*, and there were several other tragedies (and comedies) in which Dionysus was among the *dramatis personae*.[177] Of course, Achilles and Heracles were also characters in several tragedies and comedies.[178] Unfortunately we shall never know which of these tragedies and comedies Alexander saw (or read or was told about by Aristotle).

When dealing with the written sources about Alexander the Great the obvious question that has to be kept in mind (although it cannot be answered exhaustively) is: to what extent can we believe the descriptions of Aelian, Arrian, Athenaeus, Curtius, Diodorus, Justin, and Plutarch (or their sources Aristobulus, Chares, Cleitarchus, Dicaearchus, Diyllus, Nearchus, Onesicritus, Ptolemy, and Satyrus) on small details, big figures, extraordinary events etc.?[179] We have already seen that some accounts or events or persons have been claimed by modern scholars to be fictional.[180] Of the Alexander-historians, Aristobulus, Chares, Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Ptolemy at least accompanied Alexander on his journey. Are we to assume that the anecdotes drawn from their works

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[173] For the *Heracles* of Diogenes of Athens see *TrGF* I, 184, T 1 = *Suda* δ 1142. For the *Heracles* of Diogenes of Sinope see *TrGF* I, 253, T 1. Also Timesitheus (*TrGF* I, 324 = *Suda* τ 613) wrote a *Heracles*, but its date is unknown.

[174] For Sophocles' *Heracles*, see *TrGF* IV, 231−232, F224P−227. For the *Heracles* of Astydamas, see *TrGF* I, 205, F 4. Comedies entitled *Heracles* were written by Philyllius, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 378); Anaxandrides, C4 (*PCG* II, 245−246, F 16); and Diphilus, C4/3 (*PCG* V, 77–78, F 45). Also Epicharmus, C6/5 (*PCG* I, 48 F 67); and Rhinton, C4/3, wrote a play entitled *Heracles* (*PCG* I, 263, F 3).

[175] See *PCG* VII, 322, T 1 = *Suda* φ 308.

[176] See Mette 1977, 192, VI A 4.5 (Λήναια) ... Ἡρακ]λεῖ (*Ἀχιλ*]λεῖ) ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρο[υ. (= *PCG* II, 237, T 5.5).

[177] For tragedies and comedies entitled either *Pentheus* or *Bacchae*, see P. 151. Dionysus was among the *dramatis personae* also in Aeschylus' *Edonoe* (*TrGF* III, 178−185, F57−67); in Sophocles' satyric *Dionysiscus* (*TrGF* III, 175−1876, F 171−173); in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (*ex machina*, see App. I, P. 239); in Achaeus' satyric *Hephaestus* (*TrGF* I, 120, F17); and possibly also in Euripides' *Phrixus* (Dionysus or Nephele *ex machina*, see App. I, P. 244), Euripides' *Antigone* (Dionysus or Heracles *ex machina*, see P. 147); in Aeschylus' satyric *Lycourgus* (*TrGF* III, 234−236, F124−126); and in the tragic or satyric *Dionysus* of Chaeremon (*TrGF* I, 218, F 4−7).

[178] Heracles figured in Soph. *Phil*., Soph. *Trach*.; in Eur. *Alc*., Eur. *HF*, and in Euripides' satyric *Bousiris* (*TrGF* V, 368−370, F312b−315); in Ar. *Av*., and Ar. *Ran*.; in a satyric *Omphale* by Ion (*TrGF* I, 101−105, F 17a−33a); and in *Pirithous* by Critias (*TrGF* I, 171−178, F 1−14); and probably also in Phrynichus' *Alcestis* (*TrGF* I, 73, F 2) and *Antaeus/Libyes* (*TrGF* I, 73, F 3a); in a satyric *Hesione* by Demetrius (*TrGF* I, 189, F); in a satyric *Limus* by Dionysius I (*TrGF* I, 243, F 3a); and in a tragedy by Diogenes of Sinope (*TrGF* I, 256, F 3). There may also have been a *Heracles* produced at Lenaea in 419 BC by Nicomachus (*TrGF* I, Did A 2b, 73 Ἡρα[). Achilles appeared in Eur. *IA*; in Aeshylus' *Phryges*/*Hectoros lutra* (*TrGF* III, 364−370, F263−272), *Myrmidones* (*TrGF* III, 239−257, F131−142), and *Prometheus Lyomenos* (*TrGF* III, 304−320, F190−204); in a tragedy by Agathon (*TrGF* I, 164, F 10 = Arist. *Poet*. 1452b14); and probably also in Sophocles' *Troelus* (*TrGF* IV, 453−458, F618−635).

[179] For a compact introduction on the written sources about Alexander the Great, see Hammond 1989, 1−6. For detailed discussions on the personalities and writings of Alexander-historians and quotations from their texts made by other authors, see Tarn 1950, and Pearson 1960. For the sources of Diodorus, Justin, and Curtius, see Hammond 1983, and for the sources of Plutarch and Arrian, see Hammond 1993. For the main sources of Plutarch, see also Hamilton 1969, liii−lxii.

[180] I.e. Bagoas in the theatre; Heracles, son of Alexander by Barsine; Alexander dragging the body of Batis.

are more trustworthy than those drawn from the authors who never took part in the expedition (e.g. Dicaearchus and Diyllus)?

Modern historians interpret the often inconsistent ancient sources on Alexander the Great in various ways. We have already discussed the cases of Dion/Aegae in 336 BC, and Salmous in 326/5/4 BC. Whose interpretations should we believe?

It is a cruel fact that when studying Alexander the Great we must rely on the texts that happen to survive. Every modern author on Alexander must envy Plutarch who could start his account on Alexander by saying that because of the vast amount of material he need not recount every incident or report all famous occurrences exhaustively.[181] Plutarch mentions that Alexander founded many contests for tragic poets/actors, aulos players and cithara players, and also for rhapsodists:

> φαίνεται δὲ καὶ καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἀλλοτρίως ἔχων πλείστους γέ τοι θεὶς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον τραγῳδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν, θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ῥαβδομαχίας, οὔτε πυγμῆς οὔτε παγκρατίου μετά τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἆθλον.
> (Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 4.6)

We can only imagine how many festivals, scenic contests, and dramatic performances Alexander organized that are not mentioned in the extant sources. I am fully aware of the possibility that some of the stories about Alexander the Great are fictitious or at least exaggerated. In my opinion, descriptions of the events at Salmous in 326/5/4 BC (Diodorus' mistake?) and in Gedrosia in 325 BC (an invented story?) seem slightly suspicious, whereas the descriptions of the events at Aegae in 336 BC, at Tyre in 332 BC, and at Susa and Ecbatana in 324 BC sound quite creditable (they include details about the names and number of performers). Still, it would be foolish to claim that all the above-mentioned cases concerning Alexander and the theatre are pure fiction.[182] There are so many of them and, besides, we have other anecdotes on other rulers and the theatre as well.

For the convenience of the readers, locations of the sites discussed above are illustrated in Fig. 31. (The map also illustrates some sites that Alexander did not visit, but these sites are on this map because they did not fit in Figs. 22 and 23).

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[181] Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 1.1.

[182] I fully agree with Revermann 1999/2000, 455: 'Even though many anecdotes will be instances of "tragic colouring", i.e. part of the biographers' rhetorical strategy of making the narrative polished, exciting and gripping, they must originate in an authentic and widely-known familiarity of the king with drama'.

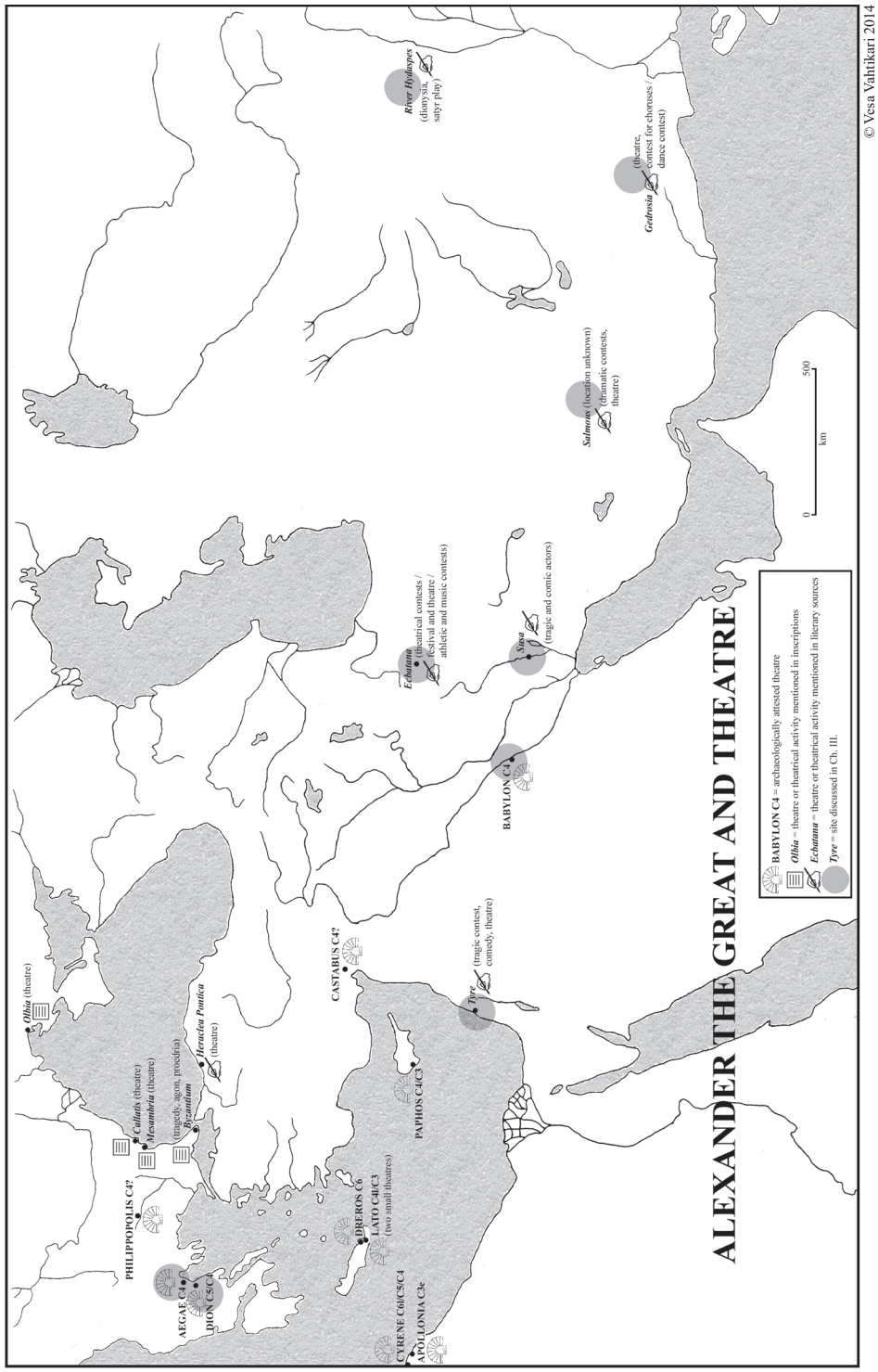

Fig. 31. Alexander the Great and theatre.

Other incidental dramatic performances

Actors Callippides and Nicostratus in the area of Aeolis

Polyaneus tells us about the following incident that happened in the area of Aeolis (in 399 BC):

> Ἀλέξανδρος φρούραρχος τῶν περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα χωρίων, μισθωσάμενος τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀγωνιστὰς, αὐλητὰς μὲν Θέρσανδρον καὶ Φιλόξενον, ὑποκριτὰς δὲ Καλλιππίδην καὶ Νικόστρατον, θέαν ἐπήγγειλε. πρὸς μὲν τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν συνέδραμον ἐκ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲπλῆρες τὸ θέατρον ἦν, περιστήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεθ' ὧν ἐφρούρει τὰ χωρία, πάντας τοὺς θεατὰς συλλαβὼν αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ, λύτρα μεγάλα λαβὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χωρία Θίβρωνι παραδοὺς ἀπηλλάγη
> (Polyaneus *Strat*. 6.10)

Before discussing the above, let us first take a look at the other information that we know about these two tragic actors. Callippides[183] probably won five times at Lenaea *c*.425 BC.[184] At the Lenaea of 418 BC, he acted in the *Amphilochus* and *Ixion* of Callistratus. In the competition, Callistratus came second and Callippides was the winning actor.[185] When Alcibiades came to Piraeus in 408 BC, Callippides was also there welcoming him.[186] According to Sophocles' *Vita*, after having come back from Opous (possibly from a performance?), Callippides sent Sophocles some grapes on which the tragedian choked in 406/5 BC.[187] Callippides is also said to have met Agesilaus at Sparta sometime before 390 BC, and asked the king: 'Don't you recognize me?'[188] In Plutarch, Callippides is also mentioned as an example of a tragic actor (along with Nicostratus, Mynniscus, Theodorus, and Polus).[189] There was also a comedy entitled *Callippides* written by Strattis,[190] and a fragment of Aristophanes alludes to Callippides' acting.[191] Nicostratus[192] won three times at Lenaea *c*.425? and once at the Dionysia in 399?[193] He

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[183] See O'Connor 1908, no. 274; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 334; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1348. For the actor Callippides in general, see Csapo 2010a, ch. 4; and Braund 2000, 151−158. See also Hall 2007, 283.
[184] *IG* II² 2325, col. i. (reading [Καλλιππί]δης).
[185] *IG* II² 2319, col. ii.
[186] Ath. *Deipn*. 12.535d.
[187] *Vit*. *Soph*. 14: Καλλιππίδην ὑποκριτὴν ἀπὸ ἐργασίας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος ἥκοντα περὶ τοὺς Χόας πέμψαι αὐτῷ σταφυλήν, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα λαβόντα ῥᾶγα εἰς τὸ στόμα ἔτι ὀμφακίζουσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν γήρως ἀποπνιγέντα τελευτῆσαι. Braund 2000, 154, translates this passage as follows (underlining is mine): 'Kallippides the actor, having come from a performance (ἐργασίας: see *LSJ* s.v.) from Opous [in East Locris] at the time of the Anthesteria, sent Sophokles a bunch of grapes; and Sophokles put a grape that was still not ripe into his mouth and so, on account of his great age, he choked and died'. He asks a bit later: 'Of course, his reason for sending the dubious gift is not explained: are we to imagine that Kallippides had been performing a work of Sophokles?'
[188] Plut. *Mor*. 212f. (Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις με, ὦ βασιλεῦ;). See also *CAD*, 231−232, IV.28.
[189] Plut. *Mor*. 348f. See also P. 215−216.
[190] *PCG* VII, 630, F 11−13. See also Braund 2000, 151−158.
[191] *PCG* III.2 260, F 490. According to Csapo 2010a, 119, Aristophanes alludes in this fragment, 'like Kallippides I sit upon the ground on the floor-sweepings', to 'Kallippides' role in a tragedy, Euripides' *Telephus*, for example, in which Kallippides portrayed the hero as a suppliant or a beggar'.
[192] See O'Connor 1908, no. 368; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 347; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1861.
[193] *IG* II² 2325, col. i and col. ii.

is said to have acted best in messenger-roles.[194] A fragment of Eubulus' comedy probably alludes to Nicostratus' messenger-roles.[195] According to Philodemus, Callippides and Nicotratus were everything in tragedy, like Lycon was everything in comedy.[196] We do not know much else about the aulos-players, Thersandrus and Philoxenus, mentioned in Polyaneus' text.[197]

It is doubtful whether the tragedies of Callistratus were especially dear to Callippides (or to his audience), so we cannot suggest any particular tragedies that Callippides performed in the area of Aeolis in 399 BC, but we can suppose that on the same occasion Nicostratus performed some tragedies (or excerpts from tragedies) in which a messenger or messengers played notable parts.[198]

Again, the actual word 'theatre' (described as being full) is mentioned. As with the cases of Gedrosia and Salmous the word 'theatre' does not necessarily have to refer to a permanent theatre (although remains of a fourth-century-BC theatre near the area of Aeolis, namely in Phocaea, have been found).[199] About Alexander, the garrison commander of Aeolis, nothing further is known.

Actor Theodorus at Pherae

There was a dramatic performance at Pherae during the reign of Alexander of Pherae, i.e. 369–358 BC. The tragedy that was performed may have been *Troades*, *Hecuba*, or *Cresphontes* by Euripides, and it is possible that the actor in question was Theodorus.[200]

Author Theodectes in Halicarnassus

According to the *Suda* and Aulus Gellius, Theodectes wrote and performed a *Mausolus* on request of Mausolus'[201] widow (and sister) Artemisias II (in 353/2 BC):

> οὗτος [sc. Theodectes] καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Ναυκράτης καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ Απολλωνιάτης, καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐπὶ τῆς ρς΄ (106) ὀλυμπιάδος (356/5−353/2) εἶπον ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ Μαυσώλῳ, Ἀρτεμισίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ προτρεψαμένης. καὶ ἐνίκησε μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν ᾗ εἶπε τραγῳδίᾳ. ἄλλοι δέ φασι Θεόπομπον ἔχειν τὰ πρωτεῖα.
> (*Suda* θ 138 = *TrGF* I, 227, T 1)

> Id monumentum Artemisia cum dis manibus sacris Mausoli dicaret, agona, id est certamen laudibus eius dicundis, facit ponitque praemia pecuniae aliarumque rerum bonarum amplissima. Ad eas laudes decertandas uenisse dicuntur uiri nobiles. ingenio atque lingua

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[194] *Paroemiogr*. 1.395: ἦν δὲ ὁ Νικόστραος ὑποκριτὴς τραγικὸς δοκῶν καλλίστους ἀγγέλους εἰρηκέναι.
[195] *PCG* V, F 134. See also Csapo 2010a, 136, n. 11.
[196] Phld. *De Rhet*. Col. XV^{a}, 3−10, see note 126 above.
[197] See Stephanis 1988, nos. 1193 and 2539. Xenophon (*Hell*. 4.18.18−19) reports that Thersandrus was killed together with a Spartan chief Thibros in an attack in 391 BC.
[198] For an overview on messengers in extant Greek tragedies, see P. 45.
[199] Frederiksen 2002, app. IV, no. 193; Hansen, and Nielsen 2004, 1381.
[200] This case was already discussed in the previous chapter, P. 18−19. The location of Pherae is illustrated in Fig. 22.
[201] This is the Carian ruler Mausolus whose tomb was the original 'Mausoleum', see *OCD*^{3}, 939−940. For the Mausoleum, see Hornblower 1982, 223−274.

> praestabili, Theopompus, Theodectes, Naucrates; sunt etiam qui Isocratem ipsum cum his certauisse memoriae mandauerint. Sed eo certamine uicisse Theopompum iudicatum est. Is fuit Isocratis discipulus. Exstat nunc quoque Theodecti tragoedia, quae inscribitur Mausolus; in qua eum magis quam in prosa placuisse Hyginus in exemplis refert.
> (Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.18.5−7 = *TrGF* I, 228, T 6)

Based on this evidence it is impossible to say whether the *Mausolus* was actually performed as a play or merely as a recitation (an eulogy).[202] The contents of the play can only be conjectured.[203]

We have no evidence to say whether Theodectes performed anything else on his visit to Mausolus' capital.[204] There is a theatre at Halicarnassus, but we do not know whether the theatre was already built at the time of Theodectes' visit to the city. The oldest parts of the theatre of Halicarnassus may date already from the reign of Mausolus.[205] Worth noting is that Theodectes is connected with Caria in Antiphanes' comedy *Carians*.[206] Also the actor and orator Aeschines may have visited Mausolus' court (and exhibited his speaking skills) from Rhodes where he had bought a plot of land.[207]

If there was a theatre at Halicarnassus in 353/2 BC and if Theodectes stayed there for some time, it is possible that he presented some of his tragedies there. But we have no evidence for such performances (and the performances would also have required the presence of actors and a chorus).

Actor Satyrus at Dion/Aegae

After the capture of Olynthus (348 BC), Philip organized Olympic games and a festival at Dion/Aegae in spring 347 BC.[208] Demosthenes mentions that a comic actor called Satyrus was present at a banquet.

> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἷλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι' ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν. ἑστιῶν δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶν τοὺς νενικηκότας ἤρετο Σάτυρον τουτονὶ τὸν κωμικὸν ὑποκριτήν, τί δὴ μόνος οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται;
> (Dem. 19.192−193)[209]

When Philip was crowning the winners he asked Satyrus why he had not asked any favours. Satyrus then asked Philip to bestow on him the daughters of Apollophanes of Pydna, who were Philip's captives. Philip did what Satyrus asked. Demosthenes does

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[202] For discussion see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 17; and Hornblower 1982, 333−336.
[203] Hornblower 1982, 261, 271, and 336, parallels *Mausolus* with Euripides' *Archelaus* and proposes that Theodectes' tragedy attempted to link the historical Mausolus with a mythical Mausolus who was a son of the Sun God Apollo Helios.
[204] On Theodectes' other plays, see P. 112.
[205] The theatre is variously dated to the fourth century BC, to 300−250 BC, or to the second century BC, see *TGR* III, 402.
[206] As Hornblower 1982, 123, reminds us. The fragment in question is *PCG* II, F 111. Also Artemisia and the Mausoleum attracted the attention of some contemporary comedians, see Hornblower 1982, 232, and 259.
[207] Philostr. *V S* 1.18.10. See Hornblower 1982, 337.
[208] For discussion on the place (Dion or Aegae) see P. 101−102.
[209] See also *CAD*, 4.29.

not tell whether Satyrus performed anything for Philip and his guests at the banquet, but we can imagine that perhaps he did (just as Neoptolemus did in Aegae in 336 BC). It is also implied in Demosthenes' text that Satyrus had already performed something at the festival (and won a competition?). If he did perform something at Dion/Aegae, we may ask what. Furthermore, if there were comedies presented (in a competition) at Dion/Aegae in 347 BC, we may ask whether or not some tragedies were also presented (in a competition) during the festival.

We know that Satyrus[210] probably won six times at Lenaea in around 375 BC.[211] If so, Philip had, once again, hired a first-rate actor for the occasion. Satyrus was a contemporary of Theodorus[212] and he often acted in slave roles (which is most fitting for a comic actor of the era).[213] Satyrus was probably from Olynthus.[214]

Actor Archelaus at Abdera

Lucian tells us that during the reign of King Lysimachus (i.e. 306/5–281 BC), the people of Abdera exhibited symptoms of fever and were singing monodies and reciting Perseus' speech from Euripides' *Andromeda* long after a performance by an actor called Archelaus:[215]

> Ἀβδηρίταις φασὶ Λυσιμάχου ἤδη βασιλεύοντος ἐμπεσεῖν τι νόσημα, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, τοιοῦτο• πυρέττειν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα πανδημεὶ ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῷ πυρετῷ, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἑβδόμην τοῖς μὲν αἷμα πολὺ ἐκ ῥινῶν ῥυέν, τοῖς δ' ἱδρὼς ἐπιγενόμενος, πολὺς καὶ οὗτος, ἔλυσεν τὸν πυρετόν. ἐς γελοῖον δέ τι πάθος περιίστα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν• ἅπαντες γὰρ ἐς τραγῳδίαν παρεκίνουν καὶ ἰαμβεῖα ἐφθέγγοντο καὶ μέγα ἐβόων• μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐμονῴδουν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως ῥῆσιν ἐν μέλει διεξήεσαν, καὶ μεστὴ ἦν ἡ πόλις ὠχρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ λεπτῶν τῶν ἑβδομαίων ἐκείνων τραγῳδῶν, "σὺ δ' ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως"[216], καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἀναβοώντων καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολύ, ἄχρι δὴ χειμὼν καὶ κρύος δὲ μέγα γενόμενον ἔπαυσε ληροῦντας αὐτούς. αἰτίαν δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ τοιούτου παρασχεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τραγῳδός, εὐδοκιμῶν τότε, μεσοῦντος θέρους ἐν πολλῷ τῷ φλογμῷ τραγῳδήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὡς πυρέξαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρουτοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναστάντας ὕστερον ἐς τὴν τραγῳδίαν παρολισθαίνειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐμφιλοχωρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Περσέως ἔτι σὺν τῇ Μεδούσῃ τὴν ἑκάστου γνώμην περιπετομένου.
> (Lucian *De hist. consc*. 1)

Lucian's narrative[217] sounds too weird to be true as such. Certainly a theatre performance did not cause the symptoms of fever. It is quite plausible, however, that there was a performance of Euripides' *Andromeda* (by Archelaus) in the summertime in

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[210] See O'Connor 1908, no. 429; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 355; Stephanis 1988, no. 2235.
[211] *IG* II² 2325, col. iii, which reads Σάτ]υρος.
[212] Plut. *Mor*. 545f.
[213] Aeschin. 2.156.
[214] Ath. *Deipn*. 591e.
[215] For this actor, see O'Connor 1908, no. 86; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 315; and Stephanis 1988, no. 432.
[216] *TrGF* V, F 136.1.
[217] Gibert 1999/2000, 78, n. 14, notes that although Lucian begins with the expression 'they say' (φασὶ) we can only guess whether Lucian made the story up or followed another author.

Abdera,[218] and there may have been an epidemic (that started soon after the performance), but these are two separate events.

We are not told how Archelaus, who was held in very good repute (εὐδοκιμῶν τότε), performed (with or without other actors and a chorus), but the fact (if it is not fiction) that the people of Abdera sang monodies and recited Perseus' speech long after the performance may perhaps imply that Archelaus' performed solo.[219]

Although there is a fourth-/third-century-BC theatre in Abdera,[220] the actual word 'theatre' is not mentioned this time. It is also impossible to evaluate whether the occasion in question was a single performance or part of a festival that included performances of other tragedies as well (a Dionysia?).

Other festivals

For the sake of an example, let us first take a look at the following inscription:

Fig. 32. Theatre of Delphi in September 2008. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
With the permission of Ι΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

[218] Euripides' *Andromeda* was almost certainly one of the tragedies that circulated around the Mediterranean in the fourth century BC, see P. 135−142 for my discussion of the play.
[219] Hall 2002, 13, writes: 'The performances of *tragōidoi*, although masked and costumed, must often have resembled what we call concerts or recitals rather than theatrical productions. ... Solo recitals were first to rival, together with pantomime, eventually to supersede the performance of whole tragic texts'. Hall (*ibid*.) also refers to a third century papyrus which consists of excerpted lyrical highlights from *Iphigenia in Aulis* (in rearranged order). For some other papyri containing extracts from tragedies, see Harder 1985, 143. For performances of *tragōidoi*, see Easterling 1997, 220−221; and Hall 1999, 103−104. For an overview on Greek words used to describe vocal performance, see Hall 2002, 7. For discussion on the technical demands made on the tragic singers, see Hall 2002, 18−24.
[220] The location of Abdera is illustrated in Fig. 23.

Διονύσια
[τὰ] μεγάλα
[ἐν] Ἀθήναις
[Ὀρ]έστηι
[Εὐ]ριπίδου.
[Σωτ]ήρια
[ἐν] Δελφοῖς
Ἡρακλεῖ
[Εὐ]ριπίδου,
[Ἀν]ταίωι
Ἀρχεστράτου.
[Πτο]λεμαῖα
[ἐν Ἀλε]ξανδρείαι
[ἄν]δρας
[πυ]γμήν.
Ἡραῖα
Ἠ[ρ]ακλεῖ
Εὐριπίδου,
Ἀρχελάωι
Εὐριπίδου.
Νάϊα
ἐν Δωδώνηι
Ἀρχελάωι
Εὐριπίδου,
Ἀχιλλεῖ
Χαιρήμονος.
καὶ τοὺς κατὰ
πόλεις ἀγῶνας
σκηνικοὺς
Διονύσια καὶ εἴ τι-
νας ἄλλας ἑορτὰς
αἱ πόλεις ἤγοσαν
ὀγδοήκοντα
ὀκτώ.
(*IG* V 2.118 = *SIG*[3] 1080)

Fig. 33. Theatre of Dodona in June 2009. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of Ι΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

This inscription from Tegea (dated to 276–219 BC[221]) reveals that an actor performed (and won the competition) in Athens at the Great Dionysia (with Euripides' *Orestes*), in Delphi (Fig. 32) at the Soteria (with Euripides' *Heracles* and Archestratus' *Antaeus*), in Argos at the Heraia (with Euripides' *Heracles* and *Archelaus*), in Dodona (Fig. 33) at

[221] The Soteria was founded in 276 BC, and Dodona was devastated by the Aetolians in 219 BC, see Revermann 1999/2000, 463, n. 53. Revermann 1999/2000, 465, further suggests 239 BC (corresponding to the date of the alliance between Macedon and Epirus) as the *terminus post quem* for this inscription. Katsouris 2005, 209, alternatively suggests that the theatre at Dodona, built by Pyrrhus (d. 272 BC), was inaugurated with a performance of *Archelaus*, thus providing 272 BC as the *terminus ante quem* for the performance of *Archelaus* at Dodona.

the Naia (with Euripides' *Archelaus* and Chaeremon's *Achilles* (*Thersitoctonus*)), and in eighty-eight dramatic contests, Dionysia, and at various other festivals.[222] In addition to these achievements, he also won a boxing competition at the Ptolemaia in Alexandria.[223]

The inscription also proves that by 276 BC 'old tragedies' were performed at least at Soteria in Delphi, at Heraia in Argos, and at Naia in Dodona. Concerning the Soteria of Delphi in 256 BC, it has been suggested: 'In tragedy the piper must have accompanied the actor's arias and not a chorus'.[224] In 255/4 BC, three old tragedies, three old comedies, and three old satyr plays were presented at Lenaea.[225] It is also evident from this inscription that in the third century BC there was an astonishing number of different kinds of festivals for actors to present their skills. There is not enough space here to discuss all these festivals in detail. Also questions related to the so-called 'Artists of Dionysus' are mainly beyond the scope of this study.[226]

In addition to the above-mentioned Soteria, Heraia, and Naia festivals, there were numerous Dionysia festivals, celebrated in several places, but they are all dated to the third century and/or to the later centuries BC, and do not directly concern us here.[227] Perhaps worth mentioning is that already in the fourth century BC there may have been an agon held in the Valley of the Muses (near Thespiae in Boeotia, Fig. 34) in honour of the Muses, which may have included dramatic competitions.[228] Possibly in the late fourth century BC, an actor by the name of Alcimachus competed at

Fig. 34. Valley of the Muses in July 2007. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of Θ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

[222] For comments on and discussions of this inscription and this actor, see O'Connor 1908, 80, no. 40 (under the name of an Arcadian Apollogenes who competed at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 BC); Séchan 1926, 531–532; Sifakis 1967, 84; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 310 (under the name of Apollogenes); Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 7, and 30; Stephanis 1988, 504–505, no 3003; Easterling 1997, 222, and 224; *CAD*, 200, no. III.163; Revermann 1999/2000, 462–464; and Morelli 2001, 76, and 86–92. See also my discussions on P. 87−89 above (concerning Euripides' *Archelaus*) and P. 125−127 below (concerning Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus*).

[223] In *CAD*, 200 it is noted: 'His boxing victory shows why he was particularly good in Heracles roles.' Revermann 1999/2000, 465, n. 58 asks: 'Are the Achilles- and Heracles-roles to be connected with Macedon as well?'

[224] *CAD*, 201 (referring to *SIG*^{3} 424A).

[225] *SEG* 26.208. At least Astydamas' satyric *Hermes*, a play of Sophocles, an *Ixion*, and an *Oedipus* were performed. See Merritt 1938, 116−118; and Summa 2003, 303.

[226] See *DFA*^{2}, 279−321; *CAD*, 239−255; Le Guen 2001a; Le Guen 2001b; Lightfoot 2002, 209−224; Aneziri 2003; and Aneziri 2006.

[227] See Le Guen 2001b, table 1, for inscriptions relating to Dionysia on Greek islands (esp. Lemnos, Thasos, Andros, Samos, Rhodos, Salamis); Moretti 2001, 94−99, table 2, for Dionysia in the Cyclades; and Frederiksen 2002, 83, n. 94, for some other localities.

[228] See Schachter 1986, 158. For the archaeological site at the Valley of the Muses, see Scully 1964, 89−92. For the Mouseia festival, see Schachter 1986, 147−179. There is an archaeologically attested theatre (usually dated to the third century BC) at the site, see *TGR* II, 307.

Rhodes with plays by Sophocles (]*eus*, *Odysseus*, *Iberes*, and a satyric *Telephus*).[229]

Of some importance may also be the fact that many of the most famous actors, as well as tragic and comic poets, of the fourth century BC were non-Athenians.[230] Of the tragic playwrights that need to be mentioned here, Theodectes was from Phaselis in Lycia, Dionysius I, Achaeus II, and Sosiphanes were from Syracuse, Patrocles was from Thurii, and there were also an Apollodorus of Tarsus, a Diogenes of Sinope, an Empedocles of Acragas in Sicily, a Heracleides of Pontus, a Phanostratus of Halicarnassus, and a Philiscus of Aegina.[231] Python, the alleged author of the satyr drama *Agen*, is said to be from Catane in Sicily, where also Mamercus came from.[232]

Of the fourth-century-BC comedy writers, at least Alexis, Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, Amphis, and Philemon were not Athenians. Alexis was from Thurii in Southern Italy, Anaxandrides was perhaps from the City of Camirus on Rhodes; it is disputed where Antiphanes was from (Chios, Smyrna, Rhodes, Thessalian Larissa). Amphis was probably from Andros and Philemon was probably from Syracuse. There were also an Anaxandrides of Rhodes, an Apollodorus of Gela, and a Diphilus of Sinope.[233] In addition at least four comedians (Archestratus, Pamphilus, Carnus, and Eudosius) came from Syracuse.[234]

Of the tragic actors worth mentioning, Archias was from Thurii; Aristodemus from Metapontum; Neoptolemus from Scyros; Polus probably from Aegina; and Timotheus from Zacynthus.[235] Of the comic actors, Aristodemus was either from Scaphae in Boeotia or from Scarphe in Locris; Lycon was from Scarphe in Locris; and Satyrus was probably from Olynthus.[236]

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[229] See *IG* XII 1, 125, 7−10 = *IGUR* 223 + 229 = Mette 1977, 194, 6 B 1. The date of this very fragmentary inscription is disputed, some scholars date it to the fourth century BC, some to the Roman period. The title *Iberes* is also problematic, e.g. Radt 1991, 104−105, does not include *Iberes* in his list of the plays of Sophocles. It has been suggested that an *Iberes* was written by Sophocles' son. For the actor Alcimachus see O'Connor 1908, 78, no. 24; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 308; and Stephanis 1988, no. 139. For the tragedy *Iberes*, see Sutton 1984, 62−63.

[230] For some discussions, see Dearden 1990, 232; Dearden 1999, 244−245; Kaimio 1999, 52−55, 58−59; Taplin 1999, 35−36; Dearden 2004, 123−124; Taplin, 2007a, 10; Wilson 2007, 362; and Csapo 2010a, 85−86.

[231] For Theodectes, see *TrGF* I, 227−237. For Dionysius I, see *TrGF* I, 240−246. For Achaeus II (who won at Lenaea *c*.356 BC), see *TrGF* I, 249. For Patrocles (who may be one and the same person as an Athenian Patrocles, who won twice at Lenaea *c*.380 BC), see *TrGF* I, 197. For Sosiphanes (who wrote 73 plays and won 7 times), see *TrGF* I, 261−263. For Apollodorus of Tarsus (who won five times at Lenaea, and probably six times at the Great Dionysia), see *TrGF* I, 209. For Diogenes of Sinope, see *TrGF* I, 253−258. For Empedocles of Acragas, see *TrGF* I, 189. For Heracleides of Pontus, see *TrGF* I, 263. For Phanostratus of Halicarnassus, see *TrGF* I, 263. For Philiscus of Aegina, see *TrGF* I, 258. Taplin 1999, 35, has counted that of the first 94 tragedians in *TrGF* I, well over 10 per cent are 'foreign'.

[232] For Python see P. 106. For Mamercus, see P. 200.

[233] For Alexis, Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, and Philemon, see P. 59−61. For Amphis, see *PCG* II, 213−235. For Anaxandrides of Rhodes (who won three times at the Lenaea, and seven times at the Great Dionysia, first victory 376 BC), see *PCG* II, 236−278. For Apollodorus of Gela, see *PCG* II 502−505. For Diphilus of Sinope (who won three times at the Lenaea), see *PCG* V, 47−123, see also Kaimio 1999, 53. For Amphis, and Apollodorus of Gela, see also Csapo 2010a, 86.

[234] These Syracusan comedians are mentioned in Bosher 2012, 4, n. 8.

[235] For Archias (the infamous captor of Demosthenes), see O'Connor 1908, no. 87; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 315; and Stephanis 1988, no. 439. For Polus (who acted in Sophocles' *Electra*, *OC* and *OT*?), see O'Connor 1908, no. 421; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 354; and Stephanis 1988, no. 2187. For Timotheus of Zacynthus (who was famous in the role of Ajax), see Stephanis 1988, no. 2416. For Aristodemus, see schol. Aeschin. 2.15, and P. 19 and 104. For Neoptolemus, see P. 99−100.

[236] For Aristodemus (not to be mixed up with the tragic actor of the same name), see Stephanis 1988, no. 333. For Satyrus, see P. 118−119. For Lycon, see P. 105.

This list of non-Athenian poets and actors must reveal something about the spread of theatre outside Athens. We must also remember that some cities even laid penalties on actors who could not fulfil their promises on competing at their festival. The practice of laying penalties shows that there was real competition between the cities and festivals for the best actors.

All in all, we have seen in this Chapter, and in the previous one, that there were a huge number of festivals and possible venues for dramatic performances in the fourth century BC, and that many famous actors travelled enormous distances and performed in several places outside Athens. We even know the actual dates of some performances, the names of the some of the performers, and the titles of some of the dramas that were performed on certain occasions outside Athens. The obvious question that follows these observations is, exactly which tragedies (of all the hundreds of 'old tragedies' that still existed and 'new tragedies' that were still being written) were performed outside Athens? I believe that it is possible to answer this question on the basis of the different kinds of evidence presented and discussed in the previous Chapter, and this is exactly what I will do in the next Chapter.

In the following pages, I shall discuss in detail some tragedies which, I argue, were very probably performed outside Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. I shall handle the plays in alphabetical order and I shall discuss the homonymous plays, for example, the *Oenomaus* of Sophocles, and the *Oenomaus* of Euripides, at the same time.

IV. Some tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens

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

(Arist. *Poet*. 1453a17–22)

Achilles Thersitoctonus (by Chaeremon)

The exact date of the first performance of this play is not known, but it must have been before 350 BC.[1] We only have two verses left of the play, but luckily the story of Achilles killing first Penthesileia and then Thersites is told by several ancient authors.[2] In addition to the written evidence, there is also a famous Apulian volute-krater from Ceglie, by a follower of the Varrese Painter, Boston, MFA 1900.03.804, 350–340 BC (V 1 in App. II, see Pl. X.1), which has been connected with this play by scholars.

The plot of the play, in brief, is as follows:[3] Achilles has killed the Amazon queen Penthesileia in a battle between the Greeks and the Trojans; Thersites mocks Achilles because of his sympathy and love for the dead Penthesileia; perhaps Thersites also pokes out the eyes of the dead Penthesileia;[4] Achilles gets furious, kills Thersites, and leaves his body unburied; Diomedes tries to avenge his kinsman,[5] but is prevented by Agamemnon and Menelaus; perhaps a *dea*/*deus ex machina*[6] appears to tell Achilles that he must sail to Lesbos to be purified of his crime of murdering a man during a sacrifice,[7] and leaving a dead body unburied. The play is set in Troy, outside the city walls, in the camp of the Achaeans. The probable characters[8] of the play were: Phoenix,[9] a chorus of Aetolian

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[1] Scholars have seen that Pl. *Leg*. 709b (*c*.350 BC?), τύχας δ᾽ εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, and Dem. 2.22. (349 BC), ἡ τύχη παρὰ πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρῶπων πράγματα, are the earliest quotations from the play, quoting F 2: τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ᾽ οὐκ εὐβουλία. This seems plausible. See Collard 1970, 22, n. 1; *TrGF* I, 217, F 2; and Morelli 2001, 78.

[2] It was already told in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus (see Procl. *chrest*. 2; *TrGF* I 71 F 1b; Davies 1988, 47; Morelli 2001, 23–24). See also, for instance, Diod. Sic. 2.46.5; Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.8.6, *Epit*. 5.1; Quint. Smyrn. 1.718–781; Tzetz. *Posth*. 194–211. All the relevant texts are conveniently gathered in Morelli 2001, 23–46.

[3] It has been reconstructed, for instance, by Séchan 1926, 530–531; Collard 1970, 26; *IGD*, 107; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 58–59; and Morelli 2001, 152–168. I follow here mostly Xanthakis-Karamanos and Morelli.

[4] As Collard 1970, 26, suggests. See schol. Soph. *Phil*. 445; and schol. Lycoph. *Alex*. 999. According to Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 58, the absence of the body of Penthesileia from the Boston vase suggests that Thersites did not maltreat the body of Penthesileia in Chaeremon's play.

[5] Thersites was a son of Agrius whose brother Oeneus was grandfather of Diomedes. See e.g. Quint. Smyrn. 1.771–773.

[6] Usually Athena, but also Hermes, have been suggested by scholars. See Robert 1919, 286 (Athena/Hermes); Séchan 1926, 531 (Athena); *IGD*, 107 (Athena); Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59 (Athena); Morelli 2001, 104, 148 (Athena).

[7] That the killing probably took place when Thersites was performing a sacrifice seems to be hinted at by a collection of overturned vessels and other objects which are seen around the body of Thersites in the Boston vase. On the meaning of these vessels, see Paton 1908, 415, who observes that they belong to religious rather than secular use. See also Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 58.

men,[10] Achilles, Thersites, Diomedes, Phorbas,[11] Dmos,[12] Menelaus, Agamemnon, and maybe Athena. The staging of the play may have required a *mechane*.[13]

The Boston vase has quite a lot of iconographic elements which indicate that the painter must have been influenced by an actual theatre performance. Attention should be paid to the following issues: the portico, the couch on which Achilles is sitting, the small vessels (also a tripod) around Thersites' body, the Erinys figure (inscribed ΠΟΙΝΑ), the costume of Agamemnon, and the gestures of the figures, esp. of Agamemnon (gesture of indignation), Phoenix (gesture of despair), Pan (speaking gesture), and Phorbas (speaking gesture). Since we are not aware of any other dramatizations of the story from the fifth or fourth centuries BC, I see no reasons to deny the connection between the Boston vase and Chaeremon's play.[14]

We have no evidence that any comedian ever wrote a parody of this play. Philetaerus, Aristophanes' son, wrote a comedy entitled *Achilles*,[15] probably before Chaeremon wrote his *Achilles Thersitoctonus*, and a comedian called Anaxandrides was third at the Lenaea in 375 BC with a *Heracles* or an *Achilles*.[16] The name of Anaxandrides' play is supplemented by the inscription (Λήναια) ... Ἡρακ]λεῖ (Ἀχιλ]λεῖ) ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρο[υ). Therefore it is not even certain that Anaxandrides ever wrote a comedy called *Achilles*. Even if he did, we have no means of knowing what episode of Achilles' life his play handled and what tragedy or tragedies he ridiculed in it. It is also probable that he too, like Philetaerus, wrote his play before Chaeremon.[17]

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[8] All suggested characters are depicted on the Boston vase. For detailed discussions about the characters of the play, see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59–60, and Morelli 2001, 77, 134–152, 154. Of all the characters that are depicted on the Boston vase, Morelli 2001, 141, 147, excludes Pan, Poine, and Automedon from the *dramatis personae*. According to Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59, characters who can be said to have taken part in the play with certainty are Achilles, Thersites, Diomedes, Agamemnon, Menelaus and a guard of the body of Thersites. Xanthakis-Karamanos further proposes that the name Automedon (Achilles' charioteer) has been added to the guard of Thersites' body by the vase Painter. Morelli 2001, 145, proposes that Automedon's part in the action of the play was probably told to the audience by other characters.

[9] Phoenix was Achilles' old tutor. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59, claims that it is not certain whether Phoenix took part in the action of the play. Morelli 2001, 156–161, gives Phoenix a role in almost every episode of the play.

[10] As suggested by Morelli 2001, 77, 146–147, 154. It must be noted here that Thersites was an Aetolian noble.

[11] Robert 1919, 179, proposes that Phorbas was a servant of Agamemnon. Phorbas, as well as the Aetolian (soldier) and (the servant) Dmos, are called 'second class characters' by Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59–60. Morelli 2001, 159, proposes that Phorbas may have told the audience about the miserable death of Penthesileia.

[12] Mayer 1900, 510, and Paton 1908, 411, read the inscription over the head of this person as ΔΜΩΣ (which, according to *LSJ*, means 'slave taken in war; generally slave'). Robert 1919, 279 (followed by Séchan 1926, 529), suggests that the inscription is mutilated and should be restored to Laodamas or Hippodamas. Beazley 1950, 322, defends Paton's reading which, in my opinion, is surely right. See also Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 59–60, 66, n. 27; Morelli 2001, 100, n. 33; and Taplin 2007a, 233, and 289, n. 36.

[13] Unless the *deus/dea ex machina* appeared on the roof of the *skene*.

[14] Although Taplin 2007a, 234, mentions two things on the vase that perhaps speak against a tragic connection: 1) there are too many named figures to all be included in any cast list, and 2) all the names are in Doric form (e.g. 'Thersitas', not 'Thersites').

[15] See *PCG* VII, 322, T 1 = *Suda* φ 308.

[16] See Mette 1977, 192, VI A 4,5 = *IGUR* 218,5 = *PCG* II, 237, test. *5,5.

[17] Philetaerus and Anaxandrides are both mentioned in the list of victors at Lenaea, few lines before Ephippus, Anaxandrides (with three victories) in *IG* II^2 2325, 142 (= Mette 1977, 175, V C 1 col. 3,3 = *PCG* II, 237, test. 6) and Philetaerus (with two victories) in *IG* II^2 2325, 143 (= Mette 1977, 175, V C 1 col. 3,4 = *PCG* VII, 322, test. 2).

Nor are we aware of any other tragic *Thersitoctonus*, although we have evidence of seven tragic *Achilles* written by Iophon (Sophocles' son), Aristarchus of Tegea (a contemporary author of Euripides), Carcinus II, Astydamas II, Euaretus, Cleophon, and Diogenes of Sinope.[18] Of course, we can only guess the contents of these plays. They might as well have dealt with, for instance, Achilles' life on Scyros or Achilles' mourning over the death of Patroclus. Perhaps of some relevance here are the respective *Achilles* of Astydamas II and Euaretus, both of which were produced in Athens at the Dionysia in 341 BC and Thettalus acted in each of them.[19] Also Livius, Accius, and Ennius wrote an *Achilles*, but their tragedies seem to have been adapted from plays other than that of Chaeremon (Aeschylus' *Myrmidones* and Aristarchus' *Achilles* are usually suggested by scholars).[20]

Diogenes Laertius (7.162), when discussing the philosopher Ariston (who lived *c*.320–*c*.250 BC), writes: 'The wise man he compared to a good actor, who, if called upon to take the part of a Thersites or of an Agamemnon, will impersonate them both becomingly'.[21] Since we have no evidence of any other play, except the one by Chaeremon, in which Thersites was among the *dramatis personae*, and the figure of Agamemnon, at least, was surely often seen on stage in the fourth century BC, Diogenes might be hinting that *Achilles Thersitoctonus* was (often?) performed in the late fourth and early third centuries.

We know that Chaeremon's play was included in the programme of an anonymous Tegean actor, who performed it (and Euripides' *Archelaus*) at the Naia festival in Dodona between 276–219 BC.[22] Some scholars have seen an allusion to *Achilles Thersitoctonus* in Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* (190−191).[23] There is also a fragment of a school text (from the second century AD) citing *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (as if by Euripides).[24]

The statement of Diogenes Laertius suggests that a play in which Thersites was a (central) character (i.e. Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus*) was often performed in the late fourth and early third centuries BC, and the inscription about the Tegean actor proves this hypothesis. The Boston vase, in turn, implies that Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus* was probably produced in Magna Graecia soon after its first production in Athens.

Ajax Locrus (by Sophocles)

The Locrian Ajax, son of Oeleus, was a much less popular character in tragedies than his namesake. Nevertheless, in addition to his extant *Ajax*, Sophocles also wrote a play in

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[18] For the *Achilles* by Iophon, see *TrGF* I, 132, T 1a = *Suda* ι 451; by Aristarchus of Tegea, see *TrGF* I, 90, F 1a; by Carcinus II, see *TrGF* I, 212, F 1d; by Astydamas II, see *IG* II^2 2320, col. 2, 6; by Euaretus, see *IG* II^2 2320, col. 2, 11; by Cleophon, see *TrGF* I, 246, T 1 = *Suda* κ 1730; and by Diogenes of Sinope, see *TrGF* I, 253, T 1 = Diog. Laert. 6.80.

[19] For my discussion on the Dionysia of 341 BC, see P. 13−14.

[20] For Livius and Accius, see Warmington 1936, 2–3, 326–327. For Ennius, see Jocelyn 1967, 67–71, 161–177.

[21] The translation is from Hicks 1950, 265.

[22] See P. 120−122. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 63, and Morelli 2001, 90, both point out that this inscription almost certainly proves *Achilles Thersitoctonus* to have been tragic, not satyric as some earlier scholars had suggested (for references see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 66, n. 37, and Morelli 2001, 90, n. 25).

[23] See Wilson 1996, 327, n. 31 and references there.

[24] See Pack 1965, 138, no. 2656 and references there.

which this lesser Ajax was the central character.[25] The date of Sophocles' play is unknown. An anonymous writer may also have written a tragedy on the same subject.[26] It is, of course, totally possible that one or more of the seven tragedies entitled *Ajax* dealt with the fate of the Locrian Ajax.[27] Aristophanes may be parodying a line from Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* (or from a play by Euripides) in his *Thesmophoriazusae*.[28]

The story of the *Ajax Locrus* may have handled some of the following incidents.[29] During the sack of Troy, Ajax assaulted Cassandra at the temple of Athena and dragged her away from the statue of the goddess. The Greeks were angered at Ajax's offence against Athena, and wanted to stone him to death, but he took refuge at Athena's altar.[30] A trial[31] was held and Ajax was acquitted. After the war, when sailing back home, Ajax was drowned at sea.[32]

We do not know, for sure, the characters of the play, but in addition to Cassandra and Ajax, Athena (*ex machina*?), Helicaon, and Talthybius should be considered. Also Antenor and his wife Theano (who was a priestess of Athena), as well as Calchas and Coroebus (who fought at Troy in the hope of winning Cassandra's hand in marriage) have been suggested by scholars.[33] The identity of the chorus is not known.[34]

All in all, there are sixteen South Italian vases that may be connected to (a) theatre performance(s) of an *Ajax Locrus* (VV 34−49 in App. II). All these vases depict Ajax attacking Cassandra who is clinging to the statue of Athena. Most of the vases are dated to around 350 BC, the two oldest vases are dated to 400–390 BC and to 400–375 BC, and the latest vase is dated to 320–310 BC. Most vases are Apulian, three are Campanian, one is Paestan, one is Sicilian, and one vase is either Attic or Italiot. All vases are by separate painters.

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[25] See *TrGF* IV, 102–123.
[26] See *TrGF* II, 204–211, F 637–643.
[27] For the plays entitled *Ajax*, see App. I, P. 225.
[28] Schol. Ar. *Thesm*. 21. It seems that Euripides had borrowed the line from Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus*. See *TrGF* III, 120–121, F 14; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 16; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 246, n. 8.
[29] The story has been reconstructed by several scholars. See, for instance, Pearson 1917, 8–15; Bates 1940, 168–169; Sutton 1984, 7–9; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 12–17; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 254–259.
[30] Ajax's crime and his escape from the Greeks' anger were told already in the *Ilioupersis* of Arctinus See Davies 1988, 62. See also Apollod. *Epit*. 5.25.
[31] There seems to be a reference to voting (ψηφ[) in F 10f (line 16). See Haslam 1976, 12; Sutton 1984, 9; Fitzpatrick 2003, 248.
[32] Pearson 1917, 10, and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 13, remind that neither the assault of Ajax on Cassandra nor his death at sea can have been enacted on the stage but must have been related by a messenger or foretold by a god. Bates 1940, 169, suggests that Athena appeared on the *mechane* to predict the death of Ajax.
[33] F 15 is thought by some scholars to be spoken to Cassandra. See Sutton 1984, 8; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 246. Ajax's name is written in the margin of the fragment 10b. The name of Athena appears as a *nota personae* in the margin of the fragment 10c. Her appearance on the stage did not necessarily happen at the end of the play (in the *mechane*). See Lloyd-Jones 1996, 14; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 251. Helicaon (Antenor's son) and Talthybius (Agamemnon's herald) are mentioned as speakers in the fragment 10e. See Lloyd-Jones 1996, 15; Fitzpatrick 2003, 248. For Theano, see Sutton 1984, 8–9; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 256. For Calchas, see comments in Fitzpatrick 2003, 246, n. 9, and 251. For Coroebus, see Lloyd-Jones 1996, 15, who proposes that some of the fragments of the *P.Oxy.* 3151 may come from another play of Sophocles, the *Eurypylus*. See also Fitzpatrick 2003, 249, 253–254.
[34] Before the publication of the papyrus *P.Oxy.* 3151 (by Haslam, *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri* 44, London 1976) Zielinski had suggested ('De Aiacis Locrensis fabula Sophoclea', *Eos* 28, 37–49) that the chorus was formed of the captive Trojan women and that *Aias Locrus* and *Aechmalotides* were the same play. For arguments against this suggestion, see Sutton 1984, 8–9; and Fitzpatrick 2003, 251.

We already saw one vase depicting Ajax' assault on Cassandra (see Pl. V.3), but for the sake of example, we will take a look at another one. An Apulian volute-krater by the Ilioupersis Painter, London, BM F160, 370–350 BC (V 35 in App. II) shows Ajax assaulting Cassandra who is clinging to a statue of Athena while an old woman and an old man (with a child) are fleeing from the scene (Fig. 35).

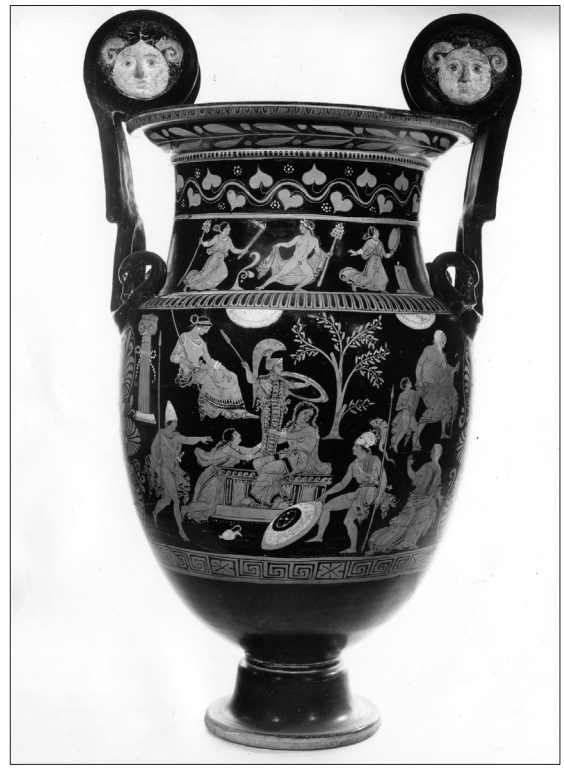

Fig. 35. Apulian volute-krater, attributed to the Ilioupersis Painter, London, British Museum 1867,0508.1333 (F160), 370–350 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

There are many details in most of the South Italian Ajax–Cassandra vases that suggest a connection with theatre, for example, the woman (Theano?) who is fleeing from the temple. Attention should be paid especially to her posture, her hands and the astonished expression on her face. Also porticos, columns, stage altars, statues of Athena, temple keys in the hands of the priestesses, bucrania, and gestures of supplication, horror, and despair are portrayed on these sixteen vases as well.

There are also quite a number of Attic vases, dating to around 450 BC, which depict Ajax's assault on Cassandra.[35] The obvious question that needs to be asked is, do these vases have anything to do with the first production of Sophocles' play in Athens? Unfortunately we do not know the date of the play. It would be tempting to put it at around 450 BC, on the basis of these vases, although the pictorial tradition of Ajax's attack on Cassandra is much older than Sophocles' play. There are several vases from the sixth century and early fifth century showing the crime of Ajax, which, naturally, cannot have anything to do with the *Ajax Locrus* of Sophocles.[36]

In addition to these vases, there is also a vase which depicts a comic reversal of the rape of Cassandra by Ajax (see Fig. 9).[37] In this Paestan kalyx-krater (from Buccino), which is signed by the painter Asteas (350–340 BC), Ajax is the one seeking refuge at the altar and Cassandra is seizing his helmet.[38]

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[35] *LIMC* I, Aias II nos. 54, 60–67. See also Breton Connelly 1993, 109–123.
[36] See *LIMC* I, Aias II nos. 16–46. See also Breton Connelly 1993, 90–109.
[37] Rome, Villa Giulia 50279.
[38] See *MTSP*², 147; *PV*², 54, no. 86; *IGD*, IV, 30; Moret 1975, 11, no. 15; *LIMC* I, Aias II 107*; *LIMC* II, Athena 96. Walsh 2009, 84–85, proposes that this painting may simply be reflecting a comic stage production rather than being a visual parody (as suggested by Taplin 1993, 81–82).

The rape of Cassandra by Ajax was quite a popular theme in South Italian vase-paintings already in 400–375, as well as in around 350 BC. Many of the vases show several iconographic signs that suggest a connection with theatrical performance(s). This, in turn, together with the fact that all vases depicting the rape of Cassandra by Ajax are by different painters from different workshops, suggests that perhaps around 400 BC and again in 350 BC, a play in which Ajax's crime against Athena and Cassandra was somehow part of the action (i.e. Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus*) might have been produced in Magna Graecia. The later vases may be copies of the earlier ones, but at least the painters of the oldest South Italian Ajax−Cassandra vases were quite probably influenced by theatre performances.

Alcestis (by Euripides)

Alcestis, which is the oldest one of the extant plays of Euripides, was produced in 438 BC, together with the lost plays *Cretan Women*, *Alcmaeon in Psophis* and *Telephus*, in a tetralogy that won the second prize.[39] *Alcestis* was produced as the fourth play instead of the usual satyr play.[40] In this play Alcestis dies for her husband Admetus and Heracles brings her back from the dead. The action of the play takes place at Pherae in Thessaly. The characters of the play are Apollo, Death, a servant (handmaid), Admetus, Alcestis, the two children of Alcestis and Admetus (one mute, one sings), Heracles, Pheres, and a second servant (guard). The chorus is formed of the citizens of Pherae. It is possible, but not necessarily probable, that the death-scene of Alcestis was produced with the help of the *ekkyklema*.[41]

The story of Alcestis' voluntarily death was not among the most frequently dramatized subjects in the fifth century BC. Before Euripides, only Phrynichus and Sophocles, as far as we know, had written on the same subject.[42] We also know that Phormis/Phormus (C6/5), Aristomenes (C5/4) and Theopompus (C4) wrote a comedy called *Admetus*, and that Antiphanes (C4) wrote a comic *Alcestis*.[43] In addition to these plays, Accius also wrote an *Alcestis*.[44]

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[39] See the second hypothesis to *Alcestis*. On *Telephus*, see P. 194−195.

[40] Scholars usually use the term 'prosatyric' when discussing this unusual experiment of Euripides. See, for example, Sutton 1980, 180–184, and Buxton 2003, 184–186. Sutton 1980, 184–190, suggests that *Helena* and *Iphigenia Taurica* were also produced as prosatyric.

[41] Hourmouziades 1965, 108, writes: 'we could not suppose that all the persons involved in the Alcestis scene (i.e. Alcestis, Admetus, the children, servant) were seen disposed on the ekkyklema and pushed through the door' and proposes that 'the producer ... could have two attendants bring in a chair with Alcestis lying in it and followed by Admetus and the Children'. *IGD*, 75: 'The appearance of Alkestis on the couch was probably brought about by the use of the *ekkyklema*; it would have been wheeled inside after her death'. Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976, 87, also suggests that the *ekkyklema* was used. Pöhlman 1995, 159–60, in turn, does not include the production of *Alcestis* in his 'Sichere Belege für das Ekkyklema im 5. Jh.'

[42] On Phrynichus' *Alcestis*, see *TrGF* I, 69, T 1 (= *Suda* φ 762). On Sophocles' *Alcestis*, see *TrGF* IV, 149.

[43] On Phormis'/Phormus' *Admetus*, see *PCG* I, 174, T1.3. On Aristomenes' *Admetus*, see *PCG* II, 562, 563, T 4b, T *6. See also *OCD*[3], 163. On Theopompus' *Admetus* see *PCG* VII, 709, F 1–2. Webster 1953, 18, n. 1, has Aristomenes' *Admetus* on a list of mythological comedies which: 'almost certainly go back to tragic ancestors'. Webster 1953, 239, dates Aristomenes' *Admetus* in 388 BC and Theopompus' *Admetus* in 380–370 BC. On Antiphanes' *Alcestis* see *PCG* II, 325–326, F 30–31.

[44] See *TF*, 200.

Aristophanes quotes, parodies or borrows lines from Euripides' *Alcestis* six times.[45] In *Av*. 1244 Aristophanes has borrowed a phrase from *Alc*. 675; *Thesm*. 194 is a quotation from *Alc*. 691; *Nub*. 1415 parodies the same line; in *Ach*. 893–894, there is a quotation from *Alc*. 367–368; Alcestis' farewell to her nuptial bed (*Alc*. 177–182) is parodied in *Eq*. 1250–1252; scraps from *Alcestis* are also found in *Vesp*. 750ff; *Lys*. 865–869 may be modelled on a lost Euripidean passage similar to *Alc*. 939–949.[46] Some lines from the text of *Alcestis* also appear in collections called *Lines from Menander* and *Couplets from Menander*, 'though Menander has certainly been credited with much that he never wrote'.[47]

There may be traces of localization in verses 835–836 and 1153–1156 of this play.[48] Suspected actors' interpolations are few.[49]

The following vases have been connected with Euripides' *Alcestis* by scholars.

1) An Attic epinetron/onos by the Eretria Painter, Athens 1629, *c*.430 BC (V 52 in App. II) shows Alcestis as a bride. Open doors and a column are also depicted on this vase. Worth noting is that the date of this vase is close to the premiere of Euripides' play (438 BC).

2) An Apulian loutrophoros by a forerunner of the circle of the Darius and the Underworld Painters, Basel, Antikenmuseum S 21, 350–325 BC (V 51 in App. II) shows Alcestis (inscribed) sitting on a couch, bidding farewell to her two children. Admetus, two handmaids, an old woman (old nurse[50] or mother of Admetus[51]) and a paidagogos-messenger figure stand beside Alcestis (see Pl. X.1).

3) An Apulian oinochoe, Group of BM F308 / close to the Chamay Painter, Florence, La Pagliaiuola 116, 355–340 BC (V 50 in App. II) probably presents the return of Alcestis from the Underworld.[52] In addition to Alcestis and Heracles, also Pan, Aphrodite?, Persephone, Hermes, a satyr, Admetus, Apollo, two children, a paidagogos-messenger and a woman are portrayed on this vase. Also an altar, surrounded by a sacred band with a bucranium, is depicted.

4) Alcestis and Admetus (inscribed '*Alcsti*' and '*Admite*') are depicted between Charon and another demon (Thanatos?[53]) on an Etruscan volute-krater from Vulci, Alcestis Group, Paris, Cab. Méd. 918, 350–300 BC (V 53 in App. II).

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[45] See Rau 1967, 213.
[46] See Sommerstein 1990, 201.
[47] As Dale 1954, xxxiv notes. For references of the Menandrean passages, see Dale 1954, xxxvi−xxxvii.
[48] Taplin 1999, 45 (on verses 835–836): 'It has not been registered, so far as I know, that this instruction (i.e. "By the high-way which leads to Larissa, you will see the tomb of new-cut stone as you leave the outskirts") precisely locates the major northern cemetery of Ancient Pherai', and (on verses 1153–1156): 'There may also be hinted aetiology for a hero-cult of Alcestis once she is finally entombed there'.
[49] Parker 2007, lxvii: 'In *Alc*., passages suspected of being actors' interpolations are few and minor − further evidence that the play was relatively unpopular. But theatrical directors may cut as well as expand. Zunz (zz), p. 253, n. †, propounds the theory that *Alc*. was, at one stage, 'violently condensed', and that 132−5 and 818−19 were introduced to replace passages that had been cut out'. I agree with Parker who notes (p. 82) that the 'condensed' version remains purely hypothetical.
[50] According to *LIMC* I, 535.
[51] According to *IGD*, 75.
[52] *RVAp* I, 428: 'Its interpretation is open to question, but it seems to represent the return of Alcestis from the Underworld. Heracles has brought her safely back, she has withdrawn her veil and the recognition scene has taken place'.
[53] See Séchan 1926, 240.

There are also some terracotta masks from Lipari (dating not before 350−330 BC) that are thought to be representing Heracles and Admetus.[54]

It has to be admitted that the interpretations of these vases are far from certain, but the Basel vase in particular definitely seems to be inspired by Alcestis' death scene in Euripides' *Alcestis* (244–434). Even though the old woman and the paidagogos-messenger, depicted on the vase, do not appear on stage in the play, at least not in speaking roles (probably there were mute servants who carried the body of Alcestis away), one cannot interpret this vase without thinking of Euripides' play. The vase might indicate that the play was performed somewhere in Apulia around 350 BC. Localization in verses 835–836 and 1153–1156 of this play may imply that it was also reperformed in Thessaly. Aristophanes' quotations from the play (esp. in *Av*. 1244 and *Thesm*. 194) hint that the play might have been reperformed in Athens in *c*.415 BC. The comedies by Aristomenes, Theopompus, and Antiphanes may be parodying later reproductions of Euripides' *Alcestis* in Athens (in the 390s or 380s?). All in all, the evidence from different kinds of sources shows that Euripides' *Alcestis* was not forgotten after its premiere. Some sort of an *Alcestis* may have been performed in first-century-AD Roman Egypt.[55]

Alcmena (by Euripides and other authors)

The action of Euripides' *Alcmena* takes place at Thebes. Zeus has appeared to Alcmena in the guise of her husband Amphitryon and had intercourse with her.[56] Amphitryon returns home from his expedition against the Teleboeans and finds Alcmena pregnant. He becomes furious and Alcmena takes refuge at an altar. Amphitryon tries to burn the altar, but Zeus intervenes and Alcmena is saved with the help of clouds. Later she gives birth to Heracles and Iphicles.[57] Besides Amphitryon and Alcmena, the following people may have been among the characters of the play: Hermes, Eos, a nurse/messenger, Teiresias and Zeus.[58] The constitution of the chorus in uncertain (women of Thebes, friends or

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[54] Bernabó Brea 2001, 283, figs. 18−19. For some critical comments on Bernabó Brea's classification of the Lipari masks, see Wiles 2007, 52−55 (with pl. 3.1).

[55] See Marshall 2004, who discusses a papyrus (*P.Oxy*. 4546, *LDAB* no. 9895) containing *Alc*. 344−382 (with omissions). There are three other papyri (from the second and third centuries AD) containing lines from *Alcestis* or a hypothesis to the play, see *LDAB* nos. 927 (hypothesis), 956 (lines 771−779), and 1041 (lines 1159−1163).

[56] According to *TrGF* V, 220 Eos, who is depicted on the Python vase (BM F149, V 60 in App I), may imply that the action of the play starts after the night (during which Zeus had intercourse with Alcmena). See also Simon 2004, 119.

[57] The story of this love adventure of Zeus is told or referred to by several ancient authors, most fully by Apollodorus (*Bibl*. 2.4.6–8), and Hyginus (*Fab*. 29). The plot of the play is reconstructed and discussed in Vogel 1886, 33–36; Engelmann 1900, 56–63; Séchan 1926, 244–248; Bates 1930, 212; *IGD*, 76; Webster 1967, 92–94; and Jouan and van Looy 1998, 121–128.

[58] See Jouan and van Looy 1998, 121, and *TrGF* V, 220. In *IGD*, 76; Webster 1967, 93–94; *LIMC* V, 556; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 121, and *TrGF* V, 220, in which it is proposed that Hermes and Zeus were the probable speakers of the prologue and the epilogue. For the messenger (who may have been the nurse of Alcmene) see Webster 1967, 93, who points out that the clouds quenching the fire cannot have been acted and also the famous storm must have been reported. Taplin 1977, 119, assumes that the attempt of Amphitryon to burn Alcmene was reported. Also Jouan and van Looy 1998, 127, favour the use of the messenger speech in the altar burning scene. Apollodorus (*Bibl*. 2.4.8) relates that Amphitryon learned from Teiresias that Zeus had visited Alcmena. Teiresias is also depicted on the Boston bell-krater by the Darius Painter (V 55 in App. II, see Pl. XI.3).

servants of Alcmena, have been suggested).[59] The exact date of the play is not known.[60] It is probable, but not certain, that the staging of this play required the use of the *mechane*.[61]

The story of Zeus seducing Alcmena and thus conceiving Heracles was quite a popular subject among ancient playwrights. We know six other Greek tragedies and five comedies, plus two Roman plays, which may have dealt with the same incidents as Euripides' *Alcmena*. An *Alcmena* was written by Ion of Chios (a contemporary of Euripides), by Astydamas II, and by Dionysius I.[62] Also Aeschylus may have written an *Alcmena*, although many scholars do not trust the evidence, which is based on Hesychius.[63] In addition to these tragedies, Sophocles and Aeschylus of Alexandria (in the first century BC) wrote a play entitled *Amphitryon*.[64] Of the comic writers, Plato wrote a *Nyx macra*, and Archippus probably wrote two plays which were known under the title *Amphitryon*.[65] Also Rhinton wrote an *Amphitryon*.[66] Philemon's comedy *Nyx* may also have handled the story of Zeus seducing Alcmene.[67] Later Accius wrote a tragic *Amphitryo* and Plautus a comic one.[68] Aristophanes probably parodies a line from Euripides' *Alcmena* (F 88) in his *Ranae* (93).[69]

There are eight vases that must be mentioned here:

1) An Apulian kalyx-krater from Taranto, by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus, Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 4600, 400–390 BC (V 56 in App. II).

2) An Apulian kalyx-krater by the Darius Painter, Boston, MFA 1989.100 (once Los Angeles market), 340–325 BC (V 55 in App. II, see Pl. XI.3).

3) A fragment of an Apulian amphora, Freiburg, Univ. S 550. (V 57 in App. II).

4) A Sicilian kalyx-krater from Lipari*, tomb 730, by the Syracuse Painter, Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 9405, 375–340 BC (V 62 in App. II).

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[59] See Jouan and van Looy 1998, 121.

[60] Webster 1967, 4, gives a date between 455–428 BC, and Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, 72–73, a date between 455(420?)–410 BC.

[61] Already Vogel 1886, 36, suggested that Zeus might have appeared on the *mechane* at the end of the play. Jouan and van Looy 1998, 127–128, discuss the use of the *mechane* in the play. Hourmouziades 1965, 146–69, does not mention *Alcmena* in Appendix II 'Supernatural appearances' where the use of the *mechane* in Euripides' plays is discussed. Neither does Pöhlmann 1995, 155–156, mention this play in his list of 'Sichere Belege für die Mechane im 5. Jh.'

[62] For the *Alcmena* of Ion of Chios, see *TrGF* I 19 F 5a–8. For the *Alcmena* of Astydamas II, see *TrGF* I 60 T 1 = Suda α 4265. For the *Alcmena* of Dionysius I, see *TrGF* I 76 F 2.

[63] See *TrGF* III, 130, F 129.

[64] For Sophocles' *Amphitryon*, see *TrGF* IV, 154–155. For the *Amphitryon* of Aeschylus of Alexandria, see *TrGF* I 179 F 1. For the old guess (Osann in *RhM* 2 [1834] 312) that Sophocles' *Amphitryon* was a satyr play, and for possible subjects of Sophocles' play (the accidental killing of Electryon by Amphitryon and the subsequent events?), see Pearson 1917, 76; Bates 1940, 176; Sutton 1984, 17–19; and Lloyd–Jones 1996, 48–49.

[65] For Plato's *Nyx macra*, see *PCG* VII, 469–471, F 89–94. For Archippus' two comedies entitled *Amphitryon*, see *PCG* II, 539–540, F 1–7.

[66] See *PCG* I, 262, F 1.

[67] See Webster 1953, 127; and *PCG* VII, 254, F 54.

[68] For Accius' *Amphitryo*, see *TF*, 204–206. Accius' source may have been Sophocles (as proposed in Warmington 1936, 340–341), and his play probably did not handle the visit to Alcmene by Zeus but the killing of Electryon by Amphitryon. Webster, 1953, 88, suggests that Plautus combined Sophocles' *Amphitryon* with Euripides' *Alcmena* in his *Amphitryo*. For Plautus' reference to *Alcumena Euripidi* in *Rud*. 86, see Jocelyn 1967, 6–7 and 63; and *TrGF* V, 219.

[69] See schol. Ar. *Ran*. 92–93; and *TrGF* V, 222.

5) Fragment of a Sicilian krater or skyphos from Entella*, near the group of Lentini-Manfria, Contessa Entellina, excavation 1989, E 856, 350–325 BC (V 61 in App. II).

6) A Campanian neck-amphora from Capua*, Andromeda Group / Painter of Louvre K 491, London, BM F193, 360–340 BC (V 58 in App. II).

7) A Campanian neck-amphora by the Parrish Painter, New York, Coll. Raysor (once New York market), 350–320 BC (V 59 in App. II).

8) A Paestan bell-krater from S. Agata dei Goti, by Python, London, BM F149, 360–320 BC (V 60 in App. II, see Pl. V.2).

All these vases show Alcmena sitting on an altar (a stage altar?), which is sometimes covered with logs and sometimes not. Amphitryon is usually depicted beside the altar, sometimes with a helper (named Antenor with an inscription on vase 8), who is trying to set fire to the logs. The Hyades pouring water from the sky, as well as Zeus (on the Boston vase, MFA 1989.100, in the form of an eagle) and Hermes, are also depicted in most of these vases. On the Boston vase, Aphrodite, Eros, Creon, and Teiresias are also depicted.

Scholarly opinions about the interpretations of these vases vary considerably. Some scholars have seen Euripides' *Alcmena* as the ultimate inspiration source for (some of) these vases; some scholars are more hesitant. As an example, one might compare comments on the Paestan bell-krater by Python, which has been known since the nineteenth century.[70] Vogel places this vase in his book in chapter one which is entitled 'Vasengemälde, die sicher auf Euripides beruhen'; Huddilston has this vase on a list of vases which 'seem to me to present difficulties that preclude their relation to extant tragedies'. Séchan comments: 'Resterait à savoir si le peintre s'inspirait directement du thèâtre ou si, comme on l'a jugé plus probable, il se bornait à reproduire un modèle du grand art, influencé d'aileurs lui-même par une représentation theatrâle'. Bates notes: 'It is likely, however, that these vase paintings [i.e. BM F149 and BM F193] were inspired more or less directly by the *Alcmena* of Euripides'. Trendall, and Webster comment: 'The three principals wear elaborately patterned costumes, which must reflect stage influence'. Keuls adds: 'I will show you two vase paintings depicting the rescue of Alcmene by Zeus, almost certainly in the way this story was presented in the *Alcmene* of Euripides'. Simon agrees: 'However, in the case of Heracles' madness [i.e. Madrid 11094] and Alkmene's rescue [i.e. BM F149], there are indications that the artist is referring to stage performances of tragedies, presumably by Euripides'.

In my opinion, the stage altar, Alcmena sitting on the altar as a supplicant, her gestures, and the costumes of Amphitryon, Teiresias, and Creon all suggest that these vases have been inspired by actual theatre performances (the Sicilian krater/skyphos fragment[71] even shows a stage, but the painting is too fragmentary to conclusively connect it with a performance of an *Alcmena*). Some scholars have suggested that Euripides' *Alcmena* was prosatyric,[72] and others have proposed that some of the vases listed above might depict a

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[70] See Vogel 1886, 33–34; Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, 248; Bates 1930, 213; *IGD*, 76; Keuls 1997, 155; and Simon 2004, 119.

[71] It is possible that this fragment is related to a performance of a comedy rather than a tragedy, see Taplin 2012, 229, n. 18.

[72] See Jouan and van Looy 1998, 127, n. 33 for references.

'hilarotragedy'.[73] It must also be noted that there are two comic vases, both by Python's associate Asteas, which probably burlesque Zeus' visit to Alcmena.[74]

Even if we conceded that at least some of the above-mentioned vases have something to do with (re)performances of an *Alcmena* (or an *Amphitryon*) in Magna Graecia, we would not be able to name the playwright whose play is in question. Only the kalyx-krater by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus (Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4600) is too early to be inspired by fourth-century-BC playwrights (i.e. Astydamas II and Dionysius I) and thus it is most probably inspired by Euripides' play (although, it is not impossible that Aeschylus' or Ion's *Alcmena* was reperformed in Magna Graecia).

It is also possible that the vases painted by Python and by the Parrish Painter may actually reflect (a) (re)performance(s) of an *Alcmena* in Sicily.[75] An *Alcmena* that certainly was performed in Sicily was written by Dionysius I. Although we know next to nothing about this play, it is hard to imagine that the tyrant would not have organized a performance of it in Syracuse.[76] Euripides' *Alcmena* was quite probably reperformed in Magna Graecia in the late fifth or early fourth century BC (as suggested by the Taranto vase), and possibly around 350 BC (as suggested by the Boston vase), but Aristophanes' parody of Euripides' *Alcmena* does not necessarily prove that Euripides' play was reperformed in Athens. The premiere of the play in Athens may have been late in Euripides' career, i.e. not much before the *Ranae*.

Andromeda (by Sophocles and Euripides)

The exact date of Sophocles' *Andromeda* is not known, but Euripides' homonymous play was produced in 412 BC, together with his extant *Helena*.[77]

The story of *Andromeda* may be told as follows.[78] Andromeda is exposed to a sea-monster because of a boast made by her mother, Cassiopeia. Perseus falls in love with

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[73] Schmidt 2003, 65–66, suggests that the Sicilian krater/skyphos fragment (Entella E 856) may be inspired by a phlyax play. Simon 1982b, 482, proposed that a hilarotragedy (entitled *Alcmene*) by Dionysius I of Syracuse was the inspiration source for the Python krater (London, BM F149).

[74] These vases are London, BM F150, 350–340 BC (*PV*[2] no. 36; Bieber 1961, 137, fig. 501; Gigante 1967, 86, pl. II; Keuls 1997, 157 n. 14), and Vatican U 19 (inv. 17106), 350–330 BC (*PhV*[2] no. 65; Bieber 1961, 132, fig. 484; *IGD*, VI, 19; *RVSIS* 201–202, no. 364; Keuls 1997, 157 n. 14; Simon 2004, 117–118). For an illustration of the BM F150, see Fig. 4.

[75] The forerunners of these painters had emigrated from Sicily, see P. 49 and Fig. 45.

[76] Sanders 1987, 3, emphasizes the propaganda value of poetry: 'Poetry accordingly served as an instrument of propaganda for the tyrant', but Caven 1990, 240, sees other reasons behind Dionysius' literary activity: 'Certainly Dionysius believed himself to be a poet ... and the writing of tragedies would enable him to display his *aretē* as a poet and to win the applause (the Homeric reward for 'speaking words') of thousands of persons at a time, for he had, of course, a "captive" audience at Syracuse. ... Dionysius wrote tragedies (and perhaps comedies too) because he believed in his talent, not (as Stroheker suggests) in order to provide literary justification for his regime'. We shall never know the true reason(s) why Dionysius wrote tragedies, but in my opinion it is quite obvious that after having written something the tyrant also wanted to present his literally accomplishment to the people of Syracuse.

[77] See schol. Ar. *Thesm*. 1012 = *TrGF* I, 47, Did C15a = *TrGF* V, 233, test. ii a; Ar. *Thesm.* 1060–1061; schol. *Ar*. *Thesm*. 1060 = *TrGF* V, 233, test. ii b; schol. Ar. *Ran.* 53 = *TrGF* I, 47, Did C15c = *TrGF* V, 233, test. ii c. Sophocles' *Andromeda* is usually dated before *c*.450 BC. This date is based on a series of Attic vases of *c*.450–440 BC, on which see below.

Andromeda and he is promised her hand if he kills the monster. When Perseus returns after having completed the task, Andromeda's father, king Cepheus, declines to give him his daughter. Perseus turns his enemies (including Andromeda's former suitor, Phineus?) to stone and departs with Andromeda. (Later Perseus, Andromeda, Cepheus, Cassiopeia and the sea-monster are all transformed into constellations.)

Among the characters of Euripides' play may have been: Andromeda, Echo (invisible), Perseus, Cepheus, Cassiopeia?, a messenger, Phineus?, and Athena (*ex machina*).[79] The chorus probably consisted of Ethiopian maidens[80] and the action of the play took place in Ethiopia, near the seashore.

Because we know much less about the characters and staging of Sophocles' *Andromeda*, the play cannot be reconstructed to the same extent as Euripides' play. However, some scholars have suggested that Sophocles' *Andromeda* might have been a satyr play.[81]

In addition to the *Andromeda* plays by Sophocles and Euripides, two other tragic versions of an *Andromeda* were written by Lycophron (C3), and Phrynichus II (date unknown); Antiphanes (C4) wrote a comic one.[82] Before Sophocles and Euripides, a Syracusan comic poet Phormus/Phormis (who was a contemporary of Epicharmus and tutor of Gelon's sons) had already written a play called *Cepheus*/*Cephalaia*/*Perseus*.[83] Of the Roman writers, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, and Accius wrote an *Andromeda*.[84] We also know that a tragic poet called Pratinas (who was a contemporary of Aeschylus) wrote a play called *Perseus*.[85]

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[78] For the story in the texts of ancient authors, see for example, Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.4.3; Hyg. *Fab*. 64; Hyg. Poet. *ast*. 2.9, 2.10, 2.11; Ov. *Met*. 4.663–5.235; Lucian, *Dial. meret*. 14.; and Eratosth. [*Cat*.] 15–17, 36. For other references, see *LIMC* I, 774–775; Bubel 1991, 24–25; Klimek-Winter 1995, 6–21, 24–25, 60–62; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 133. Euripides' *Andromeda* has been reconstructed by several scholars. See, for example, Vogel 1886, 38–47 (who also discusses earlier reconstructions by Welcker, Hartung, Fedde, Robert and Jahne); Engelmann 1900, 63–76; Séchan 1926, 256–273; Bates 1930, 216–218; Webster 1965, 29–33; Webster 1967, 192–199; Bubel 1991, 45–63; Klimek-Winter 1995, 55–59; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 154–164; Gibert 2000, 75; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 133–168; and *TrGF* V, 237. For reconstructions of Sophocles' *Andromeda*, see e.g. Pearson 1917, 78–86; Séchan 1926, 148–155; Bates 1940; 178–180; Sutton 1984, 20–21; *TrGF* IV, 156–160; Klimek-Winter 1995, 23–24; and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 50–53.

[79] See Jouan and van Looy 1998, 153; and *TrGF* V, 237. For discussions on the *deus ex machina* (who announces the coming transformation of all the main characters to constellations), see Engelmann 1900, 76 (Aphrodite); Séchan 1926, 273 (Athena); Bates 1930, 218 (Athena/Aphrodite); Bieber 1961, 31 (Aphrodite); Webster 1965, 32 (Athena/Aphrodite); Bubel 1993, 61–63 (Athena); Gibert 2000, 82, (Athena); Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 142 (Athena). For comments on the possible rival suitor Phineus (in Hyginus, he is named Agenor), see e.g. Webster 1965, 32; Webster 1967, 198; Klimek-Winter 1995, 57; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 159–160; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 136.

[80] See *TrGF* V, 236 (test. v), 237, and Webster 1967, 194.

[81] See discussions in Pearson 1917, 79; *TrGF* IV, 157; Klimek-Winter 1995, 48, and 53 (for references); Lloyd-Jones 1996, 51; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 143.

[82] For Lycophron, see *TrGF* I, 274, T 3 (= *Suda* λ 827). For Phrynichus II, see *TrGF* I, 323, T 1 (= *Suda* φ 765). For Antiphanes, see *PCG* II, 327, F 33.

[83] See *PCG* I, 174, T 1 = *Suda* φ 609. We know nothing about this play.

[84] For Livius Andronicus' *Andromeda*, see *TF*, 25; and Klimek-Winter 1995, 322, and 330–333. For Ennius' *Andromeda*, see *TF*, 58–60; Jocelyn 1967, 262−267; and Klimek-Winter 1995, 323–325, 333–349; For Accius' *Andromeda*, see *TF*, 207–210, and Klimek-Winter 1995, 326–329, 350–375.

[85] His son Aristias came second (after Aeschylus) at the Dionysia in 467 BC with his father's plays *Perseus*, *Tantalus* and a satyric *Palaestae*. See *TrGF* I, 80, T 2 = Mette 1977, 85, III A 1, 27–30. What part of Perseus' story was handled in Pratinas' play is not known.

Aristophanes parodies Euripides' *Andromeda* extensively (Andromeda's lyric monody and her lyric exchange with the chorus, Echo's response to Andromeda, Perseus' arrival, and his falling in love with Andromeda) in his *Thesmophoriazusae* (1008–1135) which was produced in 411 BC.[86] In *Ran*. 52–54, Dionysus tells Heracles that a longing struck him when he was reading Euripides' *Andromeda*.[87] In *Ran*. 105, there is a quotation from Euripides' *Andromeda* (not from his *Andromache*, as the scholiast notes).[88]

Aristophanes implies (in *Nub*. 555–556) that in a comedy by Phrynichus, an old woman was threatened by a sea-monster.[89] This Phrynichus' play may have parodied Sophocles' *Andromeda* and it has been suggested that a scene of this comedy is illustrated on an Attic red-figure chous from Anavyssos, Athens, Vlastos coll. (dating to 450–420 BC),[90] although this vase, which depicts two persons watching an actor dressed as Perseus, has been interpreted in various other ways by scholars.[91] Probably Eupolis also parodied Sophocles' *Andromeda* in his *Maricas*.[92]

Aristotle quotes a line from Euripides' *Andromeda* in his *Rhetoric*.[93] Plutarch (*Vit. Alex*. 53) mentions that Alexander the Great quoted verses from Euripides *Andromeda*,[94] and Lucian (*Hist. Conscr*. 1) tells us that an actor called Archelaus acted Euripides' *Andromeda* in Abdera in the reign of Lysimachus, i.e. 306–281 BC (see P. 119−120).

All in all, there are thirty-eight Attic and South Italian vases (VV 66−103 in App. II) which show (a bound) Andromeda and Perseus, usually in the company of Cepheus (sometimes Cassiopeia and the sea monster). There are seven Attic vases (dating from *c*.450–400 BC), twenty-three Apulian vases (dating from *c*.420–300 BC), five Campanian vases (dating from *c*.370–310 BC), one Lucanian vase (dating from the early fourth century BC), one Sicilian vase (dating from 350–325 BC), and no Paestan vases. The fabric of one vase is not given.

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[86] For fuller discussions of Aristophanes' parody, see Rau, 65–89; Sommerstein 1994, 222–225; Austin and Olson 2004, 310–322; and Tzanetou 2005, 348–351. See also Gilula 1996, 159–164, who suggests that the same actor who played the part of Echo in Euripides' *Andromeda* also played the part of Echo in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. This is a bold suggestion since, as far as we know, a tragic actor never played in comedies or *vice versa*. All actors (as well as authors) were strictly committed to either tragedy (and satyr play) or comedy. On the differences between these two genres of drama, see Taplin 1986.

[87] For a discussion on why Dionysus was reading *Andromeda* (out of all the tragedies by Euripides), see Moorton 1987, 434–436.

[88] See *TrGF* V, 255, F 144.

[89] See *PCG* VII, F 77 (including schol. Ar. *Nub*. 555/6). See also *TrGF* IV, 157; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 143.

[90] *ARV*[2] 1215, 1; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 232; Hughes 2006b, 413−433.

[91] See, for example, Brommer 1959, 32–33, figs. 21–23 (with photos also of the actual state of the vase, not only of the reconstruction of it): 'Die Physionomie des Tänzers läßt einen Satyrspieler, einen Silen in der Rolle des Perseus enkennen'; Bieber 1961, 48, fig. 202: 'Farce, on the other hand, lived unaltered. For instance, on a vase in Athens Perseus dances on a small stage before two spectators'; *IGD*, 117: 'The comedy must have parodied Sophocles' *Andromeda*'; Hamilton 1978, 385–387 (plus notes 4 and 6 for references): 'The performance is said to be a comedy or a pantomime; the occasion public or private; the actor a dwarf or not'. See also Schmidt 1995, 65–70 (with excellent photos also of the actual state of the vase), and Hughes 2006, 419, who summarizes briefly all the earlier interpretations of the vase and writes (p. 426): 'this parody-Perseus probably relates to an *Andromeda* of Sophocles', and suggests (p. 428) that this parody may have been staged at the theatre of Thoricus.

[92] Austin and Olson 2004, 311: 'Eupolis' *Marikas* (421 BC) seems to have featured a parody of Andromeda's chaining, with a drunken old woman standing in for the heroine (*Nu*. 553–556)'.

[93] Ar. *Rhet*. 1370b4 = *TrGF* V, F 133.

[94] See also Ath. *Deipn*. 12.537d.

The five earliest Attic vases are usually connected with the Sophoclean *Andromeda* by scholars. They are all earlier than Euripides' *Andromeda* and they show Andromeda (who is wearing oriental dress instead of Greek) tied to stakes instead of a rock.[95] Green's arguments on these vases are worth quoting:

> What makes this series convincing, is the combination of a number of elements: (a) the shared features on (b) as many as five vases that (c) stand apart from the rest of the iconographic tradition (e.g. the negro attendants, the stakes, the dress of Andromeda), which (d) belong, so far as we can tell, to a single date (in the earlier 440s), and (e) are by vase painters from different workshops (and so are unlikely to depend one upon another).[96]

These vases have also been used as evidence when dating the *Andromeda* of Sophocles.[97] It is usually assumed that the vases which depict Andromeda tied to wooden posts may have been inspired by the Sophoclean *Andromeda*, and the vases which show Andromeda tied to a rocky archway may have taken their inspiration from the Euripidean play.[98] On the other hand, most of the vases which show Andromeda tied to posts constructed from freshly-cut trees have usually been related to the Euripidean play.

Since there are so many vases that have been connected to either Euripides' or Sophocles' *Andromeda*, we can tentatively form some statistics concerning the find places, painters, dates etc. of the vases. When comparing the vases to each other, several observations and questions arise. Cepheus is shown on almost all of the vases. He is depicted standing on nine vases, sitting on ten vases, and kneeling before Perseus on four vases. Cassiopeia can be seen (or is thought to be seen by scholars) on ten vases. Phineus is depicted (or is thought to be seen by scholars) on five vases. Aphrodite is depicted on four, and Eros on seven vases. A Nereid or Nereids are shown on two vases and the sea monster on eight vases.[99] Other gods and mythological figures (i.e. Artemis, Eros, Hermes, Pan, Paniskos, Peitho, Poseidon, and Scylla) are seen only once. Athena is not depicted on any of the vases, although scholars have suggested that she appeared on the *mechane* at the end of the play.

All the Attic vases, except one, depict Andromeda tied to the stakes. In contrast, on the Apulian vases all the variant ways in which Andromeda is tied except to the stakes can be found, i.e. two columns, a rock/rocky archway, posts, a throne, no rock or posts visible, not tied at all. The Campanian vases represent Andromeda tied to a rock, to two stakes, and to two columns.

There are six vases by the Baltimore Painter, and five vases by the Darius Painter. The Darius Painter depicts Andromeda tied to posts twice, and twice Andromeda is tied to a rock. On one of the vases by the Darius Painter, Andromeda is not tied at all but,

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[95] See e.g. *IGD*, 63.
[96] Green 1991, 42–43.
[97] Scholars have thought that since the vases are older than Euripides' *Andromeda* they must be inspired by the Sophoclean *Andromeda*, i.e. Sophocles' play must have been produced before *c*.450 BC. This sounds reasonable.
[98] See, for example, Trendall in *RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 6 (on Malibu 85.AE.102, V 82 in App. I): 'The tree-trunks used as posts for the binding suggest a connection with the Sophoclean drama, rather than the Euripidean, in which Andromeda is bound to a rock', and Dearden 1999, 242 n. 85 (on Berlin 3238, V 96 in App. I): 'which looks like the Euripidean version of the theme with the heroine tied to a rock'.
[99] It is, of course, clear that Perseus' fight with the sea-monster must have been told by a messenger – not enacted on stage.

instead, she sits on a throne. How can this be explained if it is assumed that the Darius Painter was inspired by (an) actual theatre performance(s)? There is also variation within the vases by the Baltimore Painter. Andromeda is tied to a rocky archway twice and to a throne once. Once, the rock to which Andromeda is tied is not seen. (I have been unable to see any picture of one vase by the Baltimore Painter). Does this mean that by the time of the Darius Painter, or at least by the time of the Baltimore Painter, the paintings were influenced by other paintings in a way which caused two (or more) pictorial traditions to merge together? Did the Darius Painter see two different (re)productions of *Andromeda* or was he just copying other vases (which, in turn, had originally been inspired by a theatre production)?

The known provenances of the Italiot vases (illustrated with b/w circles in Fig. 36[100]) are: Anzi, Armento, Bari (or Canosa), Caltagirone, Canosa (two/three vases), Capua, Gioia del Colle, Irsina, Ruvo, and Taranto (two vases). The known provenances of the Attic vases (illustrated with grey dots in Fig. 73) are: Agrigento, Capua, Vassallaggi, and Vulci (not on the map). What can we learn from this? There seems to be no clear pattern.

Fig. 36. Provenances of the *Andromeda* vases.

Of the shapes of the vases, the most popular ones are hydria (seven vases), and loutrophoros (seven vases). After hydria, the most frequently attested shapes are pelike (five vases), and bell-krater (five vases). There are also four kalyx-kraters and three amphorae (or neck-amphorae). In addition to these shapes, there are also two oinochoes, one volute-krater, and one dish.

Let us take up some of the above-mentioned vases for a closer look.

On an Attic white-ground kalyx-krater by the Phiale Painter, Agrigento, Museo Nazionale, 450–440 BC, there is an inscription which runs, ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ (V 88 in App. II, see Pl. VIII.2). This vase is almost certainly inspired by an actual theatre performance (Sophocles' *Andromeda*).

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[100] The model for the map is taken from *RVSIS*, 8.

Fig. 37. Attic kalyx-krater by the Pronomos Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 3237, *c.*400 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Engelmann 1900, fig. 20.

An Attic kalyx-krater from Capua, by the Pronomos Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. 3237, *c.*400 BC (Fig. 37, V 90 in App. II) is the earliest one of the vases which has been connected with Euripides' *Andromeda*. It is also the earliest one of the vases in which Andromeda is tied to a rock. What makes this vase special is that it is by the Pronomos Painter. His more famous name-vase, an Attic volute-krater from Ruvo, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81673 (H 3240), of *c.*400 BC, is beyond any doubt inspired by an actual theatre performance.[101] This fact makes it easy to believe that this vase is also inspired by a theatre performance (in Athens?).

An Apulian volute-krater, circle of the Sisyphus Painter, formerly in Malibu, Getty Mus. 85.AE.102, 420–400 BC (V 82 in App. II) is the earliest South Italian vase on the list. This vase has been connected both with the Sophoclean and the Euripidean *Andromeda*.[102] The youth tying (or untying?) Andromeda may be Phineus, but it is not certain because the characters are not named with inscriptions. This vase may reflect a reperformance of Sophocles' or Euripides' *Andromeda* in southern Italy in *c.*420–*c.*400 BC, but it is also possible that the painter has copied some Attic model.

The rocky archway into which Andromeda is tied on a fragmentary Apulian pelike from Taranto, by the Felton Painter, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 4606 (L 855), 370–360 BC (Fig. 38, V 80 in App. II) must be compared with other vases showing this kind of archway, for example, an Apulian kalyx-krater by the Branca Painter (workshop of the Darius Painter), Berlin, Antikenslg. 1969.9 which shows Prometheus tied to a rock (V 479 in App. II, see Fig. 7). The archway, together with the costume and gesture of Cepheus in the lower right corner of the painting, makes it easy to believe that the painter of this vase may have been inspired by an actual dramatic performance.

An Apulian pelike by the Darius Painter, Malibu, Getty Mus. 87.AE.23, *c.*330 BC (V 77 in App. II) shows Andromeda sitting on a throne, not bound. (Andromeda is

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[101] For some discussions on this vase, see references in n. 145, P. 48.

[102] Trendall in *RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 6; and Dearden 1999, 237, connect this vase with Sophocles' play; whereas Taplin 2007a, 181−182, relates this vase with Euripides' *Andromeda*.

tied to a rock or post/columns/trees or to a throne on all the other vases.) The throne, the costume of Cepheus, the speaking gesture which he makes, and the pose of Cassiopeia (supplication, kneeling before) all suggest dramatic connection. The Darius Painter has painted a huge number of vases, which have quite probably been inspired by actual dramatic performances (see P. 201). So this vase too may well be related to a performance of an *Andromeda* in Apulia, but it depicts a different moment of the story than the rest of the Andromeda vases.

Fig. 38. Apulian pelike (fragments) by the Felton Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4606 (L 855), 370−360 BC. © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Foto: P. Neckermann.

A fragment of an early Lucanian bell-krater from Taranto, by the Creusa Painter, Heidelberg, Arch. Inst. 26.29, 390–370 BC (V 99 in App. II) is the earliest (and the only) Lucanian vase on our list. We may compare this vase with a fragmentary Apulian pelike from Taranto, by the Felton Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 855 (H 4606), 370–360 BC (V 80 in App. II, Fig. 38 above) because they were both found in Taranto. They are also dated close in time to each other. The Lucanian vase shows Andromeda tied to two stakes and the Apulian vase shows Andromeda tied to the rocky archway. Does this mean that two different *Andromeda* plays were (re)produced in Tarentum in *c*.370 BC? Or does it mean that these two vases are not inspired by theatre productions but, instead, are copied from two different models (which, in turn, were originally inspired by actual theatre performances)?

If we accept that at least some of the above-mentioned vases really do reflect real theatre productions (which I find very probable), we are still not able to decide whose *Andromeda* is in question. It is also perfectly possible that, in addition to the plays by Sophocles and Euripides, there were other *Andromeda* plays (by some fourth-century-BC authors) which remain unknown to us. Hyginus (*Poet. astr*. 2.10) at least implies that there were other *Andromeda* plays too: '*Cassiepia. De hac Euripides et Sophocles et alii complures dixerunt ...*.' Who these *alii complures* were, remains a mystery to us.

On the evidence of the vases of all different fabrics (except Paestan), reproductions of an *Andromeda* in South Italy maybe already in the fifth century BC and throughout the fourth century BC seem very probable. Anecdotes (by Plutarch and Lucian) about Euripides' *Andromeda* and the quotation from it by Aristotle prove that the play was popular also after the death of its author. Since Sophocles' *Andromeda* may actually have been a satyr play, Lycophron's *Andromeda* was written in the third century BC, and nothing is known about the *Andromeda* by Phrynichus II (not even its date), it is quite

easy to suggest that it was the *Andromeda* of Euripides that inspired the vase painters of Magna Graecia. The staging of the Euripidean *Andromeda* probably required the use of the *mechane* (for Perseus and Athena) and possibly also the *ekkyklema* (for the bound Andromeda).[103]

Antigone (by Sophocles, Euripides, and Astydamas II)

In Sophocles' extant *Antigone* (which is set in Thebes, after the attack of the Seven), Creon denies burial to Polynices' body. Antigone, who opposes Creon's orders, is sentenced to death, and Creon's son Haemon kills himself after Antigone has committed suicide. The characters of the play are Antigone, Ismene, Creon, Haemon, Eurydice, Teiresias, a watchman, a messenger, and a second messenger. Theban elders constitute the chorus.

For the story of Euripides' *Antigone*, two competing reconstructions have been suggested.

1) Before the action of the play begins, Antigone and Argia (Polynices' wife) have secretly put Polynices' body on the funeral pyre of Eteocles. They were detected and Creon ordered Haemon to put Antigone to death. Instead, he handed her over to some shepherds. Antigone then gave birth to a son (Maeon) by Haemon.[104] The actual play starts when the boy was old enough to go to Thebes and to take part in certain athletic games. There he is recognized (because of a birthmark) by Creon, and Antigone is condemned to death (again!). Heracles intervenes to save the boy's parents and the play has a happy ending (or Haemon killed Antigone and himself).[105]

This reconstruction of the plot is based mainly on two Apulian vases (4 and 5 on my list below), and on Hyginus' *Fabula* 72:

> Creon Menoecei filius edixit ne quis Polynicen aut qui una venerunt sepulturae traderent, quod patriam oppugnatum venerint; Antigona soror et Argia coniunx clam noctu Polynicis corpus sublatum in eadem pyra qua Eteocles sepultus est imposuerunt. [2] quae cum a custodibus deprehensae essent, Argia profugit, Antigona ad regem est perducta; ille eam Haemoni filio cuius sponsa fuerat dedit interficiendam. Haemon amore captus patris imperium neglexit et Antigonam ad pastores demandavit, ementitusque est se eam interfecisse. [3] quae cum filium procreasset et ad puberem aetatem venisset, Thebas ad ludos venit; hunc Creon rex quod ex draconteo genere omnes in corpore insigne habebant cognovit. cum Hercules pro Haemone

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[103] See Mastronarde 1990, 286; and Newiger 1990, 37; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 153; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 141–142.

[104] Welcker 1839, *Griech. Trag II*, 563ff. (who did not take into account the vases) was the first scholar who sought to identify Euripides' *Antigone* with the plot sketched by Hyginus. He was later followed by Klügmann, Mayer, Huddilston, Robert and Lucas (see references in Paton 1901, 267 n. 1; Séchan 1926, 277 n. 5; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 50 n. 3; and Jouan and van Looy 1998, 195–196, notes 5–7). Also Bates 1930, 222–223, and Bieber 1961, 33, favour this kind of reconstruction of the plot.

[105] If Heracles intervened as a *deus ex machina* he could not have failed. If, however, Heracles' intervention happened in vain (as Hyginus suggests) he must have appeared as a mortal. See Séchan 1926, 20; Bates 1930, 222–223; and Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 49–50. Scodel 1982, 41, proposes: 'It is hard to believe that Creon, the villain, did not suffer at all for his cruelty. If he deliberately killed Antigone's son, and this resulted in the death of Haemon, which he had not desired the drama would represent an interesting variant on its Sophoclean model'.

> deprecaretur ut ei ignosceret, non impetravit; Haemon se et Antigonam coniugem interfecit. [4] at Creon Megaram filiam suam Herculi dedit in coniugium, ex qua nati sunt Therimachus et Ophites.

2) The plot of the play dealt with the burial of Polynices' body and the death sentence of Antigone (just like Sophocles' *Antigone*),[106] with the exception that at the end of the play Dionysus or Heracles appeared as a *deus ex machina*,[107] ordered Antigone to be married to Haemon, and prophesied the birth of Maeon. This reconstruction of the plot is based mainly on a passage in the hypothesis by Aristophanes of Byzantium to Sophocles' *Antigone*: Κεῖται δὲ ἡ μυθοποιία καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ· πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθεῖσα μετὰ τοῦτο Αἵμονι δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ τίκτει τὸν Μαίονα. The same information is also told in a scholion to Sophocles' *Antigone* 1351: ὅτι διαφέρει τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀντιγόνης αὕτη ὅτι φωραθεῖσα ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Αἵμονος ἔρωτα ἐξεδόθη πρὸς γάμον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοὐναντίον.

The constitution of the chorus of Euripides' *Antigone* is not known.[108] Antigone, Creon, Haemon, guards, Heracles or Dionysus (*ex machina*) may have been among the characters of the play.

The exact dates of Sophocles' and Euripides' plays are not known. The years 442 or 441 BC have usually been suggested for the date of Sophocles *Antigone* by scholars. The suggestions are based on the information (given by Aristophanes of Byzantium in his hypothesis of the play) that, because of the success of the *Antigone*, Sophocles obtained the office of general, which he held in an expedition against Samos (φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἠξιῶσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας, εὐδοκιμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης). We

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[106] This kind of reconstruction is favoured, among others, by Paton 1901, 267–276; Jebb 1906, xxxviii; Séchan 1926, 274–290; Webster 1967, 181–184; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 50–52; Krauskopf 1981, 819; Zimmermann 1993, 183–188; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 199–201; and *TrGF* V, 261–262.

[107] Scholars have been arguing about the name of the *deus* from the nineteenth century onwards. Vogel 1886, 52–55, discusses F 177 (ὦ παῖ Διώνης, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός, Διόνυσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑποστατός.), which had earlier been interpreted (by scholars such as Böckh, Welcker, Klügmann, Heydemann, and Wecklein, see references in Séchan 1926, 277, n. 5; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 195–196, notes 5–7; and *TrGF* V, 263) to mean that only Dionysus could have been the *deus ex machina* in Euripides' play. Vogel suggests that Dionysus is the indirect originator of Antigone's crime, but that it is Heracles, the 'Schützdämon' of the whole Theban land, who appears as the *deus ex machina* at the end of Euripides' *Antigone*. Huddilston 1899, 189–190, when discussing the same fragment, states: 'there is absolutely no ground for the conclusion that Dionysus played the part of *deus ex machina*'. Paton 1901, 275, maintains: 'the *deus ex machina* must be left unnamed'. Also Séchan 1926, 283, thinks that F 177 does not necessary prove that Dionysus appeared in the play as the *deus ex machina*. Bates 1930, 222–223, and Bieber 1961, 33, favour Heracles as the *deus ex machina*. Webster 1967, 182 writes: 'The birth of Maion was presumably foretold at the end of the play and the speaker was evidently Dionysus' and then he cites fragment 177 which he translates: 'Son of Dione, how great a god you are, Dionysos, and mortals cannot withstand you'. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 52, supports Webster's reconstruction of the end of the play. Krauskopf 1980, 819, does not name the *deus ex machina*. Scodel 1982, 39, n. 4 notes: 'It (i.e. F 177) could equally be an exclamatory response to a manifestation of the god's power, cf. *Hipp*. 359–360'. Zimmermann 1993, 184–185, 187, favours Heracles as the *deus ex machina*. Jouan and van Looy 1998, 200–201 prefer Dionysus. There is also a papyrus fragment, *P.Oxy* 3317, which must be mentioned here, although its interpretation remains problematic. This fragment (F 175 in *TrGF* V), in which Heracles or his house or city (l. 4) and the maenadic dress (l. 7) seem to be mentioned, has been ascribed to either Euripides' *Antigone* or to his *Antiope*. See references in *TrGF* V, 270–272. See also discussions in Zimmermann 1993, 175, 181–182, 185; Kannicht 1992, 252–255; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 197–199 (n. 12 for confusions between Ἀντιγόνη and Ἀντιόπη); Taplin 1998, 37–38; and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 282–284, 311–314.

[108] Jouan and van Looy 1998, 193, suggest young men or Theban women.

know that Athens sent two expeditions against Samos in 440 BC. Therefore the years 442 and 441 seem most probable when guessing the date of Sophocles' *Antigone*.[109]

The date of the Euripidean *Antigone* is more uncertain.[110] That Euripides' *Antigone* was produced after Sophocles' play has been deduced from F 165 (ἄκουσον· οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακῶς πεπραγότες σὺν ταῖς τύχαισι τοὺς λόγους ἀπώλεσαν), which is thought to be an allusion to lines 563–564 (οὐδ' ὃς ἂν βλάστῃ μένει νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται) of Sophocles' *Antigone*.[111]

Luckily we do know that Astydamas II won first prize at the Great Dionysia in 341 BC with an *Achilles* (in which Thettalus acted), an *Athamas* (in which Neoptolemus acted) and an *Antigone* (in which Athenodorus acted).[112] It has been suggested by some scholars that Hyginus' *fabula* 72, i.e. the first plot reconstruction above, contains the story of Astydamas' *Antigone*.[113] Of the Roman writers, only Accius wrote an *Antigona*.[114]

Aristophanes quotes Euripides' *Antigone* three times in his *Frogs*, and probably alludes to Sophocles' *Antigone* once in his *Lysistrata* (Ar. *Ran*. 1182 and 1187 = Eur. *Antig*. F 157 and 158; Ar. *Ran*. 1391 = Eur. *Antig*. F 170).[115] Aristotle quotes from or alludes to Sophocles' *Antigone* several times in his *Rhetoric*: *Rh*. 1373b12–13 (quotation from Soph. *Ant.* 456–457); *Rh*. 1375b1–2 (quotation from Soph. *Ant.* 456, 458); *Rh*. 1415b20 (quotation from Soph. *Ant.* 223); *Rh*. 1417a32–33 (quotation from Soph. *Ant.* 911–912); *Rh*. 1417b20 (allusion to Soph. *Ant.*); *Rh*. 1418b32–33 (quotation from Soph. *Ant.*). Some scholars have also seen an allusion to (Astydamas') *Antigone* in Aristotle's *Poetics* (1454b22): λόγχην ἣ φοροῦσι Γηγενεῖς is thought to be alluding to the birthmark by which Creon recognized Maeon.[116] Demosthenes (Dem. 18.180) implies that Aeschines had played the part of Creon (in Sophocles' *Antigone*?) during his career as an actor. Demosthenes also mentions that actors Theodorus and Aristodemus (for whom Aeschines played the third parts) often played in the *Antigone* of Sophocles:

> ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἰαμβεῖ' ἐκ Φοίνικός ἐστιν Εὐριπίδου· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμ' οὐδεπώποτ' οὔτε Θεόδωρος οὔτ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίναντο, οἷς οὗτος τὰ τρίτα λέγων διετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους πολλάκις μὲν Θεόδωρος, πολλάκις δ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέκριται
> (Dem. 19.246)

A little bit later in the same speech Demosthenes implies that Aeschines often played the part of Creon and knew it by heart:

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[109] See e.g. Jebb 1906, xlii–xliii; and Mette 1977, 16, I col. 6.62.
[110] On metrical grounds, Zielinski 1925, 239, proposes a date of *c*.415–409 BC. Webster 1967, 4 (who also proposes a trilogy of *Ant*., *IT* and *HF*), suggests a date between 416–409 BC. Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1 date the play to *c*.420–406 BC.
[111] See Huddilston 1899, 183 n. 1; Jebb 1906, xxxviii n. 1; Séchan 1926, 277, n. 7; and Jouan and van Looy 1998, 192–193.
[112] *IG* II² 2320; Mette 1977, 91, III A 2 col. 2; *TrGF* I, Did A 2a. For my discussion on this inscription, see P. 13−14.
[113] See Séchan 1926, 290; Webster 1967, 182; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 48–50; Krauskopf 1981, 819; Zimmermann 1993, 217–223; and Kannicht 1995, 253.
[114] See *TF*, 212–213; and Warmington 1936, 357: 'Probably not based entirely on Sophocles' Ἀντιγόνη'.
[115] Compare also Ar. *Lys*. 450 with Soph. *Ant*. 678 (Rau 1967, 199: 'wohl nicht zufällig ähnlich').
[116] See Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 56 n. 5; Webster 1967, 182; Zimmermann 1993, 218.

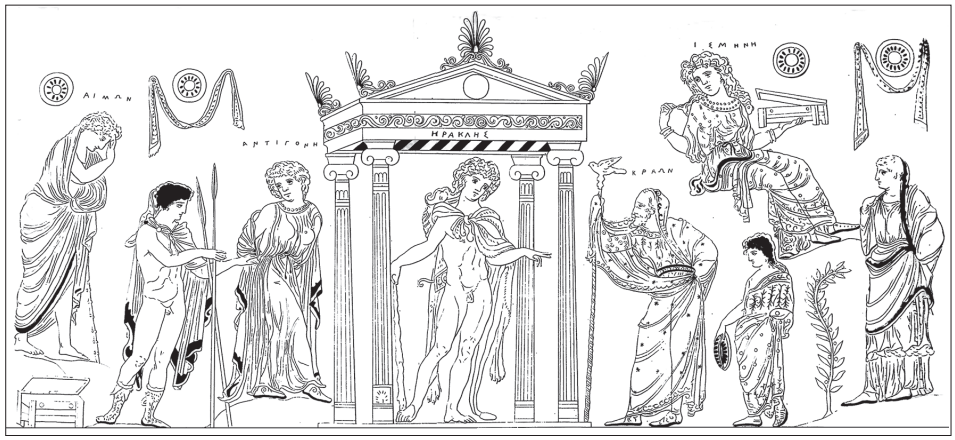

Fig. 39. Apulian panathenaic amphora, Ruvo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Jatta 36734 (J 423), 360–320 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Heydemann 1868, pl. 1.

εἶτ᾽ οὐ σὺ σοφιστής; καὶ πονηρός γε. οὐ σὺ λογογράφος; καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός γε: ὃς ἃ μὲν πολλάκις ἠγωνίσω καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξηπίστασο, ὑπερέβης)
(Dem. 19.250)[117]

Scholars have not seen any traces of actual localization in Sophocles' *Antigone*, but perhaps it should be noted here that Italia (1119) is mentioned (after Thebes, before Eleusis, Parnassus and Euboean Nysa) in a choral ode (1115–1152) invoking Dionysus.[118]

The following vases have been mentioned by scholars in connection with Sophocles' *Antigone*:

1) A Protoapulian hydria from a grave in Ugento, closely associated with the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (by the Painter himself?), Taranto Mus. Naz. 134905, 425–400 BC (V 108 in App. II).

2) A Lucanian Nestoris by the Dolon Painter, London, BM F175, 390–360 BC (V 110 in App. II).

3) A fragment of an Attic vase, 400–350 BC (V 109 in App. II).

The following vases have been connected either with Euripides' or Astydamas' *Antigone*:

4) An Apulian panathenaic amphora from Ruvo*, Ruvo, Mus. Arch. Naz. Jatta 36734 (J 423), 360–320 BC (Fig. 39, V 106 in App. II).

5) An Apulian panathenaic amphora from Ceglie by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3240, 340–320 BC (Fig. 40, V 104 in App. II).

6) A fragment of an Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landsmuseum B 1550, 350–325 BC (V 105 in App. II).

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[117] Hall 2011, 59, writes: 'What is fascinating about this passage, from the perspective of the performance history of Sophocles' Antigone, is Demosthenes assumption that he can rely on his audience to remember not only Creon's speech, but even details in it that Demosthenes does not quote explicitly'.

[118] 1115–1125: πολυώνυμε, Καδμείας / νύμφας ἄγαλμα / καὶ Διὸς βαρυβρεμέτα / γένος, κλυτὰν ὃς ἀμφέπεις / Ἰταλίαν, μέδεις δὲ / παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας / Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, ὦ Βακχεῦ, / Βακχᾶν ματρόπολιν Θήβαν / ναιετῶν παρ᾽ ὑγρὸν / Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥέεθρον, ἀγρίου τ᾽ / ἐπὶ σπορᾷ δράκοντος. See Jebb 1906, 198–201; and Zacharia 2003, 62–63.

Fig. 40. Apulian panathenaic amphora by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3240, 340–320 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Gerhard 1845, pl. 11.

7) A Campanian squat lekythos from Calvi, by the Caivano Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 4284, 340–310 BC (V 107 in App. II).

In addition to these vases, there is also an Apulian bell-krater from S. Agata dei Goti, by the Rainone Painter, S. Agata dei Goti (former Rainone coll. 1), 380–370 BC.[119] This comic vase shows an old man, who is dressed as a woman (and carrying a mask and a hydria), brought before a king by a guard and has been interpreted as depicting a travesty of the story of Antigone.

That the second plot reconstruction above seems more applicable to Euripides' *Antigone* than the first was convincingly argued already by Paton. Among other things, Paton states that in the hypotheses of Aristophanes of Byzantium the phrase κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία usually indicates the general treatment of the story, not the minor details, and that the phrase δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν certainly is a peculiar description of a secret connection.[120]

It is obvious that Hyginus' *fabula* 72 contains elements from more than just one play, as Xanthakis-Karamanos points out: 'For reasons of dramatic economy the events contained in Hyginus' narrative ... could not be included in the plot of the Euripidean play. It could hardly have been a play to dramatize the events from the burial of Polyneices and the marriage of Haimon and Antigone to their son's growing up, his recognition by Creon at the local games, Heracles' intervention to save Haimon's family and their final death'.[121]

It is possible, and even quite probable, that the first plot reconstruction contains the plot of Astydamas' *Antigone*. Furthermore, it is quite probable that vases 4) and 5) were inspired by a play which is sketched at the end of Hyginus' *fabula* 72 (from *quae cum filium procreasset et ad puberem aetatem venisset ...* onwards). Since vases 4) and 5) are contemporary with the career of Astydamas II, it is tempting to connect these vases with Astydamas' *Antigone*.[122] It might also be tempting to connect vases 1) and 2) with

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[119] *PhV*², 44, no. 59, pl. IV; *IGD*, IV, 33; *LIMC* I, Antigone I 13*; *RVAp* I, 96, no. 224; *RVSIS*, no. 115.
[120] Paton 1901, 267–276.
[121] Xanthakis-Karamanos 1986, 109–110.
[122] Scholars have also suggested that a play either by Theodectes (author of a *Lynceus*) or Meletus (author of an *Oedipodeia*) might have been the source for Hyginus and the painters of vases 4) and 5), but these suggestions carry no conviction. See references in Séchan 1926, 289, and in Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 50, n. 3.

Sophocles' *Antigone*, but the interpretations of these vases are far too uncertain.[123] Vases 6) and 7) should not be connected with any *Antigone* anymore.[124]

That an *Antigone*, with a plot like the first plot reconstruction, was produced in Apulia *c*.340–*c*.320 BC seems probable. This presumption is based on the evidence of vases 4) and 5), both of which show several signs denoting dramatic connection (the costume of Creon, throne, portico, and speaking gesture made by Heracles). This *Antigone* may have been the same play with which Astydamas II won the first prize (and in which Athenodorus acted) at the Great Dionysia in 341 BC. Because of the testimony of Demosthenes, it can be assumed that Sophocles' *Antigone* was (often) performed after the death of its author, at least in the mid-fourth century BC. Aristotle's allusions to and quotations from the play and a possible actors' interpolation (in 904−920)[125] strengthen this assumption. Where Sophocles' play was performed can only be guessed.[126] It was probably performed at least in Athens, by a cast in which Aeschines had the part of the tritagonist, but perhaps also in all the places where Theodorus and Aristodemus were performing (with their troupes). Somewhat surprisingly, no reperformance can be suggested for Euripides' *Antigone*.

Presumably the *ekkyklema* was used in the staging of Sophocles' *Antigone*,[127] and it is possible that the *mechane* was used when Euripides' *Antigone* and Astydamas' *Antigone* were staged.[128]

Antiope (by Euripides)

The plot of the play may be told as follows[129] Before the play begins, Zeus has raped Antiope in the guise of a satyr and, because of the anger of her father Nycteus, Antiope has fled to Sicyon where Epopeus has married her. Nycteus' successor Lycus has killed Epopeus and carried Antiope back to Thebes in captivity. At some point, either when

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[123] There is nothing on vases 1) and 2) to suggest that the woman in front of the king is Antigone (and that the king is Creon). Vase no. 3) seems to be of some interest, but it cannot be taken into account because there are no pictures of it and also because the supposed date of this vase is not certain.

[124] In my opinion, Zuntz 1990, 93–106, quite convincingly proves that the earlier interpretations of vase 6) were false. It is also clear that vase 7) depicts Niobe and her father Tantalus.

[125] Page 1934, 90: 'In general, it seems very probable that these verses were interpolated by an actor, either deliberately before or impulsively during a performance, early in the fourth century'. For an opposite opinion, see discussion in Griffith 1999, 277−279, who regards the passage in question as unquestionably Sophoclean.

[126] Hall 2011, 61, suggests that at some point of his career Theodorus performed the *Antigone* on the island of Thasos.

[127] See Pöhlman 1995, 160. The corpse of Eurydice was probably shown on an *ekkyklema*, as the announcement (1293: ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν μυχοῖς ἔτι.) implies.

[128] Unless the *deus ex machina* (Dionysus or Heracles) appeared on the roof of the *skene*. Hourmouziades 1965, 169, does not mention Euripides' *Antigone* in his appendix II 'Supernatural appearances', neither does Pöhlman 1995, 155–156 in his 'Sichere Belege für die Mechane im 5. Jh.'

[129] The story of Antiope is told, among others, by Apollodorus (*Bibl*. 3.5.5), Hyginus (*Fab*. 7 and 8), and a scholiast (Schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1090). Their versions of the story (except Hyg. *Fab*. 7) are conveniently gathered in *TrGF* V, 274–276. In addition to these sources and short fragments of the play, there is also a long papyrus fragment, *P.Petrie* 1–2 (from the third century BC, F 223 in *TrGF* V, 305–312) which contains over one hundred lines from the end scene of the play. The plot of the play has been reconstructed by several scholars. See, for instance, Vogel 1886, 59–62 (59 n. 3 for list of earlier reconstructions); Séchan 1926, 293–304; Bates 1930, 223–225; Page 1950, 61–63; Snell 1964, 71–79; Webster 1967, 205–211; Keuls 1997, 365, 369–370; Taplin 1998, 33–39; and Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004, 259–325.

fleeing to Sicyon or when being taken back to Thebes, Antiope has given birth to twins in Eleutherae and exposed them. The twins have been found by a shepherd and named by him Zethus and Amphion. The play opens when the boys have grown up. Antiope flees from Dirce, the wife of Lycus, and escapes to her now adult sons (whom she does not yet recognize). Dirce, who has come to Eleutherae as a maenad, finds Antiope and carries her off to punish her. With the help of a shepherd, the twins recognize their mother, save her from Dirce's punishment and kill Dirce by tying her to a bull. They are just about to kill Lycus also, when Hermes intervenes to save him and to tell them that the kingdom of Thebes is to be given to Zethus and Amphion. The use of the *ekkyklema* (displaying Amphion and Zethus threatening Lycus), and the *mechane* (suspending Hermes) in the play has been both suggested and denied by scholars.[130]

The action of the play took place in Eleutherae, at the border between Thebes and Attica, in front of a cave.[131] Among the characters of the play there were at least a herdsman, Amphion, Zethus, Antiope, Dirce, a messenger, Lycus, and Hermes (*ex machina*).[132] The chorus was formed of old men of Attica, but there was also a secondary chorus of Theban maenads.[133] The date of the play is disputed. A scholiast on Ar. *Ran*. 53 states that *Antiope*, *Hypsipyle* and *Phoenissae* were produced later than Euripides' *Andromeda* (i.e. 412 BC) and not long before Aristophanes' *Ranae* (i.e. 405 BC). Scholars usually date *Antiope* 411–409 BC, but there is a conflict between the evidence of resolutions and the statement of the scholiast.[134]

Plato quotes from Euripides' *Antiope* three times in his dialogue *Gorgias*. (Pl. *Grg*. 484d6–7 = Eur. *Antiope* F 184; Pl. *Grg*. 485e3–486a2 = Eur. *Antiope* F 185; Pl.

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[130] Hourmouziades 1965, 165: 'the use of the mechane should be considered ... unnecessary ... for the ... *Antiope*'; Webster 1967, 210: 'The chorus sing "Do you hear, do you see?", and this is the cue for the *ekkyklema* to roll out with Amphion and Zethos (mute) standing over Lykos. Ten lines later Hermes appears on the roof to stop the slaughter'; Taplin 1977, 445: 'These epiphanies could be made more abruptly on the roof than on the flying machine'; *CAD*, 61: 'In *Antiope* the action inside the cave was made visible to the audience by means of the *ekkyklema* ... Hermes almost certainly appears suspended from the *mechane*'; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 236: 'C'est à ce moment précis qu'apparaît Hermès, comme *deus ex machina*, sur le *theologeion*'; Taplin 1998, 35 (concerning the Berlin krater, vase no. 2) on my list): 'It seems unreasonable to deny that this (i.e. the "bust" of Hermes) is a painterly allusion to the *theos apo mechanes*. The arch with its rocky floor is surely also an analogous allusion to the *ekkyklema*'; Dearden 2002, 192: 'in the cave (presumably presented on stage by the *ekkyklema*) the sons about to murder Lykos'; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004, 269: 'It is unnecessary to suppose the use of the *ekkyklêma* ... nor of the *mêchanê* for Hermes ... for it suffices for him to appear on the top of the *skênê*'. It must be added here that Mastronarde 1990, 284, 'advocates or contemplates' the use of the *mechane* in the Hermes scene, but neither Newiger 1990, 33–42, nor Pöhlman 1995, 155–164, mention Euripides' *Antiope* in their articles.

[131] Webster 1967, 205, suggests that it was the same cave where Zeus had raped Antiope and outside which Antiope had given birth to the twins.

[132] See Jouan and van Looy 1998, 222; *TrGF* V, 280, and the reconstructions mentioned above.

[133] Schol. Eur. *Hipp*. 58: ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ δύο χοροὺς εἰσάγει, τόν τε τῶν Θηβαίων γερόντων διόλου καὶ τὸν μετὰ Δίρκης. Many scholars maintain that the scholiast's remark is erroneous, since Thebans would know, not guess the identity of Lycus (in F 223.17–18), and suggest that the chorus consisted of men of Attica. This suggestion is based on information (indirectly) given by Cicero that in Pacuvius' *Antiopa* the chorus was formed of Attic men (Cic. *Div*. 2.64.133: *Nam Pacuvianus Amphio ... Cum dixisset obscurius, tum Attici respondent* ...). For discussions on the identity of the main chorus, see Webster 1967, 206 (who states: 'Eleuthrai is on the borders of Boetia and Attica, and the chorus are men of Attica, as Wilamowitz and Frassinetti have argued: they do not know Lykos by sight, which would be impossible for Boetians'); Podlecki 1996, 133 (who still maintains: 'The composition of the chorus is not quite certain'); Jouan and van Looy 1998, 222, 269; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004, 262; *TrGF* V, 277, test. v, 278, test. vii b, 280 (who all favour Attic men as the main chorus of the play).

Grg. 486b4–5 = Eur. *Antiope* F 186). Plato's quotations are from the famous debate between Amphion and Zethus (in which the latter defends the active life and the former defends the contemplative life).[135] Aristotle quotes *Antiope* once in his *Rhetoric* (Ar. *Rh*. 1371b33−34 = Eur. *Antiope* F 183) and Aristophanes may have made an allusion to the play in his second *Thesmophoriazusae*.[136] As far as we know, no other Greek tragic writer ever wrote an *Antiope*. Eubulus wrote a comic *Antiope* and Diphilus (C4l) borrowed lines from Euripides' *Antiope* for his *Synoris*.[137] Of the Roman writers, only Pacuvius produced an *Antiopa*.[138]

Fig. 41. Sicilian kalyx-krater by the Dirce Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3296, 380–370 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

The following vases have been connected with Euripides' *Antiope* by scholars.

1) An early Lucanian pelike from Policoro, by the Policoro Painter, Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35297, *c*.410–390 BC (V 114 in App. II). Although this vase shows no signs of dramatic connection, it is still best explained as reflecting the story of Euripides' *Antiope*.[139]

2) An early Sicilian kalyx-krater from Palazzolo by the Dirce Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3296 (L 2484), 380–370 BC (Fig. 41, V 116 in App. II, Fig. 20). The rocky arch, and the costume of Lycus imply that this painting too is dramatically inspired, most probably by Euripides' *Antiope*.[140]

3) A Paestan kalyx-krater, from Lipari, tomb 921, by the Painter of Louvre K 240, Lipari 9558, early fourth century BC (V 115 in App. II).

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[134] Webster 1966, 97, suggests that *Hypsipyle*, *Phoenissae* and *Antiope* formed a trilogy. Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, date the play between 427–419 BC, and conclude (on p. 76): 'Zielinski's suggestion of a delay in production will save the credibility of Σ *Frogs* 53. But it seems at least as likely either that the scholium was simply wrong in naming *Antiope* originally, or that it named *Antigone* and this has been corrupted. We have already found that a date after 412 for *Antigone* would be entirely acceptable'. For more propositions, see Mastronarde 1994, 11–14; Podlecki 1996, 132–133; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 269; and *TrGF* V, 274.

[135] For discussions on this debate, see e.g. Snell 1964, 82–98; Slings 1991, 137–151; Podlecki 1996, 135ff; Wilson 1999/2000, 440–449; *TrGF* V, 284 (for list of references). On dating of the *Gorgias*, see e.g. Dodds 1959, 18–30 (esp. p. 26 for a discussion on whether the dialogue was written before or after Plato's first visit to South Italy and Sicily, i.e. *c*.387 BC).

[136] See *PCG* III 2, 93, F 342 and *TrGF* V, 282–283, F 181−182.

[137] For the *Antiope* by Eubulus, see *PCG* V, 194, F 9–12. Jouan and van Looy 1998, 236, note that Eubulus was specialized in parodies of Euripides' plays and that we have titles of his plays such as *Auge*, *Bellerophon*, *Danaë*, *Ixion*, *Ion*, *Medea*, *Oedipus*, *Oenomaus*, and *Phoenix* [which all correspond to the titles of Euripides' plays]. For Diphilus' *quotation*, see *PCG* V, F 74, 7−9.

[138] Cicero implies (*Fin*. 1.2.4) that Pacuvius translated Euripides' *Antiope* 'word for word'. On Pacuvius' *Antiopa*, see *TF*, 112–117, Warmington 1936, 158–171; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 326–329; and *TrGF* V, 278–280, test. vii b.

[139] As Taplin 2012, 232, reminds us: 'It is very likely that the entire story of the brutal punishment of Dirce was an invention of Euripides in his play *Antiope*'.

[140] Already Webster 1966, 95, suggested (on the evidence of Berlin F 3296) that *Antiope* was probably produced in Syracuse in the early fourth century.

4) A Lucanian hydria by the Painter of Naples 1959, Winterthur 368, 350–330 BC (V 113 in App. II).

5) An Apulian bell-krater/kalyx-krater by the Darius Painter / Underworld Painter, Melbourne, Geddes Collection A 5:4 (once London market), *c*.330–310 BC (V 112 in App. II). In the upper register, from left, are depicted Pan, a veiled white-haired woman (old nurse?), a seated woman (Antiope?), Amphion, Lycus, Hermes, Zethus, Peitho?, Aphrodite?, and in the lower register from left, a woman fleeing (a follower of Dirce in the Dionysiac revel, i.e. a member of the secondary chorus?), a Fury, the bull, Dirce, Oistros, a paidagogos-figure (the herdsman?). This vase is also clearly inspired by a theatrical performance. Attention should be paid to the costume of Lycus, the stage altar, the paidagogos-messenger, the Fury, the Oistros, and to the gestures of Lycus (supplication, sitting on altar), the fleeing woman (horror), and of the paidagogos-messenger (distress).

In addition to these vases, there are two vases which should also be mentioned here, although they might not be connected with Euripides' *Antiope*.

6) A fragment of a Sicilian krater from Lipari, Lipari 13183, 350–325 BC (V 117 in App. II).

7) Amphion and Zethus are also depicted on an Apulian kalyx-krater by the Darius Painter, Melbourne, Geddes Collection A 5:1, 330–320 BC (V 111 in App. II).

Quotations from Euripides' *Antiope* by Plato and Aristotle, Aristophanes' allusion to the play, and Eubulus' comedy of the same name suggest that the play was reproduced in Athens in the early fourth century BC.[141] There is also an alternative explanation for Plato's quotations. What if Plato had seen a reperformance of the play in Sicily? Plato visited Sicily (he went there via southern Italy, probably Croton and Locri) and the court of Dionysius I (when Dionysius himself was probably absent) in 388/7 BC.[142] The Policoro Painter's and the Dirce Painter's vases imply performances of Euripides' *Antiope* in Sicily and in southern Italy in the early fourth century BC, and the Darius Painter's vase suggests a reperformance of the play somewhere in Apulia in *c*.340–*c*.330 BC.[143]

Bacchae (by Euripides and several other authors)

Euripides' *Bacchae* was produced with *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Alcmaeon at Corinth* at the Great Dionysia of Athens by Euripides' son after the death of the author (in Macedonia in 406 BC).[144] These plays won the first prize. In the *Bacchae*, Pentheus, the king of Thebes, rejects Dionysiac religion, and dies at the hands of his mother and other maenads. The characters of Euripides' play are: Dionysus, Teiresias, Cadmus, Pentheus, a servant, a messenger, a second messenger, and Agave, Pentheus' mother. The chorus is formed of Asian followers of Dionysus, i.e. the bacchants.

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[141] Although Dodds 1959, 275 (on *Grg*. 485e3), proposes that since *Antiope* was a late work of Euripides, Socrates and young Plato may have attended its first performance.

[142] For some discussions on Plato's visit to Sicily, and references to ancient authors, see Sanders 1987, 5−6; and Caven 1990, 168−169, 227.

[143] The Policoro Painter, the Dirce Painter, and the Darius Painter have painted many tragedy related vases, and I suggest later in this study that they must have witnessed actual dramatic performances (see P. 203−205).

[144] See *TrGF* I, Did C 22 and *Suda* ε 3695. It is not at all proven that the year of the production was 405 BC. Whether or not the play was first produced in Macedonia, is also unclear. See Dodds 1960, xxxix-xl. See also my discussion on Euripides in Macedonia, P. 87−90.

The story of Pentheus' tragic death was quite a popular subject among the Greek playwrights. In addition to Euripides, seven tragic and four comic Greek authors wrote a play entitled either *Pentheus* or *Bacchae*. A tragic *Bacchae* was written in the fifth century BC by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Xenocles I. It should be noted here that Xenocles won the competition at the Dionysia in 415 BC with his tetralogy which included *Oedipus*, *Lycaeon*, *Bacchae* and a satyric *Athamas*. In the fourth century BC, Cleophon wrote a tragic *Bacchae*. Iophon, son of Sophocles, wrote either a *Bacchae* or a *Pentheus*, in the fifth century BC. Tragic versions of a *Pentheus* had already been written by Thespis and Aeschylus, and, in the third century BC, by Lycophron.[145]

Epicharmus, Lysippus, Diocles, and Antiphanes each wrote a comic *Bacchae*.[146] Of the Roman writers, Pacuvius produced a *Pentheus*, and Accius a *Bacchae*.[147]

Plutarch mentions that Alexander the Great quoted verse 266 of Euripides' *Bacchae* (Plut. *Vit*. *Alex*. 53.4) and that Demetrius quoted verses 4–5 of the same play (Plut. *Vit*. *Demetr*. 45.3). Verses from the *Bacchae* survive in as many as twelve papyri, dating from the third century BC (*LDAB* no. 1041) to the sixth century AD (*LDAB* nos. 995, 997, 1000, and 10509).

Scholars have seen traces of Macedonian localization in Euripides' play, and it has also been suggested that the play was produced not only in Athens, but also in Macedonia, or that it was at least written with a performance in Macedonia in mind. In verses 409–411, Pieria, seat of the Muses, is mentioned and, in verses 560–575, Macedonian rivers Axius and Lydias are mentioned.[148] A performance of the *Bacchae* in Macedonia has been suggested by several scholars.[149]

There are thirteen vases which depict maenads just about to kill Pentheus, maenads carrying Pentheus' head and parts of his body, or Pentheus in Hades (VV 118−130 in App. II). One of the vases is Attic, two Campanian or Sicilian, one Etruscan, one Paestan, and the rest of the vases are Apulian. The two oldest vases are dated to between 410–380 BC, and the latest vase is dated to between 340–330 BC.

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[145] For Aeschylus' *Bacchae*, see *TrGF* III, 137; for Sophocles' *Bacchae*, see *TrGF* IV, 170, and for the *Bacchae* of Xenocles I, see *TrGF* I, 153, F 1. For Cleophon's *Bacchae*, see *TrGF* I, 246, T 1 = *Suda* κ 1730. For Iophon's, *Bacchae* or *Pentheus*, see *TrGF* I, 132, T 1a, F 2. For Thespis' *Pentheus*, see *TrGF* I, 61, T 1 = *Suda* θ 282. For Aeschylus' *Pentheus*, see *TrGF* III, 298–299, F 183, and for Lycophron's *Pentheus*, see *TrGF* I, 274, T 3 = *Suda* λ 827.

[146] For Epicharmus' *Bacchae*, see *PCG* I, 23, F 16; for Lysippus' *Bacchae*, see *PCG* V, 618–621, F 1–7; for Diocles' *Bacchae*, see *PCG* V, 18–19, F 1–5; and for Antiphanes' *Bacchae*, see *PCG* II, 342–343, F 58. It must also be noted that, in the late fifth century BC, Spintharus wrote a *Semele Keraunomene* (see *TrGF* I 40 T 1). Aeschylus had also written a play entitled *Semele* or *Hydrophoroe* (see *TrGF* III, 335–336, F 221–224), and Sophocles a play called *Hydrophoroe* (see *TrGF* IV, 473–474, F 672–674). In the fifth century BC, Diogenes of Athens (see *TrGF* I, 185, F 1–4) and, in the fourth century BC, Carcinus II (see *TrGF* I, 213, F 2–3) wrote a *Semele*. In the fourth century BC, Chaeremon wrote a tragic or satyric *Dionysus* (see *TrGF* I 218, F 4−7; see also Collard 1970, 26). For discussion of these plays, see Dodds 1960, xxviii–xxxiii. For suggestions of different combinations of the plays in the Aeschylean trilogy or tetralogy about Dionysus, see *TrGF* III, 116–117, and Weir Smyth 1971, 378–379. Webster (*MTSP*^{2}, 143) suggested, on the basis of two Attic r-f vases showing Dionysus with maenads (an oinochoe, Agora P 11810, and a bell-krater, Ferrara T 173c) that Aeschylus' *Pentheus* was performed probably not long before 470 BC. For Aeschylus' trilogy on Pentheus, see also Séchan 1926, 102–106, and Mette 1963, 141–148.

[147] For Pacuvius' *Pentheus*, see *TF*, 159. For Accius' *Bacchae*, see *TF*, 228–232, and Warmington 1936, 393: 'Based on Euripides' Βάκχαι; but Accius departed widely from that poet in the lyric parts'.

[148] On the Macedonian localization in these verses, see discussions in Easterling 1994, 77–78; Taplin 1999, 44; Revermann 1999/2000, 461–462; and Scullion 2003, 393–339.

[149] For references, see n. 62, P. 90.

Scholars have usually assumed that vases which show Pentheus armed are not inspired by Euripides' *Bacchae*.[150] Vases which are earlier than *c*.470 BC are thought by some scholars to have been inspired by Thespis and, naturally, vases which are older than *c*.405 BC, cannot be connected with Euripides. Webster connected four vases with Euripides' *Bacchae* and March tentatively suggested that five vases might be inspired by Xenocles' *Bacchae*.[151] An Apulian phiale close to the Thyrsus Painter, London, BM F133, *c*.350 BC has been brought into discussion (and connected with Euripides' *Bacchae*) by Taplin (V 121 in App. II, see Pl. XI.2).[152] There are also some other Attic and South Italian vases which also show Pentheus (or parts of his body) in the company of maenads.[153]

It is possible that Euripides' *Bacchae* was performed in Macedonia before its performance in Athens (in 405 BC) but, of course, it cannot be proved. Quotations from the play by Alexander the Great and by Demetrius may hint that the Macedonian rulers were familiar with the play (or alternatively, the quotations could be literary devices employed by Plutarch).

The death of Pentheus at the hands of his mother and other bacchants was a very popular subject for both the tragedians and the vase-painters – so popular that no (re)performance of any specific *Bacchae* (or *Pentheus*) can be suggested. There are no specific details in the vases which could be thought to show a connection with Euripides' or with any other tragedian's play. (Indeed it is more likely that the vases were not inspired by Euripides.) All we can say on the basis of the vases is that probably at least one and possibly many different *Bacchae* were produced in Sicily and/or in South Italy in *c*.370–*c*.350 BC. Whose versions of the story are in question cannot be concluded, although Euripides *Bacchae* is still by far the most probable candidate. The popularity of the play after its premiere is shown by the papyri (see also my discussion about how the classics became classics, P. 214−217). It is also tempting to think that perhaps one of the *Bacchae* that inspired the vase painters in Sicily and in southern Italy was by Xenocles (or even by Sophocles or his son Iophon). It is also possible that Euripides' *Bacchae* was (written and) performed in Macedonia during the poet's stay at the court of Archelaus (see P. 89−90).

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[150] See e.g. *MTSP*[2], 156; and Taplin 2007a.

[151] *MTSP*[2], 143, 156; March 1989, 37: 'We know that Xenocles produced a *Bakchai* which won first prize in 415, and it is tempting to connect all the later vases with this otherwise unknown play. This connection must of course remain uncertain'. Three vases have also been connected with Aeschylus' *Bacchae* or *Pentheus*, see Séchan 1926, 103, 308.

[152] See Taplin 2004, 237−241, and Taplin 2007a, 156−158. Attention should be paid to the boots of the maenad at the centre of the picture. Maenads were usually painted barefooted. In Euripides' *Bacchae* Pentheus disguised himself as a maenad and went to the mountain without weapons.

[153] See *LIMC* VII, Pentheus nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14–16, 25, 39–44, 49, 65, 67–69. See also *RVAp* II 763, no. 83; and *RVPa* 255, no. 1003a. March 1989, 36, n. 21, pl. 3a (not pl. 2d as mentioned in the text) mentions a lid of an Attic red-figure pyxis, Paris, Louvre G 445, 440–430 BC (*LIMC* VII, Pentheus 24*), which is too early to be inspired by Xenocles' play. There is also an early Faliscan bell-krater, Slg. Bolla (Lugano), 410–400 BC (*LIMC* VII, Pentheus 66*) in which, according to Bazantž and Berger-Doer, Agave and her retinue are dressed in 'Bühnenkostüm'. An Apulian volute-krater, once New York Market, by the Darius Painter, *c*.330 BC (*LIMC* VII, Oinops 1, Pentheus 70*, Persis II 1* = *RVAp* suppl. 2.3, 508, no. 41a1) which shows Pentheus in the Underworld must perhaps also be mentioned here. Trendall and Cambitoglou state (in *RVAp* suppl. 2.3, 508): 'The scene has connections with the *Bacchae* of Euripides, in which Aktaion, the cousin of Pentheus, is referred to (line 1291) as having met his death at the same spot as Pentheus; both sinned against the gods and met somewhat similar deaths, one torn to pieces by his hounds, the other by his mother Agave and her frenzied followers.' Maybe so, but I still see no reason to connect this vase with Euripides' *Bacchae*. For discussion on this vase, see also Slater 2004, 223–229.

Choephoroe (by Aeschylus)

The premiere of the play was in 458 BC when Aeschylus won the first prize with a trilogy that was comprised of the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, the *Eumenides*, and a satyric *Proteus*.[154] In this extant tragedy Orestes and Electra take revenge on Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. The action of the play is located in Argos (Mycenae) and the characters of the play are (in order of appearance): Orestes, Electra, a servant, Clytemnestra, Pylades, a nurse, and Aegisthus. The chorus of the play is formed of slave women. Whether or not an *ekkyklema* was used in the staging of the play (892, the corpse of Aegisthus; 973, the corpses of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra) is disputed.[155]

Aristophanes' *Ranae* 1124−1177 is a parody of the beginning of the *Choephoroe*, and Ar. *Nub*. 534−536 is an allusion to the recognition scene of *Cho*. 164−200. Other Aristophanic parodies of the play include a quotation (of *Cho*. 750) in Ar. *Ach*. 478; a parody (of *Cho*. 826) in Ar. *Av*. 313, and a possible allusion (to *Cho* 1002) in Ar. *Nub*. 729. These passages of Aristophanes might be suggesting (a) reperformance(s) of the *Choephoroe* in Athens (around 425−423, 414, and 406 BC?).[156] To back up this suggestion, there are similarities in the recognition scenes between Electra and Orestes in Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* and in Euripides' *Electra* (produced between 422–413 BC).[157] In addition, a very rare form of the name of Persephone (Περσέφασσα) is used in *Cho*. 490 and the same form is used also in Euripides' *Orestes* (produced in 408 BC).[158]

All in all, there are as many as sixty-two vases that have been related to this tragedy by scholars (VV 142−202, 324 in App. II). Three of the vases are Attic; ten are Apulian; twelve are Campanian; sixteen are Lucanian; fourteen are Paestan; three are Sicilian; one of the vases is either Apulian or Lucanian; two vases are either Campanian or Paestan; and one vase is either Sicilian or Paestan. The oldest non-Attic vases date to between 410–400 BC (one vase), and 400–375 BC (twelve vases). I shall not discuss here all the vases in detail, but let us pick up some examples for discussion.

We may begin by taking up one Attic vase and one Lucanian vase. Both of these vases can be dubbed as typical *Choephoroe* vases, since, like these two vases, most of the vases connected with the *Choephoroe* depict the meeting of Orestes (and Pylades) and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon (*Cho*. 212−584). The Jena Painter, who has painted an Attic pelike, Exeter University, *c*.380 BC (V 153 in App. II) has made the task of interpreting this vase very easy by adding an inscription, ΑΓ]ΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ, on the base of the tomb beside which a young man (Orestes) is cutting off a lock of his hair (the lock of hair referred to in *Cho*. 6−7 and in 167−194). Also the woman, who is standing on the right side of the tomb holding a hydria, is named with an inscription, ΕΛΕΚΤΡΑ.

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[154] *TrGF* III, 53, T 65a. For the satyric *Proteus*, see *TrGF* III, 331−333, F 210−215.

[155] See e.g. Taplin 1977, 326, and 443 (who concludes that it was not invented during Aeschylus' lifetime); and Newiger 1990, 39–42.

[156] Based on these parodies in Ar. *Ran*. 1124−1177, and in Ar. *Nub*. 534−536, Sidwell 1996, 1994, suggests reperformances of the *Choephoroe* in Athens before 420 BC, and before *c*.415 BC.

[157] See P. 66.

[158] Schol. Eur. *Or*. 371. A search for the name Περσέφασσα in the *TLG* gives only five occurrences of this form: Aesch. *Cho*. 490; Eur. *Phoen*. 684; Eur. *Or*. 964; Plut. *Mor*. 361e (*De Iside et Osiride*); and a fragment of Archemachus (F 7.3).

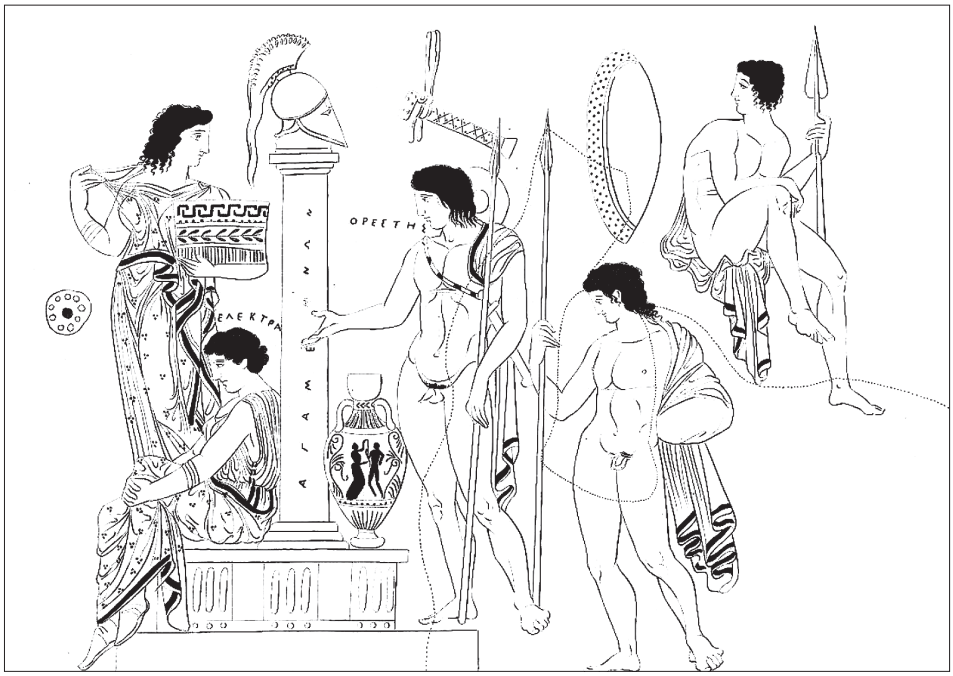

Fig. 42 Lucanian panathenaic amphora, close to the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82140 (H 1755), 400–375 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Millingen 1813, pl. 14.

The names of Agamemnon (ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ) on the grave stele and Electra (ΗΛΕΚΤΡ[) above the head of the seated woman are inscribed also on a Lucanian panathenaic amphora from Lucania, close to the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 82140 (H 1755), 400–375 BC (Fig. 42, V 173 in App. II). Taplin elegantly discusses these two vases and considers them both as 'related to the tomb scene in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*'.[159] I fully agree with him, there is no room for other interpretations, these two vases must somehow be related to the play. In addition to these two vases, there are fifteen other vases that are dated to around 400–375 BC, and on all these vases several iconographic signs are seen that may be denoting dramatic connections (altars, columns, porticos, doors; costumes of the figures; expressions, gestures, and poses of the figures; inscriptions; Erinyes).

A Paestan amphora, attributed as close to Asteas, Malibu, Getty Mus. 80.AE.155.1, *c*.340 BC (V 186 in App. II, see Pl. XII.1) matches beautifully with the moment of the *Choephoroe* when Clytemnestra, threatened by Orestes, reveals her breast and says (*Cho*. 896−898):

> Hold there, my son. Take pity, child, before this breast of mine:
> see this is where you often used to suck in drowsiness
> with baby gums the nourishment of mother's milk

[159] Taplin 2007a, 50−53, nos. 1 and 2. With many other vases, Taplin uses expressions like 'plausibly related to', 'may well be related to', 'possibly associated with', 'quite likely reflecting', 'possibly, but far from definitely related to' etc.

ἐπίσχες, ὦ παῖ, τόνδε δ᾽ αἴδεσαι, τέκνον
μαστόν, πρὸς ᾧ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ βρίζων ἅμα
οὔλοισιν ἐξήμελξας εὐτραφὲς γάλα.[160]

Of course, some interpretations of some of the sixty-two vases that have been related to the *Choephoroe* are disputed. At least the following cases must be mentioned. One of the vases painted by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, a Lucanian nestoris from Apulia, Bonn, Arch. Instit. 2667, 400–375/380–360 BC (V 613 in App. II) has been variously interpreted. The vase has been connected with the *Lynceus* of Theodectes, and it has also been suggested that the vase presents the killing of Aegisthus or depicts Heracles slaying Bousiris. It also has to be noted that this vase is almost completely repainted by a modern painter.[161]

An Apulian (or Lucanian) hydria, London BM F92 (Fig. 43, V 152 in App. II) has been claimed to be painted either by the Rehearsal Painter or by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, and the vase has been dated by scholars to either the years 400–380 BC or to 350–325 BC. In addition, it has been proposed that this vase might be depicting the *Electra* of Sophocles, rather than the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus.[162]

Fig. 43. Apulian hydria attributed to the Rehearsal Painter, London, Britih Museum 1849,0518.16 (F92), *c*.350 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Regarding Sophocles' *Electra*, which was produced in Athens *c*.415 BC, two anecdotes must be mentioned here. Plutarch (*Mor*. 737b) tells us that the wife of the famous Theodorus quoted verses 2−3 of Sophocles' *Electra* before letting Theodorus come to bed after a win in a contest (see P. 19), and Aulus Gellius (*NA* 7.5) says that an actor called Polus (who was active in C4l) acted the part of Electra (in a reperformance of the play) with the ash urn of his own son.[163] Polus,[164]

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[160] The translation is from Taplin 2007a, who reminds us: 'Although it cannot be proved, it is very likely that this moment was an invention of Aeschylus'.

[161] This vase painting is totally different from the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter's other depictions of the *Choephoroe*. Certainly a king is being killed in the painting, but he may as well be either Danaus or Bousiris rather than Aegisthus.

[162] This vase differs from all the rest of the *Choephoroe* vases by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter. Usually Orestes is depicted standing on his vases, but on this vase Orestes is sitting. There is also a Lucanian bell-krater (V 236 in App. I) of which Taplin 2007a, 97, writes: 'This can hardly be any scene other than the "false urn", as dramatized in Sophocles' *Electra* − and as far as we know, unique to his version of the story'. In addition, three other vases (VV 235, 612, 617 in App. I) have been connected to Sophocles' *Electra*, but the interpretations of these vases are quite uncertain.

[163] For supposed actors' interpolations in Sophocles' *Electra*, see Jebb 1908: 'no less than 110 verses have been regarded by one or more commentators as interpolations. ... verse 691 is the only one in this play which affords reasonable ground for strong suspicion'.

[164] See O'Connor no. 421; Ghiron-Bistagne, 354; and Stephanis, nos. 2187 and 2188.

who was probably from Aegina and possibly a pupil of Archias of Thurii (Plut. *Vit. Dem*. 28), is also said to have acted in eight tragedies in four days at the age of seventy (Plut. *Mor* 785b). If we can trust Plutarch's figures here, Polus must have performed in some unknown festival or occasion, i.e. other than the Great Dionysia or the Lenaea at Athens. In another passage (Plut. *De am*. 7), Plutarch makes Polus (who acted in Sophocles' *OT* and *OC*) a contemporary of Socrates. Either there were two separate actors called Polus, or Plutarch just made a mistake in this passage. A (re)performance of Sophocles' *Electra* probably required the use of the *ekkyklema* (in 1466−1507).[165]

A Lucanian volute-krater from Lucania by the Primato Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 82338 (H 1761), 350–330 BC (V 182 in App. II) has been adjudged to be depicting either Tyro and her sons (as in Sophocles' *Tyro*), or Electra, Orestes and Pylades.[166] The Primato Painter also painted a Lucanian squat lekythos, London, BM 1958.2–14.1, 350–325 BC (V 181 in App. II, see Fig. 8), which is certainly connected with (an unknown) tragedy, since it shows a raised stage (and a tragic mask and doors).

The *Electra* of Euripides has also been suggested as a possible source of inspiration for a Lucanian pelike by the Vaste Painter, Logic coll. Univ. of Canterbury, Christchurch (N.Z.) 156/73, *c*.400 BC (V 183 in App. II),[167] and Euripides' *IT* has been suggested for a Sicilian kalyx-krater by the Dirce Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 36334, *c*.400–370 BC (V 199 in App. II).[168] There are some other vases (VV 233−234 in App. II) that have also been connected with Euripides' *Electra*, which was produced in Athens *c*.422−413 BC. On three of these vases a young man (Orestes?) is killing an old man (Aegisthus?), and one vase depicts the meeting of a young woman (Electra?) with a young man (Orestes?). In my opinion, the interpretations of all these vases are uncertain. There is a reference to the 'Sicilian sea' in Eur. *El*. 1347 (see P. 52−53); Aristophanes parodies Eur. *El*. 435−437 in Ar. *Ran*. 1317; an actor called Phocion may have performed the parodos of the play in Athens in 404 BC (see Plut. *Vit*. *Lys*. 15); there may be some actors' interpolations in the text of the play,[169] but from our point of view there is not much else to say about this play. Regarding the staging of Euripides' *Electra*, it must be mentioned here that there is a chariot-borne entrance (Clytemnestra 988) in the play, and both the *mechane* (for Castor and Polydeuces 1233 ff.) and the e*kkyklema* (for the bodies of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, 1172–1232) were perhaps used when the play was performed.[170]

There are so many vases related to the *Choephoroe* that we can tentatively produce some statistics regarding the provenances, the shapes, and the painters of the vases. The

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[165] See Pöhlman 1995, 159–160.

[166] The persons depicted on the vase are most likely Electra, Orestes, and Pylades, since the woman sitting in front of the porch (with the opened doors) is holding a hydria like in so many other vases that have been related to the *Choephoroe*.

[167] On the Vaste Painter's vase, a young man is killing an older man who is sitting at an altar while a woman is fleeing to the right. In theory this vase may of course be illustrating Euripides' *Electra*, but there is no way to prove it.

[168] The Dirce Painter's vase (which shows a woman sitting at an altar and two young men, plus another woman, standing beside it) has much more in common with the other *Choephoroe* related vases than with the *IT* related vases (on many of which the letter or Iphigenia is depicted).

[169] Esp. 373−379, which have also survived in a third-century papyrus, *P. Hibeh*. 7, see Denniston, 1939. For other interpolations, see App. III.

[170] For the chariot-borne entrance, see Taplin 1977, 76–77. For the use of the *mechane*, see Mastronarde 1990, 283. For the use of the *ekkyklema*, see Pöhlman 1995, 159–160.

provenances of as many as twenty-three vases are known. They are as follows (illustrated in Fig. 44):[171] Anzi (two vases), Apulia, Canosa, Capua (three vases), Gravina (two vases), Lipari, Metaponto, Montesarchio (two vases), Lucania (four vases), Nola, Paestum (three vases), Syracuse, and Taranto. Of these sites, tragedies were most probably performed at least in Tarentum, Metapontum, Lipara, and Syracuse (see my discussion on P. 203−207).

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Fig. 44. Provenances of the *Choephoroe* vases.

Of the shapes of the vases, the most popular ones are hydria (17 vases), neck-amphora (11 vases), bell-krater (8 vases), volute-krater (4 vases), pelike (4 vases), panathenaic amphora (3 vases), nestoris (3 vases), and kalyx-krater (3 vases). Squat lekythos (2 vases), oinochoe (2 vases), cup (1 vase), lekanis lid (1 vase), skyphos (1 vase); a fragment of a krater, and an undefined fragment are also represented. Hydria is surely the most appropriate shape for vases depicting the meeting of Orestes and Electra, since in the play Electra was probably carrying the drink-offerings (mentioned in *Cho*. 129, 149, 164) for her father in a hydria (if she was pouring water). On many *Choephoroe* vases Electra is also depicted carrying a hydria.

There are five or six vases painted by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, and as many as seven vases painted by the Choephoroi Painter (whence comes his 'name').[172] Six vases are by Asteas or Python (or from their workshop). The Boston Orestes Painter, the Capua Painter, the Ixion Painter, the Libation Painter, the Painter of Naples 2585, the Primato Painter, and the Tarporley Painter have each painted two vases that have been

[171] The basic form of the map is taken from *RVSIS*, 8. I have added the location of Montesarchio on the map.

[172] The *Choephoroe* vases by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter are VV 152 and 170−173 in App. II; and the *Choephoroe* vases by the Choephoroi Painter are VV 174−179, and 202 in App. II. The Brooklyn-Budapest Painter has also painted a vase which has been connected with the *Edonoe* of Aeschylus (V 226 in App. II.). The other tragedy related vases by the Choephoroi Painter include vases related to *Phrixus* (A or B by Euripides), *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author), *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus), and *Dictys* (by Euripides), see VV 219, 289, 464−466, and 491 in App. II.

connected with the *Choephoroe*.[173] To illustrate the Italiot *Choephoroe* vases in a different way, I have highlighted the known painters of the vases in Fig. 45.[174]

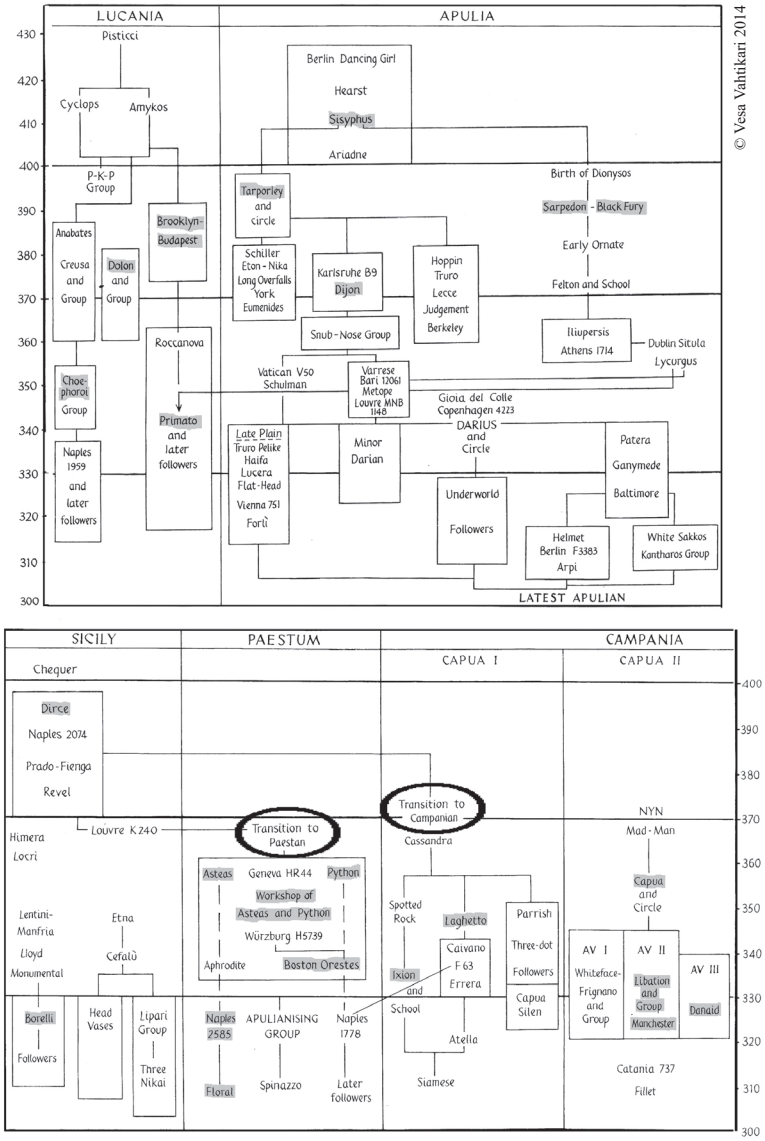

Fig. 45. Painters of the *Choephoroe* vases.

[173] Of these painters, the Tarporley Painter is particularly interesting from our point of the view, see P. 161 for my discussion on two of this painter's vases that are related to the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus.

[174] The base for the figure is taken from *RVSIS*, 270−271. The following painters do not feature in the figure: the Helios-Wind (group), the Wind Painter, the Rehearsal Painter, the Io Painter, the Vaste Painter, the Painter of the Geneva Orestes (*RVSIS*, 199: 'who seems to be a close contemporary of Asteas in the earlier stages of his career and whose work also provides a connecting link with the Sicilian forerunners'), and the Syracuse Painter.

In theory, it is of course possible that the Paestan vases (painted in the workshop of Asteas and Python), and the Campanian vases (painted by the Laghetto Painter and by the Ixion Painter) are copies of some earlier Sicilian vases (e.g. vases by the Dirce Painter).[175] But if we compare the vases painted in the workshop of Asteas and Python with the vases painted by the Laghetto Painter, the Ixion Painter, and the Dirce Painter, we see that the vases differ quite significantly from each other. This means that at least the Paestan and the Campanian vases are not copies of one single Sicilian vase.

We can also compare the Sicilian vase by the Dirce Painter with other *Choephoroe* vases that are dated to around 400−370 BC, i.e. the Lucanian vases by the Dolon Painter and the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, and the Apulian vases by the Sisyphus Painter and his followers, the Tarporley Painter, the Dijon Painter, the Sarpedon Painter, and the Black Fury Painter. Again we see that these vases differ quite significantly from each other.

All in all, there are so many vases (from all of the five principal fabrics) which are clearly connected with Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* that, even if we excluded all the vases with dubious or disputed interpretation and all the vases that are dated to around 330−310 BC (because they might be copies of earlier vases), we could still propose that there were repeated reproductions of the play in Magna Graecia (around 410−380 BC and around 360−350 BC).[176]

There is no other reasonable explanation for these vases. It seems so unlikely as to be almost impossible that, in 400–380 BC, the Sicilian Dirce painter, the Lucanian Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, and the Apulian Sisyphus Painter (and his followers) suddenly decided, without any connections with actual theatre performances, to start painting pictures of the meeting of Electra, Orestes and Pylades at the tomb of Agamemnon (just like it is presented in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus).

Aristophanes' parody of the *Choephoroe*, and the similarities in the recognition scenes in the *Choephoroe* and in Euripides' *Electra* suggest that the *Choephoroe* was reperformed in Athens around 420−400 BC.

Eumenides (by Aeschylus)

As already mentioned, the *Eumenides* was first performed in Athens in 458 BC, together with the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, and the satyric *Proteus*. The story of the play in brief is as follows: the furies chase Orestes to Delphi. The trial of Orestes is held at Athens and Orestes is acquitted for matricide. The Furies turn into Eumenides. The action of the play is located in two places, Delphi and Athens. The *dramatis personae* are Pythia, Apollo, Orestes, the ghost of Clytemnestra, and Athena. The Furies constitute the chorus.

We are not aware of an *Eumenides* by any other Greek tragedian, but Cratinus probably wrote a comedy entitled *Eumenides* (in the fifth century BC), and later Ennius wrote a homonymous tragedy in Latin.[177] Regarding the comedians, Aristophanes possibly

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[175] It must be remembered that the first Paestan potters had probably migrated to Paestum from Sicily around 360 BC, and the Sicilian influence can be seen also in the works of the Cassandra Painter and his Campanian followers. See *RVSIS*, 158, and 198.

[176] At least vases 142, 153, 171−172, 183, 186 and 193 are, in my opinion, inspired by an actual theatre production of the *Choephoroe* − not just copies of some models.

[177] For Cratinus' *Eumenides*, see *PCG* IV, 156–157, F 69–70, see also Cratinus' *Euneides*, *PCG* IV, 157–158. For Ennius' *Eumenides*, see *TF*, 64–65.

alludes to *Eumenides* 1012 in his *Ranae* 1530, and there was also a comedy entitled *Orestautocleides* written by Timocles in the fourth century BC.[178] In Timocles' play (F 27) Autocleides is described sitting surrounded by a group of prostitutes. This is a parody of the beginning of the *Eumenides* where Orestes is sitting surrounded by the Furies. It has been suggested that a reference in a speech by Aeschines (Aeschin. 1.190−191) to the *Poinai* chasing wrongdoers across the stage may relate to the reperformance of the *Eumenides* implied by the *Orestautocleides*.[179] An interpolation at *Eum*. 405 may suggest a post-classical presentation (in which Athena appeared in a chariot).[180]

All in all, scholars have connected as many as 50 vases with this tragedy (VV 241−290 in App. II). Seven vases are Attic, twenty-eight are Apulian; seven are Campanian; three are Lucanian; three are Paestan; one is Sicilian; and one vase is either Apulian or Lucanian. Attic vases apart (which mostly date to 450–425 BC), the oldest *Eumenides* vases date to 415–400 BC (one vase), and to 400–375 BC (four vases).

The known provenances of the vases (illustrated in Fig. 46)[181] are: Apulia, Armento, Bologna (not on the map), Capua, Ceglie, Lentini (two vases), Lucania, Naples, Paestum (two vases), Ruvo (five vases), Rudiae, and Taranto. One vase is either from Nola or from Capua. Of these sites, only Tarentum is among the places where Attic tragedies were most probably staged (see my discussion on P. 203−207).

Fig. 46. Provenances of the *Eumenides* vases.

As many as five Apulian vases connected with the *Eumenides* have been found in Ruvo. The dates of

[178] For Timocles' *Orestautocleides*, see *PCG* VII, 774–775, F 27–28; Sidwell 1996, 194–195; and Olson 2007, 155, and 175−176. Timocles won once at the Lenaea, probably in the 320s (*IG* II^2, 2358.158). For Timocles, see Olson 2007, 417−418.

[179] See Sidwell, 1996, 195, who also estimates that the *Orestautocleides* cannot post-date the early 330s, and proposes a reperformance of the *Eumenides* in Athens in the 350s or 340s.

[180] See Taplin 1977, 77, and 388−390, on the question of whether Athena came on foot (as suggested by *Cho*. 403), flew through the air (as suggested by *Cho*. 404), or drove a chariot (as suggested by *Cho*. 405). See also Page 1934, 85; and Pöhlman 1995, 158.

[181] The basic form of the map is taken from *RVSIS*, 8. I have added the location of Rudiae on the map.

these five vases are around 360−350 BC (one vase is perhaps a decade older, and one vase may have been painted a decade later). Four of these vases are volute-kraters and one is a kalyx-krater. These five vases have been painted by five separate painters and, although all vases do depict Orestes and the Furies, the paintings are quite different from each other (except two paintings that are painted on the neck of the vase, i.e. St. Petersburg, inv. 1714, and Ruvo, Mus. Arch. Naz. Jatta 1499).[182] These vases are not copies of each other or of a single older vase. In my view, these five different *Eumenides* vases may perhaps be used as an argument for a view that Attic tragedies were performed also in Ruvo in the mid-fourth century BC (see my discussion on P. 209−210).

An Attic bell-krater by the Hephaestos Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 41621, 450–425 BC, which was found in Lentini, and a Sicilian bell-krater, also from Lentini, related to the Chequer Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 37059, 400–380 BC are totally different. At least it can be said that the Sicilian vase is not a copy of the Attic vase.

The most favoured shapes of the *Eumenides* vases are as follows: bell-krater (18 vases), volute-krater (7 vases), column-krater (4 vases), hydria (3 vases), kalyx-krater (2 vases), nestoris (2 vases), and skyphos (2 vases). The following shapes are represented by one vase each: amphora, column-amphora, guttus, krater, neck-amphora, oinochoe, pelike, ribbed volute-krater, and squat-lekythos. There are also two fragments of unknown shapes and a lost vase (the shape of which is unknown).

Painters who have painted more than one vase related to the *Eumenides* include: the Eumenides Painter (three vases), Asteas (two vases), and the Tarporley Painter (two vases). The Tarporley Painter, who is also the painter of the comic 'Noraretteblo' vase (see Pl. IX.1), has painted a vase that depicts Orestes being chased by a Fury, an Apulian bell-krater, Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1917.65, 400–380 BC (V 258 in App. II), and a vase that depicts Orestes being purified in Delphi, an Apulian bell-krater, New York market, once Melbourne, Geddes coll. A 4:8, 400–380 BC (V 259 in App. II). In addition, the Tarporley Painter has painted three bell-kraters that show actors' masks, London, BM F163 (Nike crowning an actor, see Pl. XII.2), Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 47.05 (actors dressing for a satyr play), and New York, MMA 63.21.5. (Dionysus holding a tragic mask).[183] The already discussed 'Noraretteblo' vase is certainly related to an unknown comedy and the bell kraters showing masks are almost certainly related to theatrical performances. So it is not hard to imagine that the vases 258 and 259 in App. II are inspired by an actual theatre performance, i.e. a performance of the *Eumenides* somewhere in Magna Graecia (Tarentum?) probably around 400 BC.

An Apulian Gnathia[184] kalyx-krater from Ruvo by the Konnakis Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. No. GR-4676 (B-1743), 360–350 BC (V 266 in App. II, see Pl. XII.3) beautifully depicts the opening scene of the *Eumenides*.[185] There are several signs in this painting that may denote a dramatic connection: architectural feature (portico),

[182] It must be mentioned that the picture on the body of the St. Petersburg vase has been connected with the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, and the picture on the other side of the Ruvo vase has been connected with Euripides' *Stheneboea.* For the *Hypsipyle*, see App. I, P. 194−195. For the *Stheneboea*, see P. 191−194.

[183] For the London vase, see *PhV²*, 91. For the Sydney vase, see *RVSIS*, no. 104; Taplin 2007a, fig. 4; and Seidensticker 2010, 220, fig. 12.3. For the New York vase, see *RVSIS*, no. 102−103; and Taplin 2007a, fig. 1.

[184] For the Gnathia technique, see Green, 'The Gnathian Pottery of Apulia', *Mayo* 1982, 252−259.

[185] For discussion on this vase and the scene depicted on it, see Taplin 2007a, 64−66. See also Easterling 2005, 26, and n. 11.

stage props (altar, temple key), pose (horror, supplication, Orestes at omphalos), and the sleeping Furies. It has to be kept in mind that the Konnakis Painter[186] also painted fragments of an Apulian Gnathia bell-krater from Taranto, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 4696 + 4701, 360–350 BC (see Pl. II.3), which are almost certainly related to an unknown tragedy (since they show a portico with a person looking out from inside the opened doors).[187]

The Brooklyn-Budapest Painter and the Choephoroi Painter, who have painted many vases related to the *Choephoroe*, have both painted one vase related to the *Eumenides*. Other painters that have painted vases related to both the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides* are Asteas, the Ixion Painter, the Primato Painter, Python, and the Tarporley Painter. So, all in all, there are seven painters who have painted both *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides* vases. Does this mean that the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides* were sometimes performed together in Magna Graecia? Perhaps it does.

There are quite a number of vases related to the *Eumenides* that are best explained as having been painted under the influence of actual dramatic performances rather than as depicting some other literary forms or as being copies of some models.[188]

In order to clarify my argument, I have highlighted the known painters of the *Eumenides* vases in the following figure (Fig. 47).[189] The Paestan and the Campanian vases can perhaps be explained as copies of some older Sicilian vases (of which there is no extant example), but how can the earliest Lucanian vase by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, and the Apulian vases by the Hearst Painter and by the followers of the Sisyphus Painter be explained? Vases painted by the Tarporley Painter, by the Painter of the Long Overfalls, by the Black Fury Painter, and by the Hoppin, Truro, Judgement, and the Berkeley Painter do not much resemble each other.

I think that the above-mentioned Lucanian and Apulian vases are almost certain evidence of (a) reperformance(s) of the *Eumenides* in Magna Graecia. The painters painted what their customers ordered or, more precisely, what they thought their customers would buy. And what would the buyers of these vases have seen in these pictures if they were not aware of the story of Orestes (as told in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus)? There are so many vases from so many different workshops with so many iconographic elements signalling dramatic connections that it is difficult to suggest any other explanation for the vases.

So I suggest that the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus was reperformed in Magna Graecia most probably around 400−380 BC, and perhaps also around 350 BC (at least it was probably reperformed in Athens around that date).

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[186] For the Konnakis Painter's name vase (which depicts half open doors), see Hughes 2008, 8, fig. 3.

[187] Both Euripides' *Stheneboea* and his *Peleus* have been suggested as possible sources for the painter's inspiration.

[188] At least VV 244, 246, 248, 250, 254, 257−259, 266, 279 and 284 in App. I show so many signals of dramatic connection that they are in my opinion tragedy related, i.e. they are related to the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus.

[189] The base for the figure is taken from *RVSIS*, 270−271. The following painters do not feature in the figure: The Bari Orestes Painter, the Bendis Painter, the Dionysiac Painter, the Painter of the Moscow Pelike, the Painter of Sydney 64, the Painter of Louvre K 74, the Konnakis Painter, the Letet Painter, the Painter of Zurich 2633, and the Chequer Painter.

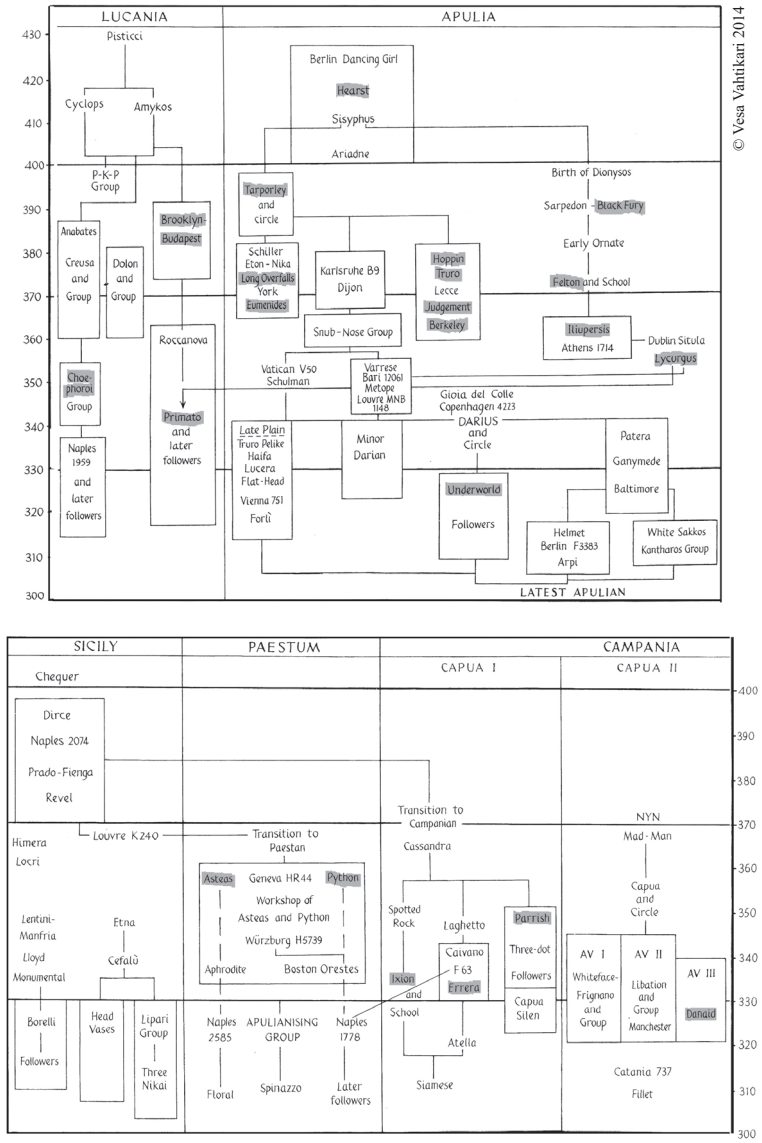

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Fig. 47.
Painters of the *Eumenides* vases.

Hecuba (by Euripides)

The exact date of Euripides' *Hecuba* is not known, but it was probably first performed in the middle or late 420s BC, most likely before 423 BC.[190] The action of the play is located in Thrace in the kingdom of Polymestor and the story of the play, in brief, is as follows: the Trojan queen, Hecuba, is now a captive of Agamemnon. Her daughter, Polyxena, is sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles. After the death of Polyxena, Hecuba finds out that her son Polydorus, who had been sent away from the Trojan war to the care of Polymestor, has been killed for his gold by Polymestor. Hecuba takes revenge on Polymestor by killing his

two sons and then blinding him. The characters of the play are: the ghost of Polydorus, Hecuba, Polyxena, Odysseus, Talthybius, a servant, Agamemnon, and Polymestor. The chorus is formed of Trojan slave women. Probably both the *mechane* (1056ff) and the *ekkyklema* (at the end) were used in the staging of the play.[191]

Aristophanes surely parodies *Hec*. 171−174 in *Nub*. 1165−1170 and probably parodies *Hec*. 68ff. in *Ran*. 1331−1337; *Nub*. 717−719 may allude to *Hec*. 160−161.[192] In addition, the opening lines of the *Hecuba* were probably parodied in Aristophanes' *Gerytades* (performed in 408−407 BC), and possibly in his *Aelosicon* (which was performed in 388/7 BC).[193]

Demosthenes cites the opening line of the *Hecuba* and thus implies that Aeschines had acted the part of Polydorus (as the third actor and that he had maltreated the prologue speech) in a revival of the play:

> Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λητουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν λελητούργηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου, 'ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας' καὶ 'κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με', καὶ 'κακὸν κακῶς σε' μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειθ' οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.
> (Dem. 18.267)

Aristotle (*Rhet*. 1394b4–6) quotes lines 864–865 of the *Hecuba* and there is a slight possibility that the play is referred to in the *Poetics* (1456b17).[194] Dio Chrysostom (*Or*. 32.86) quotes line 607 of the *Hecuba* (as from a comedy) and there are several other quotations from the *Hecuba* by ancient authors (the opening lines are quoted by Strabo, Lucian, Hermogenes and Libanius; 162–163 is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Alexander Rhetor; the messenger's report is quoted by Philo, pseudo-Lucian, Galen, Clement of Alexandria, Pliny, and pseudo-Hermogenes; there are other quotations by Stobaeus).[195]

Scholars have detected the same kind of localization in *Hec*. 444–483 as in Eur. *Tro*. 220−229.[196] In both of these passages the chorus of Trojan slave women discusses the

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[190] Aristophanes' *Clouds* (produced in 423 BC) is generally thought to give a *terminus ante quem* for the play and *Hec*. 455−465 are thought to allude to the restoration of the Delia festival (in 426 BC). The metrical dating (proportion of resolved feet in iambic trimeters) puts *Hecuba* near *Supplices* (dated to 424−420 BC by Diggle 1981b, 2) and *Electra* (dated to 422−416 BC by Diggle 1981b, 58). For the date of the play, see discussions by Webster 1967, 4; Collard 1991, 34−35; Mossman 1995, 10; and Matthiessen 2008, 3−5.

[191] See Hourmouziades 1965, 106−107 (no for *ekkyklema*); Mastronarde 1990, 284 ('perhaps a yes' for the *mechane*); Newiger 1990, 41 (yes for *ekkyklema*); and Pöhlman 1995, 160.

[192] See Rau 1967, 190, and 204; Collard 1991, 35; Mossman 1995, 10; and Heath 2003, 219. According to Rau 1967, 204, *Ran*. 1331−1337 refers to *Hec*. 68ff, 'als frei imitiertes Vorbild', and according to Heath 2003, 219−220, n. 3: '*Frogs* 1331ff is probably meant to refer to a Euripidean cliché rather than a specific passage, although *Hecuba* 68ff is the closest extant parallel (as the scholia note)'.

[193] Compare *PCG* III.2, F 1.1−2 (ἥκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοπώλιον / λιπών, ἵν' ἐστι κριβάνων ἐδώλια) of *Aelosicon* (*PCG* III.2, 33–41, F 1–16), and *PCG* III.2, F 156.1−2 (καὶ τίς 'νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας' / ἔτλη κατελθεῖν;) of *Gerytades* (*PCG* III.2, 101–115, F 156–190) with Eur. *Hec*. 1−2 (Ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας / λιπών, ἵν' Ἅιδης χωρὶς ᾧκισται θεῶν). Collard 1991, 35, writes: 'Aristophanes fr. 149 [=*PCG* III.2, F 156] from his *Gerytades* of perhaps 408, was probably parodying Tragic diction generally rather than *Hec*. 1 specifically'.

[194] Although it is much more probable that the play to which Aristotle refers is *Troades*, see Heath 2003, 220, n. 4.

[195] See Heath 2003, 221−222.

[196] See Easterling 1994, 77–78; and Taplin 1999, 44. For my discussion on Eur. *Tro*. 220−229, see P. 52−54.

possible destinations where they might be taken as captives. In *Hec*. 444–483 the Trojan women mention Doric lands, Phthia (with the river Apidanus), Delos, and Athens among their possible destinations.[197]

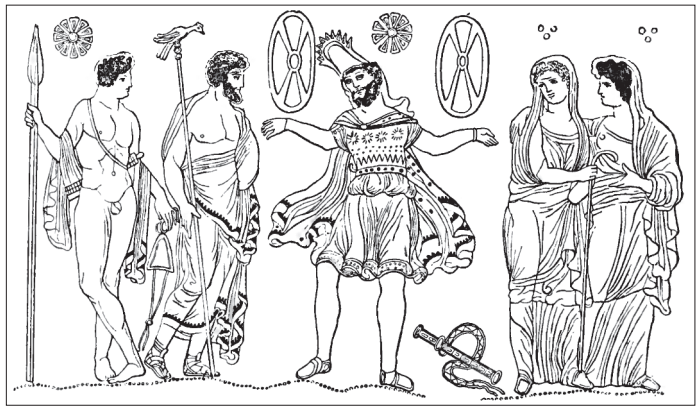

Fig. 48. Apulian loutrophoros by (the workshop of) the Darius Painter, London, British Museum 1900.5–19.1, 350–325 BC. The drawing is reproduced from Huddilston 1898, fig. 13.

As already mentioned, Alexander of Pherae was watching a tragedy performance at Pherae in 369–358 BC, but the ancient sources are not unanimous about which play he was watching. It is possible that the tragedy that was performed was Euripides' *Hecuba* (it is also possible that the play in question was his *Troades* or his *Cresphontes*) and that the actor who performed it was the famous Theodorus.[198]

The fate of Polyxena was not among the most often dramatized themes of Greek tragedies but in addition to Euripides extant *Hecuba*, Sophocles and Euripides II both wrote a *Polyxena*,[199] and there was also a *Hecuba* by an anonymous author who won the first prize at Lenaea in 363 BC.[200] Of the Roman authors, Accius and Ennius both wrote a *Hecuba*.[201]

A vase which was already known in the nineteenth century has been related to Euripides' *Hecuba* by several scholars. It is an Apulian loutrophoros from Lucania, by (the workshop of) the Darius Painter, London, BM 1900.5–19.1, 350–325 BC (Fig. 48, V 311 in App. II), which most probably depicts the blinded Polymestor fumbling around while Agamemnon (with an attendant) and Hecuba (with her companion, a member of the chorus?) are watching (cf. Eur. *Hec*. 1056−1083). Taplin, who states that this vase is 'related to the scene of the blinded Polymestor in Hecabe', also makes the following comment which must be cited here and with which I fully agree: 'here a viewer who does not know the story, as invented and narrated by Euripides, is going to find this scene

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[197] The mentioning of Delos in this passage has been taken to reflect the reestablishment of the Delia festival in 426/5 BC, see e.g. Kovacs 1995, 441, n. a. Easterling 1994, 80, n. 24 suggests that perhaps we should be thinking of a performance of an actor singing odes from plays at the Delia.

[198] For the incident at Pherae, see P. 18−19. Bremer 1971, 244−245, assumes that Theodorus acted the role of Hecuba in the *Hecuba* and (because he always wanted to appear first on stage) made alterations to the prologue. Bremer writes: 'It is extremely improbable that Theodorus would have taken the combination of πρόσωπα Polydorus-Odysseus-Servant-Polymestor; of course the part of Hecuba was the leading role, and we know that he never took male roles (see above p. 244 n. I). I submit that he did away with the iambic prologue spoken by the ghost of Polydorus, and made the anapests 59 ff. the overture of the play'.

[199] For Sophocles' *Polyxena*, see *TrGF* III, 403–407. See also Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 41–83. For the *Polyxena* by Euripides II, see *TrGF* I 17 T 1 = *Suda* ε 3694.

[200] See *TrGF* II, 7, F 1h (EKA[BH] = *SEG* 26.203. See also Camp 1971, 303, n. 5.

[201] For Accius' *Hecuba*, see *TF*, 270; and Warmington 1936, 453: 'The one fr. suggests that the model was Euripides' *Hecuba*'. For Ennius' *Hecuba*, see *TF*, 69–71; and Jocelyn 1967, 303−306.

impossible to interpret with any detail'.[202] It is highly probable that Euripides invented the story of Polymestor as the custodian of Polydorus and the blinding of him by Hecuba, and we are not aware of any other tragic scene (or literary depiction) which would better match this vase painting.[203] There are also some terracotta masks from Lipari (from tomb 1316, around 350 BC) which have been interpreted as the masks of Polydorus and Polymestor,[204] but these masks are, in my opinion, too general to be connected with any specific tragic characters.[205]

Aristophanes' parodies of Euripides' *Hecuba* may suggest reperformances of the play in Athens (in 408–406 BC and perhaps also in the early fourth century BC). Demosthenes' quotation from the play suggests (a) reperformance(s) of the play, in which Aeschines acted in Athens and perhaps also outside Athens, probably around 360–350 BC. If Theodorus ever acted the role of Hecuba, he probably performed the play also outside Athens. The London vase by the Darius Painter, if it really is related to the play (and I see no reason why not), in turn, suggests (a) reperformance(s) of the play in Magna Graecia slightly before 350 BC.

Actors' interpolations, several quotations from the play by later authors, many occurrences of the lines from the *Hecuba* in papyri, and the fact that the *Hecuba* was the first play (together with the *Orestes* and the *Phoenissae*) in the so-called 'Byzantine Triad' of Euripidean tragedies, all demonstrate the play's popularity in centuries following the classical era.[206]

Hercules furens (by Euripides)

The premiere of Euripides' *Hercules furens* occurred in Athens probably around 415 BC,[207] and we have evidence that the play was performed in Delphi at the Soteria (with Archestratus' *Antaeus*) and in Argos at the Heraia (with Euripides' *Archelaus*) in 276–219 BC.[208] Fragments of the play also survive on two third-century-BC papyri, *P. Heid.* 205 (dated to *c*.250 BC) and *P. Hibeh* 179 (dated to 280–240 BC).[209]

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[202] Taplin 2007a, 142.

[203] See Mossman 1995, 30, with n. 20. Polymestor is not mentioned in Homer, and he is not among the *dramatis personae* in Sophocles' *Polyxena* which centred around the appearance of the ghost of Achilles and his demand for the sacrifice of Polyxena. See Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 41–66. For a detailed discussion on the appearance of the ghost of Achilles, see also Bardel 2005, 92–100.

[204] Bernabó Brea 2001, 42, 283, figs. 16–17.

[205] E.g. the mask depicted in fig. 16 and interpreted as the mask of Polydorus is almost identical with the mask that is depicted in fig. 13 and interpreted as the mask of Paris (in Euripides' *Alexander*). By the way, the mask depicted in fig. 14 and interpreted as the mask of Deiphobus (in Euripides' *Alexander*) is the same mask that is depicted in fig. 18 and interpreted as the mask of Heracles (in Euripides' *HF*). This is clearly a mistake: fig. 14 must be wrong and fig. 18 must be right (since Heracles' characteristic lionskin can be seen in the picture).

[206] For actors' interpolations in the *Hecuba*, see Bremer 1971, 232–250. For the *Hecuba* papyri, see Heath 2003, 221, n. 9; and P. 15–16. For the *Hecuba* in the Byzantine triad, see Heath 2003, 223; and P. 55. My Appendix III (*Hecuba*) shows well the breadth of the different kinds of evidence regarding the possible reperformances of the play.

[207] The metrical dating puts *HF* near *Troades* (415 BC), see Cropp and Fick 1985, 5, table 2.1. Diggle 1981b, 116, dates the play to 415 BC, and Bond 1981, xxxi, gives both 416 and 414 BC as possible years. For some other dates, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1875, 152 (423–422 BC), and Webster 1967, 5 (416–409 BC). Aristophanes parodies the play in *Vesp*. (422 BC), and in *Thesm*. (411 BC).

[208] See *IG* V *2.118* = *SIG*^{3} 1080 = *TrGF* I, Did B 11, and my discussion, P. 121–122.

[209] For a discussion on these papyri, see Bond 1981, xxxiii–xxxv.

The action of the play takes place in Thebes and is as follows: Lycus threatens Amphitryon, Megara, and the three sons of Heracles while Heracles is away. Heracles comes just in time to save his family and kills Lycus. Then Lyssa makes him mad and he kills Megara and the children. Amphitryon is saved by Pallas Athena, who puts Heracles to sleep. Afterwards Heracles realizes what he has done. Theseus offers Heracles a new home in Athens.

The *dramatis personae* are Amphitryon, Megara, Lycus, Heracles, Iris, Lyssa, a messenger, and Theseus, and the chorus is formed of old men of Thebes.

Not many actors' interpolations have been detected in the text of the play; line 452 is perhaps a 'melodramatic interpolation by actors', and lines 1291−1293 and 1299−1300 contain some inconsistencies.[210] With respect to localization, it should be noted that Mt. Aetna (639) and the maidens of Delos singing a Paean (687) are mentioned in the play (by the chorus).[211] Aristophanes parodies the *HF* twice, in *Vesp*. 306−308 (*HF* 80) and in *Thesm*. 1106 (*HF* 1094). Comedies entitled *Heracles* were written by Epicharmus (C6/5), Philyllius (C5/4), Anaxandrides (C4), Diphilus (C4/3), and also by Rhinton (C4/3),[212] but not much of these comedies is known and it is impossible to say whether or not Euripides' *HF* was parodied in them.

A Paestan kalyx-krater from Paestum by Asteas, Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11094, *c*.365–340 BC (V 325 in App. II, see Pl. II.1) depicts Heracles killing his son while Megara is fleeing to the doors, but the vase painting shows so many divergences from Euripides' version of the madness of Heracles (*HF* 922−1015, described by a messenger) that this vase cannot be connected with Euripides' play.[213] The Madrid vase is surely a tragedy related vase (dramatic connection is signalled by the architectural features (porch roof, doors, columns, 'windows'), the pose of Megara (dismay), and the inscriptions) and is therefore quite probably reflecting a performance of a lost tragedy about the madness of Heracles.[214]

There is also an Apulian fragment, close to the Lycurgus Painter, Sydney 53.10, 355–345 BC (V 326 in App. II), which may be depicting the killing of Lycus by Heracles. This fragment shows a person (who is chased by another person) falling through doors, but in my opinion nothing concrete can be said about the identities of these people.

Euripides' *Hercules furens* was reperformed outside Athens at least twice in the third century BC and, therefore, it could be assumed that the play was revived and reperformed also in the fourth century BC. The Madrid vase by Asteas implies that an unknown *Hercules furens* was performed in Magna Graecia perhaps around 350 BC. A reperformance of Euripides' *Hercules furens* probably required the use of both the *mechane* (815ff, Iris and Lyssa) and the *ekkyklema* (1028ff, the bodies of Megara and the sons of Heracles).[215]

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[210] See Page 1934, 69−70, and 220 (addenda), where Page withdraws his suspicion of lines 588−592.

[211] One may compare *HF* 687 with *Hec*. 462. See also Bond 1981, xxxii. Bond 1981, 153−155, notes that Euripides emphasizes Northern Greece in his list of the twelve labours of Heracles (*HF* 359–429).

[212] For references, see P. 113, n. 173. The title of Anaxandrides' comedy is not certain, it could have been also, e.g. *Achilles.*

[213] The divergences are thoroughly discussed by Taplin 2007a, 143−145.

[214] Diogenes of Athens (C5l), and Diogenes of Sinope (C4), both wrote a tragic *Heracles*, and Sophocles and Astydamas II both wrote a satyric *Heracles*. For references, see P. 113, notes 173 and 174.

[215] See Hourmouziades, 1965, 93, and 169; Taplin 1977, 443−445; Mastronarde 1990, 283; and Newiger 1990, 36, and 41.

Hippolytus (by Euripides)

This play was first performed in Athens in 428 BC in a competition that Euripides won.[216] The story of the play is as follows: Phaedra, the wife of Theseus is in love with his son Hippolytus, who rejects her. She hangs herself but leaves behind a letter in which she accuses Hippolytus. Theseus comes back from Delphi, finds the letter and curses his son. Poseidon sends a huge bull which terrifies the horses of Hippolytus. He falls from the chariot and is fatally wounded. The dying Hippolytus forgives his father, who only too late realizes what he has done.

The play is set in Troezen, in front of the house of Theseus. The *dramatis personae* are Aphrodite, Hippolytus, a servant, the nurse of Phaedra, Phaedra, Theseus, a messenger, and Artemis. Rather unusually, there are two choruses in the play: 1) the women of Troezen constitute the first chorus, and 2) the huntsmen (companions of Hippolytus) constitute the secondary chorus. Use of both the *ekkyklema* (the body of Phaedra, 808ff.) and the *mechane* (Artemis, 1283 ff.) in the staging of the play have been suggested by scholars.[217]

There are not many supposed actors' interpolations in the text of the play, but perhaps lines 634–637, 871, and 1049–1050 should be mentioned here.[218] In addition, there may be a case of localization in 722–742 , when the river Eridanus (= Po) is mentioned (737).[219] Of the papyri containing parts of the text of the *Hippolytus*, *P. Sorbonne* 2252 (dated to 250−150 BC) must be mentioned here since it may also contain the abbreviation χοροῦ μέλος (see P. 16−17).

Aristophanes quotes the play several times: 215f, 219, 230 (*Vesp.* 748ff); 219 (Ar. F 51); 345 (*Eq*. 16); 375f (*Eq*. 1290f, *Ran*. 931); 612 (*Thesm*. 275f, *Ran*. 101f, 1471); 675f? (*Thesm*. 715f); 1239f? (*Ach*. 1183); and alludes to the play twice (in *Ran*. 1044, 1079); he may have parodied the play too in his lost *Anagyrus*.[220] Xenarchus probably parodied *Hip.* 415−416 in his comedy *The Pentathlete*.[221]Aristotle quotes the *Hippolytus* once (Arist. *Rh.*1416a30 = Eur. *Hip.* 612).

As many as eighteen vases have been connected with Euripides' *Hippolytus* (VV 328−345 in App. II). One vase is Sicilian, one is Paestan, two vases are Attic, two are Campanian, and twelve are Apulian (three vases are by the Darius Painter). The known provenances of the vases are Capua, Ceglie, Lipari, and Paestum. Most vases date to around 350 BC, the oldest Attic vase dates to 400 BC, and the oldest Apulian vase dates to 400−375 BC.

Interpretations of some of these vases are very uncertain; for example, fragments of an Attic krater, said to be from Taranto,[222] close to the Pronomos Painter, Würzburg,

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[216] See hypothesis to the play = *TrGF* I, 46, Did C 13.

[217] See e.g. Hourmouziades 1965, 107−108, 169; Taplin 1977, 443; Mastronarde 1990, 283, Newiger 1990, 36, 40; and Pöhlman 1995, 156, 160.

[218] Page 1934, 102 (on 634−637): 'The only reasonable alternative, supported by the practice of the stage in later times, is that an actor who knew these verses in some other context was prone to repeat them here'; Page 1934, 64 (on 871−873): 'Dittograph of 866−70. Certainly histrionic (unless again Murray's division of speakers within the chorus is right)'; Page 1934, 64: 'There seems to be very little histrionic interpolation in the text, perhaps nothing beyond 871−3, 1049−50, 634−7 are suspected'.

[219] See Zacharia 2003, 61.

[220] Compare *PCG* III.2, 57, F 53.1 with Eur. *Hip*. 219. On Aristophanes' *Anagyrus*, see *PCG* III.2, 51–62, F 41–66.

[221] *PCG* VII, F 4, 21. The date of Xenarchus is not known; Olson 2007, 418, assumes Xenarchus to be a 'middle comic' poet.

400 BC (V 340 in App. II), show members of a tragic chorus with masks in the company of an aulos player (i.e. it is definitely a tragedy related vase), but there is no guarantee that the three figures depicted on the upper level are Dionysus, Artemis, and Aphrodite (in which case this vase could perhaps be related to Euripides' *Hippolytus*), and a Paestan lekythos from Paestum by the Primato Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81855 (H 2900), 350–330 BC (V 344 in App. II) shows a worried woman in an elaborate costume sitting on a throne, but it is not at all certain that she is Phaedra.

Let us take a look at a vase that can be interpreted much more precisely. An Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Darius Painter, London, BM F279, 340–320 BC (V 331 in App. II, see Pl. V.1 and XIII.1) was connected with Euripides' *Hippolytus* already in the nineteenth century. The gods Pan, Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite, and Poseidon are depicted on the upper lever, and a paidagogos-messenger, Hippolytus, an Erinys, and a bull are depicted on the lower level. Although there are some discrepancies between this vase painting and the play (Apollo, instead of Artemis, is depicted; in the play the messenger is a young person, instead of the old paidagogos depicted on the vase), the vase painting is still best explained as 'related to the messenger speech in Euripides' *Hippolytus*'.[223]

Of course, Euripides was not the only Greek tragedian who wrote a play about the fate of Hippolytus. Indeed, he himself wrote another *Hippolytus* (usually referred to as *Hippolytos kalyptomenos*),[224] and Sophocles is known to have written a *Phaedra*.[225] Also Lycophron, in the third century BC, wrote a tragic *Hippolytus*.[226] Sopater wrote a comic *Hippolytus* and Seneca a tragic *Phaedra*.[227]

If we exclude all insecurely interpreted vases and take into account only vases that depict Hippolytus driving the chariot (the bull, a paidagogos-messenger, and an Erinys also illustrated), we still have vases from three different fabrics (Apulian, Campanian, Sicilian), which suggest performances of a (Euripidean) *Hippolytus* in Sicily and in southern Italy around 350 BC, and perhaps also already around 400 BC. Aristophanes', Aristotle's and Xenarchus' parody of and quotations from the play, in turn, prove that (at least the text of) the play was well known in (at least) Athens at the end of the fifth century and in the fourth century BC. The supposed actors' interpolations and the localization in the text of the play seem to strengthen the assumption that the play was revived and performed (also outside Athens) in the fourth century BC. The papyri, dating from the third century BC to the sixth century AD (the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* records seven papyri containing verses from the play and one papyrus containing a hypothesis to the play),[228] and the *Phaedra* of Seneca are further proof of the popularity of the play in the centuries following the classical era (see also Appendix III and my discussion on how the classics became classics, P. 214−217).

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[222] Csapo 2010b, 110, and n. 120, corrects the provenance of the vase to unknown 'despite Beazley's note that it was found in Taranto', since 'Museum records trace it only to a dealer in Rome.'
[223] As Taplin 2007a, 137−138 (who also explains the discrepancies), labels this vase.
[224] On this lost play, see e.g. Barret 1964, 10−45; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 255–272; and *TrGF* V, 460−474, F 428−447. One vase (V 346 in App. I) has been connected with the *Hippolytos kalyptomenos*.
[225] See Talboy 2003, 233−241; *TrGF* IV, 475–481, F 677–693; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 248–317.
[226] *TrGF* I, 274, T 3 = *Suda* λ 827.
[227] Seneca's *Phaedra* is still extant. For the *Hippolytus* of Sopater, C4/3, see *PCG* I, 280, F 8.
[228] *LDAB* nos. 895, 911, 999, 1018, 1027, 1035, 3753, and 10219.

Iphigenia Taurica (by Euripides)

The premiere of the play was probably around 414–413 BC.[229] The action of the play takes place in the land of the Taurians in the Crimea and the plot in brief is as follows: Iphigenia is the priestess of Artemis in the land of the Taurians. Orestes and Pylades come to take the statue of Artemis to Athens. They are captured by the locals and almost sacrificed before Iphigenia recognizes her brother (with the help of a letter). They escape from king Thoas. Athena comes as a *dea ex machina* (on the *mechane* or on the roof of the *skene*)[230] and orders Orestes to take the statue to Halae and explains that Iphigenia will have a cult at Brauron. The characters of the play are Iphigenia, Orestes, Pylades, a cowherd, Thoas, a messenger, and Athena. Greek slaves constitute the chorus.

Scholars have seen no localization in the verses of the *IT*, but there are many suspected actors' interpolations, for example, prayers for victory at the end of the play (1497–1499). Also 38–41, 116–117, 682, 714–715, 1010–1011, 1025–1026, 1059, and 1414–1415 may be interpolated by actors.[231]

Aristophanes parodies the *IT* in *Ran.* 1232f. (*IT* 1f.) and probably also in a lost play (compare *PCG* III.2, F 373 with *IT* 31−32). Aristotle makes as many as five allusions to the play and quotes twice from the text of the play (see P. 68−69). Also Isocrates is said (in [Plut.] *X orat*. 837e) to have quoted the first verses of the *IT* (and some other Euripidean tragedies, see P. 70–71) before he died in 338/7 BC. Diphilus, who wrote comedies at the turn of the fourth and third centuries BC, borrowed line 535 from the *IT* to his *Synoris*.[232]

There are 13 vases that may be connected with Euripides' *IT* (VV 102, 357−368 in App. II). One vase is Attic (dated to 400–380 BC), 9 vases are Apulian (dated to 375−350 BC), and three vases are Campanian (dated to 350−320 BC). Known provenances of the vases are Armento, Lucania, and Ruvo (three vases). Most of these vases can be securely interpreted, since on many vases the figures are identified with name labels and as many as seven vases show the letter (usually in the hand of Iphigenia), which is crucial in the recognition scene of the play. Several iconographic signals denoting tragic connections can be seen on many of these vases (architectural features (columns, porticos, doors), stage props (altar, statue, letter, temple key, bucranium), costumes of the figures, poses of the figures (speaking gesture, astonishment)). It is also worth noting that among the painters of the *IT* related vases are the Campanian Ixion Painter and the Apulian Ilioupersis Painter, who have both painted numerous tragedy related vases.[233]

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[229] The metrical dating puts *IT* between *Ion* (dated to 413 BC by Diggle 1981b, 306) and *Helen* (412 BC), see Cropp and Fick 1985, 5, table 2.1. Platnauer 1967, xiv-xvi, dates the play to 413 BC, and Sansone 1981, 2, suggests either 414 or 413 BC. For some other dates, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1875, 153 (411−409 BC), and Webster 1967, 4−5 (416−409 BC).

[230] See e.g. Taplin 1977, 444−445; Hourmouziades 1965, 166−167, 169; Mastronarde 1990, 283; and Pöhlman 1995, 158.

[231] See Page 1934, 76−79.

[232] *PCG* V, F 74, 7−9. For Diphilus, see also P. 61.

[233] The vases of the Ixion Painter have been related to Euripides' *Hippolytus*, *IT*, *Ixion*, *Medea*, *Oeneus* (or Sophocles' *Electra* or *Thyestes I*/*II*), *Phoenissae*, and *Telephus*; Euripides' or Sophocles' *Andromeda* and *Oenomaus*; and Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Psychostasia*. The vases of the Ilioupersis Painter have been related to Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Dictys*, *Medea*, and *IT*; Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* and *Thyestes I*/*II*; and to Aeschylus' *Europa*/*Cares*.

Fig. 49. Apulian kalyx-krater by the Hippolytus Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1469, 345–335 BC.
© Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig / Andreas.F. Voegelin.

As Taplin reminds us, it was a purely Euripidean invention to bring Orestes to the remote land of the Taurians, and 'so any artistic representations of this story are bound to be derived, more or less closely, from the Euripidean play'.[234] As examples of artistic representations of the story, we can take a look at an Apulian kalyx-krater by the Hippolytus Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1469, 345–335 BC (Fig. 49, V 359 in App. III) and an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Ilioupersis Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 82113 (H 3223), 370–350 BC (V 359 in App. II, see Fig. 17 and Pl. XIII.2). The names of Pylades, Iphigenia, and Orestes are inscribed on the Basel vase, and the statue of Artemis (and the goddess herself as well) and the letter are also depicted in the painting. The letter is not depicted in the Ilioupersis Painter's painting but it shows quite many other details which suggest dramatic connection (portico, doors, stage altar, temple key, speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar, astonishment, inscriptions). It is quite obvious that the painters (and the purchasers) of these vases must have known the story of Iphigenia (as told in Euripides' *IT*).

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and probably also Polyidus (in the fourth century BC), and an anonymous author wrote an *Iphigenia*, and Timesitheus (date unknown) wrote an *Orestes et Pylades*, but since very little is known about the contents of these tragedies, I think that it is safe to connect the above-mentioned vases (at least the vases that depict the

[234] Taplin 2007a, 149−150.

letter) with Euripides' *IT*.[235] Rhinton wrote both an *IT* and an *IA*, and Ennius and Naevius wrote an *Iphigenia*.[236]

Quotations and allusions by Aristotle, Isocrates, and Diphilus suggest that it was the *IT* rather than the *IA* that was performed as an old tragedy by Neoptolemus at Athens in 341 BC.[237] Actors' interpolations and the papyri are further proof of the popularity of the *IT*. The vases, in turn, suggest performances of the play in Magna Graecia in *c*.380–*c*.330 BC.

Medea (by Euripides and several other authors)

Euripides' *Medea* was first performed in Athens in 431 BC with *Philoctetes*, *Dictys* and a satyric *Theristae*.[238] Aeschylus' son Euphorion won the competition (perhaps with his father's plays[239]), Sophocles was awarded the second prize, and Euripides the third. In the play, Medea kills her children after having been rejected by Jason. The *dramatis personae* are a nurse, Creon, the two sons of Medea and Jason, a tutor, Medea, Jason, Aegeus, and a messenger. Women of Corinth constitute the chorus. Probably the staging of the end of the play required the use of the *mechane* (1317 ff., for Medea and the bodies of the children).[240]

Aristotle quotes twice from Euripides' *Medea* and makes two allusions to the play: Arist. *Rh.*1394a29–30 (quotation, Eur. *Med.* 294–295) and Arist. *Rh.*1394a33–34 (quotation, Eur. *Med.* 296–297), Arist. *Poet*. 1454b1 (allusion), and Arist. *Poet*. 1461b20–22 (allusion). Also Alexander the Great, and Timoleon are said to have quoted verses from the *Medea*.[241]

Aristophanes parodies the *Medea* in four or five plays: *Med*. 1 in *Ran*. 1382, *Med*. 298f in *Thesm*. 1130f, *Med*. 1121 in *Av*. 1175, *Med*. 1242ff? in *Ach*. 480ff, and *Med*. 1349 in *Pax* 629.[242] Eubulus, who was active in the mid-fourth century BC, wrote both a comedy entitled *Medea* and quoted a verse from Euripides' *Medea* (476, slightly abbreviated) in his *Dionysius* (*PCG IV*, F 26). Philemon, who was active in the late fourth century BC, parodied Euripides' *Medea* (57–58) in his comedy called *The Soldier* (*PCG* VII, F 82, 1–2).[243] Euripides' *Medea* may also have been parodied in versions of *Medea* by Strattis

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[235] For Aeschylus' *Iphigenia* (that probably handled the same events as Euripides' *IA*), see Mette 1963, 95–99; and *TrGF* III, 213–214, F 94. For Sophocles' *Iphigenia* (that probably also handled the same events as Euripides' *IA*), see *TrGF* IV, 270–274. For Polyidus' *Iphigenia*, see *TrGF* I, 249, F 1–2 (= *TrGF* V, F 642 Eur. *Polyidus*). For Timesitheus' *Orestes et Pylades*, see *TrGF* I, 324–325 (= *Suda* τ 613). For the *Iphigenia* by an anonymous author, see *TrGF* II, 246–248, F 663 (= *P. Lit. Lond*. 78, dated to the second century AD).

[236] For Rhinton's *IT* and *IA*, see *PCG* I, 264–265. For Ennius' *Iphigenia*, see *TF*, 71–76; and Jocelyn 1967, 318–319. For Naevius' *Iphigenia*, see *TF*, 35, and Warmington 1936, 121: 'The single certain fr. points to Iphigenia in Taurica as the story, with Euripides' play as the model'.

[237] *IG* II^2 2320, see P. 13–14 for my discussion on the inscription. Also Pöhlman 1990, 158; Sidwell 1996, 199; and Taplin 2007a, 149, suggest that the 'Iphigenia of Euripides' mentioned in the inscription is *IT*.

[238] Ar. Byz. *Hyp. Med.* = *TrGF* I, 46, Did C 12.

[239] See Kovacs 1994b, 277; and P. 80 with n. 12.

[240] See e.g. Hourmouziades 1965, 169; and Mastronarde 1990, 265–266, and 281, who also discusses other (less) possible alternatives of staging the scene (a chariot rolled up a ramp behind the skene building; a prop carried along by the walking actor; a sort of roof-level *ekkyklema*).

[241] Alexander quoted *Med*. 288/9, see Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 10.7; and Timoleon quoted *Med*. 215, see Plut. *Vit. Tim*. 32.

[242] See Rau 1968, 216.

[243] For the *Medea* by Eubulus, see *PCG* V, 225, F 64. For *The Soldier* by Philemon, see *PCG* VII, F 82, 1–2.

(*PCG* VII, 639−640, F 34−36) and Antiphanes (*PCG* II, 394, F 151).[244] In addition, a comic *Medea* was written by Cantharus.[245] Also Epicharmus, Dinolochus, and Rhinton wrote plays that were entitled *Medea*.[246]

The story of Medea was extremely popular also among the authors of tragedies. In addition to Euripides' *Medea*, at least twelve other Greek tragedies with the same title were written in the fifth century BC by Diogenes of Athens, Euripides II, Neophron, Melanthius I, and Sophocles; and in the fourth century BC by Carcinus II, Dicaeogenes, Diogenes of Sinope, and by Theodorides (who won the second prize at the Lenaea of 363 with a *Medea* and a *Phaethon*, in which Androsthenes acted), and also by Biotus (date unknown) and by two anonymous authors.[247] Of the Roman authors, Lucan, Curatius Maternus, Bassus, Ennius, Accius, Seneca, and Ovid wrote a tragic *Medea*.[248]

It is possible that some of the above-mentioned tragedies and comedies handled some other incidents in the life of Medea, i.e. not the death of Medea's children. Before the episode that took place in Corinth, Medea was living in Colchis where she helped Jason steal the golden fleece and get away from Medea's father Aeëtes (this story was handled e.g. in Sophocles' *Colchian Women*[249]). Medea also helped the Argonauts to kill Talos, the bronze man who guarded the island of Crete.[250] In Iolcus, where Jason was the rightful heir to the throne, Medea tricked the daughters of Pelias, the usurping king, to boil their father to death in hope of rejuvenating him (this story was handled e.g. in Euripides' *Peliades* and perhaps also in Sophocles' *Rhizostomoi*).[251] After having left Corinth, Medea lived in Athens, where she persuaded Aegeus to poison Theseus, who had come there to seek his father (this story was handled e.g. in Euripides' *Aegeus*[252]).

Lines from Euripides' *Medea* survive in as many as twenty papyri, dating from the third century BC (*BKT* 9 161 = *LDAB* no. 1029) to the fifth/sixth century AD (*P. Ant*. 1 23 = *LDAB* no. 993).[253] There are also quite a lot of suspected actors' interpolations in the text of the play, of which lines 40–41, 85, 87, 148, 228–229, 356, 910, 923–924, 949, 1006–1007, 1062–1063, 1078, 1121, 1233–1235, and the platitude at the end (1415–1419) must be mentioned here.[254]

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[244] See Mastronarde 2002, 65.
[245] For the *Medea* by Cantharus, C5, see *PCG* IV, 57–58, T 1, F 1–4.
[246] For Epicharmus' *Medea*, C6/5, see *PCG* I, 15, 55, T 35.3. For Dinolochus' *Medea*, C5, see *PCG* I, 177, 179, T 3.5, F 4. For Rhinton's *Medea*, C4/3, see *PCG* I, 265, F 7.
[247] See P. 9, n. 51, for references. In addition, Mastronarde 2002, 64−65, mentions papyrus fragments (*CGFRP* dubia 350) involving Medea, Jason, Creon, and a chorus of Corinthian women that may be from a fourth-century tragedy (or from a satyr play or comedy). For a discussion on a second-century-AD papyrus containing an excerpt (with musical notation) from Carcinus II's *Medea*, see West 2007, 1−10. If West's reconstruction of the plot of Carcinus' *Medea* is right then the play might be connected with the Princeton Medea vase (V 595 in App. I, see Pl. XV.1), as Taplin suggested to me in his preliminary examination of my dissertation.
[248] For the *Medeas* by Lucan, Curatius Maternus, and Bassus, see Mastronarde 2002, 65. For the *Medea* and *Medea exul* by Ennius, see Jocelyn 1967, 342–350, and Mastronarde 2002, 65. For the *Medea*/*Argonautae* by Accius, see *TF*, 255–250; and Warmington 1936, 456: 'Based perhaps on a play by Sophocles.' Seneca's *Medea* is an extant play. For the *Medea* by Ovid, see Mastronarde 2002, 65.
[249] See *TrGF* IV, 316−320, F 336P−349; and Sutton 1984, 32−33.
[250] See Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 4.1639−1688; and Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.9.26.
[251] For Euripides' *Peliades* (which was produced at the Great Dionysia in 455 BC, when Euripides started his career), see *TrGF* V, 607−614, F 601−616; and V 607 in App. I. For Sophocles' *Rhizostomoi*, see *TrGF* IV, 410−411; and Sutton 1984, 117−118.
[252] See *TrGF* V, 151−157, F 1−13; and App. I, P. 234.
[253] See P. 15−16.

The following vases have been connected with Euripides' *Medea* by scholars:

1) An early Lucanian bell-krater, near the Policoro Painter, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art 1991.1 (once Fort Worth, Kimbel Art Mus., Hunt Coll.), 410–390 BC (V 391 in App. II). This vase was already briefly mentioned in Chapter II (see P. 39). The other side of this vase has been connected with Euripides' *Telephus* (see P. 195).

2) An early Lucanian hydria from Policoro by the Policoro Painter, Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35296, 410–390 BC (V 390 in App. II, see Pl. XIII.3). There are not many signs suggesting dramatic inspiration for this vase, but perhaps Medea's costume may be related to a stage costume.[255]

3) A Lucanian bell-krater by the Dolon Painter, Paris, Louvre CA 2193, 400–380 BC (V 389 in App. II).

4) An Apulian bell-krater from Pomarico*, circle of the Ilioupersis Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg 526, 400–350 BC (V 389 in App. II).

5) Fragment of an Apulian vase by the Lycurgus Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. 30916, *c*.375–350 BC (V 385 in App. II).

6) An Apulian panathenaic amphora from Ruvo/Canosa by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81954 (H 3221), *c*.340–320 BC (V 383 in App. II).

7) A Campanian neck-amphora from Cumae* by the Ixion Painter, Paris, Louvre K 300, 340–320 BC (V 386 in App. II).

8) A Campanian neck-amphora from Nola by the Painter of BM F223, Paris, Cab. Méd. 876, 350–330 BC (V 387 in App. II).

9) A Faliscan bell-krater, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2083, 350–300 BC (V 388 in App. II).

Vases 1, 2, 4, and 6 are beautifully discussed by Taplin,[256] and I have little to add to his remarks, explanations, and suggestions. I think that vases 1, 2, and 4 are best explained as reflecting Euripides' *Medea*, whereas vase 6 may be related to a *Medea* other than that of Euripides. Interpretation of vase 3 is problematic; it may have nothing to do with a *Medea*. Vase 5 is quite a small fragment. It may well be depicting the escape of Medea, but no secure interpretation can be suggested. Vases 7 and 8 depict Medea killing her children with a sword, and they may well be tragedy related vases (vase 7 shows columns and a statue, perhaps indicating that the killing took place in or near a temple, and vase 8 shows a stage altar and a gesture of dismay), whether or not reflecting Euripides' *Medea* (or, to be exact, a revived version of it). Vase 9 depicts Medea in the chariot with the bodies of her sons, but there are no signs of dramatic connection (not even the costume of Medea) in the vase painting.

There is also an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa, by the Underworld Painter, Munich, Antikenslg. 3296 (J. 810), 330–320 BC (V 382 in App. II, see Pl. XIV.1). This

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[254] See Page 1934, 61−63; and Mastronarde 2002, *passim* (commentary). Page 1934, 63, starts his discussion on *Medea* by writing: 'There are more Repeated verses in Med. alone than in all the other plays together. ... it is an actor's error, not a reader's or publisher's', and finishes it by noting: 'The scholia prove that actors interfered with the text of this play, v. Σ 85, 148, 228−9, 356 (380), 910'.

[255] *IGD*, 96: 'since Medea is wearing stage costume, there can be little doubt of direct dramatic influence'; Taplin 2007a, 117: 'her cap and sleeves indicate that there was originally more ornamental decoration on her costume'.

[256] Taplin 2007a, nos. 33−36.

vase shows quite a number of iconographic signals of dramatic connection (a portico, a throne, a stage altar, a paidagogos-messenger figure, a nurse, an Oistros figure, costumes, tripods, and gestures of speaking, distress, and astonishment), and it is therefore most probably a tragedy related vase. There are two features in this painting that do not go together with the *Medea* of Euripides: 1) the ghost of Aeëtes, Medea's father (on the right side of the painting, labelled ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΑΗΤΟΥ), and 2) the fact that one of the two sons of Medea (in the bottom left corner of the painting) seems to be escaping death at the hands of his mother. The most reasonable interpretation for this vase painting is that it must be reflecting an unknown *Medea*.

The vases suggest reperformances of Euripides' *Medea* and most probably also (re)performances of some unknown versions of *Medea* in Magna Graecia in around 400 and the again around 350 BC. Plenty of tragedies entitled *Medea* were written in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, but unfortunately Euripides' *Medea* is the sole survivor, and almost nothing is known about the other versions of *Medea*. We have no way of knowing how many and what kind of alterations where made by the actors (both to the text and to the staging) when Euripides' *Medea* was restaged. It is possible that some of the discrepancies between some of the vases and the text of Euripides' *Medea* can be explained by alterations made by actors. Aristotle's quotations from and allusions to Euripides' *Medea*, and the parody of the play by Eubulus and Philemon, suggest that the play was revived in the fourth century BC, at least in Athens. The amount of papyri containing lines from the play, the amount of suspected actors' interpolations, and perhaps also quotations from the play by Alexander the Great and Timoleon, and at least some of the versions of a *Medea* by Roman authors, are all further evidence of the great popularity of Euripides' *Medea* in the centuries following its premiere.

Niobe (by Aeschylus and Sophocles)

The date of Aeschylus' *Niobe* is not known. The plot of the play in brief is as follows: Niobe is mourning silently at the tomb of her children, whom Artemis and Apollo have killed after Niobe boasted that she had more children than Leto. Niobe's old father Tantalus comes to Thebes and persuades her to speak. Finally Niobe is turned into a stone, probably by her own will.[257] The characters of the play and the identity of the chorus are not known with any certainty, but at least Niobe, Tantalus, and possibly also an old nurse (of Niobe's children), or Niobe's mother (Euryanassa), or Niobe's mother-in-law (Antiope) were among the *dramatis personae*.[258]

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[257] For the fragments and reconstructions of the plot of the play, see e.g. Séchan 1926, 80−85; Mette 1963, 43−49; Kossatz-Deismann 1978, 71−79; Keuls 1978, 49−58, 64–67; *TrGF* III, 265−280, F 154a−167b; and Taplin 2007a, 74−75.

[258] That Tantalus is among the *dramatis personae* is hinted in F 154a, 10−11, and Tantalus and an old woman can be seen on almost every vase that depicts the mourning Niobe. Plutarch (*Mor*. 691d = *Quaest*. *conv*. 6.6.2 = *TrGF* II, 14−15, F 7) quotes a nurse that was among the characters of a tragic *Niobe*, but unfortunately we cannot be sure whether Plutarch refers to Aeschylus' or Sophocles' *Niobe* (or perhaps to an unknown *Niobe*): ὥσπερ ἡ τραγικὴ τροφὸς ἐκείνη τὰ τῆς Νιόβης τέκνα τιθηνεῖται. Euryanassa is suggested by Keuls 1978, 63, 65; and Antiope is suggested by Taplin 2007a, 75.

Aristophanes quotes Aeschylus' *Niobe* twice, in *Av*. 1246−1247 (= *TrGF* III, F 160) and in *Ran*. 1392 (*TrGF* III, F 161[259]), and the silence of Niobe is alluded to in *Ran*. 832 and in *Ran*. 911−926. Aristophanes implies that Niobe sat silently quite a long time (probably the whole first half of the play), until she finally spoke some (twelve) words that were unknown to the viewers:

> κἄπειτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ληρήσειε καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα
> ἤδη μεσοίη, ῥήματ᾽ ἂν βόεια δώδεκ᾽ εἶπεν,
> ὀφρῦς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δείν᾽ ἄττα μορμορωπά,
> ἄγνωτα τοῖς θεωμένοις.
> (Ar. *Ran*. 923−926)

Some twenty lines from Aeschylus' *Niobe* survive in a second-century-AD papyrus.[260] Plato quotes the play twice in his *Respublica* (*TrGF* III, F 154a, 15−16 = Pl. *Resp*. 380a; *TrGF* III, F 162 = Pl. *Resp*. 391e).[261] Aristotle, in turn, refers once to a *Niobe*, probably to Aeschylus' play (Arist. *Poet*. 1456a17).[262]

Sophocles also wrote a tragic *Niobe*.[263] He set his play in two different places, in Thebes where the children of Niobe were killed and in Lydia where Niobe returned to be turned into stone.[264] Another difference between Sophocles' *Niobe* and Aeschylus' *Niobe* was that in Aeschylus' play the children were already dead when the action of the play began, whereas in Sophocles' play the killing of the children was (a central) part of the action and it was somehow enacted; probably at least one of the girls was killed on stage (perhaps shot from the roof by Artemis with Apollo directing her):

> ὁρᾷς ἐκείνην τὴν φοβουμένην ἔσω,
> τὴν ἐν πιθῶνι κἀπὶ κυψέλαις κρυφῇ
> μόνην καταπτήσσουσαν; οὐ τενεῖς ταχὺν
> ἰὸν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πρὶν κεκρυμμένην λαθεῖν;
> (*TrGF* III, F 441a)[265]

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[259] This line, μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐρᾷ, is cited as a gnome also by Stobaeus and by some scholiasts, see *TrGF* III, 276.

[260] *PSI* 1208 = *LDAB* no. 100 = *TrGF* III, 154a. There is also another second-century-BC papyrus that may contain lines from Aeschylus' (or Sophocles') *Niobe* (or from Aeschylus' *Phorcides* or from a *Tantalus*) but its interpretation is not certain, see *P. Oxy*. 213 = *LDAB* no. 132.

[261] Plato quotes the passages from *Niobe* as examples of poetry which one should not believe. The date of the *Respublica* is disputed, but it is probable that Plato wrote the work after his visit to Sicily (in *c.*388/7 BC); see e.g. Cross and Woozley 1964, xii−xiii. Had Plato perhaps seen a reperformance of the play in Sicily?

[262] Aristotle writes that one should not try to represent the entirety of the Sack of Troy or the story of Niobe, but instead present episodic snapshots, as Euripides does with the Trojan cycle and Aeschylus does with the myth of Niobe.

[263] See *TrGF* IV, 363–373. A tragic *Niobe* was written also by Meliton (C3/C1 AD?), but since it is much later than the *Niobe* by either Aeschylus or Sophocles, it does not much concern us here, see *TrGF* I, 314 = Lucill. *Ant. Pal*. 11.246.

[264] Schol. Hom. *Il*. 24.602: Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἐν Θήβαις ἀπολέσθαι, νοστῆσαι <δὲ> αὐτὴν εἰς Λυδίαν.

[265] See Lloyd-Jones 1996, 228.

Aristophanes probably made fun of Sophocles' *Niobe* in his lost *Niobos*.[266] Lines from Sophocles' *Niobe* have survived in a third-century-BC papyrus (*P. Hibeh* 11, *P. Lond. Lit*. 68 = *LDAB* no. 3957 = *TrGF* IV, F 442–445a). Lines from the play have survived also in a second-century-AD papyrus (*P. Oxy*. 2805 = *LDAB* no. 4869 = *TrGF* IV, F 441a) and fragments of the hypotheses of Sophocles' *Nauplius katapleon* and *Niobe* can be found in another second-century-AD papyrus (*P. Oxy*. 3653 = *LDAB* no. 3933 = *TrGF* IV, F 445a).

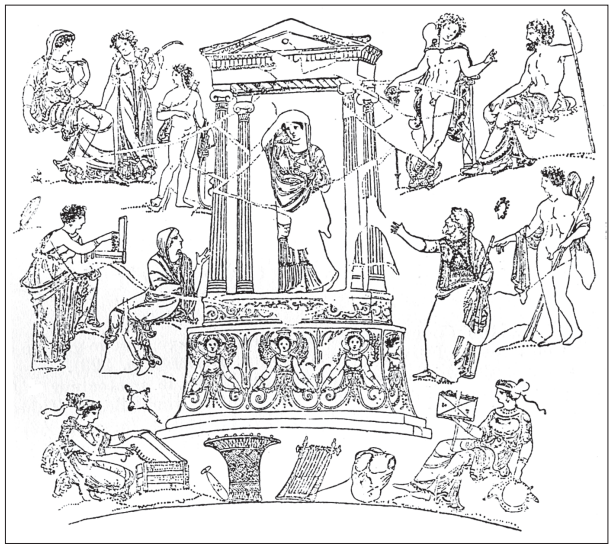

Fig. 50. Apulian volute-krater by the (workshop of) the Varrese Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82267 (H 3246), 350–340 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 24.

Aristophanes (*Vesp*. 579–580) implies that an actor called Oeagrus acted in a tragic *Niobe*, but unfortunately we do not know anything else about this actor, who must have been a well-known person at least to the audience of the original *Vespae*.[267] If Aristophanes is referring to Oeagrus' role in Aeschylus' *Niobe*, he is most probably referring to a revival of the play (since the *Vespae* was produced in 422 BC and Aeschylus had died in Gela in 456/5 BC).

All in all, there are fifteen vases (VV 103, 107, 401–413 in App. II) that have been related to a tragic *Niobe*, mostly to the play by Aeschylus. One vase is Attic, two are Campanian, and eleven vases are Apulian. One vase is an unpublished Italiot vase. Most of the vases date to 350–325 BC (one dates to 390–380 BC and one to 330–310 BC). The known provenances of these vases are Canosa (two vases), Ruvo (two vases), and Roccagloriosa (one vase). Three vases are from the workshop of the Varrese Painter and two vases are painted by the Darius Painter. Worth noting is that of the painters of the *Niobe* vases, at least the Varrese Painter himself and the Libation Painter, have also painted vases that show comic actors on stage with a flight of steps (see Figs. Pl. III.4, and Pl. VIII.1), so they certainly had witnessed actual dramatic performances.

Most of the vases depict the mourning Niobe inside a *naiskos* being transformed into a statue (see e.g. Fig. 50), but an Apulian amphora from Canosa, workshop of the

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[266] *TrGF* IV, 364: *qua in fabula eum Sophoclis* 'Niobam' *iocose imitatum esse censuit v. Leeuwen* (ad. Ar. *Vesp*. 579sq.).

[267] Ar. *Vesp*. 579–580: κἂν Οἴαγρος εἰσέλθῃ φεύγων, οὐκ ἀποφεύγει πρὶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης εἴπῃ ῥῆσιν τὴν καλλίστην ἀπολέξας. For Oeagrus, see O'Connor 1908, no. 383; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 349; and Stephanis 1988, no. 1928. We get no help from the scholia, Oeagrus is said to have been a tragic actor (τραγικὸς ὑποκριτής) and he is said to have acted either in Aeschylus' or in Sophocles' *Niobe* (ὑπεκρίθη τὴν Νιόβην ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἢ Αἰσχύλου).

Varrese Painter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 8935, 355–340 BC (V 407 in App. II) shows Niobe sitting on the tomb of her children, just like we may imagine she was seen on stage in Aeschylus' play.[268] The structure on which Niobe is sitting consists of two parts, a stage altar and a substructure that looks like a miniature platform stage supported by posts. The costume of the old man on the left (Tantalus) and the gestures of speaking (the old man), distress (the old woman on the right), and despair (Niobe) suggest dramatic influence. The wool basket (between Tantalus and Niobe) and the open box (below the substructure) may reflect actual stage props. The small objects painted around the *naiskos* on the Niobe vases are usually interpreted as being offerings brought to the tomb. The wool basket can be seen on three other vases (VV 403, 405, and 408 in App. II) and it is worth remembering that in some versions of the myth Artemis killed the daughters of Niobe while they were spinning in the palace and Apollo slew the boys while they were out hunting.[269] This vase is very probably a tragedy related vase and in Aeschylus' tragedy Niobe's silent mourning was a central part of the story, so I think that Taplin's interpretation of this vase, that it is 'more than likely related to Aeschylus' *Niobe*', is absolutely right.[270]

An Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Baltimore Painter, Ruvo, Mus. Arch. Naz. Jatta 36735 (J 424), 340–310 BC (V 413 in App. II) has been related to Sophocles' *Niobe*. This dramatic vase painting depicts the slaughter of Niobe's children. The gods in the upper register look down on the event of killing, in which Apollo is shooting the boys (whom an old paidagogos is trying to protect) and Artemis is shooting the girls (whom Niobe is trying to protect). The paidagogos figure and the costume of Niobe imply that this is a tragedy related vase, but it is, of course, also possible that the vase painting is referring to the myth *per se*. The killing, as depicted on this vase, cannot have been enacted on stage. It is more likely that the killing of the boys was reported by a messenger (the boys were killed while they were hunting), probably by the paidagogos who is protecting the boys.[271] As already mentioned above, one of the girls may have been killed on stage in Sophocles' *Niobe* and this vase painting may therefore bear some reflection of that play, but it is impossible to prove.[272]

An Apulian loutrophoros by the Darius Painter, formerly in Princeton (the vase has been returned to Italy), Princeton University Art Museum 1989.29, 340–330 BC (V 412 in App. II) shows such a different version of the story that, although it is most probably inspired by an actual dramatic performance, it is unlikely to be related to Aeschylus' (or to Sophocles') play. The woman (labeled ΜΕΡΟΠΗ) on the left side of the portico/*naiskos* structure supplicating Niobe, the paidagogos-messenger figure and the old woman on the right side of the painting, and the stage altar (inscription ΑΜΦ[, which must refer to Amphion, Niobe's husband), on which a woman is sitting as a supplicant, suggest that this is a dramatically inspired vase painting. The person approaching the sitting woman is labeled ΠΕΛΟΨ, and the person sitting on a rock-like structure in the upper right corner of the painting is labeled Σ[]ΠΥΛ[]Σ.

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[268] In this painting, Niobe is clearly depicted as veiled. Seaford 2005, 116, suggests that in Aeschylus' tragedy Niobe was in mourning and veiled.
[269] See Trendall 1985, 138. For the killing, see e.g. Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.5.6.
[270] Taplin 2007a, 74.
[271] See Keuls 1978, 46.
[272] There is also another vase depicting the slaughter of the Niobids, an Apulian hydria by the Arpi Painter, 315–305 BC (V 401 in App. I).

This vase painting is particularly difficult to interpret. It is certainly a *Niobe* vase, since Niobe is depicted in the center of the painting and Apollo and Artemis, the killers of her children, are depicted in the upper left corner of the painting. Pelops was Niobe's brother and he may have payed a visit to his mourning sister.[273] Sipylus must represent here Mt. Sipylus. Tantalus ruled the area around the mountain in Lydia and, in most versions of the Niobe myth (e.g. in Sophocles' *Niobe*), she was petrified on Mt. Sipylus. According to some mythographers one of the boys (Amyclas) and one of the daughters (Chloris) of Niobe survived the massacre in which Amphion was also killed (later Chloris married Neleus, king of Pylos to whom she bore several children, including Nestor).[274] Taplin suggests that the seated woman is Chloris, and he may be right, but what is Merope doing in the painting?[275] There were at least four different characters called Merope in Greek mythology: 1) the daughter of Atlas who married Sisyphus, 2) the daughter of King Oenopion who was raped by Orion, 3) the wife of Polybus and foster-mother of Oedipus, and 4) the mother of Cresphontes who was about to kill her own son by mistake.[276] At first glance none of the known Meropes had anything to do with Niobe, but I suggest that perhaps the Darius Painter refers here to the Merope who married Sisyphus. As is known, both Merope's husband Sisyphus and Niobe's father Tantalus had to endure severe punishments in Hades. Another possible explanation could be that perhaps the Darius Painter wrote 'Merope' by mistake when he actually ment to write 'Sterope'. Sterope, daughter of Atlas, was either the mother or wife of Oenomaus, whom Pelops killed.[277] I suggest that this enigmatic vase reflects a lost *Niobe* by an unknown tragic author, in which Merope (wife of Sisyphus) or Sterope (mother or wife of Oenomaus), Pelops, and perhaps Chloris were somehow involved.[278]

The oldest Italiot *Niobe* vase, a fragmentary Apulian neck-amphora from tomb 24 at Roccagloriosa, 390–380 BC (V 409 in App. II) is discussed by Fracchia who admits that 'a common source, quite possibly a stage performance, may account for the elements shared among all the later "Niobe" representations, as A.D. Trendall has suggested', but for the Roccagloriosa vase and a Campanian vase (V 411 in App. II) that share some elements but are dated some sixty years apart, she offers another explanation:

> Perhaps illustrations of some sort may have been used to advertise or announce a coming performance of a play. Pinakes or paintings on cloth may well have served for this purpose. Once a scene had been chosen to be representative of a play, there would be little reason to alter the main elements of that scene except in minor details. The consistency of Niobe representations, from different dates and from geographically distant areas, suggest that once

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[273] As Trendall 1985, 133, and 139, suggests (when discussing two other vases showing both Niobe and Pelops).
[274] Hom. *Od*. 11.281–297; Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.9.9, 3.5.6; Paus. 2.21.9, 5.16.4.
[275] Taplin 2007a, 78. Taplin does not offer any explanation for the presence of Merope in the painting, except his guess that the lost tragedy which inspired this vase painting included an otherwise unknown Merope. Taplin 2007a, 277, n. 97, also notes: 'It might be tempting to dismiss this inscription as an error, perhaps for Antiope. But the Darius Painter rather specializes in particular and often little-known versions of the myths, and takes special care with the name labels'.
[276] See e.g. March 1998, 225–226, 501–502, 571.
[277] Hes. *Cat*. 169 M-W; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.10.1; Paus. 5.10.6. On Sterope, see also P. 184.
[278] Aristotle (*Poet*. 1456a17) clearly implies that he knew several tragic *Niobe* plays, but unfortunately these tragedies remain unknown to us.

> a scene was chosen it became stereotyped and would be used over a long period of time to announce performances of the given play. It is also possible that the advertisements, on pinakes or on cloth rolls, could have been transported to different areas where they could inspire local artists.[279]

The pose of Tantalus (supplication), his costume, and the stage-altar-like base on which Niobe is standing suggest that this vase painting was perhaps inspired by an actual theatre performance. Fracchia's theory that there were some kind of posters advertising the play is fascinating (it has remained unnoticed by other scholars), but it makes one ask, who (actors, producers, painters) made the decisions about the scenes that were supposed to represent the tragedies and where (in Athens, in the cities where the plays were performed) were the posters placed? In addition, there are so many different Andromeda, Medea, and Niobe scenes (just to mention some examples) that none could be adjudged as the iconic scene and, so, this theory seems untenable.

The *Niobe* vases, like the *Medea* vases, seem to be referring to many different versions of the story, and there are no easy and watertight explanations for all the differences between vases that depict the same stories. Perhaps some differences can be explained by alterations that were made (by actors) to the original text and staging for the revivals.[280] Some differences are perhaps due to the different shapes of the vases and to the vase painters' artistic freedom. In other words, more details can be fitted on some bigger forms of vases than on some other smaller forms, and the painters had to choose which details had to be left out when they were painting pictures on smaller vases, and perhaps sometimes they had to invent some male or female figures or some small objects in order to fill the space on big vases.

Some of the typical vases depicting the mourning Niobe inside a *naiskos* are elegantly discussed by Keuls, who suggests that the 'mourning Niobe' motif was inspired by the story as dramatized by Aeschylus' and that one purpose of these vases may have been 'to convey messages of hope and consolation' for the relatives of the deceased.[281] As Seaford suggests, these vase paintings combine the influence 'on the one hand of Aeschylus' drama (whether [Niobe] was compared to, mistaken for, or transformed into stone), and on the other hand of the conventions of southern Italian vase-painting (the dead painted as white statues over their tombs)'.[282] So, it is quite possible that perhaps at least the latest vases showing Niobe inside a *naiskos* may not reflect any actual theatre performances and that the mourning Niobe motif is painted on these vases only as a symbol of grief.[283]

Aristophanes' parody implies that Aeschylus' *Niobe* was revived in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC, and the quotations and allusions by Plato and Aristotle suggest reperformances of Aeschylus' *Niobe* in Athens in the fourth century BC. The vases suggest

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[279] Fracchia 1983, 298

[280] Keuls 1978, 63, offers this explanation for the Andromeda vases: 'the variance in detail may reflect different revivals', and Taplin 2007a, 120, for the Medea vase in Policoro: 'Finally there is the possibility that actors in reperformances of Euripides' play had already introduced their own stagings, regardless of his original staging in Athens in 431'.

[281] Keuls 1978, 41, 67. See also Keuls 1997, 159−166.

[282] Seaford 2005, 122.

[283] As Fracchia 1987, 204, suggests.

performances of tragic *Niobe* plays in Magna Graecia slightly before 350 BC and maybe even as early as around 400 BC. Aeschylus' *Niobe* is the most obvious candidate for a tragedy that inspired most of the Italiot vase painters, but also Sophocles' *Niobe* (and/or a *Niobe* by an anonymous author) may have been (re)performed in Magna Graecia.

Oedipus Tyrannus (by Sophocles and several other authors)

Sophocles' *OT* was first performed in Athens probably in the 430s or the 420s BC.[284] The action of this play, in which Oedipus finds out that he has killed his father and married his mother, is located in Thebes. The characters of the play are Oedipus, a priest, Creon, Teiresias, Iocaste, a messenger, a shepherd, and a second messenger (plus the daughters of Oedipus, who are mute). Theban elders constitute the chorus. Scholars are not unanimous about the use of the *ekkyklema* in the staging of the play (1307ff, the blinded Oedipus).[285]

Aristophanes probably parodies the *OT* in *Eq*. 1229–1248 (exposure of the oracle and the identity of Oedipus) and also in *Ach*. 27 (*OT* 629).[286] Aristotle quotes the text of the *OT* once and makes three allusions to the play.[287] Lines from the *OT* survive in four papyri (*LDAB* nos. 3934, 3947, 3948, 3951, from the second to the fifth centuries AD).

The fate of Oedipus was one of the most popular subjects for the authors of tragedies. In addition to Sophocles, who wrote two tragedies about the fate of Oedipus (*OC* and *OT*), at least Achaeus I (C5), Aeschylus, Carcinus II (C4), Diogenes of Sinope (C4), Euripides, Nicomachus of Athens (C5), Nicomachus of Troad (C3), Philocles I (C5), Philocles II/Timocles (who won the second prize at the Dionysia in 340, in which Neoptolemus acted), Theodectes (C4), and Xenocles I (who won at the Dionysia in 415 BC with *Oedipus*, *Lycaeon*, *Bacchae* and a satyric *Athamas*) wrote a tragic *Oedipus*, and there was also an *Oedipus* by an anonymous author, two separate *Oedipus* plays by Lycophron (C3), and an *Oedipodeia* by Meletus II, *c*.399.[288] It must be noted here that an anonymous actor came third in the 'old tragedies' with an *Oedipus* at a Dionysia in the third century BC.[289] In the fourth century BC, Eubulus wrote a comic *Oedipus* and before him Epicharmus had already written a comic *Sphinx*, and Aeschylus a satyr play entitled *Sphinx*.[290] Later Seneca wrote his version of the story of Oedipus and also Julius Caesar is said to have written an *Oedipus*.[291]

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[284] E.g., Kamerbeek 1967, 28−29, dates the play to *c*.425 BC; and Lloyd-Jones 1994, 9, dates the play to 430s or 420s.

[285] See e.g. Newiger 1990, 40, who is hesitant about the use of the *ekkyklema*. Lines 1294−1295 (δείξει δὲ καὶ σοί: κλῇθρα γὰρ πυλῶν τάδε διοίγεται) are close to the normal pattern of announcing the use of the *ekkyklema*: 'the doors are open, now you can see inside' (see Taplin 1977, 443, who mentions Soph. *Aj*. 344; Soph. *El*. 1453ff; Eur. *Hipp*. 808; and Eur. *HF* 1028ff as examples).

[286] See Rau 1967, 214.

[287] See P. 68−79.

[288] For references, see P. 9, n. 50.

[289] *TrGF* I,31, Did A 4b10.

[290] Eubulus' probably parodied Euripides' *Oedipus* in his comedy, see Jebb 1902, xxxiii, n. 2; and *PCG* V, 231–232, F 72. For Epicharmus' *Sphinx*, see *PCG* I, 96–97, F 125–126. For Aeschylus' *Sphinx*, see *TrGF* III, 341−343, F 235−237; and Germar and Krumeich 1999, 189−196.

[291] Seneca's *Oedipus* is an extant play. For the *Oedipus* by Julius Caesar, see Erasmo 2004, appendix (referring to Ribbeck 1875).

The following vases have been connected with Sophocles' *OT* by scholars:

1) A fragmentary Sicilian kalyx-krater from Syracuse* attributed to Gibil Gabib Group, probably by the Capodarso Painter, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 66557, 350–325 BC (V 417 in App. II), which was illustrated already in Chapter II (see Fig. 1) and shall be discussed below.

2) An Apulian jug by the Darius Painter Basel, Antiken Museum BS 473, 340–330 BC (V 588 in App. II), which shows an old (blind) man being led by a boy to a king. This scene has been related to Sophocles' *OT*, his *Antigone*, or to Euripides' *Phoenissae*. In my opinion, the costume of the old man may reflect theatrical costume (and his face may reflect a mask), but there simply are not enough details to securely connect this vase with any specific tragedy.

3) Another vase by the Darius Painter, an Apulian volute-krater from Canosa, Naples, Mus. Naz. 3254 (inv. 81393) (V 415 in App. II), which depicts Oedipus and the sphinx (on the neck of the vase). Oedipus is making a speaking gesture while conversing with the sphinx, but there are not many other iconographic signals suggesting dramatic inspiration for this scene. The main scene on this vase (that depicts the funeral of Patroclus) also shows speaking gestures, costumes, and a couch.

4) There is a lost Italiot krater (V 416 in App. II), which has been interpreted as depicting Oedipus and Teiresias, but this interpretation is very uncertain.

The famous and much-discussed Sicilian kalyx-krater is certainly a tragedy related vase, since it shows a paidagogos-messenger figure making a speaking gesture on a (raised platform) stage (with buttresses/columns). The costume of the king (Oedipus) in the centre of the painting, and his worried expressions and gestures, as well as those of the woman (Iocaste) on the right, are also worth noting. Several scholars have suggested that this vase is related to Sophocles' *OT* and they are probably right.[292] In theory, the vase painting could be related to some other *Oedipus* than that of Sophocles or even to an unknown tragedy about some other unknown subject. The characters in the painting are not labeled, so they could be depicting, for example, a messenger or an old tutor, a king, his children, and his wife or the children's nurse. It must also be remembered that, of the known authors of a tragic *Oedipus*, at least Carcinus II is actually said to have regularly visited Sicily and spent some time at the court of Dionysius I, and Aristotle once alludes to the *Oedipus* of Carcinus II in his *Rhetoric*.[293]

But this painting goes so beautifully together with the scene of *OT* (924−1072) in which Iocaste deduces from the narrative of the old man from Corinth who her second husband really is that I see no good reason to deny the connection between the vase and Sophocles' play. A minor objection could perhaps be that the daughters of Oedipus are not actually on stage at this moment of the play, but instead they are seen at the end of the play (1462−1523). A quite reasonable explanation for the appearance of the children in the vase painting could be that the vase painter has included the children in order to

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[292] See e.g. *IGD*, 66−69; Keuls 1997, 364 (who thinks that the old man is Teiresias rather than the old man from Corinth); and Taplin 2007a, 90−92. More references can be found in App. II.

[293] For Carcinus II's visits in Sicily, see Diod. Sic. 5.5.1; Diog. Laert. 2.63; and Dearden 1990, 239. The *Oedipus* of Carcinus II is alluded to in Arist. *Rhet*. 1417b18.

heighten the pathos of the moment.[294] So, in my opinion, it is still quite obvious that the painter of this vase had seen a performance of Sophocles' *OT* in Sicily (perhaps in Syracuse).

It is remarkable that Aristotle (*Poet*. 1452a24) has chosen exactly the same moment of the *OT* that is depicted on the Sicilian kalyx-krater as an example of a reversal from one state into its opposite, i.e. from 'good news' (Oedipus' 'father' Polybus has died because of his old age, not by the hand of Oedipus) to 'bad news' (Oedipus was adopted from the household of Laius, i.e. he is really a son of Laius and Iocaste).[295]

There are also some terracotta masks from Lipari (dated to after 330 BC), that have been interpreted as the masks of Oedipus and Iocaste.[296] These masks (found in the same tomb, no. 406) are surely masks of an adult male and of an adult female, and at least the male mask exudes some royal eminence and seriousness, but in my opinion there is no guarantee that these masks have anything to do with the characters of Oedipus and Iocaste.

The fragmentary kalyx-krater in Syracuse makes it almost certain that a tragic *Oedipus* was performed in Sicily a little bit before 350 BC. Whether or not the play performed in Sicily was the *OT* of Sophocles is another question that cannot be answered with absolute certainty, although Sophocles' play is by far the most probable candidate. Aristotle's quotation from and allusions to Sophocles' *OT* suggest that he knew the play quite well, and he may have seen it reperformed in Athens (and/or in Macedonia?). Also Seneca must have been familiar with the text of Sophocles.[297] The papyri and the fact that Sophocles' *OT*, together with his *OC*, are the only surviving texts of all the tragic *Oedipus* plays that were written and performed in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC are further evidence of the superiority of Sophocles' *OT* over all the other tragedies about the fate of Oedipus (see my discussion in Chapter V on the question of how classics become classics).

Oenomaus (by Sophocles and Euripides)

Aristophanes' parody of Sophocles' *Oenomaus* in his *Aves* (Ar. *Av*. 1337–1339, = *TrGF* III, F 476) gives a *terminus ante quem* (414 BC) for Sophocles' play (of which 17 lines in 7 fragments survive).[298] The myth on which Sophocles based his tragedy is as follows. Oenomaus, son of Ares, king of Pisa, challenges all suitors of his beautiful daughter Hippodameia to a chariot-race and then kills them. Pelops, son of Tantalus (and former lover of Poseidon), comes to Pisa and wins Hippodameia for his bride in the famous race between him and Oenomaus (i.e. between the horses given to Pelops by Poseidon and the horses given to Oenomaus by Ares). Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus (who is bribed either by Pelops or by Hippodameia with whom he is in love), sabotages Oenomaus'

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[294] For some comments on the children in the painting, see e.g. *IGD*, 69; and Taplin 2007a, 92.
[295] Also Taplin 2007, 92; and Taplin 2012, 230, n. 20, notes this fact.
[296] See Bernabó Brea 2001, 283, figs. 7–8.
[297] See e.g. Boyle 2011, lv–lvi, and *passim* (commentary).
[298] Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 94–95, suggest a date between 445–420 BC for the play.

chariot (either by removing the linchpins or replacing them with ones of wax). As a result, Oenomaus' chariot is wrecked and Oenomaus dies (or Pelops kills him) in the course of the race. The dying Oenomaus curses Myrtilus. After the race Pelops kills Myrtilus and the dying Myrtilus curses Pelops.[299] The play was set in Pisa, in front of the palace of Oenomaus, and among the *dramatis personae* may have been Pelops, a servant, Hippodameia, Eurythoe (Oenomaus' wife) or Sterope (Oenomaus' mother) and/or a nurse?, Myrtilus, Oenomaus, and a messenger. The chorus may have been formed of Pisan women (although a chorus of the citizens of Pisa is also possible).[300]

Euripides also wrote a tragic *Oenomaus* (of which approximately 24 lines in 7 fragments survive), but the exact date of the play is not known.[301] A hypothesis to Euripides' *Phoenissae* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*TrGF* V, 591) also mentions *Oenomaus* and *Chrysippus*, and some scholars have suggested that these plays were produced together with the *Phoenissae* (i.e. 411–409 BC), but the hypothesis is fragmentary (and therefore ambiguous) and nothing regarding the metrical dating can be inferred from the twenty-four remaining lines of the *Oenomaus*.[302] How Euripides handled the story of Oenomaus is not known.[303] Among the characters of Euripides' play may have been Oenomaus, Pelops, Hippodameia, Myrtilus?, and a messenger?, but the identity of the chorus is not known (men of Pisa have been suggested).[304]

Apart from Sophocles' and Euripides' plays, we are not aware of any other tragedies entitled *Oenomaus*. Of the fourth-century comedy authors, both Antiphanes and Eubulus wrote an *Oenomaus* or a *Pelops*.[305] Nicochares, who was Aristophanes' contemporary, wrote a comedy entitled *Amymone or Pelops* in which Oenomaus was a character.[306] Later on, Accius wrote a tragic *Oenomaus* in Latin.[307] Certainly an *Oenomaus* was performed in the deme of Collytus in 370−360 BC and most probably a chariot was used in the staging (we know that Aeschines fell from the chariot when acting the part of Oenomaus), but it is not known for sure whether the play in question was written by Euripides or by Sophocles (although Sophocles is a more probable candidate).[308]

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[299] For the myth and references to ancient authors, and for the fragments and reconstructions of the play, see e.g. Séchan 1926, 447–466; Sutton 1984, 95–97; *TrGF* IV, 380−385, F 471−477; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 242−248; and Sommerstein, and Talboy 2012, 87−93.

[300] See Sutton 1984, 96; and Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 88−89, 93.

[301] *TrGF* V, 591−595, F 571−577. For some suggestions for the date, see Webster 1967, 4 (455–428 BC); Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1 (any date).

[302] For some discussions, see Cropp and Fick 1985, 86; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 480–481; and Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 83, n. 43.

[303] Webster 1967, 115: 'If Euripides did treat the same part of the story, it looks as if he completely changed the emphases and made Oinomaos an unhappy father who was outwitted by the unscrupulous Pelops.' *TrGF* V, 592: *Ex F 571 effici licet ut Oenomaus apud Euripidem non ipse amator filiae fuerit (vid. ad. loc.). Si ita est, tristior fabula Hygini (Fab. 84) et Diodori (4,73) fortasse argumentum Euripideum respicit, Apollodori (Epit. 2,3−8) rebus amatoriis plena Sophocleum (Robert 215 sq; cf. imprimis S. F 474)*. For reconstructions of Euripides' play, see e.g. Séchan 1926, 447–466; Bates 1930, 269–270; and Jouan and van Looy 2000, 481−482.

[304] See Jouan and van Looy 2000, 481.

[305] For Antiphanes' *Oenomaus/Pelops*, see *PCG* II, 405–406, F 170. For the *Oenomaus/Pelops* by Eubulus, see *PCG* V, 232.

[306] See *PCG* VII, 40, F 2.

[307] For the *Oenomaus* of Accius, see *TF*, 272–275; Warmington 1936, 495: 'Such was the plot of the play Ὀινόμαος of Sophocles followed by Accius'; and Webster 1967, 115: 'Accius probably followed Sophocles'.

[308] See P. 96−97 for my discussion on this incident.

There are at least twenty-nine vases (VV 49, 207, 231, 310, 352, 419–442 in App. II) that depict many different moments in the Pelops-Hippodameia-Oenomaus story. The vases show Pelops' arrival at the court of Oenomaus, the conspiracy and the persuasion of Myrtilus, preparations for the chariot-race, the race itself, and the death of Myrtilus, and they may be related either to Sophocles' or to Euripides' tragedy.[309] Twenty one vases are Apulian, three vases are Attic, three vases are Campanian, and two vases are Lucanian. The Apulian vases are mostly dated to the second half of the fourth century BC (two vases, both from Taranto, are dated to around 390 BC), the Attic and the Lucanian vases date to around 400 BC (one Attic vase dates to 380–370 BC), and the Campanian vases date to 370–360 BC, and to 340–330 BC.

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Fig. 51. Provenances of the *Oenomaus* vases.

The known provenances of the vases (illustrated in Fig. 51)[310] are: Altamura, Canosa, Capua, Casalta (not in Fig. 51), Lecce, Policoro, Ruvo (eight vases), S. Agata dei Goti (two vases), and Taranto (two vases). Of these sites, at least Tarentum and Heraclea are among places where Attic tragedies most probably were performed, and the eight *Oenomaus* vases found in Ruvo may suggest that an *Oenomaus* was performed there also (see my discussion on P. 205–207). Five vases have been ascribed to the Baltimore Painter (plus two vases to a late follower of him), three vases are by the Darius Painter (all found in Ruvo), and the Lycurgus Painter has painted two Oenomaus vases.

There are some clues that we may follow when trying to decipher whose version (Sophocles' or Euripides') of the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus inspired the vase painters. Firstly *TrGF* IV, F *473a shows that in Sophocles' play the palace of Oenomaus was decorated with the heads of Hippodameia's former suitors.[311] Secondly,

[309] Webster writes in *MTSP*², 161: 'The vases collected by Séchan are better referred to Sophocles q.v.'; whereas Sutton 1984, 97, asks: 'but could these vases reflect Euripides rather than Sophocles?'
[310] The base for the map is taken from *RVSIS*, 8.
[311] See Sutton 1984, 95; and Sommerstein, and Talboy 2012, 87.

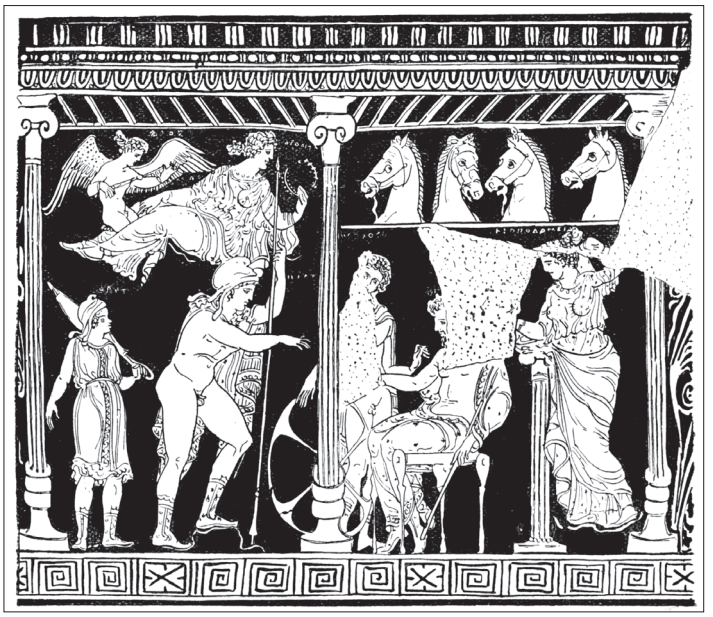

Fig. 52. Apulian situla by the Painter of Athens 1714, Rome, Villa Giulia 18003, *c*.365–*c*.355 BC. The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 126.

in Euripides' play Oenomaus may have been presented as a relatively sympathetic old man concerned for his daughter's well-being (*TrGF* V, F 571 and 575), and 'therefore the pictures showing the youngish Oinomaos should perhaps be referred to Sophocles'.[312] The severed heads of Hippodameia's suitors are easy to spot in the vase paintings, but it is not an easy task to try to interpret when Oenomaus is depicted as 'youngish' and when as an old man. In my opinion, the Oenomaus painted by the Dolon Painter (who according to Webster may represent Euripides' Oenomaus) looks just like the other Oenomaus figures on the other vases. Oenomaus is always depicted bearded, but never grey-haired. Let us pick out some vases for a closer discussion.

An Apulian situla from Ruvo*, by the Painter of Athens 1714, Rome, Villa Giulia 18003, *c*.365–*c*.355 BC (Fig. 52, V 428 in Pisa) shows the moment of Pelops' arrival in Pisa. In the centre of the painting is Myrtilus (holding a chariot wheel), with Oenomaus (sitting) and Hippodameia (standing) to his right, and Pelops and a Phrygian to his left. Aphrodite and Pothos are depicted in the upper left corner and four horses in the upper right corner. All figures are labelled. The roof, the columns, the gestures of Pelops, Myrtilus and Hippodameia, and perhaps also the inscription, ΦΡΥΞ,[313] above the head of the person behind Pelops may indicate that this vase is a tragedy related vase referring to an *Oenomaus*, probably by either Sophocles or Euripides (it is impossible to determine which).

An Apulian kalyx-krater from Ruvo by the Lycurgus Painter, London, BM F271, 350–340 BC (Fig. 53, V 231 in App. II) shows Pelops preparing for the chariot-race. Oenomaus is not present, so maybe the characters are plotting the conspiracy against him. The figures above are Pan, Aphrodite?, Eros, and a female figure, probably a local Nymph, Sterope (or Hippodameia's nympheutria), Hippodameia, Pelops, and Myrtilus are seen on

[312] As Webster writes in *MTSP*², 150. See also Webster 1967, 115; Collard and Cropp 2008b, 41; and Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 83.
[313] See Taplin 2007a, 200.

the lower level. In between Pelops and Myrtilus there is an Ionic column, on top of which there is a tripod (and a bucranium is attached to the column as well). The rock on which Pelops is sitting, the column and the tripod, the costumes of Sterope and Hippodameia, and Hippodameia's hand gesture may all signal that the vase painter was influenced by an actual dramatic performance of an *Oenomaus*, probably a reperformance either of Sophocles' or Euripides' play (again impossible to decide which). It must be noted that on the other side of this vase there is almost certainly a tragedy related vase painting, which has been related to Aeschylus' *Edonoe* (see App. II, P. 230, and Pl. XVIII.2).

An Apulian amphora from Ruvo, by the Varrese Painter, London, BM F331, 360–330 BC (Fig. 54, V 431 in App. II) depicts preparations before the race. Pelops and Oinomaos are meeting at the altar of Zeus (labelled ΔΙΟΣ). Above the characters there are two heads hanging up (labelled ΠΕΡΙΦΑΣ and ΠΕΛΑΠ[, probably meaning Πελάγ[ων]), presumably they represent heads of Hippodameia's former suitors who have been killed by Oenomaus. The characters enumerated from the left are Hippodameia (labelled ΗΙΠΠΟΔΑΜΕΙΑ), Sterope?, Pelops (labelled ΡΕΛΟΨ), Oenomaus (labelled ΟΙΝΟΜΑΟΣ), Myrtilus (labelled ΜΥΡΤΙΛΟΣ), Eros (labelled ΕΡΩΣ), and Aphrodite (labelled ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ). The altar in the middle of the painting certainly looks like a stage altar and attention should also be paid to the costume of Pelops, and to the speaking gesture that Aphrodite is making. I suggest that this vase may well be related to Sophocles' *Oenomaus* (there are two other vases, VV 207 and 419 in App. II, that also show severed heads of Hippodameia's former suitors).

The chariot-race itself can be seen on the neck of an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo by the Darius Painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81934 (H 3255), *c*.330 BC (V 352 in App. II, see Pl. XX.3).

Fig. 53. Apulian kalyx-krater, attributed to the Lycurgus Painter, London, British Museum 1849,0623.48 (F271), 350–340 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

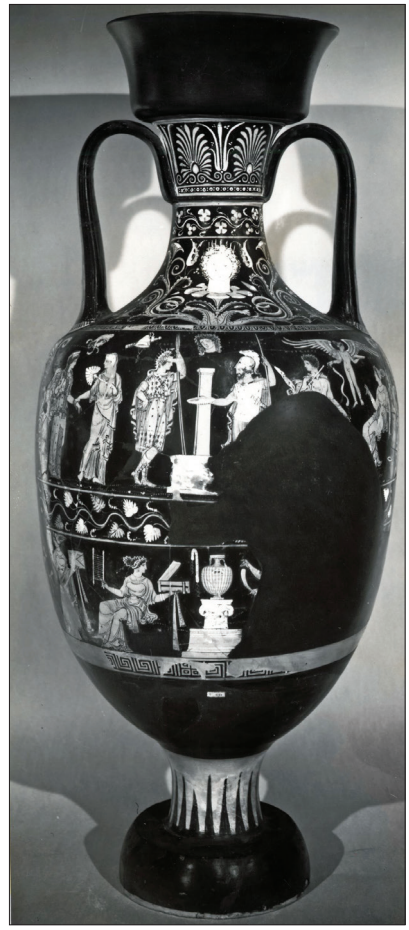

Fig. 54. Apulian amphora, attributed to the Varrese Painter, London, British Museum 1843,0724.2 (F331), 360–330 BC © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Of course the race could not have been enacted on stage, but I suggest that the Darius Painter may have been inspired by a vivid messenger speech describing the race and the death of Oenomaus either in Sophocles' or Euripides' tragedy. I chose to show this vase out of the three Oenomaus vases by the Darius Painter,[314] because the painting on the body of this vase has quite convincingly been connected to Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (see App. I, P. 239). The painting on the other side of this vase shows Heracles conversing with Atlas who is supporting heaven (also Athena, Helios, and seven Hesperides are depicted in the painting).[315]

Fig. 55. Campanian aryballos by the Ixion Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3072 (G 2483), *c*.340–*c*.330 BC The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 135.

A Campanian aryballos/squat lekythos from Capua* by the Ixion Painter, Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3072 (G 2483), *c*.340–*c*.330 BC (Fig. 55, V 438 in App. II) depicts the death of Myrtilus. Although this vase painting shows no strong signals pointing towards tragedy (except the Erinys figure above the chariot), it may still be related to a performance of an *Oenomaus* since the Ixion Painter painted several other tragedy related vases.[316] The death of Myrtilus may have been narrated by a messenger or foretold by a god at the end of an *Oenomaus*.[317]

It is of course possible that some of the painters of the Italiot vases related either to Euripides' or Sophocles' *Oenomaus* never saw tragedies being performed, and they simply copied paintings or elements from the paintings of their older colleagues; there are so many vases, however, depicting all moments of the story, by so many painters from so many fabrics (Apulian, Campanian, Lucanian, but no Paestan or Sicilian), and many of these vases show elements signalling dramatic connection (gestures, costumes, stage altar, etc.) that reperformances of an *Oenomaus* or many different *Oenomaus* tragedies in Magna Graecia (in Tarentum and Heraclea?) around 360−350, and probably also around 400 BC can be suggested. This time (as opposed to the case of *Andromeda*) it was more likely Sophocles' play than Euripides' play that inspired the vase painters.

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[314] The other two Darius Painters' *Oenomaus* vases are VV 423 and 424 in App I. V 423 shows a scene quite like the scene in Fig. 90 (without the heads of the suitors), and V 424 depicts the race (with an Erinys frightening Oenomaus' horses).

[315] See *LIMC* V, Herakles 2686*.

[316] See n. 233 above.

[317] Sutton 1984, 96, suggests that Sophocles included the catastrophe of Myrtilus in his tragedy (at least by foretelling the development of the story); whereas Sommerstein and Talboy 2012, 93, n. 88 propose, that the death of Myrtilus was most likely not included in Sophocles' play, because it happened too far away for a Pisa based messenger to know about it. The situation is exactly the same with Euripides' *Oenomaus*, we simply cannot tell whether or not Euripides included the death of Myrtilus in his play. Perhaps it is a little bit easier to imagine a *deus/dea ex machina* predicting Myrtilus' death at the end of Euripides' play than at the end of Sophocles' play.

The famous anecdote about Aeschines 'murdering Oenomaus' at the deme of Collytus most probably refers to a revival of an *Oenomaus*, quite possibly that of Sophocles. The date of Aeschines' unsuccessful performance at Collytus is probably 370−360 BC and many Italiot *Oenomaus* vases are dated to around 360 BC or to 350−325 BC. Perhaps Aeschines went on tour in Magna Graecia (in *c*.360 BC) and performed (Sophocles') *Oenomaus* there.

Orestes (by Euripides)

The play was first performed in Athens in 408 BC.[318] The action is set in Argos and the story is as follows. After having murdered Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, Orestes and Electra are still at Argos. Orestes is sick and haunted by visions of the Erinyes.[319] The people of Argos are planning a trial against the matricides and intend to condemn them to death. Menelaus rejects their plea for help. Together with Pylades they decide to kill Helen. When they take action against her she disappears mysteriously; so they seize Hermione instead. Apollo appears as a *deus ex machina* and declares that Helen is living among the stars and Orestes must marry Hermione and give Electra as a wife to Pylades. The characters of the play are Electra, Helen, Orestes, Menelaus, Tyndareus, Pylades, a messenger, Hermione, a Trojan slave, and Apollo. Women of Argos constitute the chorus.

We know for certain that Euripides' *Orestes* was revived in Athens at least twice, in 340 BC (by Neoptolemus) and in 276–219 BC (by an anonymous actor from Tegea), both of these revivals won the competition.[320]

The name of Orestes is mentioned by Aristotle (*Poet*. 1453a) with good reason, when he claims that (in his day) the best tragedies told the stories of a few families, such as the families of Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes and Telephus. In addition to Euripides, an anonymous author (who won the second prize at Lenaea before 363 BC), Euripides II, Carcinus II, Theodectes, and Aphareus (who was third at the Great Dionysia in 341 BC) wrote a tragic *Orestes*;[321] and Alexis, Dinolochus, Rhinton, and Sopater wrote a comic *Orestes*.[322] Timocles' comic *Orestautocleides* has already been mentioned and there was also a comic *Anthroporestes* by Strattis.[323] Of the Roman authors, Pacuvius wrote a *Dulorestes*.[324] Aristophanes parodied the following verses of the play: 279 (in *Ran*. 304), 285 (in *Plut*. 8, 10), and 1431 (in *Ran*. 1314f). Also, Menander may have parodied the play (Men. *Sik*. 176ff echoes *Or*. 920, Men. *Sik*. 188ff echoes *Or*. 871ff, and *Or*. 922 is echoed in Men. *Epitr*. 910).[325]

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[318] Schol. *Or*. 371 = *TrGF* I, 48, Did C19.
[319] Webster 1967, 247, suggests that the *ekkyklema* was used at the start of the play. Webster's suggestion is countered, e.g. by Willink 1986, xxxix.
[320] The performances are recorded in *IG* II² 2320, and in *SIG*³ 1080, see P. 13−14 and 121−122.
[321] For references, see P. 9, n. 54.
[322] For Alexis' *Orestes* (C4/3), see *PCG* II, 118, F 171. For Dinolochus' *Orestes* (C5), see *PCG* I, 177, T 3.8. For Rhinton's *Orestes* (C4/3), see *PCG* I, 265, F 8. For Sopater's *Orestes* (C4/3), see *PCG* I, 283, F 14.
[323] For Timocles' *Orestautocleides*, see P. 160. For Strattis' *Anthroporestes* (C5/4), see *PCG* VII, 624−625, F 1−2.
[324] Warmington 1936, 208: 'The model of this play is not known'.
[325] See Willink 1986, lxiii.

Lines from the *Orestes* survive in more than twenty papyri (only lines from Euripides' *Phoenissae* occur more often in papyri),[326] of which *P. Duk*. 615 (= *LDAB* no. 1032 = Mertens-Pack 0412.11), dating to *c*.299−*c*.200 BC and containing *Or*. 939−954, and *P. Vindob.* G 2315 (= *LDAB* no. 1047 = Mertens-Pack 0411), dating to *c*.225−*c*.175 BC and containing *Or.* 338−344 (with musical notation), must be mentioned here. Lists of numerous quotations from Euripides' *Orestes* by ancient authors can be found in the editions of *Orestes* by Di Benedetto (*c*.300 cases under the title *la tradizione indiretta*) and Biehl (over 400 cases of *loci similes sive imitationes*).[327] As already mentioned, *Orestes* was also one of the plays included in the so-called Byzantine Triad of Euripidean tragedies.[328]

There are a number of suspected actors' interpolations in the text of the play (e.g. 140–141, 349−351, 906–916, 957−959, 1366–1368, 1618–1620, 1631–1632), some of which have been ascribed to the famous actor Neoptolemus.[329] There is also a tail-piece (prayer for victory) at the end of the play (1691–1693).[330] We know too that an actor by the name Hegelochus, when acting (as protagonist, supposedly in the premiere of the play) the part of Orestes, ran out of breath and spoke the word γαλῆν (weasel) instead of γαλήν' (calm), thus making line 279 of *Orestes*, 'after the storm once more I see calm' (ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὁρῶ,) sound like, 'after the storm once more I see a weasel'. Naturally, he was much ridiculed for his mistake by comic poets, such as Aristophanes, Strattis, and Sannyrio.[331] Strattis, by the way, describes *Orestes* as, 'Euripides' most clever play' (Εὐριπίδου δὲ δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον).

Although no vases have been connected to Euripides' *Orestes* by scholars,[332] the fact that the play was reperformed in Athens in 340 BC by Neoptolemus makes it easy to suggest that it was reperformed also outside Athens (wherever Neoptolemus was performing). The comedies entitled *Orestes*, *Orestautocleides* and *Anthroporestes*, the number of assumed actors' interpolations in the text of the play, the second verified reperformances of the play in 276–219 BC, the numerous occurrences of the lines of the

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[326] For the *Orestes* papyri see Willink 1986, lx−lxi; and P. 15−16.
[327] Di Benedetto 1965, xx−xxv; Biehl 1975, 108−133.
[328] See P. 55.
[329] For actors' interpolations in the text of the *Orestes*, see Page 1934, 41−55; Biehl 1955, 96; West 1987, 40−41, 207 (on 349−351), 249 (on 957−959); and Willink 1986, lxii, n. 113. For interpolations ascribed to Neoptolemus, see Willink 1986, lxii; and Kovacs 2007, 259−268.
[330] See my discussion on P. 57.
[331] See Ar. *Ran*. 302−304, with schol.; and schol. Eur. *Or*. 279, which includes lines from Strattis' *Anthroporestes* (*PCG* VII, 652−653, F 63) and from Sannyrio's *Danae* (*PCG* VII, 588, F 8). For English translations and comments, see Kovacs 1994a, 47−49.
[332] Chapouthier 1959, 27, mentions an engraved stone (A. L. Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, Paris 1811, no. 621, pl. CLXX), which might depict Electra helping Orestes to stand up (as in *Or*. 233), but in my opinion the illustration is too general, it might have nothing to do with Electra and Orestes. Willink 1986, 129−130, discusses the staging of *Or*. 268−274 (where Orestes threatens the Furies with an imaginary bow), and the possibility that some of the pictures depicting Orestes confronting the Furies with a sword might actually be related to Euripides' *Orestes* (and the actor who played the part of Orestes mimed the shooting with a sword), but maybe this is too far-fetched. A scholiast on *Or*. 268 notes that the actor acting Orestes should use a real bow not only to imagine it like the actors of the scholiast's day do (ἔδει οὖν τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τόξα λαβόντα τοξεύειν. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑποκρινόμενοι τὸν ἥρωα αἰτοῦσι μὲν τὰ τόξα, μὴ δεχόμενοι δὲ σχηματίζονται τοξεύειν). See also Kovacks 2002, 443, n. 12, who thinks that the scholiast means that in the original staging the actor playing Orestes' part had a real bow − but how could the scholiast know that? I think that a real bow was used in some reperformances of the play and sometimes an imaginary bow was used.

play in papyri, and many quotations from the play by later authors, all speak in favour of the suggestion that the *Orestes* is probably Euripides' most popular play of all time and that it was probably quite regularly revived in the fourth century BC.[333]

Staging a fourth-century-BC reperformance of the *Orestes* most probably required the use of the *mechane* (1625–1690, Apollo and Helen) and there was also a chariot-borne entrance in the play (at 988, Clytemnestra).[334]

Stheneboea (by Euripides)

Euripides' *Stheneboea* was first produced in Athens before 422 BC (when Aristophanes' *Vespae* was produced, on which see below), probably around 430 BC, but the exact date of the play is not known. Metrical dating places the *Stheneboea* before 428 BC, among Euripides' earlier plays. There are also some similarities between the characters of Stheneboea and Phaedra (of *Hippolytus*, produced in 428 BC), and between the prologue of the *Stheneboea* and the prologues of the *Medea* (produced in 431 BC) and the *Heracleidae* (produced in *c*.430 BC, before 424 BC).[335]

The plot of this play (as told in a complete hypothesis to the play by Johannes Logothetes) was as follows. Stheneboea, wife of Proetus, falls in love with Bellerophon, who rejects her. She lies to her husband that Bellerophon assaulted her. Proetus sends Bellerophon to Stheneboea's father, King Iobates, with a letter that Bellerophon should be put to death. Iobates then sends Bellerophon on an impossible mission against the Chimaera. Having killed the Chimaera, Bellerophon returns to Tiryns to take his revenge on Stheneboea. He drops her into the sea from the back of Pegasus. Stheneboea's body is found by fishermen and Bellerophon comes back once again to Tiryns to explain to Proetus what he has done.[336]

The play was set in Tiryns, in front of the palace of Proetus. Among the characters of the play may have been Bellerophon, Proetus, Stheneboea, a nurse, a servant?, a fisherman/fishermen (one fisherman giving a messenger-speech), and the chorus was probably formed of friends or servants of Stheneboea.[337] Most probably at least the *mechane* (Bellerophon arriving on Pegasus at the end), but possibly also and the *ekkyklema* (for the body of Stheneboea) were used when the play was (re)staged.[338]

Aeschines (*In Tim*. 151) cited verses from this play (*TrGF* V, F 661, 24−25).[339] Aristophanes quotes verses from the play five times and alludes twice to the play: *Ran.* 1217–1219 = *TrGF* V, 649, F 661, 1−3; *Vesp*. 1074 = *TrGF* V, 652, F 663; *Thesm*. 404 = *TrGF* V, 653, F 664,2; *Vesp*. 111 = *TrGF* V, 653, F 665; *Pax* 126 = *TrGF* V, 655, F 669,4; allusions are made in *Ran*. 1044, and in *Thesm*. 400f.

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[333] App. III (*Orestes*) shows the great variety of all the different kinds of evidence at one glance.
[334] For the *mechane*, see e.g. Hourmouziades 1965, 169; Willink 1986, 351; West 1987, 38; and Mastronarde 1990, 262−264, 287. For the chariot, see Taplin 1977, 76–77.
[335] For some discussions on the date of the play, see Bates 1930, 292 (440−432 BC); Webster 1967, 4 (455–428 BC); Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1 (455–422 BC); Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 83; and Jouan and van Looy 2002, 3−4.
[336] For the hypothesis, see Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 84−85; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 4−8; and *TrGF* V, 645−646, T iia. For discussions on the plot of the play, see Séchan 1926, 494–502; Bates 1930, 291–292; Webster 1967, 80–84; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 79−83; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 8−20; Taplin 2007a, 200−201; and Collard and Cropp 2008b, 121−125.
[337] See e.g. Webster 1967, 82; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 4; and *TrGF* V, 648.

The first line(s) of the *Stheneboea* was/were often quoted or imitated by other comedians, for example, by Nicostratus C4 (*PCG* VII, 89, F 29 = *TrGF* V, 649, F 661, 1), Philippides C4/3 (*PCG* VII, 344, F 18.3 [from *Philadelphoe*] = *TrGF* V, 649, F 661, 1 =), and Menander (*Aspis* 407 = *TrGF* V, 649, F 661, 1). There is also a second-century-AD papyrus (*LDAB* no. 925 = *P. Oxy*. 2455 = *TrGF* V, 645−646, T ii), which contains hypotheses with first lines from several of Euripides' plays, including *Stheneboea*.

Euripides also wrote a tragedy entitled *Bellerophon* (which dealt with Bellerophon's attempt to fly to heaven on Pegasus and his subsequent fall), and Eubulus wrote a homonymous comedy.[340] Also Astydamas II wrote a tragedy entitled *Bellerophon*, but nothing (except the title) is known about the play.[341] Sophocles wrote a tragic *Iobates* (which must have dramatized the story of Bellerophon in Lycia at the court of Iobates) and Rhinton a comic one.[342]

All in all, there are thirty-two South Italian vases related to the Bellerophon-Stheneboea-Proetus story (VV 290, 497−528 in App. II). Sixteen vases are Apulian, eight vases are Campanian, four vases are Lucanian, two vases are Etruscan, one vase is Paestan (by Asteas), one vase is Faliscan, and the fabric of one vase is unknown. There are three vases by the Ariadne Painter, by the Baltimore Painter, and by the Darius Painter. Two vases are by the Hearst Painter. The known provenances of the vases are Anzi (or Ruvo), Aversa, Capua, Egnazia, Gela, Gravina, Paestum (or Agropoli), Ruvo, and Taranto. As many as ten vases are dated to around 400 BC. The rest of the vases are dated to 350−325 BC.

At least seven vases depict the handing of the letter to Bellerophon by Proetus (which most probably happened onstage), but there are also several vases illustrating offstage incidents, such as Bellerophon at the court of Iobates (five vases show the letter), Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera (six vases), and Bellerophon dropping Stheneboea to her death from Pegasus (two vases).

An Apulian stamnos by the Ariadne Painter, Boston, MFA, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 00.349, 400–390 BC (V 528 in App. II, see Pl. XV.2) depicts the moment of Bellerophon's departure with the letter to Iobates. Stheneboea is standing in front of a structure which includes two columns and open doors. This doorway (together with the

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[338] For discussions on the use of the *mechane*, see Hourmouziades 1965, 152−153; Webster 1967, 84; Taplin 1977, 444, n. 2: 'The use in *Stheneboia* is confirmed by the deictic τοῦδε in fr. 665a.'; Mastronarde 1990, 286, n. 11: 'Pegasus probably appeared in *Stheneboea* (fr. 669.4, fr. 665a Snell [note τοῦδ᾽]), but there is insufficient information to determine whether the crane was used.'; Newiger 1990, 37, n. 22: 'Gegen Hourmouziades 152f. und Taplin 444 kann ich ein Auftreten des Bellerophontes mit Pegasos in der *Stheneboia* nicht für gesichert halten: τοῦδε Fr. 665 a N.[2] Sn. braucht nicht Anwesenheit auf der Bühne zu bedeuten'; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 82. The use of the *ekkyklema*, is suggested by Pöhlman 1995, 161, who compares Men. *Dys*. 758, εἰσκυ]κλεῖτ᾽ εἴσω με, with Eur. *Bellerophon* F 311 (*TrGF* V, 367), κομίζετ᾽ εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα (Ar. *Eq*. 1249: κυλίνδετ᾽ εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα), and with Eur. *Stheneboea* F 671 (*TrGF* V, 656), κομίζετ᾽ εἴσω τήνδε· πιστεύειν δὲ ξρή / γυναικὶ μηδὲν ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖ βροτῶν.

[339] See Wilson 1996, 314–315.

[340] For Euripides' *Bellerophon*, see e.g. Bates 1930, 232−234; Webster 1967, 109−111; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 98−120; and *TrGF* V, 348−367, F 285−312. Bellerophon's departure and arrival (with the help of the *ekkyklema*, see Hourmouziades 1965, 151−152; and Mastronarde 1990, 286), and the rags that he wore after the fall were much ridiculed by Aristophanes (esp. in Ar. *Pax*. 58−176, and in Ar. *Ach*. 426−429; for some other Aristophanic parodies of the play, see Rau 1967, 215). For Eubulus' *Bellerophon*, see *PCG* V, 199, F 15.

[341] See *TrGF* I, 198, T 1 = *Suda* α 4265.

[342] For Sophocles' *Iobates*, see Sutton 1984, 63; and *TrGF* IV, 268. For Rhinton's *Iobates*, see *PCG* I, 263, F 4.

Fig. 56. Apulian bell-krater by the Darius Painter, Tampa, Florida, Tampa Museum of Art (on loan from William K. Zewadski), *c*.350 BC. Photo: courtesy of William K. Zewadski.

letter and the pose of Stheneboea) suggests strongly that the painter of this vase may have been inspired by an actual theatre performance.[343] The other side of this vase (which shows Theseus deserting Ariadne in Naxos) has been related to Euripides' *Theseus*.[344]

An Apulian bell-krater by the Darius Painter, Tampa, Florida, on loan from William K. Zewadski (once London market, Sotheby 10.12.1984), *c*.350 BC (Fig. 56, V 502 in App. II) shows Bellerophon at the court of Iobates. Iobates (who is sitting on a throne and making a speaking gesture) is wearing an Oriental/theatrical costume with tight sleeves and a tiara. Proetus is always depicted bareheaded in the vase paintings; otherwise it would be hard to decipher whether this vase depicts Bellerophon's departure from the court of Proetus in Tiryns or his arrival at the court of Iobates in Lycia. If this vase is a tragedy related vase it may have something to do with Euripides' *Stheneboea*. Another possibility is that the vase is related to Sophocles' *Iobates*. In some versions of the Bellerophon myth (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.3.2) Iobates showed Bellerophon the letter and gave him his daughter Philonoe after Bellerophon had killed the Chimaera, completed another task, and survived an ambush. There is an Eros depicted above Bellerophon in this vase painting and it could be referring to this part of the story (which probably was not part of Euripides' *Stheneboea*).

An Apulian amphora from Gravina by the Gravina Painter, Museo E. Pomarici Santomasi 177005, *c*.400 BC (V 505 in App. II), illustrates the death of Stheneboea by drowning in the sea. Except the costume of Poseidon (at the lower right corner of the painting), there are no elements in this painting that suggest dramatic connection. Yet the surviving hypothesis of Euripides' *Stheneboea* makes it clear that the death of Stheneboea was somehow part of the action of the play, most probably it was related to the audience

[343] The doorway is illustrated on one other vase showing Stheneboea and Bellerophon with Pegasus (V 524 in App. II).
[344] See App. I, P. 246, and Pl. XXI.2.

by a messenger. It is therefore possible that the painter of this vase was inspired by a messenger speech in Euripides' *Stheneboea*.

There are so many vases depicting different moments of the story (from so many fabrics by so many painters) that reperformances of Euripides' *Stheneboea* in Magna Graecia already in the late fifth century and again around the mid-fourth century BC can be suggested. Aristophanes' parody, and quotations by other comedians and by Aeschines suggest that the *Stheneboea* was revived at least in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC, and also during the fourth century BC. It is also possible that Sophocles' *Iobates* was produced in Magna Graecia (around 350 BC).

Telephus (by Euripides)

Euripides' *Telephus* was first produced in Athens in 438 BC together with the lost plays *Cretan Women* and *Alcmaeon in Psophis*, and the extant *Alcestis* in a tetralogy that won the second prize.[345] All in all, over 100 lines from the play survive in thirty-eight fragments (including five papyri, *LDAB* nos. 905, 906, 914, 925, 1024, that date to between the second century BC and the second century AD).[346]

The story of the play, in brief, was as follows. Telephus, who has a wound in his thigh from Achilles, goes to Argos in the guise of a beggar. Somehow his identity is revealed. Feeling threatened, he seizes the infant Orestes (possibly urged to do so by Clytemnestra) and takes refuge at an altar. He is cured and he promises to act as a guide for the Greek fleet to Troy.[347] The play was set in Argos, in front of the palace of Agamemnon. Among the characters of the play were Telephus, a nurse, the infant Orestes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Odysseus, Achilles, Clytemnestra, a porter, and a messenger, and the chorus may have been formed of the citizens of Argos or the soldiers or chiefs of the Greek army.[348]

In addition to Euripides, at least six other authors (Aeschylus, Agathon, Cleophon, Iophon, Moschion, and Sophocles) wrote a tragic *Telephus*.[349] Sophocles wrote a whole trilogy (*Aleadae*, *Mysoe*, *Telephus*/*Achaeon sylloge*/*Eurypylus*) about the fate of Telephus.[350] Comedies entitled *Telephus* were written by Dinolochus and Rhinton, and there was also a satyric *Telephus* by an anonymous author.[351] Later on, both Ennius and Accius wrote a tragic *Telephus*.[352]

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[345] See the second hypothesis to *Alcestis* = *TrGF* I, 46, Did C 11. On *Alcestis*, see P. 130−132. On the tetralogy, see Preiser 2000, 64−71.
[346] See *TrGF* V, 680−718, F 696−727c.
[347] For discussions of the play and reconstructions of the plot, see e.g. Séchan 1926, 503–518; Bates 1930, 294–297; Webster 1967, 43–48; Heath 1987, 272–280; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 17−54; Keuls 1997, 313–324; Preiser 2000, 71−97; and Jouan and van Looy 2002, 91−112.
[348] See Heath 1987, 277; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 96; *TrGF* V, 686.
[349] For references, see P. 9, n. 57.
[350] This trilogy was already discussed in connection with an inscription (*IG* II² 3091) from Halae Aexonides, see P. 11−13.
[351] For the satyric *Telephus*, see *TrGF* II, 21, F 9a; and *TrGF* I, Did a 5g. For Dinolochus' *Telephus*, see *PCG* I, 177, T 3.13. For Rhinton's *Telephus*, see *PCG* I, 266, F 9.
[352] For Accius' *Telephus*, see *TF*, 290–293; and Warmington 1936, 537. For Ennius' *Telephus*, see *TF*, 89–90; and Jocelyn 1967, 404−412, and also 319: 'Behind Ennius' *Telephus* there stood quite probably Euripides' homonymous tragedy'.

So it is no wonder that Aristotle (*Poet*. 1453a) mentions the name of Telephus together with the names of Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, and Thyestes when he claims that the best tragedies focus on a few families.

Aristophanes parodies Euripides' *Telephus* in several comedies: in *Ach.* 280–625; *Thesm*. 209–274; quotations in *Lys*. 706 + 707? (*TrGF* V, 690, F 699 + F adesp. 57?); *Eq*. 1240 (*TrGF* V, 691, F 700); *Ach* 1188 (*TrGF* V, 693, 705a); *Eq*. 813, *Plut*. 601 (*TrGF* V, 698, F 713); *Ach*. 8 (*TrGF* V, 701, F 720); *Nub*. 891 (*TrGF* V, 702, F 722); *Pax* 528 (*TrGF* V, 704, F 727); and allusions in *Ach*. 411, 413; *Nub*. 922−924; *Pax* 146ff; *Thesm*. 23f; and *Ran*. 842, 846, 855, 864.[353] Aeschylus' *Telephus* (*TrGF* III, F 408) is once quoted by Aristophanes (in *Ranae* 1270). Lines from Euripides' *Telephus* survive in five papyri (dating from the first and second centuries AD).[354]

The hostage scene of Euripides' *Telephus* is parodied in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (689−759) in which a relative of Euripides seizes a wineskin and runs to the altar. This scene from Aristophanes' play is in turn beyond doubt reflected on the famous vase in Würzburg, the so-called Würzburg Telephos, an Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Wagner-Mus. H 5697, *c*.370 BC (see Fig. 5).[355] Aristophanes parodies the same hostage scene of Euripides' *Telephus* also in his *Acharnians* (331–365), and this scene from Aristophanes' play is very probably reflected on a series of three Apulian gutti from the same mould, *c*.330 BC (for an illustration of a guttus in St. Petersburg, Florida, on loan from William K. Zewadski, see Pl. XV.3).[356]

All in all, there are nineteen vases that have been related to Euripides' *Telephus* (VV 234, 391, 531−548 in App. II). Four vases are Attic, four are Apulian, four are Campanian, two vases are Lucanian, two are Paestan (one vase is by Asteas, see Pl. VIII.3), two are Faliscan, and one vase is Etruscan. The vases are all dated to the fourth century BC, except one Attic vase which is dated to *c*.440 BC. There is also one Attic vase which has been related to Aeschylus' *Telephus*, because it is earlier than Euripides' play (the vase dates to *c*.450 BC). All these vases show Telephus taking refuge at an altar (see e.g. Pl. VIII.3).

One of the vases, a Lucanian bell-krater by the Ragusa Painter, Bari 12531, 400–375 BC (V 547 in App. II) is beyond doubt inspired by an actual theatre performance, since it shows a stage altar (on which Telephus is supplicating) and opened doors (towards which Clytemnestra is fleeing).

Another Lucanian bell-krater, close to the work of the Policoro Painter, Cleveland, Museum of Art 1991.1, *c*.400 BC (V 391 in App. II), is also most probably inspired by actual tragic performances, since on the other side of the vase, there is a depiction of Medea in a chariot drawn by serpents, with Jason looking at Medea and an old nurse mourning beside of the bodies of Medea's children.

The so-called Würzburg Telephos vase proves that Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* was performed somewhere in Magna Graecia (Tarentum?) in the early fourth century BC, and the three Apulian gutti suggest a performance of Aristophanes'

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[353] See Rau 1967, 217.
[354] *LDAB* nos. 905, 906, 914, 925, and 1024, see *TrGF* V, 687−689, 704−718, F 696, 727a−c.
[355] See Csapo 1986, 379–392; Taplin 1987, 96–100; Trendall 1991, 165−166, fig. 68; Taplin 1993, 36−40, pl. 11.4; Green 1994, 64−67, fig. 37; *CAD*, 67−69, pl. 7A; Hughes 1996, 95−96; Taplin 2007a, 14, fig. 6; Walsh 2009, 74−79; Csapo 2010a, 52−58, fig. 2.3.
[356] See Csapo 2010, 64–65 with fig. 2.6.

Acharnians somewhere in Magna Graecia around the mid-fourth century BC. The audiences of these performances would surely have enjoyed Aristophanes' parody more if they had also seen Euripides' *Telephus*. The tragedy related vases in turn (especially the two Lucanian vases) suggest performances of Euripides' play in Magna Graecia (Heraclea?) already around 400 BC, and also later in the fourth century BC. The number of surviving fragments of the play and the papyri are further proof of the popularity of Euripides' *Telephus* in the centuries following its premiere.

Thyestes in Sicyon (by Sophocles)

This play told the story of how Thyestes raped his own daughter Pelopeia in order to sire an avenger, Aegisthus. He concealed his identity, but left his sword behind. Aegisthus was then exposed in the wilds and suckled by a goat, whence comes his name. (Much later, having grown up, Aegisthus killed his uncle Atreus with the sword of Thyestes, thus fulfilling the oracle, and Pelopeia, when learning the truth, killed herself with the same sword).[357] The play must have been set in Sicyon where Pelopeia was reared by king Adrastus (and maybe also in Argos where Atreus was later killed by Aegisthus). The characters of the play and the identity of the chorus are not known.

Sophocles wrote two, or probably even three tragedies entitled *Thyestes*.[358] The other (two) *Thyestes* of Sophocles probably dealt with the events that preceded the rape of Pelopeia by Thyestes and the killing of Atreus by Aegisthus, i.e. the murder of the sons of Thyestes by his brother Atreus and the cannibalistic banquet forced upon Thyestes as a guest of Atreus (where Atreus served the flesh of the dead sons to their father).[359] All in all, approximately thirty-nine lines (in twenty-four fragments) survive of the two/three *Thyestes* tragedies by Sophocles.[360]

The name of Thyestes is rightly among the names of Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, and Telephus when Aristotle (*Poet*. 1453a) says that the best tragedies focus on only a few families. All in all, as many as nine Greek tragic authors (Agathon, Apollodoros, Carcinus II, Chaeremon, Cleophon, Diogenes of Sinope, Diogenes of Athens, Euripides, and Sophocles) wrote their versions of the story of Atreus and Thyestes.[361] Diocles (who was active in late fifth/early fourth century BC) wrote two comedies entitled *Thyestes*.[362] Later on, several Roman tragic authors wrote their adaptations of the story.[363]

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[357] See e.g. Séchan 1926, 199–213; Sutton 1984, 143–145; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 106−113. The story is told most fully by Apollodorus (*Epit*. 2.14), and Hyginus (*Fab*. 88).
[358] See e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 106−107.
[359] The story is told e.g. by Hyginus (*Fab*. 87). See also Seneca's *Thyestes*. The still earlier phases of the story, i.e. the seduction of Atreus' wife Aerope and the theft of the ram by Thyestes may have been told in Sophocles' *Atreus*/*Mycenaenae*, see Sutton 1984, 26−27, and 141; and *TrGF* IV, 162−163, F 140−141.
[360] See *TrGF* IV, 162–163; *TrGF* IV, 239–246.
[361] For references, see P. 8, n. 48 and P. 9, n. 56.
[362] See *PCG* V, 18, 29, T1 = *Suda* δ 1155.
[363] For a *Thyestes* by Ennius, see *TF* 90–94; and Jocelyn 1967, 412−426 (p. 413: 'The rape of Pelopia and her marriage with Atreus in my view formed the action of the *Thyestes*'). For *Thyestes* plays by Varius Rufus, Sempronius Gracchus, Cassius Parmensis, Bassus, and M. Curatius Maternus, see *TrGF* IV, 240; and Erasmo 2004, appendix. Accius wrote an *Atreus* (which most probably dealt with the cannibalistic feast of Thyestes) and a *Pelopidae* (which may have dealt with the death of Pelops' son Chrysippus), see *TF*, 222–228, and 275–276; Warmington 1936, 380–392, and 500−503; and Jocelyn 1967, 414.

There are two Apulian vases (both by the Darius Painter, 340–330 BC), which depict different moments of the Thyestes-Pelopeia-Aegisthus-Atreus story: a kalyx-krater in Boston, MFA 1987.53 (V 556 in App. II), and an amphora, formerly in Boston, MFA 1991.437 (V 557 in App. II). The kalyx-krater (see Pl. XVI.1), which depicts the handing over of the baby Aegisthus to Thyestes, shows several iconographic elements that may signal a dramatic connection: stage props (throne, bucrania), tragic costumes, pose of consolation and a speaking gesture, inscriptions (ΣΙΚΥΩΝ, in upper-right corner, and ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ, ΘΥΕΣΤΕΣ, ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ, ΠΕΛΟΠΕΙΑ, and ΑΜΦΙΘΕΑ in the lower row), and an Erinys figure. In addition, there is a Dionysiac scene on the B-side of this vase.

The inscriptions make it certain that this vase is reflecting the part of the story that happened in Sicyon. All the divine and semi-divine characters in the upper row can be explained as being parts of the story, not just onlookers.[364] Apollo is responsible for the oracle, in which Thyestes was advised to rape his own daughter; Artemis is his sister and may be instructing Pan to find a goat to suckle the baby Aegisthus. The Erinys figure is representing the forthcoming revenge and Sicyon is, of course, a personification of the place where this part of the story happened. The small object in the hand of the baby Aegisthus (from the sword of Thyestes?) and the necklace hanging from a laurel branch between Adrastus and Pelopeia may be alluding to objects which were somehow important in the recognition(s) between Thyestes and Aegisthus, between Pelopeia and Thyestes, and between Pelopeia and Aegisthus, i.e. between father and son, daughter and father/rapist, and sister/mother and brother/son.[365] As noted above, there were several *Thyestes* tragedies written by many different tragedians, but only one with the subtitle *in Sicyon*. Therefore, a very probable interpretation of this vase painting is that it was inspired by Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon*.

The amphora, in turn, depicts the killing of Atreus. It is also most probably a tragedy related vase, since it shows stage props (throne, and bucranium), an Erinys figure, inscriptions (in the top row, from left: ΠΕΛΟΠΕΙΑ, ΑΓΙΣΘΟΣ, ΘΥΕΣΤΕΣ, ΑΤΡΕΥΣ, [Π]ΟΙΝΗ, ΔΜΩΙΑΙ), tragic costumes, and poses of distress and horror, and there is a Dionysiac scene on the B-side of the vase as well. It has rightly been suggested that the slave women (in the top, right corner) may be representing the chorus of the tragedy on which the vase painting is based.[366] This vase could be related to any of the above-mentioned *Thyestes* tragedies (by Sophocles, Euripides, or by the minor tragedians), but since we know so little about the contents of these plays, it is hard to make any suggestions. In my opinion, it is not totally out of the question that this vase may also somehow be reflecting Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon*. The forthcoming murder of Atreus by Aegisthus and Thyestes could have been foretold at the end of the play by a god or it could even have been part of the action, regardless of the long time span between the birth of Aegisthus and his growing into manhood.

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[364] See e.g. Vermeule 1987, 127−128; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 113; and Taplin 2007a, 107. Vermeule comments on the panther on the upper row with the following words: 'Is it too subtle to think that the well-educated Darius Painter is trying, through this panther, to reassure us that the famous phrase about Sikyonian drama, οὐδεν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον "it has nothing to do with Dionysos", was no longer true, after the older tragic choruses in Sikyon celebrating the *pathea* of Adrastos were taken away from him by Kleisthenes, about 595 BC, and transferred to Dionysos (Hdt. 5.67)?'

[365] See Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 113−114; and Taplin 2007a, 106−107.

[366] See Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 118; and Taplin 2007a, 242.

There are two more Apulian vases (VV 21 and 597 in App. II) and two Campanian vases (VV 609 and 612 in App. II) that have also been related to Sophocles' other *Thyestes* tragedies (not to his *Thyestes in Sicyon*), but the interpretations of all these vases are problematic. They may be tragedy related vases (they show stage altars, speaking gestures, poses of supplication, and tragic costumes), but it is likely that they have nothing to do with any *Thyestes* tragedies.

Demosthenes mentions that, before giving up his career as a tritagonist, Aeschines performed the troubles of (the house of) Thyestes and of those men who attacked Troy.[367] Demosthenes' expression 'the troubles of [the house of] Thyestes' could refer to tragedies entitled *Thyestes I*/*II*, *Thyestes in Sicyon*, *Atreus*, *Pelopidae*, etc.; and 'the troubles of those men who attacked Troy' could refer to tragedies about, for example, Ajax of Salamis, Ajax of Locris, Achilles, Agamemnon, Diomedes, Neoptolemus, Odysseus, Philoctetes, Protesilaus, etc.

We have already seen that Aeschines' name is also attached to Euripides' *Cresphontes*, *Hecuba*, *Phoenix*, *Stheneboea*, and *Troades*, and to Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oenomaus*. Quite a number of tragedy related vases painted by the Darius Painters (see a list on P. 201) have been connected with tragedies in which Aeschines may have been acting: *Ajax* (by Sophocles), *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles), *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles or Euripides), *Phoenix* (by Euripides), *Protesilaus* (by Euripides), *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author), *Stheneboea* (by Euripides), and to *Thyestes*/*Thyestes in Sicyon* (by Sophocles). In addition there is a vase from the workshop of the Darius Painter which most probably reflects Euripides' *Hecuba* (V 311 in App. II, see Fig. 48) and a vase that depicts the funeral of Patroclus (V 415 in App. II).

Although there is no evidence whatsoever that Aeschines ever performed in Magna Graecia, it is still worth wondering whether the Darius Painter happened by chance to witness Aeschines' performances (in Tarentum?) around 350 BC. Whatever the case, I suggest that at least Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon* was very probably staged somewhere in Magna Graecia around 350 BC.

Fig. 57. Theatre of Sicyon in July 2004. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari. With the permission of ΛΖ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

[367] Dem. 19.337: ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κάκ' ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετ' ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύεθ' οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστῆναι.

V. Conclusions

οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διακορεῖς οἴνου τὸ δείλης καθήμενοι
(Cass. Dio 9.39.5)

Violence is one of the most fun things to watch.
(Quentin Tarantino)

After having surveyed all the different kinds of evidence in Chapters II and III, I discussed twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens in Chapter IV. In addition, I list thirty-five more tragedies in Appendix I that, I suggest, were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well. It is quite certain that the *Aetnaeae* of Aeschylus was performed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse) around 470 BC, and that his *Persae* was first performed in Athens in 472 BC and then reperformed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse), probably around 470 BC, and that Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia during the reign of Archelaus (but the exact place and date of the performance is not known).

Furthermore, we have direct or indirect evidence for theatrical activity in twenty-two demes of Attica (a Dionysia in fifteen, dramatic performances in eleven, theatre buildings in at least twelve demes) and we even know some titles of some of the plays that were performed at the Rural Dionysia. There is also archaeological, epigraphic and/or literary evidence for approximately one hundred theatres (that date to before 300 BC) on mainland Greece, on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor, and in South Italy and Sicily.

Many ancient authors testify that Alexander the Great spent a lot of money on festivals, theatrical contests, and dramatic performances to which he invited the most famous actors of his time, and there are also several anecdotes about many famous fourth-century-BC actors, such as Aeschines, Athenodorus, Neoptolemus, Theodorus, and Thettalus, who performed in several places outside Athens and quoted tragic verses on various occasions.

I further suggest that, in addition to the sixty tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly (re)performed outside Athens, there must have been many other tragedies (about which we know nothing) that were also performed outside Athens.

Some tragedians and their tragedies

In addition to Aeschylus, another Athenian tragic poet, who is said to have visited Sicily (and died there), is Phrynichus, and Morgan raises the possibility that Phrynichus' *Phoenissae* was performed in Syracuse.[1] Phrynichus most probably won the first prize in Athens in 476 BC with this play that dramatized the battle of Salamis and Aeschylus is said to have modelled his *Persae* on Phrynichus' tragedy.[2] The known titles of Phynichys'

[1] Morgan 2012, 49. For Phrynichus in Sicily, see *TrGF* I, 70, T 6.
[2] See *TrGF* I, 69–70, T 4, and T 5 (= hypothesis to Aeschylus' *Persae*).

tragedies are Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἀκταίων, Ἄλκηστις, Ἀνταῖος/Λίβυες, Δίκαιοι/Πέρσαι/Σύνθωκοι, Δαναΐδες, Μιλήτου Ἅλωσις, Πλευρώνιαι, Τάνταλος, and Φοινίσσαι.[3] Unfortunately, we have no evidence whatsoever that any of these tragedies were ever performed in Sicily.

It could also be claimed that (all) the tragedies of Dionysius I were at some point produced in Syracuse.[4] Dionysius I, who subjugated the whole of eastern Sicily and was also active on several occasions in southern Italy, founded the city of Tyndaris in north-eastern Sicily in 396 BC.[5] I suggest that, in addition to supposed performances of Dionysius' tragedies in Syracuse, Dionysius may also have had his tragedies presented at Tyndaris, perhaps at the inaugural festivities of the city's foundation (assuming that there ever was such an occasion; cf. Hieron and the founding of Aetna, P. 79–80). The known titles of Dionysius' plays are Ἄδωνις, Ἀλκμήνη, Ἕκτορος λύτρα, Λήδα, and Λιμός (a satyr play).[6] I propose that some of these plays and some other plays written by the tyrant (of which we know nothing) must have been performed in Sicily.

Quite probably also some tragedies of Carcinus II were produced in Sicily (in premieres or in revivals). Carcinus (who lived *c*.420/410 – before 341/40 BC) is said to have often visited Sicily; he spent some time at the court of Dionysius I (until the return of Dion to Syracuse, i.e. 357/6 BC) and presumably he received the citizenship of Acragas.[7] The known titles of Carcinus' tragedies are Ἀερόπη/Θυέστης, Αἴας, Ἀλόπη, Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀχιλλεὺς, Μήδεια, Οἰδίπους, Ὀρέστης, Σεμέλη, and Τυρώ.[8] Dearden writes: 'It is not known whether all, or indeed any, of these were actually produced in Sicily, but at least one fragment deals with Demeter's search for her lost daughter and ties it to the fields of Aetna, suggesting that he had an eye to a local audience'.[9] Also a tragedian by the name of Antiphon spent some time in Sicily where he was put to death by Dionysius I because he had criticized either his tyranny or his tragedies.[10] In my opinion, it is perfectly probable that some of the tragedies of Antiphon were produced in Syracuse (the only known titles are Ἀνδρομάχη, Ἰάσων, and Μελέαγρος).[11]

Plutarch mentions that Mamercus, the tyrant of Aetna around 340 BC (who was crucified in Syracuse by the order of Timoleon), also saw himself as a great writer of poems and tragedies (Plut. *Vit*. *Tim*. 31.1: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος, ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγῳδίας μέγα φρονῶν). If Mamercus did write any tragedies, I see no reason why he would not have had his tragedies also performed at Aetna. Unfortunately, no titles of Mamercus' tragedies are known.

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[3] See *TrGF* I, 69–79, F 1–24.
[4] See P. 135 (with n. 76) for my comments on his *Alcmena*.
[5] Diod. Sic. 14.78.6. The city was named after the Tyndaridae, a Messenian version of the Dioscuri.
[6] See *TrGF* I, 242–246, F 1–3a. For some discussion on the nature of Dionysius' literary work, see Sanders 1987, 31, n. 7.
[7] For Carcinus II's visits to Sicily, see Diod. Sic. 5.5.1; and Diog. Laert. 2.63. The *Suda* article on Carcinus (κ 394 = *TrGF* I, 210, T 1) claims that there was also a Carcinus of Acragas who was a tragic poet, but this probably means that the Athenian Carcinus II at some point of his life received the citizenship of Acragas, see e.g. 'Carcinus', in Brill's New Pauly, Brill Online, <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/carcinus-e609190>.
[8] See *TrGF* I, 210–215, F 1–11. All in all, Carcinus II is said to have written as many as 160 plays, and achieved 11 victories at the Dionysia, with the first victory before 372 BC. Perhaps it is worth noting here that both the father of Carcinus II, Xenocles I, and his grandfather, Carcinus I, were tragic poets. For Xenocles I, see *TrGF* I, 151–153. For Carcinus I, see *TrGF* I, 128–131.
[9] Dearden 1990, 239. The fragment to which Dearden refers is *TrGF* I, 213–214, F 5.
[10] See *TrGF* I, 193–194, T 2–6.
[11] See *TrGF* I, 194–196, F 1–6.

Some painters and their vases

When discussing the South Italian, tragedy related vases some painters come up again and again. The (Apulian) Darius Painter painted as many as fifty-seven of the vases listed in Appendix II. His vases have been related to the following tragedies (I exclude the vases that are attributed to the circle of the Darius Painter): *Adonis* (by Dionysius I), *Aetnaeae* (by Aeschylus), *Ajax* (by Sophocles), *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles), *Alcmaeon in Psophis/Corinth* (by Euripides), *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Andromeda* (by Sophocles or Euripides), *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamas), *Antiope* (by Euripides), *Bacchae* (by Euripides), *Chrysippus* (by Euripides), *Creousa* (by Sophocles) or *Ion* (by Euripides), *Cretes* (by Euripides), *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Meleager* (by Euripides), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), *Medea* (by Euripides or an anonymous author), *Niobe* (by Aeschylus), *Niobe* (by an anonymous author), *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles or Euripides), *Persae* (by an anonymous author), *Phoenix* (by Euripides), *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides), *Protesilaus* (by Euripides), *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author), *Stheneboea* (by Euripides), *Thyestes in Sicyon* (by Sophocles), *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus), and ten vases are related to unknown tragedies.

We see that quite a number of the above-mentioned tragedies, to which the Darius Painter's vases have been related, are plays that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. I suggest that the Darius Painter must have witnessed numerous performances of tragedies. This is not a new suggestion, since already in 1983 Trendall and Cambitoglou wrote about the Darius Painter in the following way (underlining is my own):

> It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that some of his vases on which are depicted myths that provided the themes of various Greek tragedies may not also have drawn their inspiration from a performance of the actual drama, especially as the characters usually wear the elaborate costumes associated with the stage. They give us not so much a direct representation of a scene from the play – in which we might expect the actual stage to be shown and the figures to be masked – as the painter's visual impression of the drama as a whole, with the principal characters, those deities who may be involved, directly or indirectly, and perhaps even the speakers of the epilogue, which brought the play to a conclusion and often foretold the future developments.[12]

A curious thing (which I cannot explain, maybe it is just a coincidence) about the Darius Painter is that, although well over 100 vases in Appendix II are related either to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* or to his *Eumenides* (both of which were almost certainly performed in Magna Graecia in the fourth century BC), none of the Darius Painter's vases has been related to either of these two tragedies.

In addition to the Darius Painter, at least the Paestan Painter Asteas, the Sicilian Dirce Painter, the Apulian Ilioupersis Painter, the Campanian Ixion Painter, the Apulian Lycurgus Painter, and the Apulian Tarporley Painter must have witnessed actual dramatic performances. If someone were to claim that, for example, Asteas or the Tarporley

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[12] *RVAp* Suppl 2.1, 145.

Painter never witnessed any actual performances of tragedies (in Sicily and in Tarentum respectively), he or she would need a very strong argument in order to convince me.[13] Worth mentioning is also the fact that quite a number of the above-mentioned artists painted comedy related vases as well (plus vases that have been related to satyr plays and vases that depict actors' masks).[14]

Asteas' vases (either signed by him, or attributed to him by scholars) that are included in Appendix II have been related to the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, *Europa/Cares*; Euripides' *Phrixus A/B*, *Stheneboea*, and *Telephus*; and to a *Hercules furens* (by an anonymous author). The Dirce Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*; Euripides' *Antiope* and *Philoctetes*, and to *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author). The Ilioupersis Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Europa*/*Cares*, Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* and *Thyestes* (*I*/*II*), and to Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Dictys*, *Medea*, and *IT*. The Ixion Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Psychostasia*; Euripides' *Hippolytus*, *IT*, *Ixion*, *Medea*, *Oeneus* (or Sophocles' *Electra* or *Thyestes* I or II), *Phoenissae*, and *Telephus*; and to Euripides' or Sophocles' *Andromeda* and *Oenomaus*. The Lycurgus Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Edonoe*, *Eumenides*, and *Toxotides*; Sophocles' *Trachiniae*; Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, *Ion*, *Medea*, *Meleager*; to *Oenomaus* (either by Sophocles or Euripides); *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author); and to an unknown tragedy. The Tarporley Painter's vases have been related to the *Choephoroe* and to the *Eumenides* (both by Aeschylus).

Again we see that a number of the tragedies, to which the above-mentioned painters' vases have been related, have already been discussed in this study as tragedies that were either very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. I suggest that almost all 'mythological vases' by the above-mentioned painters may actually be 'tragedy related vases', and therefore indirect evidence for the performances of tragedies in Magna Graecia.

There are a few more vases by some of the above-mentioned painters (plus some vases by other painters), which have not yet been discussed in this study (VV 586−619 in App. I). I suggest that all these vases are in some way reflecting performances of unknown tragedies, but because so many tragedies have been lost, we simply are not able to interpret these vases. Trendall, when discussing briefly the South Italian tragedy related vases, suggests: 'many do not correspond at all closely with extant dramas and may well reflect 4th-century-BC plays by writers like Astydamas'.[15] Trendall's suggestion sounds reasonable. Numerous South Italian vases with mythological scenes may actually be related to performances of lost tragedies (written by fourth-century-BC authors).[16]

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[13] For my discussion on Asteas, see P. 49−50, and for my discussion on the Tarporley Painter, see P. 161.

[14] For some comedy related vases (and vases depicting masks of actors) by the Tarporley Painter, see Pl. IX.1 and Pl. XII.2. For the comedy related vases by Asteas, see Figs. 4, 9, 18, and Pl. III.1. For two kalyx-kraters by the Darius Painter that both depict a comic mask (with Dionysus, satyrs, and maenads), see Green 1995, pl. 6a−b, and 6c. There is also a dinos (Taranto 8925, from Canosa, *RVAp*, 506, no. 106, pl. 182, 6), and a small fragment (Geneva, Jacques Chamay coll., *RVAp*, 506, no. 107, pl. 181, 6; Aellen Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 171−171) by the Darius Painter that both depict female masks. For a comic vase by the Dirce Painter, see Green 2012, 319, no. 46 (calyx-krater, Madrid 11026). I suggest that a volute-krater by the Lycurgus Painter, depicting Boreas and Oreithyia in company of a papposilenos (*RVSIS*, no. 149) may be related to an unknown satyr play.

[15] Trendall 1990a, 228.

Provenances of the vases, and possible venues for the performance of tragedy in Sicily and Magna Graecia

The five main fabrics of Italiot red-figured vases are Apulian (over 10,000 vases altogether), Campanian (4,000), Paestan (2,000), Lucanian (1,500), and Sicilian (over 1,000 vases) fabrics.[17] There were workshops for producing the Apulian vases in Tarentum (where the Tarporley Painter worked) and possibly also in Canosa (where the Darius Painter may have worked for a while), and the Lucanian vases were manufactured in Metapontum and probably also in Heraclea (modern Policoro).[18] The Campanian vases were produced in the workshops located in Capua (where, for example, the Ixion Painter worked) and in Cumae; the Paestan painters (such as Asteas and Python) worked in Paestum, and in Sicily vases were produced in Syracuse (where the Dirce Painter worked) and around Mt. Etna (possibly at Centuripe); there was also a workshop on Lipari.[19]

When discussing the fabrics and provenances of the South Italian red-figured vases, it is good to keep in mind that the pioneers of the Apulian and the Lucanian schools probably either came from Athens or were trained there,[20] and that some Paestan and Campanian painters had emigrated from Sicily.[21] In addition, some individual painters may have worked in two or even three separate workshops or areas during their career; for example, the Lucanian Sydney Painter, the Campanian Laghetto Painter, and the Campanian Caivano Painter worked for a while at Paestum;[22] the Lucanian Dolon Painter worked in Tarentum with the Tarporley Painter.[23] The Darius Painter worked at Tarentum and perhaps also, at least for a period of time, in Canosa;[24] the Apulian Patera Painter may

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[16] Some estimations of the number of lost tragedies were given in the Introduction, P. 8. E.g. a loutrophoros by the Darius Painter depicting Leukon and Amphithea (Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamay 1986, 124−135) may be related to a lost tragedy about which we know nothing.

[17] See e.g. *RVSIS*, 7; Todisco 2003, 100ff; and Taplin 2007a, 15−20.

[18] See MacDonald 1981, 159−160; *RVAp* I, xlvii; *RVSIS*, 17; and Trendall 1990a, 217−218. For a good discussion on Apulian vases (workshops, provenances, imagery), see Carpenter 2009, 27−38, who writes (on. p. 30): 'For more than half a century, most scholars have assumed that Apulian vases were produced in Taranto; however, there is still no solid archaeological evidence supporting this assumption'.

[19] See MacDonald 1981, 161; and *RVSIS*, 157, 196; 239−240.

[20] See MacDonald 1981, 160 (for some references); and *RVSIS*, 17: 'At first such vases are so closely modelled upon Attic prototypes that it seems likely that the artists responsible for them had either been trained in Athens or were immigrants from that city, seeking other outlets for their skills.'

[21] Asteas moved from Sicily to Paestum around 360 BC, see *RVPa*, 18, 55, and 62. The Chequer Painter probably moved from Sicily to Campania, see Padgett *et al*. 1992, 187–188.

[22] *RVPa*, 19: '[the] Sydney Painter may have worked for a time in Paestum ... it may well be the case that some Campanian vase-painters actually worked for a time in Paestum.' *RVSIS*, 59: '[the] Sydney Painter, who seems originally to have been of provincial Lucanian of origin ... Later on he may have moved to Paestum, since several of his vases, both in red-figure and in applied red have been found at that site.' *RVSIS*, 160: 'Several vases by the Laghetto and Caivano Painters have been found at Paestum − but it now seems better to regard them as Campanians (cf. the use of the bail-amphora), but not to exlude the possibility that either or both might have worked at Paestum for a time'.

[23] *RVSIS*, 55: 'We should also note their extremely close connection with some of the contemporary Apulian vase-painters of the "Plain" style, escpecially the Tarporley Painter, and his school. This is particularly clear in certain vases by the Dolon Painter, and it looks as if for a time he might actually have worked along with the Tarporley Painter, one of whose vases was found near Metaponto'. *RVSIS* 57: 'and the fact that no fragments of vases from this period were found at Metaponto might indicate that he was at that time actually employed in the Tarporley workshop in Taranto'.

[24] See *RVAp* II, 483−484.

have worked in Tarentum, Ruvo and Canosa.[25] Some originally Apulian painters also settled in Paestum.[26]

The South Italian red-figured vases were not made for export, i.e. they were 'local pots for local people'.[27] The top-ten find-spots of the South Italian, tragedy related vases listed in App. I are: Ruvo, 56 vases; Taranto, 19 vases; Canosa, 18 vases; Paestum, 14 vases; Capua, 12 vases; Lipari, 9 vases; Policoro, 8 vases; Anzi; 7 vases; Ceglie, 7 vases, and Nola, 7 vases.[28]

Let us now, one more time, put things on the map. We may start by combining our information about the Greek theatres in Sicily and Magna Graecia (see Fig. 21) with our information about the locations of the workshops for the production of the vases and the top-ten find-spots of the tragedy related vases. We may also add on the same map our information about the actors and authors of tragedies and comedies who either were from Sicily or Magna Graecia, or visited Sicily/died there (see P. 123−124). As a result we get the following map (see Pl. XVII.1).

I suggest that several Attic tragedies that were first produced in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC (in premieres or in revivals) were performed also in Sicily and in Magna Graecia in the fourth century BC, most probably at least in Syracuse, Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, Thurii, and Lipari. Other cities, which may have hosted dramatic performances, are Aetna, Gela, and Acragas in Sicily, and Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy. I base my suggestion of the following evidence.

Syracuse: several tragic and comic authors either were from Syracuse or visited the city. There was already a theatre in Syracuse in the fifth century BC and some vases that definitely reflect actual dramatic performances were manufactured there.

Tarentum: The famous vase fragment depicting a tragic actor with his mask (see Fig. 12) is even alone sufficient evidence to prove that tragedies were certainly performed at Tarentum around the mid-fourth century BC. Several tragedy related vases were manufactured in Tarentum and several vases have also been found at the site. Vases that have been found at Taranto have been related to the following tragedies: *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides) 2 vases, *Bassarae* (by Aeschylus) 2 vases, *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), *Lacaenae* (by Sophocles), *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides) 2 vases, *Phryges*/*Hectoros lutra* (by Aeschylus), *Stheneboea* (by Euripides), *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus) 2 vases, unknown tragedies (by Anon.) 3 vases. Although no remains of a Greek theatre have been found in Taranto, there is literary evidence that there was a theatre in the city in the third century BC (Cass. Dio 9.39.5 tells us that the Tarentines were celebrating a Dionysia at their theatre one afternoon in 272

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[25] *RVSIS*, 94. See also Todisco 2012, 270 (with notes 174−177), for references and comments about some other painters.

[26] See Wonder 2002, 50.

[27] As it is expressed in Walsh 2009, 267. See also Trendall 1990a, 219: 'South Italian vases are seldom found far from the area in which they were manufactured and were hardly ever exported overseas − less than 1 per cent of the extant total has come to light outside Magna Graecia'; and Taplin 2007a, 15: 'Almost all of these, something like ninety-nine percent, were found in the areas of production; in other words, they were primarily made not for export but for local consumption'.

[28] The provenance is known, or presumed, in 283 cases out of 619 vases listed in App. I. Carpenter reminds us of the fact that Trendall's inclusion of provenance for vases in *RVAp* could sometimes be haphazard and a recorded provenance can be found for many of the vases listed in his catalogues without one.

BC and were sitting there satiated with wine when they saw that a Roman admiral by the name of Lucius Valerius was sailing towards their city). Also worth mentioning is that Rhinton and Livius Andronicus were from Tarentum (and Ennius was educated there).[29]

Metapontum: there is a fourth-century-BC theatre at Metapontum and the workshops of the Pisticci Painter, the Amycus Painter, the Creusa Painter, and the Dolon Painter were located there. The famous tragic actor Aristodemus was from Metapontum.

Heraclea: several surely tragedy related vases have been found in Policoro (ancient Heraclea).[30] At least the Policoro Painter, whose vases have been related to, for example, Euripides' *Medea* (V 391 in App. I), may have also worked there. The Policoro vases have been connected to the following tragedies: *Antiope* (by Euripides), *Danaedes* (by Aeschylus), *Erectheus* (by Euripides), *Eriphyle* (by Anon.), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Medea* (by Euripides), and *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides).

Thurii: a fourth-century tragedian called Patrocles and a contemporary comedian Alexis, as well as the tragic actor Archias, were all from Thurii. There is a nearby fourth-century theatre in modern Castiglione di Paludi. Also worth noting is that the river Crathis which runs through the city is mentioned in the only secure case of the phenomenon of localization (Eur. *Tro*. 220−229, see P. 52−53).

Lipari: Lipari is among the top-ten find-spots of tragedy related vases and vases were also manufactured there. In addition, several fourth-century theatrical terracotta figurines and masks have been found there.[31] The Lipari vases have been related to *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Antiope* (by Euripides) 2 vases, *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Philoctetes* (by Euripides), *Trachiniae* (by Sophocles), and to unknown tragedies (3 vases). Perhaps worth mentioning is that Euripides' *Aeolus* and Aristophanes' *Aeolosicon* where set on the island (for *Aeolus*, see App. I, P. 229).

Aetna, Gela, Acragas, Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii: there was a theatre in Aetna; Aeschylus may have produced his *Aetnaeae* there. Python (the author of the satyric *Agen*, see P. 106−107) and Mamercus were from Aetna. Aeschylus died in Gela (and there may have been dramatic performances related to his hero cult there, see P. 86) and a comic author called Apollodorus was from there. Empedocles was from Acragas and Carcinus II may have visited the city (see above). There is also a fourth-century theatre in Acragas,[32] as well as in Rhegium and in Locri Epizephyrii.

Ruvo and Canosa are by far the most frequently mentioned provenances of the vases. As many as fifty-six vases listed in Appendix I have been found at Ruvo. They have been related to the following tragedies: *Aegeus* (by Euripides); *Aegyptioe* (by Aeschylus); *Aeolus* (by Euripides); *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; *Alcmaeon in Psophis/Corinth* by Euripides; *Andromache* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles or Euripides); *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamas); *Bacchae* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Callisto* (by

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[29] See e.g. Warmington 1936, xviii.

[30] For the Policoro vases, see *RVSIS*, 22: 'one wonders whether the set from the Policoro tomb might not have been specially commissioned for someone who had a particular fondness for Euripidean drama or had possibly been himself an actor.' Taplin 2012, 230−236, discusses the vases found at Policoro in 1963, he writes (p. 236): 'The vases add up to a good case for the activity of performances of tragedy, especially of Euripides, in Heraclea before 390 BC, maybe even within Euripides' lifetime'.

[31] See Bernabo-Brea 2001; and Hughes 2012, 68−69.

[32] According to Marconi 2012, 189, table 9.1.

Aeschylus); *Chrysippus* (by Euripides); *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), 5 vases; *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus); *Heracleidae* (by Euripides); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), 2 vases; *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Iphigenia Taurica* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Lacaenae* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; *Medea* (by Euripides); *Meleager* (by Euripides); *Niobe* (by Aeschylus); *Niobe* (by Sophocles); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles or Euripides), 8 vases; *Phineus* (by Aeschylus); *Phryges/ Hectoros lutra* (by Aeschylus); *Rhesus* (by Anon.); *Stheneboea* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus); *Tereus* (by Sophocles); *Trachiniae* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; Unknown tragedy (by Anon.), 4 vases.

The vases found at Canosa have been related to the following tragedies: *Adonis* (by Dionysius); *Aeolus* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides), 2 vases; *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus); *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus); *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Hector* (by Astydamas); *Heracleidae* (by Euripides); *Medea* (by Anon.); *Meleager* (by Euripides); *Niobe* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; *Oedipus Tyrannus* (by Sophocles); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Persae* (by Anon.); *Rhesus* (by Anon.); *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus).

Quite a number of tragedy related vases have been found at Ceglie. They have been connected with *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (by Chaeremon), *Aetnaeae* (by Aeschylus), *Andromache* (by Euripides), *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamas), *Chrysippus* (by Euripides), *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Melanippos/Merops* (by Anon.), and *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus).

No remains of Greek theatres have been found at Ruvo, Canosa, and Ceglie, and (at least the majority of) people living at those sites in the fourth century BC were not native speakers of the Greek language.[33] The question of whether tragedies written in Greek were performed at the indigenous sites of Daunia and Peucetia has recently been discussed by Taplin and by Todisco. Taplin suggests that at least some people from Ruvo and Canosa knew Greek and that they may have witnessed theatre performances by visiting the regional Greek cities or by having hosted travelling players for themselves; Todisco, on the other hand, suggests that the painters of the mythological vases explained the details of the vases to the purchasers.[34] In my opinion, the huge number of tragedy related vases found at Ruvo and Canosa clearly suggests that at least some people living at these sites must have been familiar with the stories behind the paintings and, I believe that they most probably knew the stories illustrated in the vase paintings by having witnessed dramatic performances (either in their own home towns or in the Greek cities).[35] Even if the residents of Canosa and Ruvo never actually saw any theatre performances, quite a lot of the vases found at these sites can still be used as evidence for dramatic performances in Magna Graecia, since the vases were painted by artists who had worked at Tarentum and Metapontum, where tragedies definitely were staged.

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[33] In comparison, it may be noted that in Sicily, five out of twelve Greek theatres are located in the area of Punic eparchy (as Vassallo 2012, 224, mentions).

[34] Taplin 2012, 250; Todisco 2012, 270−271.

[35] Perhaps worth mentioning here is that the famous 'Noraretteblo' vase (see P. 50 and Pl. IX.1) was found in Ruvo. Carpenter 2009, 34, who notes that a stage appears on six of the eight kraters (depicting comic actors) found at Italic sites suggests that: 'If comedies were performed at Ruvo and Bari and Bitonto, tragedies, too, may have been produced there − a possibility that needs to be seriously considered'.

As regards the Campanian and Paestan vases, it can be noted here that vases found in Capua have been related to: *Alcmena* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), 4 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides); *Iphigenia Taurica* (by Euripides); *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Stheneboea* (by Euripides); and to an unknown tragedy (by Anon.). Vases found at Cumae have been related to: *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Medea* (by Euripides); and *Telephus* (by Euripides). Vases found at Paestum have been related to *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; *Hercules furens* (by Anon.); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides); *Oeneus* (by Euripides); *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides); *Supplices* (by Aeschylus); *Telephus* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; and to an unknown tragedy. As already mentioned, at least some of the Campanian and Paestan vases may actually reflect (re)performances of tragedies in Sicily (since some Campanian and Paestan painters were emigrants from Sicily).

It is worth noting here that there are some sites and areas that have not yet been studied at all (or they are only mentioned briefly in some studies), such as Olbia and some other Black Sea sites.[36]

Date of the spread of tragedy performances outside Athens

In addition to the probable performances of tragedies in Syracuse, Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, Thurii, and Lipari, we now know that tragedies were also performed in the fourth century BC in at least nine demes of Attica (Anagyrus, Collytus, Eleusis, Halae Aexonides, Icarium, Paeania, Piraeus, and Thoricus, as well as in Salamis, see P. 91−98), and in Pherae, Dion/Aegae, Tyre, and Abdera (see P. 18−19, 101−105, 119−120). It seems that dramatic performances spread first into the demes of Attica (excluding Aeschylus' visits to Sicily) and then to Magna Graecia and to Macedonia. When looking at Table 4, together with Figs. 21−23, it seems pretty safe to say that theatre had spread all over the Greek world by 350 BC.[37] Slightly before 350 BC, Dionysius I won the competition at Lenaea with his *Hectoros lutra* (in 367 BC, see App. I, P. 245); Jason of Pherae (who ruled in 369−358 BC) burst into tears in the theatre (see P. 18−19); tragedians Carcinus II and Antiphon visited Sicily (see P. 200); Theodectes visited Halicarnassus (in 353/2 BC, see P. 117−118). It cannot just be a coincidence that several famous tragic actors, such as Aeschines, Athenodorus, Neoptolemus, Theodorus, and Thettalus, were active around 350 BC and that the majority of the South Italian tragedy related vases are dated to around 350 BC, or slightly later (e.g. the Darius Painter's vases are usually dated to 340−330 BC).

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[36] Taplin pointed this question out in his preliminary examination report of this dissertation and referred to his own article (Taplin 2012, 216, n. 1), in which Olbia and Phanagoria are mentioned as examples of sites from which some theatre-related vases have been found (and in which articles by Burn 2010 and Csapo 2010b are referred to). Csapo 2010b, 97−98, fig. 7.10, briefly discusses a fragment of an Attic Bell-krater from Olbia, Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences, 430/420 BC, which probably illustrates tragedy in performance (see also P. 48, n. 148). Burn 2010, 16 (fig. 3.5), mentions a fragmentary krater found at Baksy near Kerch when discussing vases attributed to the Pronomos Painter or his circle. There may also have been a Greek theatre in Olbia (and in some other sites around the Black sea), see Fig. 31, P. 115.

[37] Csapo 2010a, 103, counts (by 340 BC): 'twenty-three festivals offering dramatic performances in the Greek world and as many as fifty-five for which the evidence survives to show a strong likelihood of drama'.

So it is quite certain that tragedies were performed all over the Greek world in 350 BC, but the spread of theatre (and Attic drama)[38] must, of course, have begun some decades earlier. Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia probably around 408–407 BC and several vases imply that some tragedies (e.g. Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Niobe*; Sophocles' *Ajax locrus*; and Euripides' *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Medea*, and *Telephus*) were very probably performed in the Greek west already at the transition from the fifth to the fourth century BC, and (according to Polyaneus) actors Callippides and Nicostratus were performing (something in a theatre) in the area of Aeolis in 399 BC (see P. 116–117). So, I suggest that maybe we can place the date that the spread of theatre (on a wider scale) began at around 400 BC. Strictly speaking, the spread was initiated with Aeschylus' first visit to Sicily in *c*.470 BC, but the process must have taken place gradually.

Myth cycles and themes of tragedies that were performed outside Athens

If we accept that Attic (and local) tragedies were (re)performed in Magna Graecia and in Sicily throughout the fourth (and in some cases already in the fifth) century BC, several further questions arise. What kind of tragedies did the audiences in Magna Graecia (and also elsewhere, such as in Macedonia) see? What kind of stories were in favour, and from which myth cycles were the plots of the tragedies drawn? What kinds of arrangements were required for the staging of the plays?

When we take into account the three tragedies – Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* and *Persae*, and Euripides' *Archelaus* – that were certainly performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter III), the twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter IV), and the thirty-five tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well (listed in App. I), we can tentatively form some statistics about the themes, myth cycles, and staging of the plays, and about the popularity of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides as compared to the fourth-century-BC tragedians.

I use here the same division of the myth cycles that Radt uses for the plays of Sophocles.[39] The myth cycles are abbreviated in the following way: Argon. = Argonauts; Att. = Attic myth cycle; Dion. = Dionysus; Her. = Heracles; Min. = Minos; Per. = Perseus; Tant. = Tantalidae; Tel. = Telephus; Theb. = Theban myth cycle; Tro. = Trojan myth cycle; Unc. = Unclear; and Var. = *Varia*.

The myth cycles of the tragedies that actually or very probably were performed outside Athens may briefly be listed as follows: *Aetnaeae* (Var.); *Archelaus* (Var.); *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (Tro.); *Ajax Locrus* (Tro.); *Alcestis* (Her.); *Alcmena* (Her.); *Andromeda* (Per.); *Antigone* (Theb.); *Antiope* (Theb.); *Bacchae* (Dion.); *Choephoroe* (Tro.); *Eumenides* (Tro.); *Hecuba* (Tro.); *Hercules furens* (Her.); *Hippolytus* (Att.); *Iphigenia Taurica* (Tro.); *Medea* (Argon.); *Niobe* (Tant.); *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Theb.); *Oenomaus*

[38] Attic drama did not appear in a vacuum. Obviously there must have existed some other (local) forms of performance in many places where Attic drama was exported (ritual drama, local comedy, dance, etc.).
[39] Radt 1991, 81–105.

(Tant.); *Orestes* (Tro.); *Persae* (Att.); *Stheneboea* (Var.); *Telephus* (Tel./Tro.); *Thyestes in Sicyon* (Tant.).[40]

The myth cycles of the tragedies which were probably or possibly performed outside Athens may be listed as follows: *Aegeus* (Att.); *Aeolus* (Var.); *Ajax* (Tro.); *Andromache* (Tro.); *Bassarae* (Dion.); *Callisto* (Var.); *Chrysippus* (Tant.); *Cresphontes* (Var.); *Cretes* (Min.); *Dictys* (Per.); *Edonoe* (Dion.); *Europa/Cares* (Tro.); *Eriphyle* (Theb.); *Heracleidae* (Att.); *Hypsipyle* (Theb.); *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (Tro.); *Ixion* (Var.); *Lacaenae* (Tro.); *Melanippe Sophe* (Var.); *Meleager* (Var.); *Oedipus Coloneus* (Att.); *Oeneus* (Var.); *Parthenopaeus* (Theb.); *Philoctetes* (Tro.); *Phineus* (Argon.); *Phoenissae* (Theb.); *Phoenix* (Var.); *Phrixus A*/*B* (Var.); *Phryges/Hectoros lutra* (Tro.); *Prometheus Lyomenos* (Var.); *Rhesus* (Tro.); *Theseus* (Att.); *Tereus* (Att.); *Toxotides* (Var.); *Troades* (Tro.).

All in all, as many as seventeen tragedies (out of the 3 + 22 + 35 = 60 tragedies) belong to the Trojan myth cycle (this figure includes Aesch. *Cho*. and *Eum*., and Eur. *IA*, *IT*, and *Or*., although Agamemnon and his children are also descendants of Tantalus via Atreus; Euripides' *Telephus* is also included in this figure), and fourteen tragedies belong to the category of *Varia*. The Theban myth cycle, and the Attic myth cycle both include seven tragedies (Aesch. *Pers*., and Eur. *Heracl*. are counted among the Attic myths). The figures for the rest of the myth cycles are as follows: Tantalidae, four tragedies; Dionysus, three; Heracles, three; Perseus, two; Argonautae, two; and Minos, one tragedy.

Bremer has studied the use of the different myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. His table is worth reproducing here:

Table 5. Use of myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (after Bremer 1991, 57).

	Aeschylus	Sophocles	Euripides	A + S + E
Trojan myth	21	45	16	83
Theban myth	7	6	7	20
Attic myth	6	10	11	27
Other myths	46	61	44	150
Sum total	80	122	78	280

We see that the Trojan myth cycle was by far the most favoured one, and that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides did not specifically favour Attic myths in their tragedies (only about ten per cent of their tragedies were based on Attic myths). We can next compare the figures counted by Bremer with the figures counted in this study:

[40] The satyric *Agen* by Python (see P. 106−107) and the *Mausolus* by Theodectes (see P. 117−118), although they were performed outside Athens, are not taken into account here.

Table 6. Use of myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and in the tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

	A + S + E all plays	tragedies performed outside Athens
Trojan myth cycle	83 (29.7%)	17 (28.3%)
Theban myth cycle	20 (7.1%)	7 (12.3%)
Attic myth cycle	27 (9.6%)	7 (12.3%)
Tantalidae		4
Dionysus		3
Heracles		3
Perseus		2
Argonauts		2
Minos		1
Varia	150 (53.6%)	14
Sum total	280	60

We can see that the figures are approximately the same. The trend of favouring the Trojan myth cycle occurred already in Athens in the fifth century BC and my study shows that tragedies which were based on myths connected with the Trojan myth cycle were still in fashion in the fourth century BC, also outside Athens.

Almost all the most important Homeric heroes had a cult/cults in Magna Graecia. The cults in Tarentum of the Atreidae, Tydeidae, Aeacidae, Laertidae, Agamemnonidae, and of Achilles are recorded in the Aristotelian corpus:

> Ἐν Τάραντι ἐναγίζειν κατά τινας χρόνους φασὶν Ἀτρείδαις καὶ Τυδείδαις καὶ Αἰακίδαις καὶ Λαερτιάδαις, καὶ Ἀγαμεμνονίδαις δὲ χωρὶς θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἰδίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ νόμιμον εἶναι ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ γεύσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνοις θυομένων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλέως νεὼς παρ' αὐτοῖς.
> ([Arist.] *Mir. ausc*. 840a6−11)

A little bit further along in the same text ([Arist.] *Mir. ausc*. 840a15−16), it is mentioned that Philoctetes was worshipped in Sybaris (i.e. Thurii). The lesser Ajax, son of Oeleus, had a cult in Locri Epizephyrii, and Diomedes was the chief hero of Metapontum.[41] So it is not hard to imagine that the people living in the Greek cities of Magna Graecia would have liked to see tragedies in which the above-mentioned epic heroes appeared.[42]

[41] See Farnell 1921, 290, 293, 340−341.

[42] Regarding other heroes/demigods that were popular in Magna Graecia and Sicily, it must be mentioned that the Dioscuri were worshipped in the Dorian colonies, Acragas, Syracuse, Selinus, and Tyndaris, and also in Locri Epizephyrii and Tarentum, and there is evidence for a cult of Heracles at least in Agyrium, Camarina, Gela, Heraclea, Heraclea Minoa, and Rhegium, see Farnell 1921, 132−139, 222.

Regarding the themes of the plays, the following list is not meant to be an exhaustive one. I just want to bring up and point out some themes that seem to have been much favoured in the tragedies that were performed outside Athens. The classification is my own, although some definitions are either drawn from, or at least inspired by the studies of Lattimore, Burnett, and Belfiore.[43]

Family strife (violent acts, actual or threatened, against a blood relative or a relative through marriage) occurs in almost every tragedy: Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (mother vs son, mother vs daughter, matricide); Sophocles' and Euripides' *Oenomaus* (father vs suitor of his daughter); *Tereus* (husband vs wife, mother vs son, infanticide, cannibalism); Euripides' *Aegeus* (stepmother vs son); *Aeolus* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Alcmena* (husband vs wife); *Andromache* (wife vs concubine); *Antiope* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Hercules furens* (husband vs wife, father vs children, infanticide); *Hippolytus* (stepmother vs son, father vs son); *Medea* (wife vs husband, mother vs children, wife vs new wife, infanticide); *Melanippe sophe* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Meleager* (mother vs son); *Oeneus* (brother vs brother); *Phoenissae* (brother vs brother, fratricide); *Phoenix* (stepmother vs son, father vs son); *Eriphyle* by an anonymous author (husband vs wife).

There is sexual violence, perversion, or abstaining from sex in the following tragedies: Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (incest), *Tereus* (rape), *Thyestes in Sicyon* (rape, incest); Euripides' *Aeolus* (incest), *Chrysippus* (pederasty), *Cretes* (bestiality), *Hippolytus* (abstaining).

Sacrifice and self-sacrifice (intended or actual), suicide and self-harm occur in the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Thressae* (suicide); Sophocles' *Ajax* (suicide); *Antigone* (suicide); *Oedipus Tyrannus* (suicide, self-blinding); Euripides' *Aeolus* (suicide); *Andromeda* (sacrifice); *Chrysippus* (suicide?); *Hecabe* (sacrifice); *Heracleidae* (suicide); *Hippolytus* (suicide); *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (sacrifice); *Phoenissae* (suicide).

Human vengeance and divine punishment are among the themes of the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Callisto*, *Choephoroe*, *Edonoe*, *Niobe*, *Prometheus Lyomenos*; and *Toxotides*; Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon*, and *Tereus*; and Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Cresphontes*, *Cretes*, *Hippolytus*, *Hercules furens*, *Ixion*, *Medea*, and *Orestes*.

Patterns of return and/or rescue (or escape) can be seen in the plots of the following tragedies: Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Cresphontes*, *Dictys*, *Hypsipyle*, *Hercules furens*, and *Iphigenia Taurica*.

Suppliancy, philoxenia, and honouring the dead are among the central themes of the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Phryges/Hectoros lutra*; Sophocles' *Antigone*, and *Oedipus Coloneus*; Euripides' *Andromache*, and *Heracleidae*; and Chaeremon's *Achilleus Thersitoctonus*.

After this short list it should be noted that the themes of tragedies that were performed outside Athens do not seem to differ from the themes of those that were performed in Athens.

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[43] Lattimore 1965; Burnett 1971; Burnett 1998; Belfiore 2000.

Use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in the exported tragedies

Antiphanes (who lived *c*.408/5−*c*.324/1 BC) claims in his comedy entitled *Poesis* that the tragedians turn to the use of the *mechane* when they have nothing more to say:

> ἔπειθ' ὅταν μηδὲν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,
> κομιδῇ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
> αἴρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
> καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει
> (*PCG* II, 418, F 189.13−16)

To many other fourth-century-BC authors it was clear that the epiphanies of the intervening gods at the ends of tragedies were staged with the use of the *mechane*.[44] Aristophanes' comedies (*Ach*. 427f, *Pax* 79−178, *Av*. 1196, *Thesm*. 1090−1134) are secure evidence for the use of the *mechane* in Athens in the late fifth century BC (giving a *terminus ante quem* of 425 BC), and announcements expose its use in some of the tragedies by Euripides (*Andr*. 1226−1230, *El*. 1222−1235, *HF*. 815−873, *Ion* 1549−1552, *Rhes*. 886−889), but the device was probably never used by Aeschylus.[45]

Same facts apply also to the use of the *ekkyklema*. Aristophanes' comedies (*Ach*. 407−479, *Pax* 287ff, *Thesm*. 95−265) prove that the device was in use in Athens in the late fifth century BC and provide a *terminus ante quem* of 425 BC, its use is announced in some tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides (Soph. *Aj*. 344, Soph. *El*. 1453ff; Eur. *Hipp*. 808, and Eur. *HF* 1028ff), but it was probably not yet invented in Aeschylus' lifetime.[46]

Keeping in mind that scholars have suggested the use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in every possible scene, even in scenes which could as well have been staged without these devices, we may calculate some statistics about the staging of tragedies that were performed outside Athens. All in all, the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* (as well as chariots, the so-called 'Charon's steps', and a thunder machine) may have been used in the staging of the following tragedies. (I have divided the list into categories based on the probability of the play having been performed outside Athens.)[47]

Known performances outside Athens: Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* (*mechane*, Charon's steps?), Euripides' *Archelaus* (*mechane*), Aeschylus' *Persae* (chariot, Charon's steps?).

Tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens: Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (*mechane*?), Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Alcestis* (*ekkyklema*?), Euripides' *Alcmena* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Andromeda* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*), Sophocles' *Antigone* (*ekkyklema*), Astydamas' *Antigone*

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[44] See e.g. Pl. *Cra*. 425d; and Arist. *Poet*. 1454a36−b5. For more references, see Taplin 1977, 444, n. 5; Mastronarde 1990, 289−290; and *CAD*, 268−270.

[45] See Taplin 1977, 443−447; and Mastronarde 1990, 268−272. Taplin claims (on p. 444) that 'the device was not, so far as we know, ever used by Aeschylus'. Mastronarde (on p. 270) believes that the *mechane* was used for Oceanus in *PV*, 'but this pushes its use back at least to the 450s only if Aeschylus is accepted as the author, so this instance is too controversial to be helpful'. For references for speculations about the use the *mechane* in Aeshylus' fragmentary plays, see Mastronarde 1990, 288−289, n. 20 (e.g. Lyssa in *Phryges*, Thetis? in *Hoplon crisis*, Thetis? in *Myrmidones*, and Artemis?, in *Toxotides*).

[46] See Taplin 1977, 442−443; and Newiger 1990, 39−42.

[47] All suggestions by individual scholars have been taken into account here. References are given in Chapters III and IV and in Appendix I in connection with the individual tragedies. See also Appendix III.

(*mechane*?), Euripides' *Antiope* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*?), Euripides' *Bacchae* (thunder machine?, *mechane*?), Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (*ekkyklema*?), Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (chariot, *mechane*?), Euripides' *Hecuba* (*mechane*?, *ekkyklema*?), Euripides' *Hercules furens* (*mechane*, *ekkyklema*), Euripides' *Hippolytus* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*?), Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Medea* (*mechane*), Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (*ekkyklema*?), Sophocles' *Oenomaus* (chariot?), Euripides' *Oenomaus* (chariot?), Euripides' *Orestes* (*ekkyklema*?, chariot, *mechane*), Euripides' *Stheneboea* (*mechane*?, *ekkyklema*?).

Tragedies which were probably or possibly performed outside Athens: Euripides' *Aeolus* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*?), Euripides' *Cretes* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Cresphontes* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*?), Sophocles' *Ajax* (*mechane*?, *ekkyklema*), Euripides' *Andromache* (*mechane*), Aeschylus' *Europa/Cares* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (chariot, *mechane*?), Euripides' *Ixion* (*ekkyklema*?), Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Meleager* (*mechane*), Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (thunder machine), Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Philoctetes* (*mechane*?), Aeschylus' *Phineus* (*mechane*?, *ekkyklema*?), Euripides' *Phrixus A*/*B* (*mechane*?), *Rhesus* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*), Sophocles' *Tereus* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Theseus* (*mechane*?), Aeschylus' *Toxotides* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Troades* (*ekkyklema*?, chariot, *mechane*?).

A quick count based on the lists above gives us the following figures: the *mechane* may have been used in the staging of thirty-six tragedies and the *ekkyklema* in the staging of eighteen tragedies. Chariots were probably used in the performances of seven tragedies and some sort of a thunder machine was used in the performances of two tragedies. The so-called 'Charon's steps' may have been used in two tragedies.

We can see that the *mechane* was an especially popular device. It may have been used in the staging of over half the tragedies that were produced outside Athens. Discussion on the use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* is also related to the question of the nature of the theatres in which tragedies were performed outside Athens. All the fine devices that were used in the staging of plays in Athens (or in Syracuse) may not have been at the disposal of the actors in temporary wooden theatres in some smaller cities. It is possible (and even probable) that the staging of the reperformances outside Athens differed from the staging of the premieres in Athens. I fully agree with Mastronarde who writes:

> If a playwright determined that a god should appear on high, he may have planned to use the crane in the Theater of Dionysus but been quite prepared to have the same words performed elsewhere with the actor simply stepping forth on the roof.[48]

Although it must be noted here that, if the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* could be constructed in Athens, I see no reason why such devices could not have been constructed, for example, in Sicily or in Macedonia.

The texts of the plays were altered for various reasons when the plays were revived. The prologues of several plays are interpolated and some actors, such as Theodorus, who

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[48] Mastronarde 1990, 253. Mastronarde (p. 259−260) discusses five possible ways of having an entrance on the roof: 1) trapdoor, 2) staircase type A (external, unconcealed), 3) staircase type B (internal, top concealed), 4) staircase type C (external, top concealed), and 5) crane.

is said to have wanted to appear in front of the spectators before any of the other actors, probably altered the prologues of the plays (see P. 56–57). It is also quite possible that the endings of the revived tragedies were in some cases altered by the actors, possibly because the fourth-century audience liked to witness the *mechane* in action. The supposed cases of the use of the *mechane* or the *ekkyklema* in the tragedies of Aeschylus may thus be related to revivals, not to the premieres.

How did the classics become classics?

When discussing the survival of tragedies, Easterling writes (underlining is my own):

> It is hardly conceivable that any complete tragedies from the early days could have survived to be transmitted to the Middle Ages and beyond through the performance tradition alone. Clearly some works acquired canonical status, and out of the thousands of new plays produced from the fifth century onwards a (fluctuating) selection became classics with a book life of their own. The popularity of particular plays must have been influenced by their familiarity in the repertoire, and the demand for the texts must have been related to the demand for revivals, but it is hard to see the transmission of whole plays continuing as it did without the interventions of scholars.[49]

Regarding the whole process of how the extant plays survived to modern times, there are some important questions that need to be asked here: how did the classics became classics? Who made the 'decision' of which plays survived and which plays were lost (the actors, the theatre audience, the reading public, the scholars/copyists)? Why are the extant plays extant?

I suggest that one reason for the survival of the extant tragedies is that they were never forgotten because they were constantly revived and reperformed in the fourth and third centuries BC. The first choice was made by the sons/grandsons/relatives of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (who revived their fathers'/grandfathers'/uncle's tragedies in Athens, see P. 80, with n. 12, and P. 85) and then by the actors (such as Theodorus, Neoptolemus, and Thettalus, who also performed outside Athens), then later, in the process of copying and commenting on the texts, by scholars (who decided which tragedies to copy and to comment on). It is obvious that the actors had to take the tastes of their audience into account when deciding what tragedies to perform, whereas the Alexandrian and the Byzantine scholars could make their choice more freely.

If the tragedies (and comedies) that were most often quoted by ancient rhetoricians, historians, lexicographers, and compilers of anthologies were quoted because they were 'classics' (as opposed to those plays becoming 'classics' because they were quoted so often), then the number of surviving fragments of individual tragedies in the texts of later authors may tell us something about the reperformances of individual tragedies. Equally, if classics became classics because they were revived and performed again and again and if the Roman tragedians chose to adapt these 'classics' over all the other tragedies at their disposal (unless, of course, the 'classics' were the only plays that were at their disposal),

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[49] Easterling 1997, 224–225.

then the titles and fragments of the Roman tragedians may also have some value for our discussion.

It cannot be merely a coincidence that almost all the extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are on my lists of tragedies that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. Admittedly, one could (rightly) argue at this point that many vases have been related to the extant plays simply because we know so much more about the extant plays than about the lost plays. So a vase depicting, let us say, Hippolytus or Medea is usually automatically connected with the corresponding Euripidean play by modern scholars. But if we take a look at Appendix III, we see that, in addition to the vases, there is plenty of other evidence as well for the supposed reperformances of the most popular plays, such as Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Medea*, and *Orestes*.

I realize the danger of circular reasoning in my argumentation here and I admit that it could be argued (again rightly) that there are naturally many more possible actors' interpolations and localizations in the texts of the extant plays, simply because we only have fragments left of the lost tragedies. But what about Aristotle, Aristophanes, other ancient authors, and the remains of the texts in papyri?

Aristotle's favourite tragedies, at least in light of the evidence that we have (see P. 69) were Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica* and *Medea*, and Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and the most parodied tragedies by Aristophanes were Aeschylus' *Myrmidones* and Euripides' *Telephus*, *Hippolytus*, *Bellerophon*, *Alcestis*, *Helena*, and *Andromeda* (see Tables 1−3). We also know that at least Euripides' *Medea*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Iphigenia Taurica* and perhaps also his *Hippolytus*, and Sophocles' *Antigone* and perhaps also his *Oedipus Coloneus* were quoted or parodied by the fourth-century-BC comedians (see P. 61).

With respect to the number of surviving papyri, the top-five tragedies are Euripides' *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Andromache*, and *Bacchae* (see P. 15−16). Again, it must be admitted that some fragmentary lines in the papyri have been identified and related to the extant tragedies simply because we have the texts that we have – lines from lost tragedies cannot be identified in the same way – and, equally, some Aristophanic parodies have been detected because we have the texts that we have – no doubt parodies of lost tragedies exist but remain undetected.

If we take a look at the column labelled 'Actors' in Appendix III, we see that the tragedies with which the fourth-century-BC actors Aeschines, Neoptolemus, Polus, and Theodorus have been connected (with any certainty) are Sophocles' *Antigone*, *Electra*, *Oenomaus*, and Euripides' *IT*, and *Phoenix*.

The same tragedies (and actors) pop up again and again when discussing the different kinds of evidence. As an example, we can take a look at the following excerpt from the text of Plutarch, who discusses the costs of organizing dramatic performances and cites a Spartan who claims that the Athenians have spent more money upon dramatic preparations than in wars against the barbarians:

> καὶ σκευὰς καὶ προσωπεῖα καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ μηχανὰς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς περιάκτους καὶ τρίποδας ἐπινικίους κομίζοντες· τραγικοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑποκριταὶ [καὶ] Νικόστρατοι καὶ Καλλιππίδαι καὶ Μηνίσκοι καὶ Θεόδωροι καὶ Πῶλοι συνίτωσαν, ὥσπερ γυναικὸς πολυτελοῦς τῆς τραγῳδίας κομμωταὶ καὶ διφροφόροι, μᾶλλον δ' ὡς ἀγαλμάτων ἐγκαυσταὶ καὶ χρυσωταὶ καὶ βαφεῖς παρακολουθοῦντες· σκευῶν δὲ καὶ προσώπων καὶ ξυστίδων ἁλουργῶν καὶ μηχανῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ χοροποιῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δυσπραγμάτευτος λαὸς καὶ χορηγία πολυτελὴς

> παρασκευαζέσθω. πρὸς ἃ Λάκων ἀνὴρ ἀποβλέψας οὐ κακῶς εἶπεν, ὡς ἁμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδιὰν καταναλίσκοντες, τουτέστι μεγάλων ἀποστόλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐφόδια καταχορηγοῦντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον. ἂν γὰρ ἐκλογισθῇ | τῶν δραμάτων ἕκαστον ὅσου κατέστη, πλέον ἀνηλωκὼς φανεῖται ὁ δῆμος εἰς Βάκχας καὶ Φοινίσσας καὶ Οἰδίποδας καὶ Ἀντιγόνην καὶ τὰ Μηδείας κακὰ καὶ Ἠλέκτρας, ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνάλωσεν.
> (Plut. *Mor*. 348e–349b)

We see that Plutarch mentions the names of some of the most famous actors (Nicostratus, Callippides, Mynniscus, Theodorus, and Polus), and takes the *Bacchae*, *Phoenissae*, *OT* (or *OC*?), *Antigone*, *Medea*, and *Electra* as examples of tragedies. Suetonius, in turn, describes the performances of the emperor Nero with the following words:

> tragoedias quoque cantauit personatus heroum deorumque, item heroidum ac dearum, personis effectis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. inter cetera cantauit Canachen parturientem, Oresten matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatum, Herculem insanum.
> (Suet. *Nero* 21.3)

The repertoire of Nero is already familiar to us; the emperor sang about 'Canace in Labour' (cf. Euripides' *Aeolus*, App. I, P. 229), 'Orestes' matricide' (cf. Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*), 'The Blinded Oedipus' (cf. Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*), and 'Heracles' madness' (cf. Euripides' *Hercules furens*).[50]

One may also compare the list of Seneca's extant tragedies (and his Greek models) with my lists of the plays that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens: *Hercules* (*OCD*, 97: 'based generally on the *Hercules furens* of Euripides'); *Troades* (*OCD*: 'combining the sacrificial plot-elements from Euripides' *Troades* and *Hecuba*'); *Phoenissae* (*OCD*: '[recalls] both Sophocles' *OC* and Euripides' *Phoenissae*'); *Medea* (*OCD*: 'close in action and characterization to Euripides' *Medea*'); *Phaedra* (*OCD*: 'the Euripidean myth, but with a Phaedra more shameless and more repentant than in the *Hippolytus Stephanephorus*'); *Oedipus* (*OCD*: 'close in action to Sophocles' play'); *Agamemnon* (*OCD*: 'unlike Aeschylus' play'); *Thyestes* (*OCD*: 'no known model'); *Hercules Oetaeus* (probably not written by Seneca); and *Octavia* (not written by Seneca). Once again, the same old 'classics' (Soph. *OC*, and *OT*; Eur. *HF*, *Hec*., *Med*., *Phoen*., and *Tro*.,) pop out.

What, then, about the extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to which no (or only a few) vases have been related and to which no famous actors have been connected, and the texts of which contain only a few actors' interpolations and no localizations? Euripides' *Electra* and Sophocles' *Electra* were already mentioned in Chapter IV in connection with Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (P. 155–156), and I suggest that perhaps at least Sophocles' *Electra* was possibly reperformed outside Athens. The following extant plays have not yet been discussed in this study: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, *Septem contra Thebas*, and *Supplices*; Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and *Trachiniae*; and

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[50] Webster 1967, 158–159, suggests that what Nero 'sang' must have been messenger speeches about the blinded Oedipus and mad Heracles and the prologue from Euripides' *Aeolus*.

Euripides' *Helena*, *Ion*, and *Supplices* (and his satyric *Cyclops*).[51] We may wonder whether these plays have survived because they too were repeatedly performed in the fourth and third centuries BC.

All the above-mentioned extant plays (except Euripides' *Cyclops*[52]) are included in Appendix III in order for us to be able to compare them with the tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly reperformed outside Athens. When looking at Appendix III, I cautiously suggest that possibly at least Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and *Septem contra Thebas*, Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, and Euripides' *Helena* and *Ion* may also have been revived and performed outside Athens in the fourth century BC. The text of Euripides' *Supplices* (Ἱκετίδες) may have survived purely by chance (it is among the 'alphabetical plays' of Euripides).

Popularity of Euripides

One cannot help but notice the fact that all ten of Euripides' 'chosen tragedies' (as opposed to his 'alphabetical' plays that begin with the letters E, H, I, and K, see P. 55), i.e. *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, *Troades*, and *Bacchae* are among the tragedies that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

The following two tables that draw their statistics from Plutarch's quotations and Stobaeus' extracts clearly show Euripides' superior popularity (as compared to the popularity of the other tragedians) in the centuries following the classical era.

Table 7. Plutarch's quotations from the lost tragedies (after Kannicht 1997, 70).

Minor tragedians	20
Aeschylus	34
Sophocles	72
Euripides	173

[51] For discussion on some actors' interpolations in the text of the *Agamemnon*, see Fraenkel 1950 III, app. C. (especially p. 815), and app. D (especially p. 826). For vases related to the play, see VV 28−29 in App. II. For a vase related to Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, see V 496 in App. II. For vases related to Aeschylus' *Supplices*, see VV 530−531 in App. II. For Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, see App. I, P. 242. For vases related to Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, see VV 576−581 in App. II. For actors interpolations in the text of Euripides' *Helena*, and for ancient testimonia regarding the play, see Kannicht 1969 I, 82−87. For vases related to the play, see VV 312−314 in App. II. For a list of quotations from and imitations of the text of Euripides' *Ion* (including Euripides' own plays), see Biehl 1979, app. II. For vases related to the play, see VV 534−535 in App. II. For a discussion on quotations from, paraphrases and imitation of the text of Euripides' *Supplices*, see Collard 1975 I, 39−41.

[52] I have determined satyr plays to be beyond the scope of this study, but I hope to be able to discuss the *Cyclops* and some other satyr plays as well more elaborately in the near future. There is a Lucanian kalyx-krater by the Cyclops Painter, London, BM 1947,0714.18, 415−405 BC (Huddilston 1898, 141–144, fig. 22; *MTSP*^{2}, 157; *LCS*, 27, no. 85, pl. 8,1-2; *IGD*, II, 11; *LIMC* VI, Kyklops, kyklopes 27*; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl. Polyphemos I, 24*; *RVSIS*, 19, no. 9; Allan 2001, 71, fig. 2), which is most probably related to Euripides' *Cyclops* and thus suggests that the play was reperformed in Magna Graecia almost immediately after its premiere in Athens. There might also be some Sicilian localization in the text of the play, see P. 53.

Table 8. Extracts from the tragedians, Menander, and Homer in Stobaeus (after Kannicht 1997, 70).

Critias	2
Aristarchus	2
Astydamas II	3
Dionysius I	5
Carcinus II	6
Agathon	8
Chaeremon	15
Aeschylus	30
Homer	100
Sophocles	200
Menander	310
Euripides	740

Euripides' dominance is undisputed also within the tragedies discussed in this study. If we take into account the three tragedies that were definitely performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter III), the twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter IV), and the thirty-five tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens (listed in Appendix I), we get the following figures for Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and the minor tragedians:

Table 9. Tragedies by individual tragedians that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

	Certainly	Very probably	Probably	Possibly	In total
Aeschylus	2	3	2	6	13
Sophocles		5	1	4	10
Euripides	1	14	6	14	35
Astydamas II		1			1
Chaeremon		1			1
Anon.			1	2	3
	3	24[53]	10	26[54]	63

Euripides is also proved by far the most popular tragic author after the classical era in the light of the documentary and the literary evidence.[55] There is a famous anecdote about some Athenian prisoners of war who were released from Sicily because they knew

[53] Two separate tragedies entitled *Antigone* (by Sophocles and by Astydamas II), and two tragedies entitled *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and by Euripides) are included in this figure.
[54] Two separate tragedies entitled *Philoctetes* (by Sophocles and by Euripides) are included in this figure.
[55] For a fine discussion on the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century BC, see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 28–34. Easterling 1993, 567, notes (when discussing the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century): 'It was his plays, now, which formed the main body of works in the light of which, and in reaction to which, contemporary dramatists conducted their own experiments. Would Menander's use of 'old' tragedy have been so creative if the plays had had no continuing life in performance?'

Euripides' poetry by heart,[56] and Dionysius I is said to have purchased Euripides' harp, writing tablet, and stylus from the poet's heirs after his death and dedicated them in the sanctuary of the Muses.[57] Jason of Pherae (369−358 BC), in turn, was most probably watching a Euripidean tragedy (*Troades*, *Hecuba*, or *Cresphontes*) when he suddenly burst into tears (see P. 18−19), and Euripides' tragedies were presented as old tragedies at the Dionysia of Athens in three consecutive years (see P. 13−14) in 341 (*Orestes*), 340 (*IT* or *IA*), and 339 BC (title lost). Euripides is also undisputed champion in the number of tragic papyri (*Leuven Database of Ancient Books* gives 216 occurrences for Euripides, 52 occurrences for Sophocles, 48 occurrences for Aeschylus; and *CEDOPAL, Mertens-Pack³ online Database* gives 170 occurrences for Euripides, 36 occurrences for Sophocles, and 32 occurrences for Aeschylus, see P. 15−16).

Regarding the archaeological evidence, in 1971 (*IGD*, 1), Trendall and Webster counted eighty-nine fifth-century illustrations and fifty-eight fourth-century illustrations (and a handful later) for the dramas of Aeschylus; fifty-seven fifth-century illustrations and twenty-nine fourth-century illustrations (and 7 later) for the dramas of Sophocles; and twenty-nine fifth-century illustrations, 111 fourth-century illustrations, and seventy-three third-second century illustrations (and also 73 later) for the dramas of Euripides. A quick count from Appendix II gives the following figures: 233 vases related to the tragedies of Aeschylus; 70 vases related to the tragedies of Sophocles; 269 vases related to the tragedies of Euripides; 54 vases related to the tragedies of the minor tragedians or to unknown tragedies.[58]

Lastly, we may wonder what plays a man in Abydus thought he was watching when he spent many days in theatre, in a state of madness, watching some imaginary actors acting, and afterwards said that he had had the time of his life (supposedly in the late fourth century BC, when the following text was written):

> Λέγεται δέ τινα ἐν Ἀβύδῳ παρακόψαντα τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας θεωρεῖν, ὡς ὑποκρινομένων τινῶν, καὶ ἐπισημαίνεσθαι· καὶ ὡς κατέστη τῆς παρακοπῆς, ἔφησεν ἐκεῖνον αὑτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἥδιστα βεβιῶσθαι.[59]
> [Arist.] *Mir. Ausc.* 31 (832b17−21).

I suggest that perhaps he imagined he was watching some Euripidean tragedies, which probably included matricide, patricide, fratricide, incest, rape, and cannibalism, possibly some of the tragedies to which Aristotle refers in his *Poetics* (1453a17–22) − tragedies about Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, and Telephus.

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[56] Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 29.2−3 = *CAD*, I.9B = Kovacs 1994a, 123−124, T 92.
[57] *Vit. Eur.* 27 = *TrGF* V, T III.4 = *TrGF* I, 241, T 10.
[58] These are only rough figures, since some vases are related to two, or even three, different tragedies. I have also divided the number of the *Oenomaus* vases (29) between Sophocles (15) and Euripides (14).
[59] I spent the years 2007−2010 in Athens, working at the Finnish Institute at Athens. Mostly my work there was related to other things than to this study, but occasionally I had a chance to think about all the lost tragedies, and to sit for a while (and watch some imaginary performances) in some remote, abandoned, and long ago forgotten theatres (that were perhaps excavated some decades ago and then again forgotten). I think I can honestly say that the years 2007−2010, together with the years 2011−2013 (which I spent in Helsinki writing this dissertation) have (so far) been the best time of my life.

Fig. 58. Theatre of Megalopolis in September 2008. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
With the permission of ΛΘ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

Fig. 59. Theatre of Arcadian Orchomenus in September 2008. Photo: Vesa Vahtikari.
With the permission of ΛΘ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων.

Appendix I.
Some tragedies which were probably or possibly performed outside Athens

The twenty-two tragedies, discussed in Chapter IV as 'some tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens', were chosen on this list over a group of tragedies that were also probably performed outside Athens by a surprisingly small margin. For instance Sophocles' *Oedipus tyrannus* and Euripides' *Alcestis* and *Hercules furens* were close to being relegated from this list and labelled instead as tragedies that were probably (but not very probably) performed outside Athens, whereas Aeschylus' *Edonoe* and *Toxotides*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, Euripides' *Aeolus*, *Andromache*, *Heracleidae*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, *Melanippe sophe*, and *Phoenissae*, as well as the *Rhesus* by an anonymous author, were nearly admitted to the group of the very probably exported plays. In addition, there are some more tragedies which were possibly performed outside Athens as well.[1]

If we accept that at least some of the vases connected to, for example, Euripides' *Andromeda*, *Hippolytus*, and *Medea*, or to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides* do actually imply reperformances of these tragedies in Magna Graecia, we have to ask what the situation is with the vases that are related to other, not yet discussed, tragedies.

What if, instead of accepting only a few vases as 'tragedy related', we accepted most of them? Only then we would be able to see the immense variety of tragedies that were possibly reperformed outside Athens.

Most of the tragedies that are listed in this Appendix are included in the list because there are many South Italian vases related to them. Then there are some tragedies to which no (or only a few) vases have been related (and the interpretations of the vases are very uncertain), but there is plenty of other kinds of evidence regarding the possible reperformances of these tragedies (anecdotes about famous actors acting in the plays, a lot of actors' interpolations, localization, parody in fourth-century comedies, quotations by ancient authors, papyri, etc.).

In order to clarify how narrow the margins between tragedies that were 'very probably', 'probably' and 'possibly' performed outside Athens are, I discuss Euripides' *Andromache* (which was probably performed outside Athens) and Sophocles' *Ajax* (which was possibly performed outside Athens) together with Aeshylus' *Thressae* (although, the possibility that it was performed outside Athens may be too far-fetched) below, and after the discussion, I will list some more tragedies which were probably or possibly reperformed outside Athens as well.

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[1] In the previous version of this dissertation which was pre-examined by professors Taplin and Todisco, I had divided the tragedies into two groups, i.e. 'tragedies that were most probably performed outside Athens' (discussed in Ch. IV) and 'tragedies that were possibly performed outside Athens' (listed in App. I). Taplin suggested in his examination report that the tragedies should be reclassified into three categories instead of two, i.e. tragedies that were 'very probably', 'probably' and 'possibly' performed outside Athens. After having contemplated Taplin's suggestion, I divided the tragedies included in this Appendix into two groups ('probably' and 'possibly' exported tragedies), but I did not downgrade any tragedy from the previous category of tragedies that were 'most probably' performed outside Athens to the present middle category of tragedies that were 'probably' performed outside Athens. The division of the tragedies into different categories is a matter of opinion (and does not have any effect on the conclusions) and the differences between the categories are small.

Andromache (by Euripides)

The action of this extant play is located in Thessaly (in Thetideion, near Pharsalus). Hermione, the wife of Neoptolemus, threatens to kill his concubine Andromache while Neoptolemus is away in Delphi. Menelaus tries to help Hermione to achieve her goal but Peleus saves Andromache and her son. Orestes comes to take Hermione away with him. Then a message arrives explaining that Neoptolemus has been killed in Delphi because of the machinations of Orestes. Thetis appears (as *dea ex machina*) and orders Andromache to be married to Helenus in Molossia where the line of Peleus will continue via Andromache's son (Molossus). Local women constitute the chorus.

Scholars have tried to guess the date of *Andromache* on the grounds of Schol. Eur. *Andr*. 455 which says that the play was written towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war: φαίνεται δὲ γεγραμμένον τὸ δρᾶμα ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.[2] The same scholiast also notes that Euripides' play was not produced in Athens: οὐ δεδίδακται γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν. This information has generated a lot of scholarly discussion and numerous places where the play might have been produced have been suggested: 1) the play was produced in Athens, but not by Euripides; 2) the play was performed in Molossia for Tharyps (Democrates, who is mentioned in the scholion, was a pseudonym of Euripides); 3) the play was produced in Argos; 4) the play was composed for performance in Athens at the Great Dionysia in 421, but negotiations for the Peace of Nicias led to its rejection and Euripides then arranged an unofficial production in Northern Greece.[3] In my opinion, none of the suggested alternative solutions to the problem carries enough conviction. We simply are not able to determine with any certainty where the play was produced for the first time. Allan, who discusses possible places for a performance in Thessaly and in Molossia, mentions perhaps the most obvious solution to the problem: 'even if the play was not produced at the Dionysia, it could have been performed elsewhere in Attica'.[4]

Scholars have also seen traces of localization in this play: Molossian material in 1243–1249 (Thetis' remarks about the future prosperity of the Molossian royal house); Thessalian localization in 16–20, 43–44, 115 (references to the cult of Thetis), and in 1263–1269 (aetiology for a hero-cult of Peleus at Cape Sepias).[5] Of the suspected actors' interpolations, lines 7, 330−332, 397−398, 668−677, and 1284−1288 must be mentioned here.[6]

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[2] See Conacher 1967, 170, n. 7, on scholars' proposals for the date of the play. Stevens 1971, 15–21, Diggle 1984, 276 and Kovacs 1995, 267 all date the play to *c*.425 BC. Metrical dating puts *Andromache* in the same group as *Hecuba* and *Supplices*, between *Hippolytus* (428 BC) and *Troades* (415 BC). See Zielinski 1925, 238–239; Webster 1967, 4; Cropp and Fick 1985, 5. On the date of *Andromache*, see also Garzya 1952, 346–366; and Allan 2000, 149–150, n. 3.

[3] See Stevens 1971, 19–21, and Allan 2000, 150–151, for overviews about the suggestions: 1) Wilamowitz 1875, 148; 2) Robertson 1923, 58–60; 3) Page 1936, 223–228; 4) Delebecque 1951, 200–201, and Garzya 1952, 365–366.

[4] Allan 2000, 157–158.

[5] See Easterling 1994, 79, for localization in 1243–1249; Taplin 1999, 45, for localization in 16–20, 43–44, 115, 1263–1269; and Allan 2000, 149–160, for both Thessalian and Molossian material.

[6] See Stevens 1971, 88 (on line 7); and Page 1934, 65 (on 330−332): 'either an incorporated marginal adscript, or deliberate interpolation by an actor about Menander's time; (on 397−398): 'Since the poet's Andromache had not "art to reckon her groans", the actors added these lines; (on 668−677): 'an expansive interpolation, probably histrionic, specially written for this passage. Not so well composed as these are usually'. Lines 1284−1288 contain the same platitude which can be found also at the end of Euripides' *Alcestis*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, and *Medea*, see P. 57.

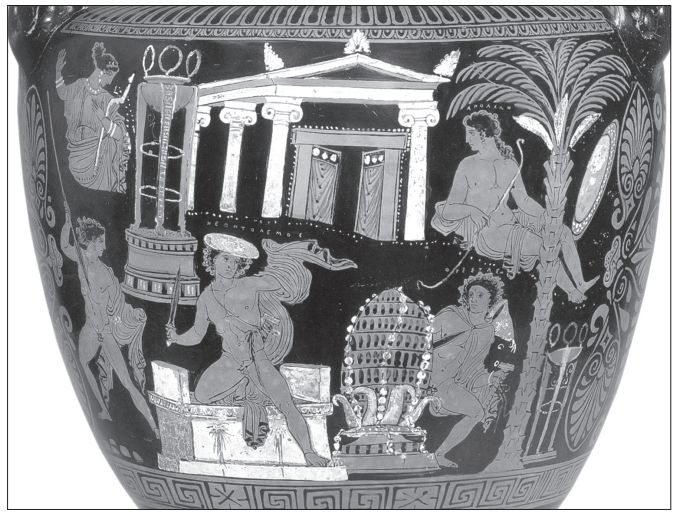

Fig. 60.
Volute-krater
Apulian red-figure pottery
Side A: The Killing of Neoptolemus in Delphi
Side B: Dionysiac scene
Ilioupersis Painter, 360–350 BC
max height 65 cm; rim diam. 32,7 cm
Intesa Sanpaolo Collection
inv. F.G-00111A-E/IS

Aristophanes may have borrowed a line from this play (compare Ar. *Lys*. 1041 with Eur. *Andr*. 731), and Plutarch (*Vit*. *Alex*. 51.8) tells us that Alexander the Great quoted verse 693. All in all, we know ten Greek and Roman tragedies which were named after Andromache or Hermione. An *Andromache* was written by Sophocles, by an anonymous author, and by Antiphon.[7] A *Hermione* was written in the fifth century by Sophocles, and probably by Philocles I and also by Theognis, and in the second century BC by Theodorus.[8] Of the Roman tragedy writers, Ennius wrote an *Andromacha*, and Livius Andronicus and Pacuvius both wrote a *Hermiona*.[9]

A famous Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, by the Ilioupersis Painter, Milan, Intesa Sanpaolo Collection, inv. F.G-00111A-E/IS, 360–350 BC (Fig. 60, V 64 in App. II), that illustrates the murder of Neoptolemus at Delphi was connected with Euripides' *Andromache* (especially with the messenger speech, 1085–1165) by scholars already in the nineteenth century.

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[7] For Sophocles' *Andromache*, see *TrGF* IV, 155–156, F 125. For the *Andromache* by an anonymous author, see *TrGF* II, 211–213, F 644. For Antiphon's *Andromache,* see *TrGF* I 55 F 1. Aristotle, *Eth*. *Eud*. 1239a37, mentions that in Antiphon's play Andomache allowed others to adopt her son. It has also been suggested that 'Andromache' is a mistake for 'Andromeda' in the only quotation from the play (see *TrGF* IV, 156, F 125), and that Sophocles never wrote an *Andromache*. See Pearson 1917, 78; Bates 1940, 178; Sutton 1984, 19; and Lloyd–Jones 1996, 48–49.

[8] For Sophocles' *Hermione* see *TrGF* IV, 192–193. For the *Hermione* by Philocles I, see *TrGF* I 24 F 2. For Theognis' *Hermione*, see *TrGF* I 28 F 2. For Theodorus' *Hermione*, see *TrGF* I 134 F 1 ('uncertain'). Of the plays mentioned above at least Sophocles' *Hermione* dealt with the enmity between Neoptolemus and Orestes, and Neoptolemus' death at Delphi. For the play and for the role of Machaerus (a Delphian priest) as the killer of Neoptolemus, see Pearson 1917, 141–144; Bates 1940, 207–208; Sutton 1984, 57–61; Stevens 1971, 3–5; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 80–81; and Sommerstein 2006, 1–22.

[9] For Ennius' *Andromacha*, see *TF*, 54–58, and Jocelyn 1967, 234–238 (who claims that the play was about the killing of Astyanax, and Ennius' model was Euripides' *Troades*, not his *Andromache*). For Livius Andronicus' *Hermiona*, see *TF*, 26; and Warmington 1936 (repr. 1967), 10–11. For Pacuvius' *Hermiona*, see *TF*, 139–144; and Warmington 1936 (repr. 1967), 225 who writes: 'The model of this play was probably Sophocles' Ἑρμιόνη and the scene is Delphi, in front of Apollo's temple'.

In this vase painting, a wounded Neoptolemus (labelled) is kneeling on an altar. Orestes (labelled) is lurking behind the Omphalos and a Delphian youth, with a spear in his hand, is approaching Neoptolemus. In the upper register Apollo (labelled) and his priestess are watching the event. The temple with the opened doors, the two tripods, the (stage) altar, and the pose of Neoptolemus suggest that this is a dramatically inspired vase painting.[10] It is likely that Euripides invented Orestes' part in the death of Neoptolemus,[11] and therefore this vase may well be related to a reperformance of the *Andromache* in Magna Graecia.

Also an Apulian volute-krater from Ceglie del Campo, close to the Ilioupersis Painter, Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 3648, 365−355 BC (V 65 in App. II) has been related to Euripides' *Andromache*.[12]

We do not know for certain that Euripides' *Andromache* was ever produced in Athens, neither do we know for certain that it was ever produced outside Athens. We can only try to guess at probable places for its premiere and for its possible reperformances. The scholiast's note, οὐ δεδίδακται γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, probably proves only that the play was not mentioned in the official records of the competitions at the Great Dionysia and at the Lenaea. In my opinion, the most probable occasion for *Andromache*'s first performance is a Rural Dionysia. It is possible that the proposed localizations in the text are actually related to reperformances of the play rather than to its premiere. The assumed actors' interpolations may imply that the play was (often) revived in the fourth and third centuries BC. The famous Milan vase, in turn, may indicate a reperformance of the play somewhere in Magna Graecia in 380−360 BC, but since it is the only South Italian vase connected with the play with any kind of certainty (the connection of the other Apulian vase with the play is very uncertain), and since all the assumed localizations in the text of the play are only hypothetical, the *Andromache* of Euripides does not quite make it to the list of tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens.

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[10] The Ilioupersis Painter has painted some other vases that most probably are tragedy related as well, see P. 202.

[11] As Taplin 2007a, 140, reminds us.

[12] This vase has also been related to Euripides' *Heracleidae*, and the painting on the the neck of this vase has been thought to be depicting an unknown tragedy about Merops and Melanippos. This vase is certainly a tragedy related vase, since it shows a portico with opened doors, a stage altar, and a tripod, and the costume of one character (labeled 'Merops') resembles the tragic costume, but I find it hard to relate this vase to Euripides' *Andromache*. There is also an Attic vase which must also be mentioned here, although it is too early to be inspired by any of Euripides' plays. According to Vogel 1886, 141, and Séchan 1926, 254–255, n. 6, Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée, grecque, étrusque et romaine, 1. ptie. Cycle héroique*, Paris 1833, 205ff, pl. XL, thought that the murder of Neoptolemus is depicted on an Attic kantharos (from Nola, by the Amphitrite Painter, London, BM E155, *c.*460 BC, V 327 in App. I). but this interpretation has been rejected by other scholars. Vogel 1886, 141–142, suggests that Sophocles' *Hermione* might be the source of inspiration. Huddilston 1898, 178, has this vase on a list (under *Andromache*) of vase paintings which 'seem to me to present difficulties that preclude their relation to extant tragedies'. According to Beazley (*ARV*[2], 832, no. 37), side A of this vase shows Ixion (not Laocoon, as has also been proposed) attacked by serpents, and side B shows Ixion condemned to the wheel. A picture of side A can be found in Moret 1975, pl. 42.1. The interpretation of side A of this vase is not an easy task, but in my opinion it seems impossible that the vase painting could represent the death of Neoptolemus. Side B of this vase clearly seems to represent the punishment of Ixion. For side B, see Séchan 1926, 392, fig. 115; and *LIMC* V, Ixion 1* (= *LIMC* V, Ixion 27 'incertain ou erroné').

Ajax (by Sophocles and others) and *Thressae* (by Aeschylus)

Ajax's suicide was one of the most frequently dramatized topics in the fifth and fourth centuries. All in all, we know seven Greek tragedies which were entitled *Ajax*. In addition to Sophocles' extant play, there are fragments of an *Ajax* by two anonymous writers.[13] Also Aeschylus may have written a play entitled *Ajax*, and Astydamas II, Carcinus II, and Theodectes each wrote an *Ajax*.[14] In addition to these plays, Aeschylus' *Hoplon crisis* and *Thressae* must also be mentioned here (since they handled the same theme).[15] Later on, several Roman authors made their own adaptations of the story on the basis of their Greek precursors.[16]

Scholars usually date Sophocles' *Ajax* in the 440s BC.[17] The play deals with Ajax's madness and suicide after the awarding of the arms of Achilles to Odysseus. Among the characters of the play are Athena, Odysseus, Ajax, Tecmessa, Eurysaces, Teucer, Menelaus, Agamemnon, a messenger, and a chorus of mariners of Salamis. The staging of the play may have required the use of the *ekkyklema*.[18]

The date of Aeschylus' *Thressae* is not known. Though we have only four fragments left of the play, we know from a scholion (Schol. Soph. *Aj*. 815: φθάνει Αἰσχύλος ἐν Θρῄσσαις τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Αἴαντος δι' ἀγγέλου ἀπαγγείλας) that the plot dealt with the suicide of Ajax (which happened off stage and was reported to the audience by a messenger.[19] From scholia, it can also be deduced that Aeschylus probably used a version of the myth in which Ajax was otherwise invulnerable except in his armpit or side (Schol. Soph. *Aj*. 833: κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα ἄτρωτος ἦν ὁ Αἴας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μασχάλην μόνην τρωτὸς; Schol. Hom. *Il*. 14.404: τρωτὸς δὲ ὁ Αἴας ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, οὐχ, ὡς Αἰσχύλος, τὰ περὶ τὴν μασχάλην).[20] The play was set in the camp of the Greeks, outside the city of Troy, and the chorus was formed of captive Thracian women.[21] Most scholars agree that *Hoplon crisis*, *Thressae* and *Salaminiae* formed a trilogy, *Hoplon crisis* was centred around the

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[13] See *TrGF* II, F 102, F 110 and *TrGF* II, 275–276, F 683.

[14] For Aeschylus' *Ajax*, see *Schol.* Soph. *Aj.* 833. For Astydamas II's *Ajax*, see *TrGF* I 60 T 1 = *Suda* α 4265. For Carcinus II's *Ajax*, see *TrGF* I 70 F 1a. For Theodectes' *Ajax*, see *TrGF* I 72 F 1. Jebb 1896, xlvii, dates Astydamas' play *c*.360 BC, Carcinus II's play *c*.375? BC, and Theodectes' play *c*.330? BC. For Theodectes' *Ajax*, see also Xanthakis-Karamanos 1979, 71–72.

[15] For these plays, and the sources of Aeschylus, see Séchan 1926, 128–131; Mette 1963, 121–127; *TrGF* III, 205–208, 288–291; and Garvie 1998, 4.

[16] Livius Andronicus wrote a play called *Ajax mastigophorus* (see *TF*, 25). An *Ajax* was also written by Ennius (see *TF*, 47–48), and Augustus (see Erasmo 2004, appendix, cf. Ribbeck 1875). Pacuvius (*TF*, 117–120; Warmington 1936 (repr. 1967), 172: 'Based chiefly on Aeschylus' Ὅπλων Κρίσις with certain points taken from Arctinus.') and Accius (*TF*, 214–217; Warmington 1936 (repr. 1967) 358: 'But Accius apparently took his material from Euripides and Sophocles, not Aeschylus ... and possibly dealt less with the actual contest for the arms than Pacuvius did') each wrote a play called *Armorum Iudicium.* A certain Polemius, son of an Ephesian Diodorus, presented a satyric *Ajax* at the Romaia at Magnesia at the beginning of the first century BC (see Mette 1977, 48, B 2cd, 14).

[17] A good overview on the scholarly discussion concerning the date of the play is presented in Garvie 1998, 6–8. See also Stanford 1963, 294–296. Alternatively, Lloyd-Jones 1994, 9 dates the *Ajax* to the thirties or to the twenties of the fifth century BC.

[18] See Gardiner 1979, 10–14, esp. 13 (for the revelation of Ajax' body); See also Taplin 1977, 443; and Pöhlman 1995, 160 (on lines 344–595).

[19] See *TrGF* III, 205–206.

[20] See *TrGF* III, 206–207, and also Weir Smyth 1926 (repr. 1971), 408; and Davies 1971, 153–154.

[21] Schol. Soph. *Aj*. 134. See *TrGF* III, 206.

competition between Ajax and Odysseus for the arms of Achilles, and *Salaminiae* dealt with the return of Teucer, Ajax's brother, to Salamis.[22]

Aristophanes quotes a verse of Aeschylus' *Thressae* in *Ran*. 1294.[23] This means that Aeschylus had been dead for fifty years when Aristophanes made fun of the play in front of a living audience. We may rightfully ask whether the audience at the Lenaea of 405 BC had seen the ridiculed play in a recent reperformance.[24]

A scholiast tells us that a tragic actor called Timotheus of Zacynthus earned himself the nickname 'the slayer' by acting the part of Ajax (Schol. Soph. *Aj*. 864: δεῖ δὲ ὑπονοῆσαι ὅτι περιπίπτει τῷ ξίφει. καὶ δεῖ καρτερόν τινα εἶναι τὸν ὑποκριτήν, ὡς ἄξαι τοὺς θεατὰς εἰς τὴν τοῦ Αἴαντος φαντασίαν· ὁποῖα περὶ τοῦ Ζακυνθίου Τιμοθέου φασὶν ὅτι ἦγε τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ ἐψυχαγώγει τῇ ὑποκρίσει, ὡς σφαγέα αὐτὸν κληθῆναι).[25]

Worth mentioning is also that there are four or even five papyri containing fragments of Sophocles' *Ajax* (see P. 15−16), and that lines 839−842 and 1262−1263 of the play may be explanatory actors' interpolations.[26]

The following vases which have been discussed by scholars in connection with either Aeschylus' *Thressae* or Sophocles' *Ajax* (or with both) must be mentioned here:

1) An Attic lekythos, by the Alcimachos Painter?, Basel, Antikenmuseum (Leihgabe), *c*.460 BC (V 30 in App. II).[27] On this vase, Ajax is depicted on his knees in front of his sword.

2) An Etruscan stamnos from Chiusi, Palermo, Cat. Ant. 1490, 425–400 BC (V 32 in App. II). This vase shows Ajax (who has planted his sword in the ground) in the company of Athena and Thanatos.

3) An Etruscan crater from Vulci, London, BM F480, 400–350 BC (V 556 in App. II, see Pl. XVIII.1). On this vase, which has been connected with Aeschylus' *Thressae*, Ajax is shown after the suicide, his sword piercing his right armpit and coming out from his left shoulder.

4) Fragments of an Apulian vase from Salapia (Foggia)* by the Darius Painter, Pulsano, Guarini coll. 155–157, *c*.340–330 BC (V 33 in App. II). There are four inscriptions on a fragment of the rim: ΤΕΚΜΕΣΣΑ, ΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ,]ΥΡΥΣΑΚΕΣ, and ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, which, according to Trendall, suggest that the scene represented was connected with the *Ajax* of Sophocles.[28]

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[22] See, for instance, Séchan 1926, 128, n. 1; Mette 1963, 122; Weir Smyth 1926 (repr. 1971), 378; *TrGF* III, 114; and Garvie 1998, 4.

[23] *TrGF* III, 208, F 84. See Sommerstein 1996b, 272.

[24] On this question more widely, see P. 58−66.

[25] Stephanis 1988, 426, no. 2416, assumes (with a question mark) that Timotheus was living in the fifth and/or the fourth century BC, because the scholiast connects him with Sophocles' *Ajax*. But it is also possible that the scholiast is referring to a much later reperformances of the play. At least we can suppose that Timotheus hardly earned his nickname from one performance only (i.e. the premiere of the play in Athens in 440s). In my opinion the scholion means that Timotheus acted the part of Ajax in several reproductions, where and when, we can only guess. Easterling 1997, 222, thinks that the scholion refers to Hellenistic or later theatre. For a discussion on the staging of the suicide scene of Sophocles' *Ajax*, see Garnider 1979, 10−14.

[26] For *Aj*. 839−842, see Page 1934, 117. Stanford 1963, 239 and 299, suggests that lines 314, 554−555, 841−842, 1105−1106, and 1262−1263 are interpolated. For comments on *Aj*. 1262−1263, see Stanford 1963, 213−214.

[27] It is possible (and even plausible) that this vase was painted earlier than Sophocles' play was produced; perhaps of some relevance here, however, is that there is also an inscription '*Glaucon kalos*' on this vase. See P. 48 on Aeschylus' son Euaeon and some *kalos*-inscriptions.

[28] See *RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 145, 151; *LIMC* Suppl, Eurysakes add. 1*.

There is also a fragmentary Attic cup by the Brygos Painter, which is dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC (V 347 in App. II). The tondo of this cup, which is too early to be connected with Sophocles *Ajax*, shows Tecmessa covering the body of Ajax (as described in Soph. *Aj*. 915 ff). An interesting observation is that the exterior scenes of this vase depict Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling over the arms of Achilles, and the vote to award them. Thus, this vase presents a kind of trilogy in a visual form.[29] An Etruscan stamnos from Vulci by the Settecamini Painter, dated to the early fourth century BC (V 31 in App. II, showing Ajax with his sword and Tecmessa?, beside a plant in which Ajax' name is inscribed), should perhaps also be mentioned in this connection, as well as an engraved Etruscan mirror of *c*.380 BC (showing Ajax with Athena).[30] Worth mentioning is also a painting by Timomachus of Byzantium (who lived *c*.320–*c*.270 BC). In this famous picture, Ajax was painted sitting among the slaughtered cattle as described by Sophocles (*Aj*. 346ff.).[31]

The legend of the Salaminian Ajax, son of Telamon, was very well known and popular all over the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries and also later. In light of the evidence we happen to have, we cannot determine whether it was the *Ajax* of Sophocles or the *Thressae* of Aeschylus which inspired the painters of the vases mentioned above, or whether the inspiration came from Homer and the works of the epic cycle. It would be tempting to propose, for example, that Sophocles' *Ajax* was the inspiration source for the painter of the stamnos in Palermo and that the play was reproduced in Magna Graecia in the last quarter of the fifth century BC, or that Aeschylus' *Thressae* gave the painter of the crater in London the inspiration to paint the suicide of Ajax and that the *Thressae* was produced in Magna Graecia in the first half of the fourth century BC. However, proposals of this kind would clearly be based on too many guesses and suppositions, since we do not even know, for certain, the dates of the plays in question. It must also be kept in mind that the iconographic tradition of the suicide of Ajax was much older than the earliest tragedies. It is also possible that the pictorial tradition may have had influence on the tragedians – not just vice versa.[32]

Aristophanes' quotation from *Thressae* (in the *Frogs*) seems to hint that the play may have been reproduced in Athens in the late fifth century. A scholiast's anecdote about the actor Timotheus, on the other hand, may imply that Sophocles' *Ajax* was in the regular repertoire at the turn of the century. The vase fragment by the Darius Painter is quite interesting from our point of view because all the names inscribed on it are characters from Sophocles' *Ajax*. Are we to assume that this play was reperformed in Apulia in 340–330 BC? Not necessarily, since a performance of an *Ajax* by Carcinus II, Astydamas II, or Theodectes may as easily have inspired the Darius Painter to paint this vase.

More tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens in the fourth century BC are listed below. The information concerning individual plays is given in the following order:

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[29] See Davies 1973, 67.

[30] Boston 99.494. See *EVP*, 140 ('Probably the design on the mirror is derived not from Aeschylus but ultimately from the epic source which Aeschylus used'); *MTSP*[2], 145 ('Not necessarily derived from Aeschylus but essentially the same story'); Davies 1971, 154 n. 35; *LIMC* I, Aias I 135*.

[31] See Philostr. *V A* 2.22.5; and Jebb 1896, l–li.

[32] As Garvie 1998, 3, suggests.

Date: references to both known dates (from ancient sources) and estimated dates (by modern scholars) are given in brackets.

Survival: I have counted the number of surviving fragments and lines of the individual plays from *TrGF* III, *TrGF* IV, and *TrGF* V because, in addition to pure chance, the number of fragments might have something to do with the later popularity of a play (and so also with its possible reperformances). I explain this in more detail in Chapter V (Conclusions).

Story: the stories given here for the fragmentary tragedies are drawn both from ancient sources and from reconstructions of the plays by modern scholars.

Location: this information is given here because it may be important for the interpretation of the vases (and occasionally it may also have something to do with localization).

Characters: this information is given here because it is important for the interpretation of the vases.

Staging: matters concerning the staging (such as *mechane*, *ekkyklema*, ghosts, thunder machine, and chariot entrance) of the plays are briefly noted here and discussed collectively in Chapter V (Conclusions). References to studies where, for example, the use of the *mechane* or the *ekkyklema* are proposed are given in brackets.

Aristophanes: lines that are parodied by Aristophanes are given here for all plays, although the Aristophanic parody is much more significant evidence for possible reperformances of plays by Aeschylus than of the plays by Sophocles and Euripides (see my discussion, P. 58−66).

Anecdotes: some literary anecdotes that may be of some importance are listed here.

Localization: possible allusions and actual references to the sites of Magna Graecia, Sicily, and Thessaly are mentioned here.

Actors' interpolation: lines listed here are collected from Page 1934, and from editions and commentaries to the plays. All suspected lines are not included, only those that may have some significance regarding possible reperformances of the plays.

Vases: the numbers given for the vases refer to Appendix II.

Terracotta masks: if there are any terracotta masks from Lipari which have been interpreted as the masks of the characters of the play in question (by Bernabó Brea) they are mentioned here (although the masks are usually too general to be connected with any specific tragic characters).

Other plays: I have listed other tragedies that bear the same title or may deal with the same story as the play in question because there is always the possibility that, for example, a vase that depicts Philoctetes sitting in a cave was inspired by some other tragedy than that of Sophocles. Comedies are listed here because revivals of tragedies may have been targets of parody in comedies. References concerning the other plays are given in brackets. Centuries are abbreviated in the following way: C6 = Sixth Century; C5 = Fifth Century; C4e = Early Fourth Century; C4l = Late Fourth Century, etc.

References: only studies dealing with several vases, localization, or reconstructions of the plays in question are mentioned here. References concerning particular vases can be found in Appendix II.

The plays are listed in alphabetical order according to the titles in English spelling. I hope to be able to discuss all these plays more thoroughly in the future.

Tragedies that were probably performed outside Athens

Aeolus (by Euripides)

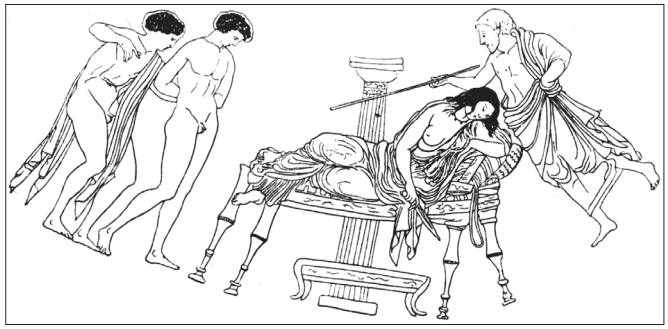

Fig. 61. Lucanian hydria by the Amykos Painter,
Bari, Museo Archaeologico Provinciale 1535, *c*.410 BC.
The 19th-century drawing is reproduced from Séchan 1926, fig. 71.

Date: Before 423 BC (Ar. *Nub.* 1371); 427−423 BC (Webster 1967, 4); 455−421 BC (or 455−423?) (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 42 frs., 68 lines.
Story: Aeolus' son Macareus has seduced/raped his sister Canace. She has given birth to a son and concealed the baby from Aeolus. Macareus then tries to persuade Aeolus to let all his sons marry all his daughters. Finally, he succeeds in the persuasion and Aeolus orders his sons to draw lots to decide which couples belong together. Macareus does not draw the lot of Canace. Somehow the newborn son of Macareus and Canace is discovered by Aeolus, who sends a sword to Canace with which she commits suicide.
Location: Aeolian Islands (i.e. Lipari Islands), in front of the house of Aeolus.
Characters: a nurse, Aeolus, Macareus, Canace, a *deus/dea ex machina* (Athena or Apollo)?, a female chorus.
Staging: *ekkyklema*?, *mechane*? (Mülke 1996, 52).
Aristophanes: allusion (*Nub*. 1372); quotations F 17 + 18 (*Pax* 114–115); F 28 (*Thesm*. 177–178); allusions (*Ran*. 850, 863ff, 1081); and F 19 (*Ran*. 1475).
Anecdotes: 'but often also in serious tragedy − as when there is brought to the stage a Thyestes or an Oedipus, or a Macareus having secret intercourse with a sister' (Pl. *Leg*. 838c; P. 68−69). When Macareus said, 'What is wrong if the doer does not think so?' a tumult arose in the theatre and Antisthenes was heard to shout in answer, 'Wrong is wrong whatever one may think!' (Plut. *Mor*. 33c).
Vases: 1 Apulian, 1 Lucanian, VV 22−23 in App. II.
Other plays: *Aeolus* trag. by Lycophron, C3 (*TrGF* I 100 T 3 = *Suda* λ 827); *Aeolus* com. by Antiphanes (*PCG* II, 319−320, F 19−20), and Eriphus, C4 (*PCG* V, 178, F 1); *Aeolosicon* com. by Aristophanes (*PCG* III.2, 33–41, F 1–16).
References: Vogel 1886, 30–32; Séchan 1926, 233–239; Bates 1930, 205–207; Webster 1967, 157–160; MacCary 1973, 198–200; Jäkel 1979, 101–118; Mülke 1996, 37–55; Jouan and Van Looy 1998, 24–26; *TrGF* V, 158−173, F 13a−41.
My opinion: The Lucanian vase (Fig. 61) may well be related to Euripides' *Aeolus* (but it is not at all certain). The interpretation of the Apulian vase is even more uncertain since the vase is quite fragmentary. Aristophanes' parody of the play and the comedies by Antiphanes and Eriphus may imply that Euripides' *Aeolus* was reperformed (several times) in Athens at the end of the fifth century and in the fourth century BC. Plato's comment about Macareus' intercourse with his sister strengthens this hypothesis (or perhaps Plato saw the play in Sicily?). The play was quite probably revived in Athens but reperformances of the play outside Athens are more uncertain.

Edonoe (by Aeschylus)

Date: after 467 BC (West 1983, 71) together with *Bassarae*, *Neaniscoe*, and a satyric *Lycurgus* (schol. Ar. *Thesm*. 135).
Survival: 12 frs. *c*.27 lines.
Story: the Thracian king, Lycurgus, is driven mad by Dionysus. He kills his own son Dryas, mistaking him for a grapevine.
Location: Thrace.
Characters: Lycurgus, Dionysus, chorus of Edonians?
Aristophanes: F 72 (*Thesm.* 136ff); F 75 (*Av*. 276).
Vases: 2 Attic, 8 Apulian, 2 Lucanian, VV 220−231 in App. II.
Other plays: *Lycurgus* sat. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 178−185, F 57−67); *Lycurgus* com. by Anaxandrides, C4 (*PCG* II, 250, F 28); *Lycurgus* trag. by Naevius (*TF*, 35–41); *Stasiastae/ Tropaeum Liberi* trag. by Accius (Warmington 1936, 534–537).
References: Séchan 1926, 63–79; *MTSP*^{2}, 139–140; Dodds 1960^2, xxxi–xxxiii; Sutton, 1975, 356–360; West 1983, 63–71; Seaford 1996, 26–27.
My opinion: There are many vases and some of them are most probably tragedy related. In particular, the London vase (BM F271, see Pl. XVIII.2, showing a stage altar, gesture of astonishment, speaking gesture, paidagogos-messenger) and the Ruvo vase (Jatta 32, showing a portico, poses of despair, horror, and supplication, see Fig. 14), both found in Ruvo, are best explained as reflecting Aeschylus' tragedy. Aristophanes' parody of the play may imply its reperformance in Athens.

Heracleidae (by Euripides)

Date: *c*.430 BC (Diggle 1984, 158); before 424 BC (Ar. *Eq*.).
Survival: extant play.
Story: Iolaus, Alcmene and the children of Heracles are being pressed by Eurystheus. The herald of Eurystheus acts violently against the supplicants, but Demophon, the King of Athens takes the side of the supplicants. Because of an oracle, one of the daughters of Heracles (Macaria) sacrifices herself. The Athenians win against the Argives and Eurystheus is punished with the penalty of death.
Location: in front of the temple of Zeus Agoraios in Marathon.
Characters: Iolaus, children of Heracles (mute), the herald of Eurystheus, Demophon, Macaria, a servant, Alcmena, Eurystheus, chorus of old men of Marathon.
Aristophanes: 976f. (*Pax* 316f.); 851 (*Eq*. 214).
Actors' interpolation: 97–98, 103–105, 299–301, 529, 629, 793, 819–822, 1019.
Vases: 7 Apulian, 2 Lucanian, 2 Paestan, 1 Campanian, VV 65, 194, 316−324 and 609 in App. II.

Fig. 62. Lucanian column-krater, attributed to the Policoro Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1969.6, 410–390 BC.
© Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

Other plays: *Heracleidae* trag. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 190–193, F 73b–77), and Pamphilus?, C4 (*TrGF* I, 189−190; Schol. Ar. *Plut*. 385; *Suda* δ 1282); *Heracleidae* trag. by Accius (*TrGF* III, 190).
References: Allan 2001, 74–81.
My opinion: Some of the vases show iconographic signals of dramatic connection (portico, stage altar, costume, tripod), and especially the two early Lucanian vases (VV 322−333 in App. II, Fig. 62) most probably reflect the opening scene of Euripides' *Heracleidae*, although, apart from the vases and actors' interpolations, there is not much other evidence that the play was ever revived.

Iphigenia Aulidensis (by Euripides)

Date: posthumous, produced (by Euripides son/nephew) in 405 BC? with *Bacch*. and *Alcm*.*Cor*. (*TrGF* I, Did. C 22 = schol. Ar. *Ran*. 67, and *Suda* ε 3695).
Survival: extant play.
Story: Iphigenia is sacrificed at Aulis before the Greeks can sail to Troy.
Location: Agamemnon's tent at Aulis.
Characters: Agamemnon, an old man, Menelaus, a messanger, Clytemnestra, Orestes, Iphigenia, Achilles, a second messanger, chorus of women of Calchis.
Anecdotes: the winning old tragedy in 341 BC?, Neoptolemus acted (*IG* II^2 2320). Aelian *NA* 7.39 quotes two and half lines in which Artemis is speaking from the *mechane*. They are probably not composed by Euripides himself (see Kovacs 2002, 161).
Actors' interpolation: prologue, the catalogue of ships (231–302), secondary chorus (590–597), end (1578–1629).
Staging: chariot entrance (see Taplin 1977, 76–77), *mechane*? (Else 1957, 470–474; Pöhlman 1995, 158 and 163, n. 28).
Vases: 1 Apulian, 1 Campanian, VV 356 and 609 in App. II.
Other plays: *Iphigenia* trag. by Anon.? (*TrGF* II, 246–248, F 663), Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 213–214, F 94), Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 270–274), and Polyidus C4 (*TrGF* I 78 F 1, 2 = *TrGF* V, F 642 Eur. *Polyidus*); *Iphigenia Aulidensis* com. by Rhinton C4/3 (*PCG* I, 264, F 5?); *Iphigenia* trag. by Ennius (*TF*, 71–76; Jocelyn 1967, 318–319), and Naevius (*TF*, 35).
References: Séchan 1926, 369–378; Page 1934; Kovacs 2003, 77–103.
My opinion: The multitude of actors' interpolations suggest that Euripides' *IA* was quite probably revived in several reperformances in the fourth century BC, possibly also outside Athens, but there are only two vases connected with the play by scholars. The Lucanian volute-krater by the Ilioupersis Painter (see Pl. XIX.1) may be a tragedy related vase (it shows a stage altar), but the interpretation of the Campanian vase is very uncertain. It is probable that the *Iphigenia* of Euripides that was performed as an 'old tragedy' at Athens by Neoptolemus in 341 BC was the *IT* rather than the *IA* (see P. 13−14).

Melanippe sophe (by Euripides)

Date: before 411 BC (Ar. *Lys.* 1124 + schol., and Ar. *Thesm*. 272); 427–417? BC (Webster 1967, 4); 421–413 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 84).
Survival: 7 frs., *c*.35 lines + 44 lines which are not conclusively attached to this play or to the other Melanippe play.
Story: Melanippe, Aeolus' daughter, has been raped by Poseidon and she has borne twins. The twins are suckled by a cow. Aeolus orders the twins to be burned alive and Melanippe has to prepare them for death. Melanippe defends the twins without saying that she is their mother. The truth comes out and Melanippe is blinded and thrown into prison. The children are exposed to wild beasts.
Location: Boeotia/Thessalia, in front of the palace of Aeolus.
Characters: Melanippe, Aeolus, a cow-herder, Hellen, Melanippe's nurse, Cretheus, Hippo (*ex machina*), a male chorus?
Staging: *Mechane* (*TrGF* V, 529; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 251).
Aristophanes: F 481,1 (*Ran*. 1244); F 483 (*Lys*. 1124); F 487 (*Thesm*. 272, *Ran*. 100, 311).
Anecdotes: allusion to the play by Plato (Pl. *Symp.* 177a).
Localization: F 481, line 3: Rivers Peneus (in Thessaly) and Asopus (in Boeotia) are mentioned as borders of the area that is under Aeolus' rule.
Actors' interpolation: prologue.
Vases: 1 Apulian, V 392 in App. II.
Other plays: *Melanippa* trag. by Ennius (*TF*, 82–84; Jocelyn 1967, 382−387).
References: Bates 1930, 258–260; Webster 1967, 147–157; Green 1994, 54–56; Roller 1994, 67–

68; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 240−280 Jouan and van Looy 2000, 347−396; *TrGF* V, 524−536, F 480−488, 497−514.
My opinion: The vase (see Pl. XIX.2) is most probably related to Euripides' *Melanippe sophe* (the characters are identified by inscriptions; no other Greek tragedian is known to have written a *Melanippe*). An allusion to the play by Plato and the interpolated prologue may indicate that the play was revived in the fourth century BC, but in the absence of other evidence (i.e. anecdotes about actors, quotations in fourth-century-BC comedies, references by Aristotle etc.), the play is not admitted to the list of the most probably exported plays.

Oedipus Coloneus (by Sophocles)

Date: posthumous, produced in 401 BC (2nd hypoth. to the play).
Survival: extant play.
Story: Oedipus gets his final resting place at Colonus.
Location: Colonus.
Characters: Oedipus, Antigone, a man of Colonus, Ismene, Theseus, Creon (with attendants), Polynices, a messenger, chorus of elders of Colonus.
Staging: Thunder machine.
Comedy: quotation by Anon, C4 (see P. 61).
Anecdotes: Sophocles recited verses of this play at court (Cicero *Cato Maior de Senectute* 7.22).
Localization: 312–314, Ismene comes riding on a colt of Aetna and wearing a Thessalian bonnet; 668–719, praise of Colonus and Attica; 919, 929, 937: compliments to Thebes (cf. Jebb 1903, 149, n. 919); 1560: Aidoneus, Aidoneus (cf. Jebb 1903, note on 1558ff).
Actors' interpolations: 769.
Vases: 1 Apulian, V 414 in App. II.
My opinion: The Melbourne vase is almost certainly inspired by a theatrical performance (columns, stage altar, bucranium, speaking gesture, supplication, Erinys figure, tripods). If the vase reflects Sophocles' *OC* (I see no good reason why not), then a reperformance of the play in Magna Graecia in the mid-fourth century BC can be suggested.

Phoenissae (by Euripides)

Date: 411–409 BC with *Hypsipyle* and *Antiope* (schol. Ar. *Ran*. 53), or with *Oenomaus* and *Chrysippus*? (Mastronarde 1994, 11–14, 31–38).
Survival: extant play.
Story: The Seven attack Thebes. Oedipus and Iocasta are still in the city. Eteocles and Polynices kill each other and Iocasta commits suicide. Creon drives Oedipus out of the city.
Location: Thebes.
Characters: Iocasta, an old tutor, Antigone, Polynices, Eteocles, Creon, Teiresias, Menoeceus, a messenger, a second messenger, Oedipus, chorus of Phoenician women.
Aristophanes: 1 quotation (Ar. F 558).
Anecdotes: Antigonus quoted verse 396 of this play to Demetrius, C4l (Plut. *Vit*. *Demetr*. 14.34).
Vases: 3, VV 458, 588, 616 in App. II (all very uncertain).
Localization: 208–213 (reference to Sicily).
Actors' interpolation: 264, 372, 428, 710, 756, 912, 915, 1075, 1104–1140, 1184, 1221–1263, 1281, 1346, 1430, 1758–1763, prayers for victory (1764–1766).
Other plays: *Septem contra Thebas* by Aeschylus (extant play); *Phoenissae* trag. by Phrynichus, C5 (*TrGF* I 3 F 8); *Phoenissae/Septem contra Thebas* trag. by Anon. (*TrGF* II, F 665); *Phoenissae* com. by Strattis, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 644–648, F 46–53), and Aristophanes (*PCG* III.2, 292−296, F 570−576 compare Eur. *Phoen*. 1359–1363 with Ar. F 570); *Septem contra Thebas* com. by Alexis, C4 (*PCG* II, 64, F 83), and Amphis, C4l (*PCG* II, 220, F 16); *Phoenissae* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 285–288; Warmington 1936, 524−531).

References: Séchan 1926, 482–484; Easterling 1994, 80, n. 23. For a long list of ancient authors' references to the text of the *Phoenissae*, see Mastronarde and Bremer 1982, 402−429.
My opinion: All the vases are very uncertainly interpreted, but there is quite a lot of other evidence (plenty of papyri and actors' interpolations, localization, and the quotation by Antigonus) suggesting that the play was often reperformed in the fourth century BC.

Rhesus (by Anon.)

Date: 455–440 BC? (by Euripides, Ritchie 1963, 345–360, esp. 360); 400−375 BC (by Euripides' son?, Feickert 2005, 42, 57); middle or late fourth century BC (by actor Neoptolemus, Liapis 2009, 71−88; and Liapis 2010, lxxii−lxxv).
Survival: extant play.
Story: Rhesus is a Thracian king who comes to help the Trojans. Odysseus and Diomedes sneak into the Thracian camp with the help of Athena. While Diomedes kills Rhesus and some of his men, Odysseus steals the famous horses of Rhesus. They escape safely and Rhesus' mother, the muse Terpsichore, laments over her dead son.
Location: Troy.
Characters: Hector, Aeneas, Dolon, a shepherd, Rhesus, Odysseus, Diomedes, Athena, Paris, the charioteer of Rhesus, Terpsichore (*ex machina*?), chorus of Trojan guards.
Staging: *Mechane* (885–982, Terpsichore).
Actors' interpolation: prologue, 70−71, 85−86, 90−94.
Vases: 3 Apulian + 4 vases (1 Campanian, 2 Lucanian, 1 Sicilian) which depict Odysseus and Diomedes catching Dolon, VV 487−493 in App. II.
Other plays: *Nyctegresia* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 270–272).
References: Ridgeway 1926, 8–19; Ritchie 1964; Giuliani 1996, 71–86; Battezzato 2000, 367–373; Davies 2005; Feickert 2005; Liapis 2009; Liapis 2010.
My opinion: *Rhesus* is most probably a fourth-century play, and its authorship is disputed. Where it was (re)performed can only be guessed. The Apulian vases (e.g. Fig. 63) suggest performances of a *Rhesus* in Magna Graecia around 350 BC. Liapis' suggestion – that the play was written for a Macedonian audience by an author who was familiar with fifth-century tragedies (because *Rhesus* contains a lot of echoes of, loans from, and similarities to them), possibly the famous actor Neoptolemus – is intriguing, but, of course, only speculation. If Liapis is right and Neoptolemus really is the author of the *Rhesus* (or at least one of the interpolators of the text that we have), then we can further speculate that probably also Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Heracleidae* were part of Neoptolemus' repertoire (cf. *Rhes*. 85−86 with Eur. *Hec*. 216−217, and *Rhes*. 70−71, and 90−94 with Eur. *Heracl*. 726−727, and 720−725).

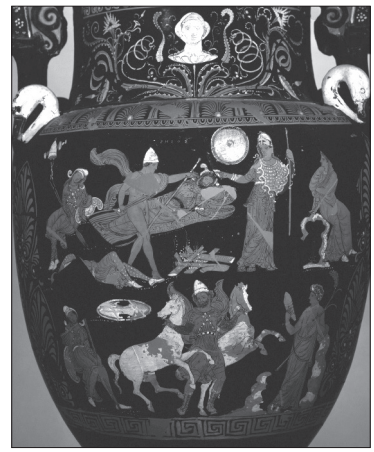

Fig. 63. Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1984.39, *c*.340 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

Toxotides (by Aeschylus)

Date: ?
Survival: 6 frs., *c*. 8 lines.
Story: Actaeon is torn apart by his own dogs. (Because he saw Artemis bathing/wanted to marry Artemis/boasted that he is a better hunter than Artemis.)
Location: Thebes/Mt. Cithaeron?
Characters: Actaeon?, chorus: nymphs accompanyig Artemis?
Staging: *Mechane*, Artemis? (Mastronarde 1990, 289, n. 20).

Vases: 2 Attic, 12 apulian, 2 Lucanian, 1 Campanian, 1 Paestan, 1 Sicilian, 1 Italiot, 1 Boeotian, VV. 27, 289, 353 and 558−575 in App. II.
Other plays: *Actaeon* trag. by Aeschylus? (*TrGF* III, 130), Iophon, C5 (*TrGF* I 22 T 1 = *Suda* ι 451), Phrynichus, C5 (*TrGF* I 3 T 1 = *Suda* φ 762), and Cleophon, C4 (*TrGF* I 77 T 1 = *Suda* κ 1730).
References: Séchan 132–138; Mette 1963, 133−136; *MTSP*[2] 145–146; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 142–165; Sommerstein 2008, 244−248.
My opinion: There are quite a lot of vases depicting the death of Actaeon (see e.g. Pl. XX.1), some of which may reflect dramatic performances, but there is no parody of Aeschylus' *Toxotides* by Aristophanes, no allusions to the play by Plato or Aristotle, and no anecdotes about fourth-century actors acting in the play. Aeschylus' *Toxotides* was most probably reperformed in Athens, in a performance where Aeschylus' son Euaeon acted the part of Actaeon (see P. 48, and Pl. VI.3), and probably also in Magna Graecia.

Tragedies that were possibly performed outside Athens

Aegeus (by Euripides)

Date: soon after 450 BC (Webster 1967, 77); any date, or 455–430? BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 13 frs., *c*.23 lines.
Story: Medea, having murdered her children at Corinth, lives at Athens with Aegeus. Theseus comes to Athens to seek his father. Medea persuades Aegeus to send Theseus against the Bull of Marathon and then to poison him. The truth comes out (because Aegeus recognizes the sword that Theseus is carrying), and Medea is driven away from Athens.
Location: Athens.
Characters: Theseus, Medea, Aegeus, chorus of Athenians.
Anecdotes: Aristotle criticizes Euripides' introduction of Aegeus into the play (Arist. *Poet*. 1461b19−21).
Vases: 8 Attic, 3 Apulian, VV 4−15 in App. II.
Other plays: *Aegeus* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 123–126, F 19–25, see also Hahnemann 2003, 201–218, and Mills 2003, 219–232); *Aegeus* com. by Philyllius, C4l (*PCG* VII, 375, F 1–2); *Medea exul* trag. by Ennius (*TF*, 76–82; Jocelyn 1967, 342–350).
References: Bates 1930, 204; Webster 1967, 77–80; *LIMC* I/1, 359–367; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 1−13; *TrGF* V, 151−157, F 1−13.
My opinion: The Attic vases (which are mostly dated to between 450−425 BC) may be connected with the premiere of the play (if they are tragedy related at all), but the Apulian vases, especially vases by the Adolphseck Painter, and by the Ilioupersis Painter, may suggest reperformances of Euripides' *Aegeus* in Magna Graecia.

Bassarae (by Aeschylus)

Date: after 467 BC (West 1983, 71), together with *Edonoe*, *Neaniskoe* and satyric *Lycurgus* (schol. Ar. *Thesm*. 135).
Survival: 4 frs., 6 lines.
Story: a band of Thracian women who are devotees of Dionysus kill Orpheus by tearing him to pieces.
Location: Thrace.
Characters: Orpheus?, a chorus of bacchants?
Vases: 1 Attic, 4 Apulian, VV 131−135 in App. II.
Other plays: *Orpheus* trag. by Aristias, C5 (*TrGF* I, 86, F 5); *Orpheus* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 411, F 178).

References: Mette 1963, 138−140; West 1983, 63–71; *TrGF* III, 138−140, F 23−25; Sommerstein 2008, 18−23.
My opinion: The Apulian vases (all dating to the early fourth century BC) may well be reflecting Aeschylus' play, although there is no other evidence that the play was ever revived (e.g. quotations in fourth-century BC comedies or references to the play by Aristotle). The Attic vase dates to 450−440 BC and it may well be related to the premiere of the play (although the vase does not show any specific iconographic signs denoting dramatic connection).

Callisto (by Aeschylus)

Date: ?
Survival: 1 fr, 2 words.
Story: Callisto is a virgin companion of Artemis. Zeus has fallen in love with Callisto and seduced her. Callisto is turned into a bear by Zeus. She gives birth to Arcas. Callisto (as bear) is shot by Artemis, or is about to be killed by Arkadians, or by a young Arcas. Callisto and Arcas are both transformed into constellations, or the infant Arcas is taken by Hermes to Maia to be reared as the eponymous hero of Arcadia.
Location: Arcadia?
Characters: Callisto, Arcas?
Vases: 1 Attic, 4 Apulian (three vases by the Black Fury Painter), VV 136−140 in App. II.
Other plays: *Callisto* com. by Alcaeus, C5/4 (*PCG* II, 8, F 17–18); and by Amphis, C4 (*PCG* II, 223, F 46); *Arcas* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 331–332, F 42–43).
References: Mette 1963, 133–134; Trendall 1977, 99; *TrGF* III, 216, F 98, and T 78, 7d; McPhee 1990, 940−944; Arrigoni 2004, 236.
My opinion: the pose of Callisto on all Apulian vases (all dating to 380–360 BC), Callisto's sitting place (a stage altar in disguise?) on the Malibu vase (see Pl. XX.2), and the presence of Lyssa on the Cremona vase suggest dramatic connection, and therefore the Apulian vases may be hinting that Aeschylus' *Callisto* was performed in Apulia in *c*.380–360 BC, although nothing of the plot of Aeschylus' play is known and there might have been other unknown tragedies about Callisto as well. It is also possible that the Cremona vase is inspired by an unknown *Callisto*, not by Aeschylus' *Callisto*. Comedies by Alcaeus, Amphis and Antiphanes, in turn, may suggest (a) revival(s) of Aeschylus' *Callisto* in Athens.

Chrysippus (by Euripides)

Date: 455–428 BC (Webster 1967, 101−102); any date (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70).
Survival: 6 frs., 22 lines.
Story: Laius tries to carry off Pelops' son Chrysippus. The boy kills himself out of shame. Pelops curses Laius.
Location: Pisa, in front of the palace of Pelops.
Characters: Pelops, Chrysippus, Laius, Hippodameia?, a messenger (old pedagogue of Chrysippus?), a male chorus?
Staging: a *deus ex machina* (Webster 1967, 113).
Anecdotes: 'Some say that Euripides wrote the *Chrysippus* in honour of Agathon' (Aelian *VH* 2.21). At the Dionysia in *c*.300 BC, an actor called Theon? won with a *Chrysippus* trag./com? (*TrGF* II, 23, F 10d = Did B 9, 6).
Vases: 1 Attic/Faliscan, 6 Apulian (3 vases by the Darius Painter, 3 by the Baltimore Painter), VV 27 and 203−208 in App. II.
Terracotta masks: of Hippodameia, Chrysippus, Laius, and Pelops, not before 340−330 BC (Bernabó Brea 2001, 284, figs. 24−30).
Other plays: *Chrysippus* trag. by Diogenes of Sinope, C4 (*TrGF* I 88 T 1), by Lycophron C3 (*TrGF* I 100 T 3), and by anon (*TrGF* V, 879); *Chrysippus* com. by Strattis, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 648–649,

Fig. 64. Apulian bell-krater by the Darius Painter, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1968.12, 350–320 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Ute Jung. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

F 54–56); *Laius* com by Plato (*PCG* VII, 459–60, F 65–8); *Chrysippus* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 232–233), and perhaps also by Pacuvius (*Warmington* 1936, 192–193, and *TrGF* V, 879).
References: Séchan 1926, 311–318; Bates 1930, 235–238; *MTSP*², 156–157; Webster 1967, 111–113; *TrGF* V, 877−884, F 838a−844; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 377.
My opinion: At least the Berlin vase (Fig. 64, said to be from Sybaris) by the Darius Painter (showing poses of distress and indignation, a paidagogos-messenger, and the costume of Pelops) is quite probably a tragedy related vase, possibly reflecting Euripides' play.

Cresphontes (by Euripides)

Date: before 424–422 BC (*TrGF* V, 478–479), *c*.425 BC with *Adromache*? (Webster 1967, 137); 450–424 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1). On suggested trilogies, see Jouan and van Looy 2000, 263.
Survival: 12 frs., *c*.100 lines.
Story: Before the play begins, Polyphontes has killed Cresphontes senior and seized the throne. Merope has sent her infant son, Cresphontes junior, to Aetolia. Polyphontes has promised gold to the killer of Cresphontes. When the play begins, Cresphontes has reached the age of puberty and has come to avenge his father. He claims that he has killed Cresphontes. Merope, believing that Cresphontes is her son's murderer, tries to kill him when he is asleep. An old man recognizes Cresphontes who, thus having been saved, takes revenge on Polyphontes.
Location: Messenia, in front of the royal palace.
Characters: Cresphontes, a slave, Polyphontes, Merope, an old man, a messenger, chorus of old Messenians.
Staging: *ekkyklema*? (Hourmouziades 1965, 105–106; Webster 1967, 141–142; Dearden 1976, 65; Newiger 1990, 31; Pöhlmann 1995, 160), *mechane* (Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 123, 125).
Aristophanes: F 453,1 (Ar. F 109).
Anecdotes: 'Aeschines played this' (Demosth. 18.180). Demosthenes cites a verse from this play (Demosth. 18.267). Merope tried to kill her son in the play (Arist. *Poet*. 1454a4). Theodoros acted Merope (in Eur. *Merope*) / Aerope (in *Aerope* by Carcinus II) to Alexander of Pherae who burst into tears (Aelian *VH* 14.40, P. 18−19); Hermocrates spoke to Syracusans in 424 BC at Gela in words with the same opinion that Euripides had (Polybius 12.26.5, see also *TrGF* V, 478–479, 489).
Vases: 1 Campanian?, V 28 in App. II.
Other plays: *Cresphontes* trag. by Ennius (Jocelyn 1967, 270–274); *Georgoe* com. by Aristophanes (*PCG* III.2, 77–98, F 101–127), compare *PCG* III.2, F 111 (*Georgoe*) with *TrGF* V, F 453 (*Cresphontes*).
References: Bates 1930, 235–238; Webster 1967,136–143; Burnett 1971, 18−21; Harder 1985; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 121–147; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 257–287; *TrGF*, V, 477−493, F 448a−459.
My opinion: If we can believe Demosthenes (and I think we can), Aeschines acted in this play, at least in (a) revival(s) in Athens. Aristotle may also have seen a revival of the play, but there are no vases (except perhaps one) connected with the play.

Cretes (by Euripides)

Date: 455–428 BC (Webster 1967, 86; Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 7 frs., *c*.103 lines, 2 papyri.
Story: Minos did not sacrifice the bull to Poseidon, which he had promised to do. Poseidon caused Pasiphae (Minos' wife) to fall in love with the bull. Daedalus made an artificial cow to allow Pasiphae to consummate her desires. The result of Pasiphae's passion was the Minotaur who was shut in the labyrinth. (Later Minos put Daedalus in chains but Pasiphae freed him. Daedalus and Icarus escaped with wings.)
Location: Crete, the palace of Minos.
Characters: Minos, Pasiphae, Pasiphae's nurse/helper, Icarus (and Daedalus?), Poseidon/Aphrodite?, chorus of old Cretans.
Aristophanes: F 471 (*Ran*. 1356).
Anecdotes: 'Minos was always abused and reviled in the Attic theatres ... but the tragic poets prevailed and from platform and stage showered obloquy down on him'. (Plut. *Thes*. 16.3).
Vases: 4 Apulian, 1 Etruscan, VV 130, 211−214 in App. II.
Staging*: Mechane* (Webster 1967, 91−92; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 317).
Other plays: *Cretes* com. by Apollophanes, C5 (*PCG* II, 521–522, F 5–8); and Nicochares, C4 (*PCG* VII, 45, F 12); *Pasiphae* com. by Alcaeus, C5/4 (*PCG* II, 12, F 26–29); *Daedalus* com. by Plato, C5/C4 (*PCG* VII, 440); Aristophanes, C5/C4 (*PCG* III.2, 116–121); Philippus, C4 (*PCG* VII, 354); and Eubulus, C4 (*PCG* V, 202); *Minos* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 348, F 407); *Minos* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 396, F 156), and Alexis, C4 (*PCG* II, 110); *Minoe/Minotauro* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 266).
References: Bates 1930, 240–241; *MTSP*^{2}, 160; Webster 1967, 87–92; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1997, 53–78; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 301−332; *TrGF* V, 502−516, F 471a−472g; Collard 2005, 52–57.
My opinion: At least the Amsterdam vase (said to be from Taranto, showing a tripod, pose of supplication, tragic costume, the name of Minos inscribed) and the Basel vase (by the Darius Painter, showing poses of despair and supplication, a stage altar, the name of Daedalus inscribed) are probably tragedy related, possibly reflecting Euripides' play. Several comedies, and the anecdote told by Plutarch may suggest revivals of Euripides' play in Athens, although there were also other tragedies that handled the same story (e.g. *Minos* by Sophocles).

Dictys (by Euripides)

Date: 431 BC with *Medea*, *Philoctetes*, and satyric *Theristae*. (Ar. Byz. *Hyp. Med.* = *TrGF* I, 46, Did C 12).
Survival: 19 frs., 57 lines.
Story: the chest, in which Danaë and Perseus are enclosed, reaches the shore of Seriphus. Dictys fishes it from the water. King Polydectes, who is the brother of Dictys, falls in love with Danaë. While Perseus is away, decapitating Medusa, Danaë and Dictys are forced to take refuge at an altar because of the violence of Polydectes. Perseus turns Polydectes into stone. Dictys becomes the king of the Island.
Location: the island of Seriphus.
Characters: Danae, Dictys, Polydectes?, Perseus?, chorus of women of Seriphus?/fishermen?.
Vases: 2 Apulian, 1 Lucanian, 1 Campanian, VV 217−219 and 597 in App. II.
Other plays: *Polydectes* trag. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 302); *Dictyes* com. by Epicharmus C6/5 (*PCG* I, 28); *Dichtyoulcoe* sat. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 161–174, F 46a–47b); *Seriphoe* com. by Cratinus, C5 (*PCG* IV, 233–239, F 218–232).
References: Bates 1930, 244–245; Webster 1967, 61–64; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 73−92; Karamanou 2002/3, 167–175; *TrGF* V, 381−389, F 330b−348; Karamanou 2006.
My opinion: The vase (that was formerly in Princeton and has now been returned to Italy) by the

Iliounersis Painter (showing portico, tragic costumes, supplication at a stage altar), in particular, is best explained as being a tragedy related vase, possibly reflecting Euripides' *Dictys*, but there is no other evidence (e.g. fourth-century-BC comedies bearing the same name or anecdotes about fourth-century actors acting in the play) that the play was ever revived.

Eriphyle (by Anon.)

Story: Amphiaraus does not want to go to war against Thebes. Because of a pre-arrangement with Adrastus, Amphiaraus must obey the decision of his wife Eriphyle. Polynices bribes Eriphyle with the necklace of Harmonia and Amphiaraus has to participate in the doomed expedition.
Location: Argos.
Vases: 1 Attic, 2 Lucanian, VV 238−240 in App. II.
Other plays: *Eriphyle* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 189–191, F 201a–h), Menecrates?, C5 (*TrGF* I 35 T 2), and Nicomachus, C3 (*TrGF* I 127 T 1 = *Suda* ν 396); *Eriphyla* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 240); *Amphiaraus* trag. by Carcinus II?, C4 (*TrGF* I 70 F 1c), Cleophon?, C4 (*TrGF* I 77 T 1 = *Suda* κ 1730) and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 151–154, F 113–121); *Amphiaraus* com. by Aristophanes (*PCG* III.2, 41–51, F 17–40), Philippides, C4/3 (*PCG* VII, 337, F 4), and Apollodorus Carystius, C3 (*PCG* II, 486–487, F 1).
References: *IGD* III. 5.2 and 5.3.
My opinion: The Lucanian vases may be suggesting (a) quite early performance(s) of Attic tragedies in Magna Graecia or they may be copies of Attic vases which, in turn, may be inspired by (an) actual dramatic performance(s). One may compare the Pisticci Painter's vase with an Attic vase by the Chicago Painter. *RVSIS*, 17: 'At first such vases are so closely modelled upon Attic prototypes that it seems likely that the artists responsible for them had either been trained in Athens or were immigrants from that city, seeking other outlets for their skills'.

Europa/Cares (by Aeschylus)

Date: ?
Survival: 3 frs. *c*.26 lines.
Story: Sarpedon is killed at Troy by Patroclus. He is brought home to Lycia by Hypnos and Thanatos. His mother Europa expresses her anxiety at the beginning of the play.
Location: Caria?
Characters: ?, chorus of Carians?
Staging: *Mechane*? (Taplin 2007a, 72−73).
Aristophanes: 1 allusion? (in *Nubes* 622).
Vases: 1 Attic, 14 Apulian, 1 Campanian, 2 Lucanian, 1 Paestan, VV 291−309 in App. II.
References: *MTSP*^{2} 141; Mette 1963, 108−110; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 63–74; West 1980, 347–350; *TrGF* III, 217−222, F 99−101; Robertson 1988, 109–120; West 2000, 347–350; Keen 2005, 63−82.
Other plays: *Europa* com. by Hermippus, C5 (*PCG* V, 571, F 23), Plato, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 449–450, F 43–45), and Eubulus, C4 (*PCG* V, 208, F 33); *Cares* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 370, F 111).
My opinion: Most of the vases depict Europa and the bull (e.g. the Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas), not Sarpedon brought home by Hypnos and Thanatos, and they may be reflecting some other tragedy about Europa, whereas the New York vase (by the Sarpedon Painter, see Pl. IV.1) and the Lucanian hydria (by the Policoro Painter) are perhaps best explained as being related to Aeschylus' play.

Hypsipyle (by Euripides)

Date: 411–409 BC with *Antiope* and *Phoenissae*? (schol. Ar. *Ran*. 53).
Survival: *c*.300 complete lines (1 very long paryrus, *P. Oxy* 852).
Story: Hypsipyle has borne Jason two sons. She is now a slave of Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and is nursing little prince Opheltes. Hypsipyle's two adult sons, Euneus and Thoas, arrive but the mother and the sons do not recognize each other yet. Amphiaraus comes with his companions; they are seeking spring water. Hypsipyle puts the child on the ground and goes to show them the way. Opheltes is killed by a snake and Eurydice, the child's mother, has Hypsipyle bound. Amphiaraus saves her from death. Nemean games are held in honour of the child. Hypsipyle and her two sons recognize each other. Dionysus speaks the epilogue.
Location: Nemea, before the palace of the king Lycurgus.
Characters: Hypsipyle, Euneus, Thoas, Amphiaraus, Eurydike, Dionysus (*ex machina*), Opheltes (mute)?, Lycurgus?, chorus of Nemean women/maidens.
Staging: *Mechane*? (Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 182).
Aristophanes: F 752 (*Ran.* 1211–1213); F 755 (*Ran*. 1327); F 756 (*Ran*. 1322); I, ii, 9f Bond (*Ran*. 1314f), allusion (*Ran*. 1309ff). Subject of the play is probably parodied in Aristophanes' *Lemniae*.
Vases: 5 Apulian, 1 Paestan, 1 Sicilian, VV 288, 348−352 and 617 in App. II.
Other plays: *Hypsipyle* trag. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 352), and Cleaenetus, C4 (*TrGF* I, 84, T 4; *TrGF* II, Did A 2b addenda), third at Lenaea in 363 BC (Hipparchus acted); *Nemea* trag. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 251–262); *Nemea* com. by Theopompus, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 337, F4); *Nemea* trag. by Ennius (*TF*, 82; Jocelyn 1967, 387–388).
References: Séchan 1926, 341–366; Bates 1930, 250–253; Webster 1967, 211–215; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 155−223; Cropp 2003, 129–145; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004, 169–258; *TrGF* V, 736−797, F 752−769.
My opinion: In particular the Naples vase (see Pl. XX.3, by the Darius Painter, showing portico, couch, paidagogos-messenger figure, speaking gesture, name labels) is almost certainly a tragedy related vase, quite probably reflecting Euripides' *Hypsipyle*.

Ixion (by Euripides)

Date: After the death of Protagoras, *c*.420 BC (Webster, 160); *c*.420–406 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 4 frs., 10 lines.
Story: Ixion makes love to Hera. He is punished by being attached to a wheel (by Zeus and Hermes).
Location: Thessaly?
Characters: ?, chorus ?
Staging: *ekkyklema*? (Webster 1967, 160).
Anecdotes: Euripides had Ixion attached to the wheel on stage (Plut. *Mor*. 19e).
Vases: 1 Attic, 1 Apulian, 3 Campanian, 2 Lucanian, VV 327, 369−374 in App. II.
Other plays: *Ixion* trag. by Anon. (*TGF*^{2}, 838), Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 210–213, F 89–93), Callistratus, C5 (*TrGF* I, 38 = *IG* II^2 2319.15), second at Lenaea in 418 BC, Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 267), Timesitheus, date unknown (*TrGF* I, 214); *Ixion* com. by Eubulus, C4 (*PCG* V, 209, F 35); *Perraebides* trag. by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 300–301, F 184–*186a; for vases, see *MTSP*^{2}, 143).
References: Séchan 1926, 389–395; Bates 1930, 255–257; Webster 1967, 160–161; Chamay 1984, 146–150; *LIMC*

Fig. 65. Campanian neck-amphora by the Ixion Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 3023, 350–320 BC. © Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Jürgen Liepe. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

III/1, 857–862; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 211−219.
My opinion: The vases certainly do depict Ixion attached to the wheel (see e.g. Fig. 65), but there are few other iconographic signals on the vases denoting dramatic connection. Even if (some of) the Ixion vases did have something to do with dramatic performances it would be difficult to connect them with Euripides' play (not much is known about the play, and there were other *Ixion* tragedies as well).

Lacaenae (by Sophocles)

Date: ?
Survival: 4 frs., 6 lines.
Story: Odysseus goes as a spy to Troy and is recognized by Helen. He steals the Palladium with the help of Diomedes (and Helen?).
Location: Troy.
Characters: Odysseus, Diomedes, Helen, Antenor?, Theano?, chorus of Helen's Spartan attendants.
Anecdotes: This play is mentioned as an example of one which is based on the *Little Iliad* (Ar. *Poet*. 1459b4–6).
Vases: 5 Apulian, 1 Attic, VV 375−379 and 442 in App. II.
Other plays: *Phrouroe* trag. by Ion, C5 (*TrGF* I, 108−109, F 43a−49a); *Lacaenae* com. by Apollodorus Carystius/Gelonus?, C4/3? (*PCG* II, 508–509, F 7–8).
References: Pearson 1917, 38–47; Séchan 1926, 156–159; *MTSP*^{2}, 149; Moret 1975, 71−84, pls. 34−39, pl. 41.1; Sutton 1984, 66–68; *TrGF* IV, 328−330, F 367−369a; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 196–197.
My opinion: Some of the Apulian vases, esp. Naples 81392 (showing a portico, the half-opened doors, and a priestess fleeing to the right with the temple key, see Pl. XXI.1) may be inspired by actual theatre performances, possibly Sophocles' *Lacaenae* (although, very little is known about the play).

Meleager (by Euripides)

Date: Before 414 BC (Ar. *Av.*); 416–414 BC (Webster 1967, 4−5); 418–406 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 26 frs., 65 lines.
Story: Before the action of the play takes place, Althaea, the mother of Meleager, was told at the birth of her child that he would live only as long as a branch then burning in the fire survived. She snatched up the branch from the fire. Meleager's father offended Artemis who then sent a huge boar to raid the land of Calydon. The play begins after the famous hunt, when Meleager kills his uncles in a quarrel over the hide of the boar and gives it to Atalanta (with whom he is in love). Althaea burns the branch in anger and Meleager's life ends.
Location: Calydon in Aetolia.
Characters: Artemis, Meleager, Althaea, another daughter of Thestias?, an old servant?, Atalanta, Tydeus, a messenger, Oeneus, a *deus*/*dea ex machina*, chorus?
Staging: *Mechane* (*TrGF* V, 555, F 537).
Aristophanes: F 516 (*Ran*. 1238, 1240ff); F 522,1 (*Av*. 829); F 522 (*Av*. 829–831); F 523 (*Ran*. 1316); F 531 (*Ran*. 1402).
Anecdotes: the best tragedies tell of only a few families, e.g. Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, Telephus (Arist. *Poet*. 1453a).
Actors' interpolation: prologue.
Vases: 6 Attic (4 vases by the Meleager Painter), 3 Apulian, VV 309 and 393−400 in App. II.
Other plays: *Meleager* trag. by Anon.? (*TrGF* II, F 625, 632), Antiphon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 55, F 1b), Sophocles (*TrGF* IV 345–347, F 401–406), and Sosiphanes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 92, F 1); *Meleager* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 392, F 148), and Philetaerus, C4 (*PCG* VII, 328, F 11); *Meleager* com. by Sciras (*PCG* I, 271, F 1; cf Aeschylus *Phorcides*); *Doulomeleagros* com. by Rhinton, C4/3 (*PCG*

I, 262, F 2); *Meleager* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 262–266).
References: Séchan 1926, 423–433; Bates 1930, 262–264; Webster 1967, 232–237; *LIMC* I/1, 578–580; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 397−425; *TrGF* V, 554−568, F 515−539.
My opinion: Five of the six Attic vases are dated to 400−375 BC and thus they may suggest a reperformance of the play in Athens around 400 BC. Comedies by Antiphanes and Philetaerus, and the interpolated prologue support this suggestion. Of the Apulian vases, the Naples vase (Fig. 66) in particular quite possibly reflects a performance of a *Meleager*, whether or not by Euripides.

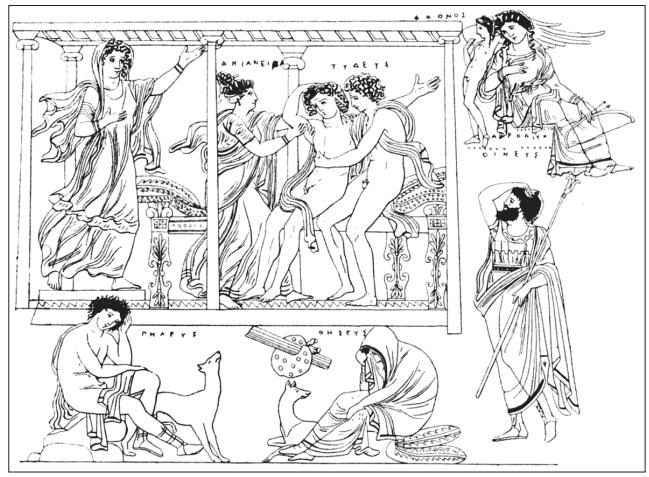

Fig. 66. Apulian volute-krarer by the Lycurgus Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 80854, 375–330 BC.
The drawing is reproduced from Engelmann 1900, fig. 26.

Oeneus (by Euripides)

Date: before 425 BC (Schol. Ar. *Ach*. 418–419); 455–428 BC (Webster 1967, 4; Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1); 449–425 BC (Slater 1988, 147–148).
Survival: 13 frs., *c*.27 lines.
Story: Oeneus is driven from his throne by the sons of his brother Agrius. His grandson Diomedes saves him and drives out Agrius.
Location: Calydon in Aetolia, in front of the palace of Agrius.
Characters: Diomedes, his companion (Sthenelus?), Oeneus, an Aetolian, Agrius, Periboea?, a messenger?, chorus of peasants of Calydon.
Aristophanes: F 565,2 (*Ran*. 72), F 566,2 (*Pax* 699); F 568 (*Ach*. 472); allusion (*Ach*. 418).
Papyri: *P*. *Hibeh* 1. 4 (Pack 1965², no 1708; early third century BC, Eur. *Oen*. / Chaer. *Ach*.? ([χοροῦ μέλος]).
Plato: 1 allusion (Pl. *Ion* 533d).
Vases: 1 Paestan, 1 Campanian, VV 418 and 612 in App. II.
Other plays: *Oeneus* trag. by Anon.? (*TrGF* II, F 625), Chaeremon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 71, T 1, F 14; see also Collard 1970, 26–27, 32–34), Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 24, T 1 = *Suda* φ 378), and by Anon. (*TrGF* II, F 327c), or by Sophocles? (*TrGF* IV, 380, F 470); *Oeneus* com. by Timocles, C4 (*PCG* VII, 758ff), Dinolochus, C5 (*PCG* I, 177, T 3.7); *Periboea* trag. by Pacuvius (*TF*, 159–165; Warmington 1936, 275: 'The model of Pacuvius' play was for the most part Euripides' *Oeneus*.')
References: Séchan 1926, 442–446; Bates 1930, 267–269; Webster 1967, 113; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 459−475; *TrGF* V, 584−590, F 558−570.
My opinion: The Paestan vase by Python most probably reflects a theatre performance (showing costumes, gestures, a stage altar, a bucranium, and an Erinys figure, see Pl. XXI.3). The person sitting on the altar is labelled 'ΑΓΡΙΟΣ'. Another question (without any secure answer) is whether or not the vase reflects Euripides' *Oeneus*. The interpretation of the Campanian vase is problematic.

Parthenopaeus (by Anon. / Astydamas I?)

Date: 340 BC (*IG* II^2 2320).
Survival: 0 lines.
Story: Parthenopaeus goes to war (against the will of his mother Atalanta).
Location: Argos/Arcadia?
Characters: ?, chorus: ?
Anecdotes: Astydamas II won at the Dionysia in 340 BC with a *Parthenopaeus*, in which Thettalus acted, and a *Lycaeon*, in which Neoptolemus acted (*IG* II^2 2320). A statue was erected to Astydamas in the theatre of Dionysus after the success of 340 BC (*Suda*, σαυτὲν ἐπαινεῖς = *TrGF* I 60 T2a). For the statue base, see *TrGF* I 60 T 8b; and Goette 1999, 21–25.
Vases: 1 Apulian, V 443 in App. II.
Other plays: *Parthenopaeus* trag. by Spintharus, C5 (*TrGF* I 40 T 3).
My opinion: The Milan vase by the Lycurgus Painter is quite probably related to a stage performance of a tragedy (couch, speaking gesture, paidagogos-messenger, inscriptions, columns, tripods), possibly a *Parthenopaeus* (central figure in the painting, name inscribed), but the vase is probably a decade or two decades older than the victorious *Parthenopaeus* of Astydamas II. Trendall and Webster suggested that perhaps an unrecorded *Parthenopaeus* by the elder Astydamas inspired the vase painter, but their suggestion is a pure speculation. All we can say is that possibly a tragedy about Parthenopaeus going to war was (re)performed in Magna Graecia around 370–360 BC.

Philoctetes (by several authors)

Philoctetes by Sophocles
Date: 409 BC, won the first prize (hypothesis to the play).
Survival: extant play.
Story: Odysseus and Neoptolemus come to Lemnos to get the bow and arrows of Heracles from Philoctetes.
Location: Lemnos, in front of the cave of Philoctetes.
Characters: Odysseus, Neoptolemus, a sailor, Philoctetes, Heracles (*ex machina*), chorus of sailors.
Staging: *Mechane*.
Localization: 490–492, 721–729: Malis, Oita and river Spercheios (Thessalian localization), 1428–1433: reinforcing aetiology of Heracles' hero-cult at the pyre (Thessalian localization).
Actors' interpolation: 1365–1367, 1407.
Vases: 1 Attic, V 450 in App. II.
References: Séchan 1926, fig. 144; Bieber 1961, Fig. 118; Taplin 1999, 46 (for localization).

Fig. 67. Sicilian bell-krater by the Dirce Painter, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" 36319, 380–350 BC.
© Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" Siracusa. Su concessione dell'Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia.

Philoctetes by Euripides
Date: 431 BC with *Medea*, *Dictys*, and satyric *Theristae* (hypothesis to *Med.* = *TrGF* I, Did C12).
Survival: 20 frs., 43 lines + paraphrases by Dio Chrysostom (*Or*. 52 and 59).
Story: Philoctetes, who has a smelly wound in his foot, has been left on the island of Lemnos by the other Greeks. Odysseus and Diomedes come to Lemnos in disguise to get the bow and arrows of

Heracles which are in the possession of Philoctetes. The Greeks cannot capture Troy without them. Actor is the helper of Philoctetes.
Location: Lemnos, in front of the cave of Philoctetes.
Characters: Philoctetes, Odysseus, Diomedes, Actor, a Trojan (Paris?), a chorus of old men of Lemnos.
Staging: *Mechane*? (Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 7−8; Taplin 2007, 99).
Aristophanes: F 788,1 (*Ran*. 282); allusion (*Ach.* 424).
Anecdotes: a *Philoctetes* is mentioned as an example of a play which is based on the *Little Iliad* (Ar. *Poet*. 1459b4–6).
Vases: 2 Sicilian, VV 448−449 in App. II (see also Taplin 2007a, 99 for a group of Apulian fragments).
Other plays: *Philoctetes* trag. by Anon.? (*TrGF* II, F 654), Anon. (*TrGF* II, F 10) uncertain, satyric?, Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 352—359, F 249—257; Mette 1963, 103–106, (F 404, Ar. *Ran*. 1383), Antiphon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 55, F 3), Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 24, F 1, T 1, Tetralogy: *Penelope*, *Priamos*, *Tereus* or *Epops*, *Philoctetes*), Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I 72 F 5b); *Philoctetes in Troia* trag. by Anon. (*TrGF* II, 229), Achaeus I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 20), Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 482–484); *Philoctetes* com. by Epicharmus, C6/5 (*PCG* I, 99, F 131–132), Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 441, F 218), Strattis, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 644, F 44–45); *Philocteta (Lemnius)* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 276–283).
References: Séchan 1926, 485–493; Bates 1930, 278–281; Webster 1967, 57–61; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 269−312; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 1–34; *TrGF* V, 827−844, F 787−803.

My opinion: the vase by the Dirce Painter, Fig. 67 (whose other vases have been connected, for example, to Eur. *Antiope*, Aesch. *Cho*, and *Rhesus* by Anon.) is quite probably related to a performance of a *Philoctetes* in Sicily (around 380 BC?). Whose *Philoctetes* is in question, cannot be concluded.

Phineus (by Aeschylus)

Date: 472 BC with *Persae*, *Glaucus*, and *Prometheus* (hypoth. Aesch. *Pers*.)
Survival: 4 frs., *c*.5 lines.
Story: the blind seer Phineus is being harassed by the Harpies who snatch his food away from him. Jason and the Argonauts help him after he has first promised to tell them how to sail past the clashing rocks.
Location: Thrace?
Characters: ?, chorus ?
Staging: *Mechane*? (Taplin 1977, 446, n. 2); *Ekkyklema*? (*IGD*, 59).
Vases: 4 Attic, 1 Lucanian, 1 Apulian, 1 Boeotian. VV 451−457 in App. II.
Other plays: *Phineus I* and *II* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 484–489, F 704–717, cf. F 710 with Ar. *Plut*. 635f); *Phineus* com. by Theopompus, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 737, F 36).
References: *MTSP*^{2} 144; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 118–127.
My opinion: The Lucanian vase from Ruvo by the Amykos Painter (whose other tragedy related vases include vases connected with Sophocles' satyric *Amycus*, and Euripides' *Aeolus* and *Stheneboea*) may well be inspired by a performance of a tragic *Phineus* (possibly by Aeschylus or Sophocles) somewhere in Magna Graecia already in the late fifth century BC.

Phoenix (by Euripides)

Date: before 425 BC (Ar. *Ach*. 421); 455–428 BC (Webster 1967, 4); 455–426 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 15 frs., 45 lines.
Story: Phoenix rejects Phthia/Clytia, the concubine of his father Amyntor. She falsely accuses Phoenix and in consequence Phoenix is blinded by his father. Peleus leads Phoenix to Chiron who cures him of his blindness.

Location: Boeotia/Thessalia, in front of the house of Amyntor.
Characters: Phoenix, Amyntor, Phthia/Clytia, Alcimeda (Amyntor's wife), Peleus?, a messenger, chorus of young men?
Aristophanes: F 804,3 (*Thesm.* 413ff); F 807 (Ar. F 600); allusion (*Ach*. 421); Rau 1967, 216: 'Motivächnlichkeit mit Ar. *Anagyros*; viell. auch parodiert'.
Anecdotes: Molon (and Aeschines) acted in this play, never Theodorus or Aristodemus (Dem. 19.246). Aeschines cites verses from this play (Aeschin. *In Tim*. 151).
Vases: 1 Apulian fragment, V 459 in App. II.
Other plays: *Phoenix* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 490, F 718–719), and Astydamas II, C4 (*TrGF* I 60, T 1 = *Suda* α 4264, F 5d); *Phoenix I* and *II* trag. by Ion, C5 (*TrGF* I, 19, F 36–43), and by] enodorus (*TrGF* IV, 490); *Phoenix* com. by Eubulus, C4 (*PCG* V, 257, F 113); *Phoenix* trag. Ennius (*TF*, 84–86; Jocelyn 1967, 389−394).
References: Webster 1967, 84–85; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 313−338; *TrGF* V, 845−855, F 803a−818.
My opinion: Aeschines certainly acted in (a) reperformance(s) of Euripides' *Phoenix* at least in Athens. The vase fragment by the Darius Painter may well be related to Euripides' version of the story of Phoenix and therefore suggest a reperformance of the play in Apulia around 350 BC (although, there were also versions of the story by Sophocles, Ion, and Astydamas II). Probably both Eubulus and Ennius were familiar with the text of Euripides.

Phrixus A and B? (by Euripides)

Date: A: 455–428 BC, B: 427–417 BC (Webster, 1967, 4); A and B: any date or 455–*c*.416 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 19 frs., 5 + 15 + *c*.90 lines which are not conclusively attached to *Phrixus* A or B.
Story: Ino, the wife of Athamas, tries to do away with the children of his former wife, Nephele, by roasting the seed-corn and claiming that the Delphic oracle demands the sacrifice of Phrixus. Ino's scheme is revealed by the messenger. Nephele gives Phrixus and his sister Helle a ram with a golden fleece. The ram transports them through the air to Colchis but Helle falls of at the Hellespont and is drowned.

Fig. 68. Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1984.41, 340–330 BC.
© Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. (Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE).

Location: A: Thessalia, B: Orchomenos in Boeotia.
Characters: A: Athamas, Ino, Phrixus, B: Athamas, Ino, Phrixus, a guard, a messenger, a deus/dea (Dionysus/Nephele?) *ex machina*. Chorus: A: Thessalian women, B: ?
Staging: B: *Mechane*? (Webster 1967, 135).
Aristophanes: F 819 (*Ran.* 1225ff); Isocrates' quotation ([Plut.]*Vit. x orat.* 837E).
Vases: 1 Attic, 3 Apulian, 1 Paestan, 6 Lucanian (5 vases by the Choephoroi Painter), VV 202, 289 and 460−468 in App. II.
Other plays: *Phrixus* trag. by Achaeus I, C5 (*TrGF* I 20 F 38), [Phil]/[Tim]ocles (*IG* II^2 2319.15, second at Dionysia in 340 BC (Thettalus acted)), and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 491–492, F 721–723); *Helle* trag. by Anon. (*TrGF* II, F 1 = Arist. *Poet*. 1454a8); *Athamas* trag. by Anon. (*TrGF* II, F 1a), Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 123), and Astydamas II, C4 (*TrGF* I 60 T 5 = Did A 2a = *IG* II^2 2319), first at Dionysia in 341 BC (Neoptolemus acted); *Athamas* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 220–222), and Ennius (*TF*, 60); *Athamas* sat. by Xenocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I 33 F 1); *Athamas* com. by Antiphanes, C4 (*PCG* II, 318, F 17), and Amphis, C4 (*PCG* II, 213, F 1); *Athamas I* and *II* by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 99–102,

F 1–10; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 10–13, allusion in Ar. *Nub*. 255f); *Ino* trag. by Euripides (*TrGF* V, 442–455, F *398–423), and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, F 732).
References: Bates 1930, 282–283; Webster 1967, 131–136; Jouan and van Looy 2002, 339−371; *TrGF* V, 856−876, F 818c−838.
My opinion: The Apulian vase by the Darius Painter, Fig. 68 (related to *Phrixus* A?) and perhaps also the Paestan vase by Asteas (related to *Phrixus* B?) may suggest that a tragedy or tragedies about Ino's plot against Phrixus was/were staged in Magna Graecia around 350 BC. Unfortunately we know all too little about Euripides' two *Phrixus* plays (and even less about the other tragedies that handled the same story).

Phryges/*Hectoros lutra* (by Aeschylus)

Date: ?
Survival: 10 frs., *c*.16 lines
Story: Priam comes to Achilles' tent to exchange the body of Hector for gold.
Location: Troy.
Characters: Achilles, Hermes, Priam, Andromache?, a chorus of Trojans.
Aristophanes: allusions to the choreography of the play and to the silence of Achilles (*Ran*. 833f, 911f).
Vases: 6 Apulian, 1 Attic, 1 Italiot, 1 lost vase, VV 469−477 in App. II.
Other plays: *Phryges* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 494–496, F 726–730); *Priam* trag. by Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 408−409, F 528a−532.), and Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 139, T 1 = *Suda* φ 378); *Hectoros lutra* trag. by Dionysius I, C4 (*TrGF* I, 243, F 2a, Dionysius won at Lenaea in 367 BC with this play), and by Timesitheus, date unknown (*TrGF* I, 214 = *Suda* τ 613); *Hectoris lytra* trag. by Ennius (*TF* 65–68, Jocelyn 1967, 290−303). See also *PCG* VIII, F 414.
References: Séchan 1926, 114–120; *MTSP*[2], 141–142; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 23–32; *LIMC* I, 147–148; West 2000, 340–343; Morelli 2001, 102, n. 1; Taplin 2007a, 83−87; Sommerstein 2010, 246−249.
My opinion: At least the vase (from Ruvo) by the Lycurgus Painter, Fig. 69 (couch, altar, pose of despair, speaking gesture, costume of Priam) is a tragedy related vase, possibly reflecting Aeschylus' play. It is tempting to hypothesize that the *Hectoros lutra* by Dionysius I is reflected on some of the Apulian vases.

Fig. 69. Apulian volute-krater, attributed to the circle of the Lycurgus Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. No. GR-4651 (B-1718), *c*.350 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

Prometheus lyomenos (by Aeschylus)

Date: *c*.440 BC (West 1979, 146–148).
Survival: 12 frs., *c*.35 lines + 28 lines in Cicero (*Tusc*. 2.10.23–25).
Story: Prometheus is tied to a rock in the remote Caucasus. An eagle is feeding upon his liver. Heracles shoots the eagle and frees Prometheus.
Location: remote Iberia.
Characters: ?, chorus?
Vases: 1 Attic, 3 Apulian, VV 478−481 in App. II.
Other plays: *Ploutoe* com. by Cratinus, *c*.429 (*PCG* 204−213, F 171−179), Sommerstein 2001, 6: 'at least in part, a parody on the Aeschylean *Prom. Unbound*'; *Prometheus* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 253–255).
References: Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 128–141; West 1979, 140–146; West 1980, 339; De Vries 1993, 517–523; Sommerstein 2010, 213–234.
My opinion: The Apulian vase by the Branca Painter (see Fig. 7) is almost certainly a tragedy related vase (because it shows the rocky arch), quite probably reflecting Aeschylus' *Prometheus lyomenos*.

Theseus (by Euripides)

Date: Before 422 BC (Ar. *Vesp.* 303–316 + schol.); 455–428 BC (Webster 1967, 4); 455–422 BC (Cropp and Fick 1985, 70, table 5.1).
Survival: 10 frs., *c*.41 lines.
Story: Theseus kills the Minotaur with the help of Ariadne. Afterwards he rejects Ariadne and leaves her on Naxos.
Location: Crete, before the palace of Minos.
Characters: A shepherd, Theseus, Ariadne, Daedalus, a messenger, Minos, Athena (*ex machina*), chorus of Cretan men/women?, a secondary chorus of young men/fathers of the young victims of the Minotaur?
Staging: *Mechane* (*TrGF* V, 428; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 147).
Aristophanes: F 385, F 386 (*Vesp*. 312, 314).
Vases: 2 Attic, 2 Apulian, VV 529, 552−555 in App. II.
Other plays: *Theseus* trag. by Achaeus, C5 (*TrGF* I 20 F 18, 18a), and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 497–518, F 730a–g); *Theseus* com. by Aristonymus, C5/4 (*PCG* II, 571), Theopompus, C5/4 (*PCG* VII, 717–718, F 18–21), Anaxandrides, C4 (*PCG* II, 247), and Diphilus, C4/3 (*PCG* V, 79–80, F 48–49).
References: Bates 1930, 301–302; Webster 1967, 105–109; Jouan and van Looy 2000, 145−165; *TrGF* V, 426−436, F 381−390.
My opinion: The Apulian stamnos by the Ariadne Painter, see Pl. XXI.2 (from Gela, dated to *c*.400 BC) most probably is a tragedy related vase (the other side of the vase has been connected with Euripides' *Stheneboea*, see Pl. XV.2), and it may well be related to a performance of a play about Theseus deserting Ariadne on Naxos, not necessarily Euripides' *Theseus* (since there is not much other evidence regarding Euripides' play). The other Apulian vase is quite fragmentary.

Tereus (by Sophocles)

Date: before 414 BC (Ar. *Av*. 99 ff.; for other dates, see *TrGF* IV, 436); 438 BC? (Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 159).
Survival: 17 frs., *c*.53 lines.
Story: Thracian Tereus has married Procne, a daughter of Athenian Pandion. They have a son, Itys. When Tereus is bringing Philomela, a sister of Procne, to visit Procne he rapes her during the trip and cuts her tongue out so that she will not be able to tell her sister what Tereus did. Voiceless

Philomela nevertheless reveals everything by weaving. Procne kills her son Itys and feeds him to his father Tereus. When Tereus is chasing the sisters, they are all transferred into birds.
Location: Thrace.
Characters: a servant, Tereus, Philomela (silent), Procne, Itys (silent), a nurse, a messenger, Apollo/Hermes/Ares (*ex machina*), chorus?
Staging: *mechane*? (Fitzpatrick 2001, 98–100; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 150, 153).
Aristophanes: allusion (*Av*. 99f).
Anecdotes: when discussing different kinds of recognition, Aristotle mentions the voice of the shuttle in Sophocles' *Tereus* (Arist. *Poet*. 1454b35).
Localization: F 586: 'multicoloured robe' (the tapestry woven by Philomela or a robe worn in connection with Thracian Dionysiac festival? Cf. Sutton 1984, 129).
Vases: 7 Apulian, 1 Lucanian, 1 Campanian, VV 19, 550−552, 596, 600, 604−605 and 608 in App. II.
Other plays: *Tereus* trag. by Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I 24 F 1), tetralogia: *Penelope*, *Priamos*, *Tereus* or *Epops*, *Philoctetes*, before 414 BC, later than Sophocles' play (Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 146); *Tereus/Tyro?* trag. by Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I 70 F 4); *Tereus* trag. by Livius Andronicus (*TF*, 26–27; Warmington 1936, 10–14), and Accius (*TF* 293–295), Warmington 1936, 543); *Tereus* com. by Anaxandrides, C4 (*PCG* II, 265–267, F 46–48), Cantharus, C5 (*PCG* IV, 59–60, F 5–9) 422 BC (Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 157–158, n. 56), and Philetaerus, C4 (*PCG* VII, 322, 330, T 1, F 15).
References: *MTSP*^{2}, 152; *TrGF* IV, 435−445, F 581−595b; Sutton 1984, 127–132; Dobrov 2001, 105–117; Fitzpatrick 2001, 90–101; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 141–195. See also March 2000.
My opinion: None of the vases is securely interpreted. Some of them are probably tragedy related vases but they may have nothing to do with Sophocles' *Tereus*. Aristotle's reference to the play and the comedies by Anaxandrides and Philetaerus may imply a reperformance of the play in Athens.

Troades (by Euripides)

Date: *c*.415 BC with *Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, and *Sisyphus* (Ael. *VH* 2.8 = *TrGF* I, Did C14).
Survival: extant play.
Story: after the fall of Troy, its women hear where they will go. Helen goes with Menelaus, Cassandra and Hecuba go with Agamemnon, and Andromache goes with Neoptolemus. Andromache's child Astyanax is killed.
Location: the sea shore outside Troy.
Characters: Poseidon, Athena, Hecuba, Talthybius, Cassandra, Andromache, Astyanax (mute), Menelaus, Helen, chorus of women of Troy.
Localization: Aetna, Sicily, and river Krathis are mentioned after Athens and Sparta (in 220–229).
Staging: Chariot entrance (see Taplin 1977, 76–77).
Anecdotes: Alexander of Pherae could not stand watching the sufferings of Hecuba and Polyxena (P. 18−19). Aeschines played (as tritagonist) in this play? (Dem. 19.337). This play? is mentioned as an example of a play which is based on the *Little Iliad* (Arist. *Poet*. 1459b4–6).
Vases: 2 Campanian, V 44−45 in App. II.
Terracotta masks: of Hecuba and Talthybius, not before 330 BC, Bernabó Brea 2001, 283, figs. 20−23.
Other plays: *Troades* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 269–270); *Astyanax* trag. by Accius (*TF*, 217–220).
References (localization): Easterling 1994, 74–76; Taplin 1999, 44; Zacharia 2003, 61; P. 52−53.
My opinion: The text of the *Troades* contains the only strong case of localization, and therefore it may perhaps be assumed that the play was possibly performed in Magna Graecia. Interpretations of the two vases connected with this play are very uncertain. The play performed for Alexander of Pherae was more likely to have been Euripides' *Hecuba* rather than his *Troades* (see P. 18−19).

Appendix II. List of Vases

The purpose of this Appendix is to serve as an aid when discussing the individual tragedies, vases, and painters.

The vases collected in this Appendix are gathered from several studies dealing with tragedy related vases, such as *MTSP*[2], *IGD*, Kossatz-Deismann 1978, Todisco 2003, and Taplin 2007a, and from separate articles discussing vases and individual tragedies, e.g. Keuls 1978, Oakley 1991, and Karamanou 2002/3. I have also added some vases (which have not yet been related to any tragedies) to the list from publications like *LIMC*, and *RVSIS*. Although I do not discuss or refer to every single vase included in this Appendix in my study, I still want them all in the list because each vase (except a few which I have picked up from *LIMC* or *RVSIS*) has been related to a tragedy by some scholar in an article or study (sometimes with a very uncertain interpretation).

The vases are presented in alphabetical order by the titles of the tragedies to which they are connected by scholars. For each vase, the following information is given.

V: this is the number to which I refer when discussing the individual tragedies or vases in Chapters II, III, and IV, and in Appendix I.

Fabric: i.e. Apulian, Campanian, Sicilian, etc. The fabric of some individual vases may be disputed. Some scholars have defined certain vases as Campanian and others have defined the same vases as Sicilian. Sometimes even Trendall has changed his mind about the fabric of certain vases.

Shape: i.e. volute-krater, oinochoe, stamnos, pelike, etc. Some shapes to which some fragments belong are not known, or are disputed.

Provenance: this is given whenever it is known. Sometimes there is contradictory information from different scholars about the provenance of some individual vases. The symbol '*' after the provenance (e.g. Capua*) means that the provenance is only presumed, not known for sure. The provenance is known, or presumed, in 283 cases out of 619.

Painter: this is the 'name' of the painter to whom the vase is attributed by scholars (who may not always be unanimous about the attribution). Sometimes the actual name of the painter is known (e.g. Asteas and Python).

Museum: the city, the museum, and the inventory number of the vase is given. I mostly refer to the inventory numbers of the vases given in *LIMC*. Some vases are in private collections and may not therefore have an inventory number. Some vases have been returned to Italy (e.g. from J. Paul Getty Museum). I humbly admit that I may not be aware of all the changes of locations.

Date: the approximate date of the vase is provided. Regarding some vases, there may be several conflicting dates provided by different scholars.

Play(s): i.e. the title(s) of the play(s) to which the vase is related by scholars. Titles of the plays are written in italics with bold letters and the authors are bracketed, e.g. ***Alcmena*** (by Euripides). Some vases show several different dramatic scenes on the neck and on the body (both sides), and have thus been related to several tragedies.

Bibliography (+ special information): references to studies and articles discussing the vases in question are given here. The references are not meant to be all-inclusive. Regarding some vases there are many references and for some I refer only to articles in *LIMC* or to Todisco 2003, who gives more references. If there are several contradictory

interpretations of the vases, they are mentioned in this column (and underlined). The symbol '*' after a reference to an article in *LIMC* (e.g. *LIMC* III, Elektra I 8*) means that the vase is illustrated in *LIMC*.

Iconographic elements: in this column I have listed the iconographic elements on each vase which may indicate that the painter could have been influenced by an actual theatre performance (examples of these elements are discussed in Chapter II).

Fig., Pl.: the information in this column indicates that the vase in question is illustrated elsewhere in this study.

Due to copyright issues, no illustrations are included in this Appendix. After the publication of this volume of the *PMFIA*, this Appendix will appear at the following address: http://www.finninstitute.gr/en/publications (as an Excel file with links to museum pages, and pages like *iconiclimc*, that include illustrations of the vases).

Lastly, I must make the same confession that Webster made in 1967:

> I may have missed much that is relevant and I have certainly included much where there is no certain proof of direct dependence on a play.[1]
> (*MTSP*[2], 137)

[1] I admit that I have included in this Appendix some vases that may not be relevant for my study, but at the same time I excuse this long list of vases by arguing that the whole gamut of vases that have been labelled as 'tragedy related vases' by scholars is definitely worth showing in its entirety.
Professor Taplin suggested to me in an e-mail the following: 'If you are going to publish your catalogue of 600+ thumbnail pictures of vases, you should divide them into something like "Vases that may plausibly be connected to Tragedy", and "Vases that have been less plausibly connected with Tragedy"'.
I did not make the division suggested by Taplin because it is extremely difficult to draw distinct lines with respect to this issue. Some vases showing several iconographic elements which may indicate dramatic influence can still in reality not be 'tragedy related vases', whereas some vases showing only a few (or even none) of these iconographic elements may still derive their inspiration from actual performance(s) of tragedy. In my opinion, vases that are most plausibly connected to tragedy are vases that show, for example, the (stage) altar, the (stage) doors, the rocky arch, the paidagogos-messenger figure, the speaking gesture, or the different poses of supplication, or vases that are painted by, for example, the Darius Painter, the Tarporley Painter or Astes.
I admit that perhaps only some 150−250 vases included in this Appendix may actually be 'tragedy related vases'. I believe that most of the vases listed under the title '*Aegeus* by Euripides' may not be 'tragedy related vases' at all, and I further admit that perhaps some of the vases listed under the titles '*Andromeda* by Sophocles and Euripides' or '*Choephoroe* by Aeschylus' are copies of some earlier vases (and therefore not 'tragedy related vases').

Appendix II. List of Vases

V	Fabric	Shape	Provenance	Painter	Museum	Date B.C.	Play(s)	Bibiliography (+ special information)	Iconographic elements	Fig., Pl.
1	Apulian	volute-krater	Ceglie	Varrese Painter (follower of)	Boston, MFA 1900, 03.804	340	***Achilles Thersitoctonus*** (by Chaeremon)	Paton 1908, 406–416, pl. 19, figs. 1–2; Robert 1919, 279–286, figs. 213–214; Séchan 1926, 527–533, fig. 156; *MTSP*^{2}, 74, 166, TV 2; *IGD*, III. 4,2; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 794*, Agamemnon 61; *LIMC* III, Automedon 48; *LIMC* VII, Poine 8; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., Phorbas IV 1, Thersites 3*; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982/3, 55–67; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 99–106, cat. no. 38 (with excellent photographs, also of the side B, and a long list of references); Morelli 2001, 93–100, pl. 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 135; Taplin 2007a, no. 91.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), costume, pose (indignation, speaking gesture), iconographic figure (Erinys), inscriptions	Pl. X.1
2	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.86	340–320	***Adonis*** (by Dionysius I)	Simon 1982, pl. 132, 133,1–2; Todisco 2003, Ap 197.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), pose (ashtonishment)	
3	Apulian	pelike	Canosa	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 702	340	***Adonis*** (by Dionysius I)	Simon 1982b, pl. 134, 135,1; *RVAp* II, 49, no. 24, pl. 175,1; Todisco 2003, Ap 150.	Stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, kneeling in front of), costume	
4	Apulian	bell-krater		Adolphseck Painter	Adolphseck 179	400–380	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	Shefton, n. 25; Webster 1967, 297; *IGD*, III. 3, 3; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 23*; *RVAp* I, 72, no. 51; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 268; *LIMC* VII, Theseus 168*; Todisco 2003, Ap 41; Taplin 2007a, no. 55.	Pose (horror), stage props (altar, sword, bucranium)	
5	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo*	Ilioupersis Painter	Milan Coll. H.A. 377	365–350	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Aigeus 21; Todisco 2003, Ap 71.	Pose (indignation), costume	
6	Apulian	bell-krater		Painter of Perseus and Athena	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81415 (H 2413)	?	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*APS* 23, no. i, pl. 6, figs. 25–26; *RVAp* I, 101, no. 262; Dearden 2004, 125, n. 23.		
7	Apulian	bell-krater			St. Petersburg, Hermitage W 205	380–360	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 268; Todisco 2003, Ap 42.		
8	Attic	bell-krater	Filottrano	Filottrano Painter	Ancona	375–350	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2} 1453; Shefton, no. 7; Webster 1967, 298; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 11.		
9	Attic	kalyx-krater		Kekrops Painter	Adolpseck 78	420–400	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1346; Webster 1967, 297; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 16*.	Tripod, costume	
10	Attic	bell-krater		Painter of Munich 2335	Madrid (red 217)	430–420	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1163; Webster 1967, 297; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 9*.		
11	Attic	kalyx-krater	Locri	Polygnotos group	New York, MMA 56.171.48	450–420	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1057; Webster 1967, 297; *IGD*, III.3, 1; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 6*. Todisco 2003, A38.		
12	Attic	neck-amphora		Polygnotos group	Paris Market	450–420	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 117, AV 60.		
13	Attic	bell-krater			Sydney 49.04	400–370	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	Trendall, *JHS* 71 (1951), 192; Webster 1967, 298.		
14	Attic	skyphos	Spina, tomb 238c		Ferrara	400–380	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 117, AV 61; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 17.		
15	Attic	skyphos			Florence, Mus. Arch. no. 80	430	***Aegeus*** (by Euripides)	Shefton, *AJA* 60 (1956), 162, pl. 61; Webster 1967, 297; *IGD*, III. 3, 2; *LIMC* I, Aigeus 15*; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 285–286.	Costume	

16	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)	near Taranto	Ilioupersis painter (closely connected)	once Rome, Curtius Collection	365–330	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 137; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 17, pl. 6,2–3; *LIMC* III, Danaides 5*; Todisco 2003, Ap 80.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (couch)	
17	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Painter of Copenhagen 4223 / Vatican W 4 (group of)	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 36726 (J 414)	360–320	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 152; *MTSP*^{2}, 167; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 18, pl. 7,1; *RVAp* I, 409, 68; *LIMC* III, Danaides 2*; Todisco 2003, Ap 92.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
18	Apulian	volute-krater		Painter of Louvre K 67 (closely connected)	Brussels, Errera Coll.	320	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 154; *MTSP*^{2}, 167; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 14; *RVAp* II, 534, 286; *LIMC* III, Danaides 3.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
19	Apulian	amphora		Painter of Louvre K 67 (closely connected) / Darius Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage ь 1705 (St. 452)	350–325	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 153; *MTSP*^{2}, 167; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 15; *LIMC* III, Danaides 1*; Todisco 2003, Ap 149. Also Sophocles' or Philocles' Tereus and Locrian maidens by an anonymous author have been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, bucranium, temple key), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), tripod	
20	Apulian	volute-krater		White Sakkos Painter	Hamburg Termer coll.	320	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Danaides 4.		
21	Apulian	volute-krater	Basilicata*	Painter of Athens 1714	Paris, Louvre CA 227	375–350	***Aegyptioe*** (by Aeschylus) or ***Thyestes* II** (by Sophocles).	Séchan 1926, fig. 64; *LIMC* VII, Pelop(e)ia I 2: 'incertain'; *MTSP*^{2}, 167, TV 43; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 16; RVAp I, 211, 146. *LIMC* VII, Pelasgos 2*; Todisco 2003, Ap 85. Webster suggests that this vase may represent Chryses begging Agamemnon for the release of Chryseis and that perhaps Ruvo, Jatta 1097 (which is related to Euripides' *Ion*) may illustrate the same play.	Stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, kneeling in front of), costume	
22	Apulian	volute-krater (fr.)	Ruvo	Baltimore Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 2396	340–320	***Aeolus*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 206.	Stage prop (throne), costume, pose (speaking gesture)	
23	Lucanian	hydria	Canosa	Amykos Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 1535	410	***Aeolus*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 28–33; Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, 233–236, fig. 71; *LCS*, 45, no. 221; *MTSP*^{2}, 153; Webster 1967, 303; *IGD*, III. 3, 4; *LIMC* I, Aiolos 1*; Dearden 1999, 236; Todisco 2003, L 4; Taplin 2007a, no. 56. According to Todisco, Kalkmann 1883 has suggested that this vase is related to the *Hippolytus* by Euripides.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (couch), pose (despair)	Fig. 61
24	Apulian	bell-krater		Black Fury Painter (Group of)	Cambridge (Mass.), Sachler Mus., 1952.33	400–390	***Aetnaeae*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 8, pl. 5,1; *LIMC* VII 1, Thaleia II 2*; *LIMC* IV, Hebe 41; Todisco 2003, Ap 32.	Pose (distress)	
25	Apulian	hydria		Gravina Painter / Tarporley Painter (circle of)	Trieste, Mus. Civico S. 437	400–370	***Aetnaeae*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 9, pl. 4,3; *LIMC* VII, Thaleia II 1*; *LIMC* IV, Hebe I 38; Todisco 2003, Ap 11.	Pose (distress)	
26	Paestan	amphora	Nola	Boston Orestes Painter (circle of)	lost (once Naples, Hamilton Collection)	340–310	***Aetnaeae*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 10, fig. 2; *LIMC* VII, Thaleia II 4•; *LIMC* IV, Hebe I 40; Todisco 2003, P 23.	Stage prop (altar), pose (distress), inscription (thalia)	

27	Apulian	amphora	Ceglie	Darius Painter	Berlin Staatl. Mus. F 3239	340–330	***Aetnaeae*** (by Aeschylus); *Chrysippus* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 7, fig. 1; *LIMC* IV, Hebe I 39; *LIMC* VII, Thaleia II 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 183. Vogel 1886, 138–139, no. B; Huddilston 1898, 180; Séchan 1926, 315–316, fig. 91; *MTSP*^{2}, 156; Webster 1967, 298; *RVAp* II, 490, no. 22; *LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 3•; Phillips 1968, 11; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 46, pl. 30,1; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 88*; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 5.	Pose (distress, speaking gesture, supplication, knee on ground), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
28	Campanian	bell-krater	S. Agata dei Goti	Painter of Catania 737	St. Petersburg, 310 (St 812)	320–310	***Agamemnon*** (by Aeschylus)	Cautiously connected with Aesch. *Ag*. by Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 89–91, K 28, pl. 13,1. Todisco 2003, C 56. Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 91 notes that the soldier's young age and his Phrygian cap speak against the identification him as Agamemnon, but concludes that 'Vielleicht darf man dann doch für den Krieger auf unserem Vasenbild die Benennung Agamemnon vorschlagen'. Interpretation of this scene is a difficult task. The woman with the axe may well be Clytemnestra but the young soldier surely does not look like Agamemnon. In my opinion, they might as well be Cresphontes and Merope in Euripides' *Cresphontes*.	Architectural feature (column)	
29	Lucanian	kalyx-krater (fr.)		Policoro Painter (closely connected)	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 1331	410–390	***Agamemnon*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, L 13.		
30	Attic	lecythos		Alcimachos Painter?	Basel, Antikenmuseum (Leihgabe)	460	***Ajax*** (by Sophocles) or ***Thressae*** (by Aeschylus)	Schefold 1976, 71–78, fig. 15; *LIMC* I, Aias I 105*.	Inscription 'Glaucon kalos'	
31	Etruscan	stamnos	Vulci	Settecamini Painter	Paris, Cab. Méd. 947	early fourth century	***Ajax*** (by Sophocles) or ***Thressae*** (by Aeschylus)	*EVP*, 53–54, pl. 11.4; Davies 1971, 154–155, pl. 48.4; *LIMC* I, Aias I 108*.		
32	Etruscan	stamnos	Chiusi		Palermo, Cat. Ant. 1490	425–400	***Ajax*** (by Sophocles) or ***Thressae*** (by Aeschylus)	*EVP*, 39, 42; Séchan 1926, 130–131, fig. 39; *MTSP*^{2}, 146; Davies 1971, 154, n. 35, pl. 48.1; *LIMC* I, Aias I 107; *LIMC* II, Athena/Menerva 177*.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
33	Apulian	frs.	Salapia (Foggia)*	Darius Painter	Pulsano, Guarini coll. 155–157	340–330	***Ajax*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 151, no. 65f; Todisco 2003, Ap 140; *LIMC* Suppl, Eurysakes add. 1*.	Inscription	
34	Apulian	lebes		Berkeley Painter / the Painter of the Boston 00.348 (closely connected)	ex-Signorelli 231	350–340	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 5, pl. 7/2; *RVAp* I, 268, no. 52; *LIMC* I, Aias II 68.	Stage props (altar, statue, temple key), pose (horror, supplication, touching a statue)	
35	Apulian	volute-krater		Ilioupersis Painter	London, BM F160	350	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 2, pls. 8 and 10/1; *RVAp* I, 193, no. 8; *LIMC* I, Aias II 59 (= *LIMC* II, Athena 91).	Architectural feature (colum), stage props (altar, statue), pose (horror, supplication, sitting on altar)	Fig. 35

36	Apulian	volute-krater		Lygurcus Painter (closely connected)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82923 (H 3230	350	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 4, pls. 4–5; *RVAp* I, 421, no. 43; *LIMC* I, Aias II 56; *LIMC* II, Athena 92.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, statue), pose (astonishment, dismay, despair, supplication, touching a statue)	
37	Apulian	skyphos		Painter of Capua 7531	Geneva, collection Hellas et Roma, inv. HR 39	350–320	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Aellen, Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 259–262.	Pose (supplication, touching a statue)	
38	Apulian	bell-krater		Painter of Lecce 681	Lecce 681	370	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 1, pl. 1; *LIMC* I, Aias II 95*.	Stage props (altar, statue, bucranium), pose (distress, supplication, sitting on altar)	
39	Apulian	skyphos (fr.)			Sydney, coll. Cambitoglou	350	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 8, pl. 6/1; *LIMC* I, Aias II 76*.	Inscription	
40	Apulian	amphora (fr.)	Ruvo*	Darius Painter	Halle, Arch. Mus. 215	340–330	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 147; Moret 1975, 11, no. 6, pl. 10/2; *LIMC* I, Aias II 57*; Todisco 2003, Ap 175.	Stage props (altar, statue), pose (supplication, touching a statue)	
41	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Painter of the Birth of Dionysus (close to the work of)	Taranto 52265	400–375	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2},147; Moret 1975, 11, no. 3, pls. 2–3; *RVAp* I, 39, no. 24, pl. 12,2; *LIMC* I, Aias II 55*; *LIMC* II, Athena 93*; Todisco 2003, Ap 16.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, statue, temple key), pose (horror, supplication, touching a statue)	
42	Apulian (Gnathia)	vase (fr.)		Konnakis Group	Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum	360–350	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 9, pl. 7/1.		
43	Attic or Italiot	volute-krater	Ferrara, from tomb 136		Ferrara T 136 VP	400–390	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	LIMC I, Aias II 91*; LIMC II, Astyanax 4: 'attique, mais la possibilité d'une fabrique italiote n'est pas exlue').	Stage props (altar, statue), pose (dismay, supplication, sitting on altar, touching a statue)	
44	Campanian	bell-krater		Painter of Capua 7562 / Painter of BM F223 (closely connected)	Weimar, 194 WS (VIII, 426)	340–330	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 11, pl. 14; *LIMC* I, Aias II 70; *LIMC* II, Athena 94; Todisco 2003, C 50. According to Todisco, Touchefeu 1981 has suggested *Troades* by Euripides. In my opinion this vase better refers to *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles).	Stage props (altar, statue), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
45	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua	Cassandra Painter	Capua, Mus. Prov. 7554 (P 15)	370–350	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 147; *LCS*, 225, no. 1, pl. 88, 1–2; Moret 1975, 11, no. 10, pl. 12/1; Todisco 2003, C 4. (Also *Troades* by Euripides has been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
46	Campanian	hydria	Nola	Danaid Painter (closely connected)	London, BM F209	350–325	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 147, *LCS*, 433, no. 538; Moret 1975, 11, no. 12, pls. 12/2 and 13; *LIMC* I, Aias II 58*; *LIMC* II, Athena 95; Todisco 2003, C 53.	Stage props (altar, statue, temple key), pose (distress, supplication, touching a statue)	Pl. V.3

47	Paestan	neck-amphora		Boston Orestes Painter	Vienna 724	340–310	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 146; Moret 1975, 11, no. 13, pl. 11; *LIMC* I, Aias II 77*; Fitzpatrick 2003, 256; Todisco 2003, P 22.	Stage props (altar, statue, temple key), pose (supplication, touching a statue, horror)	
48	Sicilian	kalyx-krater (fr.)			Agrigento AG 2206	330	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 14, pl. 15; *LIMC* I, Aias II 69*.	Stage prop (statue), pose (supplication, touching a statue)	
49	Apulian	volute-krater	Apulia	Baltimore Painter (manner of) / Lasimos / Painter of Louvre K 67 (closely connected)	London, BM F278	320–310	***Ajax Locrus*** (by Sophocles); ***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Moret 1975, 11, no. 7, pls. 20/1−2, and 21/1−2; *LIMC* I, Aias II 78; *LIMC* IV, Helene 360*; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 12, Pelops 19*; Todisco 2003, Ap 229.	Stage props (statue, altar, throne, bucranium), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, touching a statue), costume	
50	Apulian	oinochoe		Painter of BM F308 (group of) / Chamay Painter (close)	Florence, La Pagliaiuola 116	355–340	***Alcestis*** (by Euripides)	Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976, 91–92; Saladino 1979, 97–101; *RVAp* I, 427–428, no. 68, pl. 158, 1–2; *LIMC* I, Alkestis 18*; *LIMC* II, Apollon 940; Green 1999, no. 12; Todisco 2003, Ap 110; Taplin 2007a, no. 32.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), bucranium	
51	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Darius and the Underworld Painters (forerunner of the circle of)	Basel, Antikenmuseum S 21	350–320	***Alcestis*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 5; Herrmann 1975, 89–90; Schmidt, Trendall and Cambitoglou 1976, 78–93, pls. 19–22; *RVAp* II 482, no. 16, pl. 171, 4; *LIMC* I, Alkestis 5*; *RVSIS*, 87–88, no. 196; Green 1999, no. 5, fig. 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 121; Taplin 2007a, no. 31.	Architectural features (portico, column), stage props (couch, bucranium), pose (compassion, bystander), iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, nurse), inscriptions	Pl. XI.1
52	Attic	epinetron / onos		Eretria Painter	Athens 1629	430	***Alcestis*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1250, no. 34; *IGD*, 75; *MTSP*^{2}, 154; *LIMC* I Alkestis 3*; Gogos 1983, 73, fig. 1.	Architectural features (column, doors), inscriptions	
53	Etruscan	volute-krater	Vulci	Alcestis (group)	Paris, Cab. Méd. 918	350–300	***Alcestis*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 178; Séchan 1926, 240–241, fig. 72; *IGD*, 75; *EVP*, 133, pl. 30,1–2; *MTSP*^{2}, 154; *LIMC* I, Alkestis 6*.	Inscriptions ‘Alcsti’ and ‘Admite’	
54	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1710	340–330	***Alcmaeon in Psophis / Corinth*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 490, no. 21; Green 1999, no. 38; Todisco 2003, Ap 174.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
55	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Boston, MFA 1989.100	340–330	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1 151, no. 65b, pl. 37,3; *LIMC* VI, Kreon I 9*; *RVSIS*, 90, no. 206; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 119–121, cat. no. 43 (with excellent photographs, also of the side B, with a Dionysiac scene); Schmidt 2003, g, pl. 14.1; Todisco 2003, Ap 146; Taplin 2007a, no. 58.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar), costume	Pl. XI.3

56	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Taranto	Painter of the Birth of Dionysus	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4600	400–390	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 6; Webster 1967, 298; *MTSP*^{2}, 127, 154, TV 42; *RVAp* I, 36, no. 11; Keuls 1997, 156–157, fig. 7; *LIMC* I, Alkmene 4, Amphitryon 1*; Dearden 1999, 238; Schmidt 2003, f; *TrGF* V, 219; Todisco 2003, Ap 15; Taplin 2007a, no. 57.	Pose (despair), inscription, stage prop (altar)	
57	Apulian	amphora (fr.)			Freiburg, Univ. S 550.	?	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	Schmidt 2003, 56–71, pl. 13; *LIMC* Suppl, Alkmene add. 2*.	Stage prop (altar), architetctural feature (column)	
58	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua*	Andromeda (group) / Painter of Louvre K 491	London, BM F193	360–340	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 34–36; Engelmann 1900, 56–63, fig. 19; Huddilston 1898, 180; Webster 1967, 298; *MTSP*^{2}, 154; *LCS*, 231, no. 36, pl. 90.7; Séchan 1926, 242–244, fig. 73; *LIMC* I, Alkmene 6; *LIMC* V, Hyades 1*; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 122–123; Schmidt 2003, b; Todisco 2003, C 5.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
59	Campanian	neck-amphora		Parrish Painter	New York, Coll. Raysor (once New York market)	350–320	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Alkmene 7, Amphitryon 3*; *LIMC* V, Hyades 3*; Schmidt 2003, c; Todisco 2003, C 13.	stage prop (statue), pose (supplication)	
60	Paestan	bell-krater	S. Agata dei Goti	Python	London, BM F149	360–320	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 33–34; Engelmann 1900, 52–56, fig. 18; Huddilston 1898, 179; Robert 1919, 275–278, fig. 212; Séchan 1926, pl. V; Webster 1953, 87; Gigante 1967, 86, pl. III; *IGD*, III. 3, 8; Webster 1967, 298; Phillips 1968, 11; *RVPa*, 139ff., 2/239, pl. 88; Keuls 1997, 155–156, fig. 3; *LIMC* I, Alkmene 5, Amphitryon 2*; *LIMC* V, Hyades 2*; Jouan and van Looy 1998, 122–3; Schmidt 2003, a; Simon 2004, 118–9, fig. 9.5; *TrGF* V, 219; Todisco 2003, P 15.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), inscriptions	Pl. V.2
61	Sicilian	krater or skyphos (fr.)	Entella*	Lentini-Manfria (attributed to the group of)	Contessa Entellina, excavation 1989, E 856	350–320	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides)	Schmidt 2003, e, pl. 14.2; Todisco 2003, S 15; Taplin 2007a, no. 106; *LIMC* Suppl, Alkmene add. 3*; Taplin 2012, 229, n. 18: 'I register, however, that it was a mistake to include no. 106 (263−4), the fragment excavated at Contessa Entellina: Green (2007b) is probably right to say that this is related to comedy not tragedy.'	Architectural feature (stage), stage prop (altar), costume, pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
62	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Lipari*, tomb 730	Syracuse Painter	Lipari, Mus. Arch. 9405	375–340	***Alcmena*** (by Euripides); ***Women of Colchis*** (by Anon.)	*LCS* Suppl 1, 102; *IGD*, III. 3, 7; *LIMC* I, Alkmene 3*; Schmidt 2003, d; Todisco 2003, S 12.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
63	Attic	fragment			Tübingen E 180	375–350	***Alope*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, 249–252, fig. 74; *MTSP*^{2}, 154; *LIMC* I, Alope 1*.		
64	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Ilioupersis Painter	Milan, Intesa Sanpaolo Collection, inv. F.G-00111A-E/IS	360−350	***Andromache*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 36–38; Huddilston 1898, 84–87, fig. 10; Séchan 1926, 253–255, fig 75; *MTSP*^{2}, 154 (where the vase is dated ca. 400–370); *IGD*, III. 3,9; Moret 1975, 108–109, 143, 176–80, no. 40; *RVAp* I, 193, no. 4, pl. 60,3; *LIMC* II, Apollon 890*; *LIMC* VI, Neoptolemos 25; *RVSIS*, no. 140; Giuliani 1996, 72ff.; Todisco 2003, Ap 72 (where the vase is dated ca. 365–350); Taplin 2007a, no. 43 (where the vase is dated ca. 360).	Architectural features (portico, doors), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), inscriptions, tripods	Fig. 60

65	Apulian	volute-krater	Ceglie	Ilioupersis Painter (closely connected / late follower)	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 3648	365–350	***Andromache*** (by Euripides); ***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides); ***Melanippos / Merops*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 75, 167, TV 11; *IGD*, III. 5.5; *RVAp*, I, 210, no. 144; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 6; *LIMC* VI, Makaria 3*; *LIMC* VI, Klymene II 1*; Todisco 2003, Ap 84.	Architectural features (portico, doors) stage prop (altar), costume, tripod, pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions	
66	Apulian	hydria		Baltimore Painter	Germany, private coll.	330–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Danali-Giole 1982/4, 184, no. 9; *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 156, no. 60a, pl. 30,1; *LIMC* VI Kepheus I 12* (where the vase is erroneously ascribed to the Darius Painter).	Pose (speaking gesture, despair)	
67	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Baltimore Painter	Germany, private coll.	320–310	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Schauenburg 1989, 28, figs. 9–11; *RVap* Suppl. 2.2, 280, no. 43f.		
68	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Baltimore Painter	Florence, Coll. La Pagliaiuola 154 (once Fiesole, Coll. Constantini)	320–310	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Moret 1975, 184–186, no. 122; Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976, 56, no. 5; Saladino 1979, 105–106, figs. 7–9; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 15*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 17; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 183, no. 4; *RVAp* II, 869, no. 47, pl. 329,4–5; Todisco 2003, Ap 209.	Stage prop (rocky arch), costume	
69	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Baltimore Painter	London Market, Sotheby's Sale Cat. 8.7.1991, no. 303	320–310	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.2, 280, no. 47b; Schauenburg 1989, 29–31, figs. 12–14; *LIMC* IV, Kepheus I 15a*.	Pose (horror)	
70	Apulian	oinochoe	Bari/Canosa	Baltimore Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 1016	320–300	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Engelmann 1900, 6–7, fig. 1; Séchan 1926, 262–263, fig. 82; Phillips 1968, 13, pl. 13, figs. 38–40: 'from Bari, the fourth quarter of the fourth century B.C.'; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 16*: 'aus Canosa, späteres 4. Jh v. Chr.'; *RVAp* II 874, no. 75; Todisco 2003, Ap 204.	Stage prop (throne)	
71	Apulian	oinochoe		Baltimore Painter (circle of) / White-Saccos Painter	Galerie Palladion	320–310	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Described in Schauenburg 1989, 31. I have not been able to see a picture of this vase.		
72	Apulian	hydria		Chamay Painter (closely related)	London Market, Sotheby's Sale Cat. 11.12.1989, no. 179	340	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 111, no. 64a, pl. 25, 3; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 9.	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (speaking gesture, despair, supplication, kneeling in front of)	
73	Apulian	amphora (fr.)	Ruvo	Darius Painter	Halle, Arch Mus. 214	350–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, 260–1, fig. 79; Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 11, pl. 12, figs. 34–36; Moret 1975, 184–6, no. 121; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 12; *LIMC* VIII, suppl., Kassiopeia 1*; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 183, no. 3; *RVAp* II, 504, no. 86: Todisco 2003, Ap 180.		

74	Apulian	hydria		Darius Painter	London Market, Sotheby's Sale Cat. 11./12.7.1983, no. 351	330–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Danali-Giole 1982/4, 184, no. 8; *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 78, no. 63a, pl. 11, 3–4; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 13.	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (despair, supplication, kneeling in front of)	
75	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Irsina	Darius Painter	Matera, Mus. Ridola 12538	350–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*IGD* III. 3, 12; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 10, pl. 10, fig. 27, pl. 11, figs. 28–29; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 64*; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1534; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 11; *LIMC* VIII, suppl., Kassiopeia 8; *RVAp* I 501, no. 65; Todisco 2003, Ap 172.	Pose (speaking gesture, despair), stage prop (throne)	
76	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Canosa	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82266 (H 3225)	350–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 39–41; Huddilston 1898, 180; Séchan 1926, 259, pl. VI; Schmidt 1960, 43–9, pl. 13; Webster 1967, 304; *IGD*, III. 3, 11; *MTSP*^{2}, 154; Phillips 1968, 10, pl. 10, fig. 24; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 13*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 15; *RVAp* II, 500, no. 58; Todisco 2003, Ap 181.	Pose (despair), costume	
77	Apulian	pelike		Darius Painter	Formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 87.AE.23	330	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 151, no. 69a, pl. 38,2; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 14*; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 217*; Todisco 2003, Ap 143; Taplin 2007a, no. 63. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi,* no. 49.	Pose (supplication, kneeling in front of, speaking gesture), stage prop (throne), inscriptions	
78	Apulian	loutro-phoros/amphora, of special shape		Darius Painter (forerunner of)	Formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 84.AE.996	355–340	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 144, no. 16g, pl. 34, 3–4 (details): 'loutrophoros (or amphora), of special shape'; *RVSIS*, no. 182: 'combination of neck-amphora and loutrophoros'; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 10*: 'Lutrophoros besonderer Form'; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 189*: 'loutrophoros'; Todisco 2003, Ap 118: 'loutrophoros'; Taplin 2007a, no. 61 'loutrophoros'. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi,* no. 52.	Stage prop (rocky arch), costume	
79	Apulian	bell-krater		Dechter Painter	Christchurch (N. Z.), Canterbury Mus. 116/71	360	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Andromeda I 11*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus 8; *RVAp* I, 273, no. 83, pl. 90,5–6; *RVSIS*, no. 132.	Architectural feature (portico)	
80	Apulian	pelike (fr.)	Taranto	Felton Painter	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 855 (H 4606)	370–360	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 155 (where the vase is dated 350–320); Phillips 1968, 11, pl. 2, fig. 32; Moret 1975, 184–186, no. 120; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 10*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 7*; *RVAp* I, 175, no. 70, pl. 58,2 (photo of side B); Danali-Giole 1982/4, 182–183, no. 2; Dearden 1999, 242 n. 85; Todisco 2003, Ap 58; Taplin 2007a, no. 60.	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (despair, distress)	Fig. 38
81	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Gioia del Colle	Painter of the Bari Andromeda	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 5591	340–300	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Webster 1967, 305; *MTSP*^{2}, 155 (where the vase is dated 340–320); Phillips 1968, 11, pl. 2, fig. 30 (where the vase is dated 325–300); Moret 1975, 184–186, no. 123, pl. 95/1 (where the vase is dated ca. 310); *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 18* (where the vase is dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.); *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 19*; *RVAp* II, 928, no. 107; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 184, no. 7; Todisco 2003, Ap 235.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (rocky arch)	
82	Apulian	volute-krater		Sisyphus Painter (circle of)	Formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 85.AE.102	420–400	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 6, no. 90a ; *RVSIS*, no. 44; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 6* (where the vase is dated ca. 400); *LIMC* VII, Perseus 180 (where the vase is dated ca. 400); Green 1994, 22: 'A performance in Taranto in the early fourth century may be reflected'; Dearden 1999, 237 (where the vase is dated ca. 420); Todisco 2003, Ap 9; Taplin 2007a, no. 62. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi,* no. 43.	Stage props (wooden posts)	

83	Apulian	pelike	Armento*	Underworld Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 708	340–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 41–42; Huddilston 1898, 180; Engelmann 1900, 71–73, fig. 22; Séchan 1926, 259–60, fig. 77; Bates 1930, 218, pl. V; Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 10, pls. 10–1, figs. 25–26; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 14; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 16; *LIMC* VIII, suppl., Kassiopeia 3*; *RVAp* II, 536, no. 306; Todisco 2003, Ap 218.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	
84	Apulian	loutro-phoros			Rome, private coll.	?	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 107, no. 44−1, pl. 24, 1–4.	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (despair)	
85	Apulian	oinochoe			Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 318	375–340	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	1900, 73–5, fig. 24; Séchan 1926, 263, fig. 83; Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 9, pl. 9, fig. 21; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 138: 'die Bemalung nahezu völlig, wenn nicht ganz, modern ist'; Todisco 2003, Ap 112.	Pose (supplication, kneeling in front of), stage props (wooden posts)	
86	Apulian / Lucanian?	hydria	Anzi		London, BM F185	380–350	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 42; Huddilston 1898, 180; Engelmann 1900, 7–9, fig. 2; Séchan 1926, 261, fig. 81; Bieber 1961, 32, fig. 112; Webster 1967, 305; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 9, pl. 8, fig. 19; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 9* (where the vase is dated 380–370); *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 20: 'Lukanishe?'; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 184 (where the vase is dated ca. 350); Todisco 2003, Ap 62.	Architectural features (columns)	
87	Attic	bell-krater		Cleophon Painter	Basel, Antikenmus. BS 403	450–440	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1684/15; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 6*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 4; Green 1991, 42–43; Klimek-Winter 1993, 25; Green 1994, 20–22, 177–178, n. 10.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	
88	Attic	white-ground kalyx-krater	Agrigento	Phiale Painter	Agrigento, Museo Nazionale AG 7	450–440	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 2, 1; *MTSP*^{2}, 116, AV 53 [481], Phillips 1968, 7, pl. 7, fig. 15; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 5*; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 176; Green 1991, 42–43; Klimek-Winter 1993, 25; Green 1994, 20–22, 177–178, n. 10, fig. 2.4; Todisco 2003, A60.	Inscription ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ, stage props (wooden posts)	Pl. VIII.2
89	Attic	bell-krater	Vassallaggi near Gela	Polygnotus Painter (circle of)	Gela, Mus. Arch., V. 1818	450–440	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 117, AV 55 [483], Phillips 1968, 7, pl. 6, fig. 14; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 4; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 3; Green 1991, 42–43; Green 1994, 20–22, 177–178, n. 10. Todisco 2003, A50.	Costume	
90	Attic	kalyx-krater	Capua	Pronomos Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 3237	400	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 180; Engelmann 1900, 68, fig. 20; Séchan 1926, 258, fig. 76; Bieber 1961, figs. 110, 111a–c; Webster 1967, 304; *IGD*, III. 3, 10; *MTSP*^{2}, 50, AV 34; Phillips 1968, 7, pl. 6, fig. 17, pl. 7, fig. 16; *DFA*^{2}, fig 60; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 8; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 5*; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 179; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 182, no. 1; Klimek-Winter 1993, 64; Green 1994, 22–23, fig. 2.5; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 282–283; Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 139–140; *TrGF* V, 236, test. v; Todisco 2003, A71; Taplin 2007a, no. 59.	Costume, inscriptions	Fig. 37
91	Attic	hydria	Vulci		London, BM E 169	450–440	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Engelmann 1900, 10–11, 65–67, fig. 3; Petersen 1915, 607–617, pl. 1; Séchan 1926, 149–150, fig. 47; *IGD*, III. 2, 3; *MTSP*^{2}, 116, AV 56 [484], Phillips 1968, 6, pl. 6, figs. 11–12; Saladino 1979, 106–107; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 3*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 2; Green 1991, 42–43; Green 1994, 20–22, 177–178, n. 10.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	
92	Attic	pelike			Boston, MFA 63.2663	450–440	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 2, 2; *MTSP*^{2}, 117, AV 54 [482], Phillips 1968, 6–7, pl. 7, fig. 13; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 2*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 1; Green 1991, 42–43; Klimek-Winter 1993, 25; Green 1994, 20–22, 177–178 n. 10, fig. 2.3.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	
93	Attic	pelike (fr.)			Paris, Louvre (no inv. No.)	400	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Andromeda I 7*.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	

94	Campanian	hydria		Aegistus (group of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 164482	340–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 155; *LCS*, 245, no. 138; Phillips 1968, 9, pl. 8, fig. 20; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 20*; Todisco 2003, C 8.	Stage props (wooden posts), architectural feature (column)	
95	Campanian	hydria		Cassandra Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. IV 3238	370–350	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 78; *LCS*, 227, no. 8; Webster 1967, 305; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 12, pl. 13, fig. 37; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 19*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 21; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 190; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 183, no. 5; Dearden 1999, 242, n. 85; Todisco 2003, C 2.	Stage prop (rock)	
96	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua	Ixion Painter	S. Maria Capua Vetere, Mus. Arch. 184038	340–310	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Andromeda I 21; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 158, no. 786a, pl. 17.1; Todisco 2003, C48.	Pose (despair), stage props (wooden posts), costume	
97	Campanian	amphora		Whiteface Painter	Naples, private coll.	?	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Schauenburg 1989, 31, fig. 15.	Pose (despair), stage props (wooden posts)	
98	Campanian	bell-krater			Melbourne, Coll. Geddes C 5:0	375–350	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Todisco 2003, C 1.	Stage props (wooden posts), costume	
99	Lucanian	bell-krater (fr.)	Taranto	Creusa Painter	Heidelberg, Arch. Inst. 26.29	390–370	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 155; *LCS*, 90, no. 452; Phillips 1968, 8–9, pl. 8, fig. 18; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 61 n. 335; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 22*; Dearden 1999, 242, n. 85; Todisco 2003, L 27.	Stage props (wooden posts)	
100	Sicilian	bell-krater	Caltagirone*	Hecate Painter / Syracuse Painter	Caltagirone, Mus. Civ.	360–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LCS*, 590, no. 29; Webster 1967, 305; *IGD*, III. 3, 13; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 11, pl. 2, fig. 31; Moret 1975, 185–186, no. 124; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 23*; *LIMC* VII, Perseus 177, Phineus II 2; Danali-Giole 1982/4, 184, no. 6; Todisco 2003, S 11.	Stage prop (rocky arch)	
101		vase			Naples, Coll. Casanova		***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Mentioned in Vogel 1886, 43, no. D. I have not been able to see any pictures of this vase.		
102	Apulian	amphora	Armento / Lucania		Naples, Mus. Naz. 80914 (Stg 24)	?	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides); ***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 124–127, fig. 17; Séchan 1926, figs. 80, 109; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 15; Todisco 2003, Ap 241.	Pose (speaking gesture), stage prop (rocky arch)	
103	Apulian	dish	Canosa	Berlin F 3383 (Painter / circle of) / Arpi Painter (closely connected) / Helmet Painter	Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 8928	350–320	***Andromeda*** (by Sophocles and Euripides); ***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Webster 1967, 305; *MTSP*^{2}, 155; Phillips 1968, 9, fig. 23; Keuls 1978, 47, 61–64, fig. 3; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 25, pl. 12,1; Fracchia 1987, no. 3; Keuls 1997, 165, fig. 10; *LIMC* I, Andromeda I 17*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus I 18; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 14; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 14; *LIMC* VIII, suppl., Kassiopeia 4; *RVAp* II, 926, no. 97, pl. 363,1; Todisco 2003, Ap 238.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair, concolation), costume	
104	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Ceglie	Darius Painter	Berlin F 3240	340–320	***Antigone*** (by Euripides or Astydamas II)	Vogel 1886, 55–58 (Euripides); Huddilston 1898, 179 (Euripides?); Huddilston 1899, 195–197, fig. 2 (Euripides); Séchan 1926, 275, 290, fig. 86 (Astydamas); *MTSP*^{2}, 165 (Astydamas); Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976, 99–101; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 48–53 (Astydamas); *LIMC* I, Antigone 15• (Astydamas suggested on p. 819); Zimmermann 1993, 216–217, 223 (Astydamas); Todisco 2003, Ap 136.	Costume, stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture, astonishment)	Fig. 15, Fig. 40

105	Apulian	volute-krater (fr.)		Darius Painter	Karlsruhe, Badisches Landsmuseum B 1550	350–320	***Antigone*** (by Euripides or Astydamas II)	Huddilston 1898, 180 (Euripides); Huddilston 1899, 197–200, fig. 3 (Euripides); Séchan 1926, 275–276, 290, fig. 87 (Astydamas); *MTSP*^{2}, 165 (Astydamas); *LIMC* I, Antigone 16 (Astydamas suggested on p. 819); Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 49 (Astydamas); Zimmermann 1993, 216–217, 223 (Astydamas); Todisco 2003, Ap 153. Zuntz 1990, 93–106, pl. 20., after a careful study of this fragment (and also of Karlsruhe B 1549 which belongs to the same vase) proposes (very convincingly) that the persons depicted in the fragment are ΕΠΙΦΥ]ΛΑ, ΑΛΚΜ]ΑΙΩΝ and ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΗ.	Inscriptions	
106	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo*		Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 36734 (J 423)	360–320	***Antigone*** (by Euripides or Astydamas II)	Vogel 1886, 50–55 (Euripides); Huddilston 1898, 180 (Euripides?); Huddilston 1899, 192–195, fig. 1 (Euripides); Séchan 1926, 274–275, fig. 85; Bates 1930, 219–220, fig.5 (Euripides); Bieber 1961, 33, fig. 117 (Euripides); *MTSP*^{2}, 165, 74, TV 3 (Astydamas); Schmidt, Trendall, Cambitoglou 1976, 99–101; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 48–53, fig. 10 (Astydamas); *RVAp* I 403, no. 41, pl. 142.4; *LIMC* I, Antigone 14* (Astydamas suggested on p. 819); Zimmermann 1993, 216–217, 223 (Astydamas); Todisco 2003, Ap 89; Taplin 2007a, no. 64 (Euripides?).	Architectural feature (portico), pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions, costume	Fig. 39
107	Campanian	squat lekythos	Calvi	Caivano Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 4284	340–310	***Antigone*** (by Euripides or Astydamas II), or **Niobe** (by Aeschylus)	This vase was interpreted by Webster as depicting Antigone and Creon (*MTSP*^{2}, 131, NV 4 [531]: 'two women mourning beside a mound; aged king in tragic costume expostulating'; *MTSP*^{2}, 155: 'may possibly be a free illustration of the Euripidean *Antigon* e') but it is better to interpret the characters on the vase as Tantalus and Niobe. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 79 K 21, pl. 12,2; Trendall 1985, 137 n. 14; Fracchia 1987, no. 9; *LIMC* I, Antigone 19 ('wohl auszuscheiden'); *LIMC* VI, Niobe 17*; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 7; Todisco 2003, C 31.	Pose (dismay), costume	
108	Apulian	hydria	Ugento (from a grave)	Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (by the Painter himself?) (closely associated)	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 134905	425–400	***Antigone*** (by Sophocles)	Trendall, in *RVAp* I 8, no. 18, pl. 3.4: 'but it may well represent Antigone brought before Creon by two guards'; Krauskopf, *LIMC* I, Antigone 22: 'es sich hier um ein Paar handelt und nicht um A. und einen Wächter'; Dearden 1999, 237: 'neither the identity of the scene nor the clarity of its link with drama allow weight to be placed on it'; Taplin 2007a, no. 24: 'possibly related to Sophocles' *Antigone* , but more probably not related to any tragedy.'		
109	Attic	vase (fr.)				400–350	***Antigone*** (by Sophocles)	Jebb 19063, xl (referring to professor Rhousopoulos' description of the fragment in a letter to the French Academy) writes: 'the fragment shows the beautifull face of a maiden, – the eyes bent earnestly on some object which lies before her. This object has perished with the rest of the vase. But the letters ΕΙΚΗΣ remain; and it is certain that the body of Polyneices was the sight on which the maiden was gazing. ... The moment imagined by the artist may have been that at which Antigone returned, to find that the body had been again stripped of dust (v. 426).' I have not been able to see any pictures of this fragment.		
110	Lucanian	nestoris		Dolon Painter	London, BM F175	390–360	***Antigone*** (by Sophocles)	Huddilston 1898, 77; Séchan 1926, 141–142, fig. 43; *MTSP*^{2}, 147–148; *IGD* , III. 2, 4; *LCS* , 103, no. 539; *LIMC* I, Antigone 12*. This vase has also been interpreted as depicting Helena in front of Priam. See *LIMC* IV, Helene 189*; and Todisco 2003, L 32 for references.	Stage prop (throne), costume	

111	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Melbourne, Geddes Collection A 5:1	330–320	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	Trendall 1986, 160–162, figs. 4–5; *RVAp* Suppl. I, 79, no. 64d, pl 13,4.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
112	Apulian	bell-krater / kalyx-krater		Darius Painter / Underworld Painter	Melbourne, Geddes Collection A 5:4 (once London market)	330–310	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 163, no. 318a (attributed to the Underworld Painter); *LIMC* III, Dirke 6* (dated to 330, attributed to the Darius Painter); *LIMC* IV, Hera 491; *LIMC* VI, Lykos I 2, Lyssa 19; *LIMC* VII, Oistros 2*; Trendall 1986, 162–166, figs. 7–9 (dated ca. 320, attributed to the Underworld Painter); *RVSIS*, 261, no. 211; Taplin 1998, 35–37, pl. 9; Green 1999, no. 23, fig. 6; Joyce 2001, 224–225; Todisco 2003, Ap 214; Taplin 2007a, no. 66.	Costume, architectural feature (altar), iconogaphic figures (paidagogos-messenger, Erinys, Oistros), pose (speaking gesture, horror, distress, supplication, sitting on altar)	
113	Lucanian	hydria		Painter of Naples 1959	Winterthur 368	350–330	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 155; Webster 1967, 209: ‘An illustration of this scene (i.e. Antiope meeting her adult sons) may be seen in a Lucanian hydria in Winterthur’; Todisco 2003, L 55.		
114	Lucanian	pelike	Policoro	Policoro Painter	Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35297	410–390	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 130, 155, LV 7 [521]; Webster 1967 305; *LCS* 58, 288, pl. 27.4; *IGD*, III. 3, 14; *LIMC* III, Dirke 4; Trendall 1986, fig. 1; Taplin 1998, 33–35, pl. 8.1; Dearden 1999, 237–238; Allan 2001, 72, fig. 3; Joyce 2001, 224–225; Dearden 2002, 192; Todisco 2003, L 11; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.4.		
115	Paestan	kalyx-krater	Lipari, tomb 921	Asteas (circle of) / Painter of Louvre K 240	Lipari 9558	mid-fourth century	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	*LCS* Suppl. I, 32 (where the vase is attributed to Asteas or his circle); *RVPa*, 44, no 92, pl. 11c, d (where the vase is attributed to the Painter of Louvre K 240); Keuls 1997, 369–370, fig. 103: ‘I believe we have here Euripide’s Zeus-satyr, about to violate Antiope’.	Papposilenos	
116	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Palazzolo	Dirce Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3296 (L 2484)	380–370	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 60; Huddilston 1898, 180; Séchan 1926, 305–307, fig. 88; *MTSP*^{2}, 156; Bieber 1961, 34, fig. 120; Webster 1967 305; *LCS*, 203, 27; *IGD*, III. 3, 15; Phillips 1968, 11, pl. 2, fig. 33; *LIMC* I, Antiope I 6*; *LIMC* III, Dirke 5; *LIMC* VI, Lykos I 1; Trendall 1986, fig. 2; Csapo and Slater 1995, 60–62, pl. 3A; Keuls 1997, 365, fig. 96; Taplin 1998, 35, pl. 8.2; Allan 2001, 72–73, fig. 4; Joyce 2001, 224–225; Dearden 2002, 192–193; Todisco 2003, S 5; Taplin 2007a, no. 65. This vase is from the same tomb as Syracuse 36319 (which is related to a *Philoctetes*).	Stage prop (rocky arch)	Fig. 41
117	Sicilian	krater (fr.)	Lipari		Lipari 13183	350–320	***Antiope*** (by Euripides)	Trendall 1986, 159, fig. 3.	Inscription	
118	Apulian	volute-krater		Darius Painter	once New York market	340–330	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 157.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions	
119	Apulian	dish	Ruvo	Ilioupersis Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82039 (H 2562)	370–350	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, 103; *RVAp* I, 198, no. 52; March 1999, 36 n. 18, pl. 2a; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 7*; Todisco 2003, Ap 74.	Pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
120	Apulian	dish	Ruvo	Oxford G 269 (group of)	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 36129 (J 1617)	365–340	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 113, no. A; Séchan 1926, 103; *RVAp* I, 400, no. 27; March 1999, 36 n. 20, pl. 2c; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 10*; Todisco 2003, Ap 88.		
121	Apulian	phiale		Thyrsus Painter (closely connected)	London, BM F133	360–340	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 281, no. 190, pl. 91,3–4; Taplin 2004, 237–241; Taplin 2007a, no. 51.	Costume (boots)	Pl. XI.2

122	Apulian	bell-krater	Ruvo		Lecce 638	400–370	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 156; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 3*; Todisco 2003, Ap 19.		
123	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Spina*		Ferrara, Mus. Arch. Naz. 20482	370	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Pentheus 6**; RVAp* I, 180, no. 111, pl. 59.5; Todisco 2003, Ap 64.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
124	Apulian	vase (lost), (fr.)	Avellino		once coll. Minervini	360	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	March 1999, 36, n. 19, pl. 2b; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 17; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 13•.	Inscription	
125	Apulian / Lucanian	hydria / kalpis		Ilioupersis Painter (circle of)	Munich, Antikenslg. 3267 (J 807)	370–350	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 113, no. B; Huddilston 1898, 91–94, fig. 11: 'Lucanian hydria'; Séchan 1926, 103, 308–310, fig. 89: 'Lucanian kalpis'; Dodds 19602, xxxv: 'Italiote kalpis'; *RVAp* I, 204, no. 105: 'Apulian hydria'; March 1999, 36 n. 17, pl. 1c–d: 'Italiote kalpis'; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 2*: 'Apulian hydria'; Todisco 2003, Ap 76: 'Apulian hydria'.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
126	Attic	red-figure pyxis			Heidelberg, private coll.	410	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	March 1999, 36 n. 16, pl. 1a–b; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 1•.	Architectural features (columns)	
127	Campanian/ Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Centuripe	Chequer Painter	Catania Univ. 9421 (L 699)	410–380	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 143: 'may just be late enough for Euripides', (in *MTSP*^{2}, 156 Webster referred to this vase as Sicilian); *LCS* 198, no. 9; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 26; Dearden 1999, 236; Todisco 2003, S 2.		
128	Campanian/ Sicilian	skyphos	Campanian/ Suessula	Chequer Painter	Boston, MFA 03.824	410–380	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 143: 'may just be late enough for Euripides', (in *MTSP*^{2}, 156 Webster referred to this vase as Sicilian); *LCS* 199, no. 14, pl. 79.4; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 45*; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, 187–188, cat. no. 107: 'The Chequer Painter was active in Sicily at the end of the fifth century and in the early years of the fourth. Like this vase, several of his works have been found in Campania, where he may have emigrated later in his career; this early work may be an import from Sicily.'; Dearden 1999, 236; Todisco 2003, S 1.		
129	Paestan	oinochoe (fr.)		Boston Orestes Painter	Boston, MFA 1986.263	340–330	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, P 19.		
130	Etruscan	cup	Vulci	Settecamini Painter	Paris. Cab. Méd. 1066	350–300	***Bacchae*** (by Euripides); ***Cretes*** (by Euripides)	*EVP*, 54–55, pl. 10,3–5; *MTSP*^{2}, 156: 'maenads with limbs of Pentheus', 160 'Pasiphae with infant Minotaur' [on the other side of the vase]; *LIMC* VII, Pentheus 48: '1. Hälfte 4. Jh v.Chr.'		
131	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Taranto		Taranto, Mus. Naz. 52407	C4e	***Bassarae*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orpheus 63*.	Pose (supplication, knee on rock), costume	
132	Apulian	kalyx-krater			Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 2581	C4e	***Bassarae*** (by Aeschylus)	Caskey and Beazley 1954, 75; *RVAp* I, 168, 22; *LIMC* VII, Orpheus 60*.	Costume	
133	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)			Florence, Mus. Arch. PD 462	C4e	***Bassarae*** (by Aeschylus)	Caskey and Beazley 1954, 75; *RVAp* I, 168, 23; *LIMC* VII, Orpheus 62.		
134	Apulian	skyphos (fr.)	Taranto		Heidelberg Univ. 26.90	C4e	***Bassarae*** (by Aeschylus)	Caskey & Beazley 1954, 75; *RVAp* I, 167, 20; *LIMC* VII, Orpheus 61*.	Costume	
135	Attic	kalyx-krater			Malibu, Getty Mus. 80.AE.71	450−440	***Bassarae*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl., Orpheus add. 2*.		
136	Apulian	vase (fr.)		Black Fury Painter	Boston, MFA 13.206	395–370	***Callisto*** (by Aeschylus?)	Trendall 1977, 100, pl. 22, 5; *RVAp* I, 166, no. 10, pl. 54.2; *LIMC* II, Arkas 3a, Artemis 1388; *LIMC* V, Kallisto 5*; Todisco 2003, Ap 24 (395–385).	Pose (despair)	

137	Apulian	oinochoe		Black Fury Painter (closely connected in style)	Malibu, Getty Mus. 72.AE.128	370	***Callisto*** (by Aeschylus?)	Trendall 1977, 100–101, pl. 22, 1–3; *RVAp* I, 167, no. 12, pl. 54.6; *LIMC* II, Arkas 3; *LIMC* V, Hermes 387, Kallisto 6*: 'ca. 370'; Todisco 2003, Ap 22: '395–380'	Pose (despair), stage prop (altar in disguise)?	Pl. XX.2
138	Apulian	krater (fr.)		Black Fury Painter (follower of)	American private coll.	395–360	***Callisto*** (by Aeschylus?)	Trendall 1977, 100, pl. 22, 4; *RVAp* I, 168, no. 25; *LIMC* II, Arkas 1*: 'ca. 370', Artemis 1389; *LIMC* V, Kallisto 7: 'ca. 360'; Todisco 2003, Ap 25 '395–385'.	Pose (despair)	
139	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Judgement Painter	Cremona Mus. Civ. Dordoni coll. 23	380–360	***Callisto*** (by Aeschylus?)	Trendall 1977, 99–100; *RVAp* I, 263, no. 27a; *LIMC* II, Arkas 2*, Artemis 1385; *LIMC* V, Hermes 388, Kallisto 8; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 6*; Arrigoni 2004, 236–238, cat. no. 242; Todisco 2003, Ap 51. Trendall 1984, 610: 'The precence of Lyssa suggests a possible connection with a dramatic performance based on the Kallisto legend.' McPhee 1990, 944: 'The scene might then be based upon a lost tragic drama as the presence of Lyssa suggests.'	Iconographic figure (Erinys), inscriptions	
140	Attic	amphora	Vulci	Niobid Painter	Paris, Coll. Seillière	470–460	***Callisto*** (by Aeschylus?)	May be depicting Artemis, Callisto and infant Arcas, but more probably Artemis and Niobe with her daughter. *ARV*^{2}, 604, 51; *MTSP*^{2}, 142; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1347*; *LIMC* V, Kallisto 17 (under the title 'uncertain or incorrect identifications').		
141	Sicilian	kalyx-crater	Capodarso	Lentini-Manfria (group of)		fourth century	***Camicoe*** (by Sophocles)	Schmidt, Gnomon 42 (1970) 832; Sutton 1984, 29: '... showing three women and an old man may illustrate this play.'		
142	Apulian	krater (fr.)		Black Fury Painter (group of)	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 284	395–380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 3*;Todisco 2003, Ap 30.	Pose (despair, speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar), stage prop (altar)	
143	Apulian	volute-krater		Dijon Painter	USA, private coll.	380–370	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add.1*.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
144	Apulian	oinochoe	Canosa	Helios-Wind (group)	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 1014	325/320–305/300	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 29, pl. 18,1–3; *LIMC* I Aigisthos 47 'uncertain'; *LIMC* VI, Klytaimestra 19*; Todisco 2003, Ap 225.	Costume, stage prop (throne)	
145	Apulian	bell-krater	Taranto	Sarpedon Painter	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4605	400–380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 138; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 94, pl. 16,1; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 35*; Todisco 2003, Ap 37.	Stage props (altar, statue)	
146	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Gravina	Sisyphus painter (close)	Museo E. Pomarici Santomasi 177006	410–400	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* I, 22, 97; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 2*; Dearden 1999, 238; Todisco 2003, Ap 8.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair)	
147	Apulian	hydria		Tarporley Painter	once London market	390	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 4*.	Stage prop (altar)	
148	Apulian	pelike		Tarporley Painter (or a close follower)	Ithaca, Cornell Univ. 74.74.7	395–380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Barlow 1979, 219–225, pl. 32; LIMC III, Elektra I 57*: 'uncertain representation of Elektra'; Todisco 2003, Ap 35.	Stage prop (altar)	
149	Apulian	oinochoe		Wind Painter (group of)	Paris, Louvre K 320	325–300	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 31, pl. 17,1–2; *LIMC* I, Aigisthos 46*; *LIMC* 3, Erinys 27*; Todisco 2003, Ap 226.	Stage prop (throne), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
150	Apulian	fragment			once Rome, Curtius coll.	350	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 30, pl. 16,2; Todisco 2003, Ap 124.		

151	Apulian	hydria	Gravina		Taranto, Mus. Naz.	350	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 4.		
152	Apulian / Lucanian	hydria		Brooklyn-Budapest Painter / Rehearsal Painter	London BM F92	350	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	MTSP2, 138: 'Rehearsal Painter, 350/25 B.C.'; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 95, pl. 15,1; LIMC III, Elektra I 47*; Todisco 2003, L 21. Also Electra by Sophocles has been suggested to have inspired this painting, see Todisco for references.	Inscription ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, stage prop (throne)	Fig. 43
153	Attic	pelike		Jena Painter	Exeter University	380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 138, *ARV*^{2}, 1516, 80; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 1; Taplin 2007a, no. 1; *LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I 1*.	Architectural feature (column), inscriptions ΑΓ]ΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ and ΕΛΕΚΤΡΑ.	
154	Attic	bell-krater		Peleus Painter	Chicago, Univ. Smart Gall. 1967.115.244	430	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*AJA* 42, (1938), 358–359, fig. 27; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 55.		
155	Attic	skyphos	Lucania*	Penelope Painter	Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 597	440	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 2; *MTSP*^{2}, 138; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 34*. Todisco 2003, A46.		
156	Campanian	hydria	Capua	Capua Painter	S. Maria Capua Vetere, Mus. 79	360–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 15*; Todisco 2003, C 55.	Stage prop (altar)	
157	Campanian	hydria	Capua	Capua Painter	once S. Maria Capua Vetere, Mus.	360–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139, *LCS*, 366, no. 21; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 16; Todisco 2003, C 54.		
158	Campanian	neck-amphora		Danaid Painter	Hamburg, Coll. Termer I 25	340–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 94–95, frontispiece; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 208, 495a; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 19*; Todisco 2003, C 52.	Architectural feature (column), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
159	Campanian	hydria		Io Painter	Rome, Villa Giulia (once Rome, coll. Gorga 1238)	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 14*; Todisco 2003, C 14.	Architectural feature (column)	
160	Campanian	hydria		Ixion Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage ь 3164	340–310	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139, *LCS* 341, no. 815; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 65*; Todisco 2003, C 37.	Architectural feature (column)	
161	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua*	Ixion Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. VI 3167	340–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, C 40. Also *Electra* by Euripides has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (statue)	
162	Campanian	hydria		Laghetto Painter	Naples, private	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 64; *LCS*, 300, 519: 'Woman, youth, with daggar wearing pilos, youth with pilos (Electra, Orestes, and Pylades?).'		
163	Campanian	hydria		Libation (group) / Detroit Painter	Paris, Louvre K 428	350–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139, *LCS*, 404, no. 298, pl. 158, 2; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 17*; Todisco 2003, C 27.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair)	
164	Campanian	hydria		Libation Painter	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 874	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 94, pl. 14,2; *LCS*, 408, 318; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 61.	Architectural feature (portico)	
165	Campanian	neck-amphora		Libation Painter	Naples, private coll. 501	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 62; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 199, 304e, pl. 23,1–2.		
166	Campanian	hydria		Manchester Painter	London, BM 1949.9–26.1	350–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139, *LCS* 416, no. 371; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 18; Todisco 2003, C 26.	Architectural feature (altar)	

167	Campanian	hydria		Painter of BM F227	Vatican, 17989	330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Schauenburg, *RM* 85 (1978), pl. 61.1; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 63.		
168	Campanian/ Paestan	neck-amphora		Painter of Naples 2074	John W. Rowe Coll.	380–370	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 2*.	Architectural features (column, altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
169	Campanian/ Paestan	neck-amphora			Meyer Ebe coll.	?	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 7*.	Architectural features (column, altar), tripod	
170	Lucanian	bell-krater		Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	USA, private collection	390–380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 6*.	Architectural features (column, altar), pose (despair),	
171	Lucanian	bell-krater	Lucania	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 2	400–380	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LCS*, 109, 567; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 96, pl. 13,2; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 36; Todisco 2003, L 25.	Architectural feature (columns), stage prop (altar)	
172	Lucanian	nestoris		Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 1842	400–360	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	LCS, 113, 586; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 95–96, pl. 15,2; LIMC III, Elektra I 58 'uncertain'; Todisco 2003, L 20.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne)	
173	Lucanian	pan-athenaic amphora	Lucania	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter (closely connected)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82140 (H 1755)	400–370	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 44–47, fig. 1; *MTSP*^{2}, 138; Séchan 1926, fig. 26; *LCS*, 115, no. 597; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 6*; Todisco 2003, L 23; Taplin 2007a, no. 2.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), inscriptions ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, and ΗΛΕΚΤΡ[.	Fig. 42
174	Lucanian	hydria		Choephoroi Painter	Munich, Antikenslg. 3266 (J 814)	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 51–53, fig. 3; Séchan 1926, fig. 28; *IGD*, III. 1, 4; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 10*; Dearden 2002, 188; Todisco 2003, L 46.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair)	
175	Lucanian	hydria	Anzi*	Choephoroi Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81843 (H 2856)	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 9*; Todisco 2003, L 42.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair)	
176	Lucanian	hydria		Choephoroi Painter	Munich, Antikenslg. 3265 (J 812)	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, L 43.		
177	Lucanian	nestoris		Choephoroi Painter	Bryssels, Museés Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R 407	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, L 44.	Architectural feature (column)	
178	Lucanian	pan-athenaic amphora	Anzi*	Choephoroi Painter	once London, Coghill coll.	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 53–55, fig. 4; Séchan 1926, fig. 29; *LCS*, 122, 621; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 11; Todisco 2003, L 41.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair, speaking gesture)	
179	Lucanian	pelike		Choephoroi Painter	Paris, Louvre MNB 167 (K 544)	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 54–55; ; *IGD*, III. 1, 5; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 7*; Dearden 2002, 188; Todisco 2003, L 47; Taplin 2007a, no. 3.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair)	

180	Lucanian	bell-krater (fr.)	Metaponto	Dolon Painter	Metaponto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 29061	400–360	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 5; Todisco 2003, L 34.	Architectural feature (column)	
181	Lucanian	squat lekythos		Primato Painter	London, BM 1958,0214.1	360–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD* III. 1, 7; *MTSP*^{2}, 82, LV 3; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 60; Todisco 2003, L 53.	Architectural features (stage, doors)	Pl. II.2
182	Lucanian	volute-krater	Lucania	Primato Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82338 (H 1761)	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 69; *MTSP*^{2}, 153; *LCS*, 167, no. 927, pl. 73.1; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 12*; Todisco 2003, L 51. This scene has also been interpreted to depict Tyro and her sons (i.e. related to *Tyro I* or *II* by Sophocles), see Séchan 1926, 225−226.	Architectural features (portico, doors), pose (despair)	
183	Lucanian	pelike		Vaste Painter	Logic coll. Univ. of Canterbury, Christchurch (N.Z.) 156/73	400	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Dearden 1999, 238; *LIMC* I, Aigisthos 15*; Todisco 2003, L 17 (also *Electra* by Euripides has been suggested).	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
184	Paestan	neck-amphora		Asteas	New York, private collection	340–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 5: 'Zu Seiten einer Grabsäule auf einem mit Metopen dekorierten unterbau stehen l. E. und r. Orestes, beide durch Inscrift benannt.'	Architectural feature (column), inscriptions	
185	Paestan	squat-lekythos (fr.)	Paestum*	Asteas	Paestum, Mus. Arch. Naz. 3781-3783, 3789, 3793	365–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, 44; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 37; Todisco 2003, P 9.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar)	
186	Paestan	neck-amphora		Asteas (closely connected) / Painter of Würzburg H 5739	Malibu, Getty Mus. 80.AE.155.1	340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VI, Klytaimestra 31*; *RVPa* 183–184, no. 418, pl. 128; *RVSIS*, no. 382; Taplin 2007a, no. 5.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	Pl. XII.1
187	Paestan	neck-amphora		Asteas/worksho p of	Salerno, Soprintendenza Archeologica (once Nocera, Fienga coll.)	365–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 38*; Todisco 2003, P 10.	Architectural feature (column), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
188	Paestan	hydria		Boston Orestes Painter	Port sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery 5043	340–310	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 39*; Todisco 2003, P 21.	Architectural feature (column)	
189	Paestan	neck-amphora	Nola	Boston Orestes Painter	Boston, MFA 99.540	340–310	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 6; *MTSP*^{2}, 138; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 94, pl. 14,1; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 41*; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, no. 105, pl. XVIII; Todisco 2003, P 20.	Architectural feature (column), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
190	Paestan	lekanis lid	Paestum	Floral Painter	Paestum, Mus. Arch. Naz. 5422 a, b	325–300	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 138; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 22*; Todisco 2003 P 26.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar)	
191	Paestan	bell-krater	Monte-sarchio	Painter of Naples 2585	Benevento, Museo del Sannio 28195	330–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, P 24.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	

192	Paestan	cup		Painter of Naples 2585	Mannheim, Reiss-Museum Cg 361	330–320	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 40; Todisco 2003, P 25.	Architectural feature (column)	
193	Paestan	neck-amphora		Painter of the Geneva Orestes	Geneva, Coll. Hellas et Roma, inv. HR 29	370–350	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVPa*, 57 no. 1, pl. 15; Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamay 1986, 264–269; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 19a; Dearden 1999, 238; Todisco 2003, P 1; Taplin 2007a, no. 4.	Architectural feature (column), iconographic figures (Erinyes), speaking gesture	
194	Paestan	neck-amphora		Painter of Würzburg H 5739	Würzburg H 5739	350−340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVPa* 174, no. 379, pl. 118; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 21*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 40, *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 4, *LIMC* VI, Makaria I 4; Todisco 2003, P 17 (also Euripides' *Heracleidae* has been suggested, see Todisco for references).	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
195	Paestan	bell-krater		Python	once New York market	340–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 3*.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar, speaking gesture)	
196	Paestan	hydria	Paestum (Contrada Andriuolo, Tomb 7)	Python	Paestum Mus. Naz.	360–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 138; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 20; Todisco 2003, P 14.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
197	Paestan	bell-krater	Monte-sarchio, Tomb 272		Salerno, Sopritendenza 28189	350–330	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Galasso, E., *Tra i Sanniti in terra Beneventura* (1983), fig. 70; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 23.		
198	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Syracuse	Borelli Painter	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg.	330–310	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, S 20.		
199	Sicilian	kalyx-krater		Dirce Painter	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 36334	400–370	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, pl. 1.1; *LCS* 203, no. 26; *IGD*, III. 1, 3; *MTSP*^{2}, 138; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 13; Keuls 1997, fig. 97; Dearden 2002, 188; Todisco 2003, S 6. (Also Euripides' IT has been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
200	Sicilian	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Lipari*	Syracuse Painter (closely connected)	Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 9688	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, S 10.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
201	Sicilian-Paestan	neck-amphora			Malibu, Getty Mus. 80.AE.153	350	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVPa*, 50 no. 106; *LIMC* Suppl, Elektra I add. 8*.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar)	
202	Lucanian	hydria	Lucania	Choephoroi Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81841 (H 2858)	360–340	***Choephoroe*** (by Aeschylus) [body of the vase]; ***Phrixus*** (A and B?) (by Euripides) [neck of the vase]	Huddilston 1898, 47–51, fig. 2; Séchan 1926, fig. 27; Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 82, 163, LV 2; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 8*; *LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 46*; Todisco 2003, L 48.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (despair, speaking gesture)	

203	Apulian	hydria		Baltimore Painter	Florence, Coll. La Pagliaiuola 153 (once Fiesole, Coll. Constantini)	340–310	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides)	Saladino 1979, 102–104, figs. 4–6; *LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 4; *RVAp* II, 871, no. 55, pl. 331,2, 332,1–2, 334,2; Todisco 2003, Ap 203.	Pose (distress)	
204	Apulian	bell-krater	Sybaris*	Darius Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1968.12	350–320	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 16; *RVAp* II, 501, no. 66, pl. 180, 1; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1495*; *LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 2*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 60; Green 1999, no. 6, fig. 26; Todisco 2003, Ap 164; Taplin 2007a, no. 82.	Pose (distress, indignation), iconogaphic figure (paidagogos-messenger), costume (of Pelops), stage props (bucrania)	Fig. 64
205	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo*	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81942 (H 1769)	350–320	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 137–138, no. C; Huddilston 1898, 180; Séchan 1926, 317, fig. 92; *MTSP*^{2}, 157; Webster 1967, 298; *IGD*, III. 3, 17; *RVAp* II, 498, no. 48; *LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 1*; Green 1999, no. 28; Todisco 2003, Ap 176.	Pose (dismay), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
206	Attic /Faliscan	volute-krater			Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, D 87/1969 (formerly in the Pulzky collection)	420–400/380–350	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides)	Vogel 1886, 139, no. C; Séchan 1926, 315, fig. 90: 'Attic 420–400'; *MTSP*^{2}, 156: 'Attic 420–400'; Webster 1967, 298; *IGD*, III. 3, 18: 'second quarter of the fourth century B.C.'; *LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 6*: 'um 380 v.Chr.'; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 41.		
207	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	Naples, private coll. 370	340–300	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides) [neck of the vase]; ***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides) [body of the vase]	*RVAp* II, 866, no 27, pl. 325,2; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 14*; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 26*, Myrtilos 12, *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 10, Pelops 17; Todisco 2003, Ap 201.	Stage prop (altar, severed head of Hippodameias' suitor), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
208	Apulian	volute-krater (neck)		Baltimore Painter / White Sakkos Painter	Formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.14	320–310	***Chrysippus*** (by Euripides) [neck of the vase]; ***Phryges / Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus) [body of the vase]	*LIMC* III, Chrysippos I 4b*, *RVAp* II, 866, 26; Todisco 2003, Ap 231. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi*, no. 55.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), pose (speaking gesture), costume	
209	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Darius Painter	once Basel Market	330	***Creousa*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* Suppl 2.1 149, no. 59c, pl. 37,1; *LIMC* VIII, Xouthos 3*; Todisco 2003, Ap 141; Taplin 2007a, no. 28. Also Euripides' *Ion* has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Costume, stage props (altar), pose (speaking gesture)	
210	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Altamura	Darius Painter	Altamura, Mus. Arch. Stat.	340	***Creousa*** (by Sophocles)	RVAp II, 499, no. 57, pl. 179,1; LIMC VIII, Xouthos 2*; Todisco 2003, Ap 169. Also Euripides' Ion has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Costume, stage prop (altar, bucrania)	
211	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)		Darius Painter (circle of)	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 225 a–c	340	***Cretes*** (by Euripides)	Schmidt 1992, 306–311; Todisco 2003, Ap 155; Taplin 2007a, no. 90.	Pose (despair, supplication, sitting on altar), stage prop (altar), inscription	

212	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Taranto*	Orpheus of Milan (group of) / Lygurgus Painter (closely connected)	Amsterdam, Allard Pearson Mus. 2572 (Gids 1494)	355–340	***Cretes*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; Webster 1967, 299; *LIMC* II, Apollon 937; *LIMC* VI, Minos I 2*; *LIMC* VII, Pasiphae 4*; Todisco 2003, Ap 115.	Costume, inscription, tripod, pose (supplication, kneeling in front of)	
213	Apulian	kotyle (fr.)			Oxford 1922.208	410	***Cretes*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; Webster 1967, 299; *LIMC* III, Daidalos et Ikaros 19•; Todisco 2003, Ap 10.		
214	Apulian	volute-krater	S. Agata dei Goti		Naples, Mus. Naz. 81948 (H 1767)	350–320	***Cretes*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; Webster 1967, 299; *LIMC* III, Daidalos et Ikaros 20; Todisco 2003, Ap 212.	Pose (speaking gesture), stage props (altar, bucranium)	
215	Attic	squat lekythos			London, BM E 711	400–380	***Danae*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 157; *LIMC* III, Danae 7*.		
216	Apulian	hydria	Heraclea		Policoro, Mus. Naz. Della Siritide 38462	365–350	***Danaedes*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 81.		
217	Apulian	volute-krater		Ilioupersis Painter	Formerly Princeton Art Museum 1989.40	370–350	***Dictys*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Polydektes 6*; Karamanou 2002/3, 167–175; Todisco 2003, Ap 67; Taplin 2007a, no. 67; *LIMC* Suppl, Danae add. 8*. The vase has been returned to Italy.	Architectural feature (portico), costume, stage props (altar, statue)	
218	Campanian	neck-amphora			St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2077	440–420	***Dictys*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Polydektes 8*.		
219	Lucanian	pan-athenaic amphora	Anzi*	Choephoroi Painter	Copenhagen, National Museet 3407	360–330	***Dictys*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 157; *LCS*, 122, no. 617; *LIMC* VII, Polydektes 5*; Todisco 2003, L 49.		
220	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81953 (H 3219)	330–320	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 74, no. 3; *MTSP*^{2}, 139; Séchan 1926, fig. 23; *LIMC* III, Dionysus 798; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I 20*, Lyssa 11; Todisco 2003, Ap 184.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), costume, iconographic figure (Lyssa)	
221	Apulian	situla		Lycurgus Painter	lost, once Slg. Peiresc.	350	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl., Lykourgos I add. 3*.	Architectural feature (portico), papposilenos, pose (supplication, touching knees)	
222	Apulian	column-krater	Ruvo	Painter of Boston 00.348 / London, BM F57	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 32	380–350	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 19; *MTSP*^{2}, 128, TV 45; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 14*, Lyssa 10; Todisco 2003, Ap 48; Taplin 2007a, no. 12.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair, horror, supplication, touching knees)	Fig. 14
223	Apulian	barrel-amphora / loutro-phoros	Canosa	Underworld Painter	Munich, Antikenslg. 3300 (J 853)	330–310	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 74, no.1; *MTSP*^{2}, 139; Séchan 1926, 72; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 19*, Lyssa 12; Todisco 2003, Ap 220.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
224	Apulian	krater (fr.)			Taranto, Mus. Naz.	350	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139; Séchan 1926, 72; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 21*; Todisco 2003, Ap 126.		
225	Apulian / Lucanian / Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Locri	Locri Painter	Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 5013	380–360	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 74, no.5; *IGD*, III. 1, 14; *MTSP*^{2}, 140; *LCS*, 74, no. 374, pl. 35, 5–6; *LIMC* III, Dionysus 797*; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 18; Todisco 2003, S 8.	Costume	

226	Attic	hydria		Nausikaa Painter	Cracow, National Museum 1225	350–325	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 13; *MTSP*^{2}, 139; *ARV*^{2}, 1121, 17; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 26*; West 1983, 64.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
227	Attic	hydria		Painter of Louvre G 433 (closely connected)	Rome, Villa Giulia 55707	425–400	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 139; *ARV*^{2}, 1343a; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 12*.	Stage props (statues)	
228	Lucanian	volute-krater	Anzi	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82123 (H 3237)	400–375/360–350	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 74, no. 4; *IGD*, III. 1, 16; *MTSP*^{2}, 139, Séchan 1926, fig. 22; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 27*, Lyssa 7; Todisco 2003, L 19.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
229	Lucanian	bell-krater	S. Agata dei Goti*	Sydney Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81411 (H 2874)	360–350	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 74, no.2; *MTSP*^{2}, 139; *LCS*, 128, no. 651; Séchan 1926, fig. 18; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 13*; Todisco 2003, L 37.	Inscription	
230					Private coll.	320	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl., Lykourgos I add. 4*.	Architectural feature (portico), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
231	Apulian	bell/kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter	London, BM F271	360–340	***Edonoe*** (by Aeschylus) [A-side]; ***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides) [B-side]	Huddilston 1898, 74, no.6; Séchan 1926, figs. 21, 128; *IGD*, III. 1, 15; *MTSP*^{2}, 128, TV 46 [528], *RVAp* I, 415, 5, pl. 147; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1521, Apollon 927, Ares 92*; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 6*; *LIMC* VI, Lykourgos I, 28*, Lyssa 8*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 6; Green 1999, no. 18; Todisco 2003, Ap 96 a; Taplin 2007a, no. 13.	Stage prop (altar, rock, bucranium), pose (astonishment, speaking gesture), iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, Lyssa), architectural feature (column), tripod, costume	Fig. 53, Pl. XVIII
232	Apulian	krater	Pantanello		Metaponto, mus. Naz.	330	***Electra*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Aigisthos add. 3* (= Orestes add. 4): 'Da A. ein Theaterkostüm trägt, könnte hier die Tragödie Elektra des Euripides inspirierend gewesen sein.'	Costume	
233	Campanian	oinochoe		Aegisthus Group, workshop near	Adolphseck AV 166	350–340	***Electra*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, C 6.	Stage prop (altar)	
234	Etruscan	column-krater	Falerii		Berlin, Antikenslg. 30042	early fourth century/350–320	***Electra*** (by Euripides); ***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP* 2, 164; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 63; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 17*; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 66*: 'uncertain representation of Elektra'; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 66.	Architectural feature (columns), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
235	Apulian	bell-krater		Judgement Painter (closely connected)	London, BM F57	380–350	***Electra*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*APS*, 29, no. 1, pl. X, 45: 'Orestes, Electra and Chrysothemis'; *MTSP*^{2}, 148; *RVAp* I, 264, 34; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 56*: 'uncertain representation of Elektra'. See also M. Schmidt, Gnomon 42 (1970), 821; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 17; Todisco 2003, Ap 52. (Schmidt suggestes that this vase and another, *APS* 11, no. 1, pl. II, 8 = bell-krater, Heidelberg 26.85 = *LIMC* IV, Helene 155*, show the journeys of Hermione to Phthia [with Neoptolemus] and back to Sparta [with Orestes].)	Pose (despair)	
236	Lucanian	bell-krater		Sydney Painter	Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 689 (SK 195,69)	360–340	***Electra*** (by Sophocles)	*IGD*, III. 2, 5; *MTSP*^{2}, 148; Séchan 1926, fig. 44; *LCS* 128, no. 650, pl. 63.1; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 48; Todisco 2003, L 38; Taplin 2007a, no. 25.		

237	Lucanian	pelike	Policoro	Karneia painter	Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35304	410–390	***Erectheus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 157; *LCS*, 55, no 282, pl. 25, 3–4; *LIMC* II, Athena 177; *LIMC* IV, Eumolpos 19; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1997, 154; *TrGF* V, 393; Todisco 2003, L 6.		
238	Attic	pelike		Chicago Painter	Lecce, Mus. Arch. Prov. 570	460–450	***Eriphyle*** (by an anonymous author)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 17*; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 66*: 'uncertain representation of Elektra'; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 66. Todisco 2003, A37.	Inscriptions, stage prop (necklace)	
239	Lucanian	kalyx-krater	Pisticci	Pisticci Painter	Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 6957	440–410	***Eriphyle*** (by an anonymous author)	*MTSP*^{2}, 166; *IGD*, III. 5, 2; *LCS*, 21, no. 53; Todisco 2003, L 1.	Stage prop (necklace)	
240	Lucanian	pelike	Policoro	Policoro Painter	Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35292	410–390	***Eriphyle*** (by an anonymous author)	*MTSP*^{2}, 166; *IGD*, III. 5, 3; *LCS*, 58, no. 287; *LIMC* III, Eriphyle 11*; Todisco 2003, L 10.		
241	Apulian	column-krater		Bari Orestes Painter	Bari Mus. Arch. 1366	370–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 20*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
242	Apulian	bell-krater		Bendis Painter	Paris, Louvre G 515	350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 53; *LIMC* II, Apollon 985*.	Stage prop (altar)	
243	Apulian	volute-krater		Berkeley Painter	Vienna 1115	380–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140; Schauenburg 1977, pl. 70, 4; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 34; Todisco 2003, Ap 54.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos)	
244	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Black Fury Painter (closely connected to)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82270 (H 3249)	395–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 60–62, fig. 6; Séchan 1926, fig. 31; *MTSP*^{2}, 140; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 38, pl. 22,1; *RVAp* I, 167, 13; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1383; *LIMC* III, Erinys 50; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 12; Todisco 2003, Ap 23: '395–385 B.C'; Taplin 2007a, no. 7.	Stage prop (temple key), architectural feature (columns), iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (horror, supplication, Orestes at omphalos), tripods	Pl. III.2
245	Apulian	ribbed volute-krater		Dionysiac Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1494	350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140, *LIMC* VII, Orestes 17*; Todisco 2003, Ap 17.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (bucranium), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
246	Apulian	bell-krater		Eumenides Painter	once Milan Market, Finarte, Cat. 5, (1963) pls. 42,43	370	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* I, 97, no 4/230; Trendall 1990b, 213, n. 12, pl. 38.1.	Stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), tripod	
247	Apulian	bell-krater		Eumenides Painter	London, BM F166	370	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*APS* 22, no. 2, pl. V, 19–20; *RVAp* I, 97, no. 232; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 52; Trendall 1990b, 213 n. 13; Todisco 2003, Ap 43.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), tripod	Pl. VI.1

248	Apulian	bell-krater	Armento	Eumenides Painter	Paris, Louvre K 710	390–380	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 63–70, fig. 8; *MTSP*^{2}, 75 TV 13, Séchan 97, pl. I 2; Bieber 1961, fig. 96; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 41, pl. 20,2; *RVAp* I, 97, no. 4/229; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1382*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 63; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 48*; Trendall 1990b, 213 n. 12; Dearden 1999, 238; Giuliani 2001, 32–38, fig. 8; Todisco 2003, Ap 44; Taplin 2007a, no. 8.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), Iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
249	Apulian	oinochoe	Taranto	Felton Painter	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 214005	375–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Trendall 1973, 39; Schauenburg 1977, pl. 70, 1–3; *RVAp* I, 174, no 62, pl. 57.1; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 42, pl. 24,1; *LIMC* II, Athena 38*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 54; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 25; Todisco 2003, Ap 57.	Iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
250	Apulian	bell-krater	Apulia	Hearst Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. VI 4565	415–400	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 33, pl. 23,2; *LIMC* II, Athena 116*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 74; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 61; *RVAp* I, no. 1/32, Dearden 1999, 238; *RVSIS*, no. 43; Todisco 2003, Ap 4 (425–400B.C.); Taplin 2007a, no. 11.	Stage props (altar, statue), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
251	Apulian	bell-krater		Hoppin Painter	New Haven, Yale Univ. Art Gallery 1994.11.1	400–370	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 25, 17a; *LIMC* Suppl. Orestes add. 5*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos)	
252	Apulian	volute-krater	Ceglie*	Ilioupersis Painter (workshop of)	Berlin, Antikenslg. 3256	365–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 62–63, fig. 7; Séchan 1926, fig. 32; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 18*; Todisco 2003, Ap 78.	Pose (speaking gesture, distress, supplication, Orestes at omphalos), iconographic figure (Erinys), tripod	
253	Apulian	bell-krater		Ilioupersis Painter, closely connected	Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.421	360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl. Orestes add. 7*.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
254	Apulian	bell-krater		Judgement Painter (closely associated)	Boston MFA 1976.144	380–360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	LIMC III, Erinys 49; LIMC VII, Orestes 24*; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, cat. no. 17, pl. VI; Todisco 2003, Ap 50; Taplin 2007a, no. 10.	Stage prop (bucranium), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
255	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)		Moscow Pelike (group of)	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 221	375−350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Erinys 48; Todisco 2003, Ap 60.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
256	Apulian	bell-krater		Painter of Sydney 64	Brindisi, Coll. Faldetta 228	360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 29, 279a, pl. 3.3; *LIMC* Suppl. Orestes add. 6*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
257	Apulian	bell-krater		Painter of the Long Overfalls	St. Petersburg, Hermitage ь 298 (St. 1734)	380–360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* I, 83, no. 127; *LIMC* III, Erinys 65; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 51*; Trendall 1990b, 213 n. 13; Todisco 2003, Ap 45.	Stage props (altar, temple key), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
258	Apulian	bell-krater		Tarporley Painter	Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1917.65	400–380	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140; *RVAp* I, 46, 4; *LIMC* III, Erinys 70*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 56; Trendall 1990b, pl. 37.3–4; Todisco 2003, Ap 34.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	

259	Apulian	bell-krater		Tarporley Painter	New York market, once Melbourne, Geddes coll. A 4:8	400–380	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2, 12 no. 4a; Trendall 1990b, 212–214, pl. 36.1–2; Dearden 1999, 238; Todisco 2003, Ap 33; *LIMC* Suppl. Orestes add. 4*.	Stage prop (bucranium), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos)	
260	Apulian	bell-krater	Rudiae	Truro Painter	Lecce, Mus. Prov. 770	380–360 / 350–330	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 34, pl. 20,1; *LIMC* III, Erinys 60*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 30; Todisco 2003, Ap 55.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys), costume	
261	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Under-world Painter /Painter of Louvre K 74 (group of, near)	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 877	360–350 / 325–310	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 32, pl. 22,2; LIMC III, Erinys 55*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 21; Todisco 2003, Ap 223.	Stage prop (altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes), costume	
262	Apulian	(volute?)-krater (fr.)			Basel, Cahn coll. HC 273	380	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 39.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
263	Apulian	amphora			Naples, private coll.	320	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl., Orestes add. 8*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos)	
264	Apulian	fragment			Taranto Mus. Naz.	360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Schauenburg 1977, 252–253, pl. 70, 5; *LIMC* III, Erinys 47.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
265	Apulian	vase			lost,once Naples, Coll. Hamilton	375–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 33•; Todisco 2003, Ap 63.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
266	Apulian (Gnathia)	kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Konnakis Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. No. GR-4676 (B-1743)	360–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 56–60, fig. 5; *IGD*, III. 1, 10; *MTSP*^{2}, 80, GV 2; Séchan 1926, 95, fig. 30; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 35, pl. 21,1; *LIMC* III, Erinys 46*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 29*; Giuliani 2001, 32–38, fig. 9; Todisco 2003, Ap 93; Taplin 2007a, no. 9.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, temple key), pose (horror, supplication, Orestes at omphalos)	Pl. XII.3
267	Apulian / Lucanian	kalyx-krater		Primato Painter (close) / Letet Painter (group of, workshop of)	Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Chr. VIII 332 (B.S. 217)	360–350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 15*; Todisco 2003, Ap 90.	Pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), tripod, iconographic figure (Erinys)	
268	Attic	column-krater		Duomo Painter	Paris, Louvre K 343	450–420	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140, *ARV*^{2}, 1117; *LIMC* III, Erinys 42*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 22.	Stage props (bucranium, altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
269	Attic	bell-krater	Lentini	Hephaestos Painter	Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 41621	450–420	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140, *ARV*^{2}, 1115; *LIMC* III, Erinys 44*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 9. Todisco 2003, A59.	Stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	

270	Attic	hydria	Nola / Capua?	Later Mannerist	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 2380	450–420	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, 99; *MTSP*^{2}, 140, *ARV*^{2}, 1121; Schauenburg 1977, pl. 69, 2; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1384; *LIMC* III, Erinys 41*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 7; Giuliani 2001, 27–32, fig. 4. Todisco 2003, A31.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
271	Attic	column-krater		Naples Painter	San Antonio, Mus. of Art. 86.134.73	450–420	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140, *ARV*^{2}, 1097; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 10; Giuliani 2001, 27–32, fig. 5.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
272	Attic	column-krater		Orestes Painter	London, BM 1923.10–16. 10	440	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 8; *MTSP*^{2}, 140, *ARV*^{2}, 1112; *LIMC* III, Erinys 43; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 8.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
273	Attic	krater	Bologna, Certosa (Tomb 97)	Painter of Bruxelles R 330	Bologna, Mus. Civ. 221 (C 660)	440	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 11*.	Pose (indignation)	
274	Attic	pelike			Perugia, Museo Etrusco-Romano (un-numbered)	380–360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 140; *IGD*, III. 1, 9; *LIMC* III, Erinys 45*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 28; Taplin 2007a, no. 6.	Pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
275	Campanian	hydria		Danaid Painter, probably	Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 18.003 (U 55)	330	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 43; Moret 1975, 108, no. 39, pl. 50.1.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
276	Campanian	skyphos		Errera Painter	Capua, Mus. Prov. Camp. 7549 (P 46)	340–320	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 324, no. 726, pl. 126,7; *LIMC* III, Erinys 69*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 57; Todisco 2003, C 34.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
277	Campanian	hydria	Capua*	Ixion Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. V.I. 3164	340–300	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 340, no. 803, pl. 133,1; *LIMC* III, Erinys 58*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 26; Todisco 2003, C 41.	Pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
278	Campanian	skyphos		Painter of Zurich 2633	Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11392	350–320	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, C 20.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
279	Campanian	bell-krater		Parrish Painter	Milan, Mus. Civ. Arch. A 2162	350–330	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 251, no. 154; Schauenburg 1977, pl. 68, 1–2; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 37, pl. 23,1; *LIMC* III, Erinys 53*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 14; Todisco 2003, C 12.	Stage prop (altar), costume, pose (supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
280	Campanian	column-amphora			Paris, Cab. Méd. 884	340–330	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 44*.	Stage prop (altar), costume, pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
281	Campanian	guttus			London, BM G 48	350	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Orestes 35.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
282	Lucanian	nestoris	Lucania	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82124 (H 1984)	400–360	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 113, no. 588; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 39, pl. 19,1–2; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 78, Erinys 68*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 55; Trendall 1990b, 213 n. 13; Todisco 2003, L 24.	Iconographic figures (Erinyes)	

283	Lucanian	volute-krater	Naples	Primato Painter	Vatican, Mus. 17137 (W 1, R 6)	350–320	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 167, no. 926; Séchan 1926, fig. 33; *LIMC* III, Erinys 56; *LIMC* VI, Nike 301*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 27; Todisco 2003, L 54.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, knee on altar)	
284	Paestan	neck amphora	Paestum*	Asteas	San Antonio, Museum of Art 86.134.168	365–330	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* III, Erinys 51*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 13; Shapiro *et al.* 1995, no. 117; Todisco 2003, P 4.	Architectural feature (column), pose (supplication, Orestes at omphalos, distress), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
285	Paestan	squat lekythos	Paestum / Contrada Gaudo, Tomb 2	Asteas	Paestum, Mus. Arch. Naz. 4794	365–340	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 12; *MTSP*^{2}, 141; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 40; *RVPa*, 109, no. 142, pl. 62a; *LIMC* III, Erinys 64*; *LIMC* VI, Leto 69*; Manto 2*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 49; Trendall 1990b, 213 n. 12; Todisco 2003, P 7.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), inscriptions	
286	Paestan	bell-krater		Python	London, BM 1917.12–10.1.	365–340	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	Huddilston 1898, 70–72, fig. 9; *IGD*, III. 1, 11; *MTSP*^{2}, 141; Séchan 1926, pl. 2; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 36, pl. 21,2; *LIMC* II, Athena 626*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 52; *LIMC* VI, Leto 70*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 23; Todisco 2003, P 12.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), tripod	
287	Sicilian	bell-krater	Lentini	Chequer Painter (related)	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 37059	400–380	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 200, no. 21; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 32; Todisco 2003, S 3.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
288	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter (late work)	St. Petersburg inv. 1714 (St. 523)	375–340	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus) [neck of the vase]; ***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides) [body of the vase]	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 105; *MTSP*^{2}, 159; *IGD*, III. 3, 25; *RVAp* I, 416, no. 12; *LIMC* II, Archemoros 8*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 57; *LIMC* VI, Nemea 14*; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 16*; *LIMC* VII, Septem 13*; *LIMC* VII Suppl, Hypsipyle 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 101.	Stage prop (altar, bucranium), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
289	Lucanian	nestoris		Choephoroi Painter	Cambridge (Mass.), Harward University Museum 1960.367	360–320	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus) [body of the vase]; ***Phrixus*** (A and B?) (by Euripides) [neck of the vase]; ***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus) [neck of the vase]	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 125, no. 644, pl. 62,4–6; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 49, pl. 27,2; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 45; *LIMC* III, Erinys 59; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 19*; Todisco 2003, L 45.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (supplication, knee on ground), iconographic figure (Erinys)	

290	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Painter of the Moscow pelike	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1499	350–340	***Eumenides*** (by Aeschylus) [neck of the vase]; ***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides) [body of the vase]	Huddilston 1898, 180; Séchan 1926, fig. 145; Webster 1967, 301; *MTSP*^{2}, 141, 164; *LIMC* VII, Orestes 31; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 4*; Todisco 2003, Ap 38.	Stage props (altar, temple keys, letter), pose (despair, supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
291	Apulian	fragment		Painter of the Berlin Ganymedes	Copenhagen, National Museet 13433	355–340	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 117.	Pose (ingdignation)	
292	Apulian	situla		Chamay Painter	Basel, Münzen und Medaillen	350–340	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 127.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
293	Apulian	amphora	Canosa	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81952 (H 3218)	340–330	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* II, 497, no. 46; *LIMC* IV, Europe I 7*; Green 1999, no. 30, fig. 20; Todisco 2003, Ap 154.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
294	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Vatican Mus. 17200 (AA 1)	340–330	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* II, 507, no. 113; *LIMC* IV, Europe I 8*; Todisco 2003, Ap 168.	Iconographic figure (nurse?)	
295	Apulian	amphora	Ceglie	Darius Painter (closely connected) / the Perrone Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3241	340–330	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 188.	Pose (indignation)	
296	Apulian	oinochoe		Elmo Painter (closely connected)	Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 54079	315–300	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 11*; Todisco 2003, Ap 236.	Stage prop (altar/rock)	
297	Apulian	bell-krater		Ilioupersis Painter	Paris, Louvre K 3	365–355	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 4*; Todisco 2003, Ap 70.	Stage prop (rock)	
298	Apulian	fragment		Oxford G 269 (group of)	Kiel, Coll. Schauenburg	365–350	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 87.		
299	Apulian	cup		Patera Painter	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 189	340–320	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 196.		
300	Apulian	amphora	Canosa*	Perrone Painter	Vatican, Mus. 18106	340–330	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 9*; Todisco 2003, Ap 189.	Pose (distress)	
301	Apulian	dinos		Perrone Painter (closely connected)	Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Art Mus. 80.27.2	340–330	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 73; Todisco 2003, Ap 190.		
302	Apulian	bell-krater	Sicily (said to be)	Sarpedon Painter	New York, MMA 16.140	400–380	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 17; *MTSP*^{2}, 76, TV 16; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 19, pl. 8.1; West 1980, 350; *LIMC* VII, Sarpedon 14*; West 2000, 350; Dearden 2002, 194; Todisco 2003, Ap 36a; Taplin 2007a, no. 14.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), pose (horror)	Pl. IV.1
303	Apulian	fragment	Ruvo		Bonn, Akademisches Kuntsmuseum 149	?	***Europa*** / ***Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 242.		

304	Attic	oinochoe / mug			Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, LL 5060	430–420	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	Robertson 1988, with pll. 12.1–12.9; *LIMC* VII, Sarpedon 12*.		
305	Campanian	bell-krater		Parrish Painter	Paris, Louvre K 239	350–330	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 75*; Todisco 2003, C 11.		
306	Lucanian	hydria		Policoro Painter	London, BM F184	410–390	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 68; Todisco 2003, L 12.		
307	Lucanian	hydria	Policoro	Policoro Painter	Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35294	425–400	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LCS*, 57 no. 285, pll 26.2 and 27.2; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 20, pl. 8,2; *LIMC* I, Amazones 399*; *LIMC* VII, Sarpedon 13*; Dearden 1999, 237–238; Dearden 2002, 194; Todisco 2003, L 7; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.5.		
308	Paestan	kalyx-krater		Asteas	Formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 81.AE.78	365–330	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Europe I 74*; Todisco 2003, P 8. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi*, no. 47.	Inscriptions, pose (speaking gesture)	
309	Apulian	amphora	Canosa	Darius Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. 872	350–320	***Europa*** **/*Cares*** (by Aeschylus) [B-side]; ***Meleager*** (by Euripides) [A-side]	Séchan 1926, fig. 122; Webster 1967, 306; *IGD*, III. 3, 39; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *RVAp* II, 497, no. 44; *LIMC* II, Atalante 27*, Aphrodite 1525; *LIMC* III, Erinys 102*; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 41; Green 1999, no. 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 171.	Iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, erinys)	
310	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Underworld Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1984.45	330–310	***Hector*** (by Astydamas II) [body of the vase]; ***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides) [neck of the vase]	*LIMC* IV, Hektor 21*; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 27; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 23; Todisco 2003, Ap 213; Taplin 2007a, no. 101.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), architectural feature (column), stage prop (bucranium), costume,	
311	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Lucania	Darius Painter (workshop of)	London, BM 1900.5–19.1.	350–320	***Hecuba*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 99–100, fig. 13; Séchan 1926, fig 95; *MTSP*^{2}, 157; *IGD*, III. 3, 19; Todisco 2003, Ap 173; Taplin 2007a, no. 44.	Pose (consolation), costume	Fig. 48
312	Apulian	alabastros			Boston, MFA 00.360	365–350	***Helena*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 82.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
313	Campanian	lekythos		Aegisthus Group, workshop of	Francoforte, Museen für Vor- und Frühgeschichte VF b 619 (X 14356)	350–340	***Helena*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, C 7.	Pose (distress, speaking gesture?)	
314	Campanian	hydria		Laghetto Painter	Tokyo, Bridgestone Gallery 87	350–340	***Helena*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, C 10.	Architectural feature (colum), pose (speaking gesture)	

315	Apulian	bell-crater		Painter of Boston 00.348	Vatican T 2	380–350	***Helenes apaetesis*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 148; Séchan 1926, fig. 55; Todisco 2003, Ap 47.	Architectural feature (colum), stage props (bucranium, statue), pose (indignation)	
316	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	Formerly Maliby, J. Paul Getty Mus. 77.AE.13	340–320	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* IV, Hades 125, *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 15*; Todisco 2003, Ap 210. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi* , no. 54.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), costume	
317	Apulian	krater (fr.)	Taranto*	Darius Painter	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 2586	340–330	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 501–502, no. 607; Todisco 2003, Ap 161.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
318	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter (closely connected)	Karlsruhe, Badishes Landesmuseum B 4	355–340	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* III, Danaides 8, *LIMC* III, Erinys 11*; *LIMC* IV, Hades 130, *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 11*; *LIMC* IV, Herakles 2571, *LIMC* V, Kerberos 31; Todisco 2003, Ap 107.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture)	
319	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Underworld Painter	Munich, Antikenslg. 3297 (J 849)	340–310	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 533, no. 282, pl. 194; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 12*; Todisco 2003, Ap 222.	Architectural feature (portico, column), stage props (throne, altar), costume, pose (speaking gesture)	
320	Apulian	volute-krater		White Sakkos Painter	Kiel, Kunsthalle B 585	320–310	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* IV, Hades 124; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 13*; Todisco 2003, Ap 233; *LIMC* Suppl, Danaides add. 4*.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch)	
321	Apulian	volute-krater		White Sakkos Painter	Matera, Mus. Arch. Naz. 164510	320–310	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* IV, Hades 126; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 14*; Todisco 2003, Ap 234; *LIMC* Suppl, Danaides add. 2*.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch)	
322	Lucanian	pelike	Policoro	Policoro Painter (group of, associated with the Karneia painter)	Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35302	410–390	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*IGD* , III. 3, 20; *LCS* , 55, no. 283, pl. 25,5–6; *MTSP*^{2}, 130, LV 6; *LIMC* II, Apollon 241*, Athena 628; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 2*; *LIMC* VI, Kopreus 1*; *LIMC* VIII suppl, Kerykeion 4*; Dearden 1999, 237; Allan 2001, 74–76, fig. 6; Dearden 2002, 190; Todisco 2003, L 5; Taplin 2007a, no. 37; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.2.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar, statue), tripod	
323	Lucanian	column-krater		Policoro Painter (closely connected)	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1969.6	410–390	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*IGD* , III. 3, 21; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 20, no. 291a; Gogos 1984, 28−32, fig. 2 (’Das Vorbild unseres Vasenaltars dürfte daher mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ein Bühnenaltar gewesen sein’); *LIMC* I, Akamas et Demophon 20*, Alkmene 21; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 3; *LIMC* VI, Kopreus 2*; Dearden 1999, 237; Allan 2001, 76–78, fig. 7; Dearden 2002, 191; Todisco 2003, L 15; Taplin 2007a, no. 38; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.6.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), costume	Fig. 62
324	Paestan	neck-amphora		Painter of Würzburg H 5739	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5739	350–340	***Heracleidae*** (by Euripides)	*RVPa* , 174, no. 379, pl. 118; *LIMC* III, Elektra I 21*; Todisco 2003, P 17 (also *Choephoroe* by Aeschylus has been suggested, see Todisco for references).	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	

325	Paestan	kalyx-krater	Paestum	Asteas	Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. N.I.11094	365–340	***Hercules furens*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, fig. 155; Bieber 19612, 130, fig. 479a: 'a hilarotragedy'; *RVPa*, no. 2/127, pl. 46; *RVSIS*, 200, no. 355; *LIMC* I, Alkmene 18*; Hughes 1996, pl. 12; Simon 2004, 107: 'I do not see here a mixture of tragedy and comedy, a hilarotragedy, as some scholars have'; Todisco 2003, P 6; Taplin 2007a, no. 45: 'There is nothing in this picture that is comic in any appropriate sense of the word.'	Architectural features (porch roof, doors, columns), pose (dismay), inscriptions	Pl. II.1
326	Apulian	fragment		Lycurgus Painter (closely connected)	Sydney 53.10	355–340	***Hercules furens*** (by Euripides)	MTSP2, TV 7, 158: 'Perhaps the killing of Lykos'; IGD, III. 6, 5; Todisco 2003, Ap 105.	Architectural features (doors, column)	
327	Attic	kantharos	Nola	Amphitrite Painter	London, BM E155	460	***Hermione*** (by Sophocles); ***Ixion*** (by Aeschylus); ***Perraebides*** (by Aeschylus)	Vogel 1886, 141–142 (suggests Sophocles' Hermione); Huddilston 1898, 178; Séchan 1926, 392, fig. 115; *MTSP*^{2}, 142, 143; Moret 1975, pl. 42,1; *LIMC* V, Ixion 1*; *LIMC* V, Ixion 27: 'incertain ou erroné'; Todisco 2003, A 24. According to Beazley (*ARV*^{2}, 832, no. 37), side A of this vase shows Ixion (not Laocoon, as has also been proposed) attacked by serpents and side B shows Ixion condemned to the wheel.	Pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
328	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	Toledo, John Orr coll. (once Chicago Market)	340–320	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl 2.2, 275, no. 23h, pl. 75.1; Oakley, 1991, no. 6; Todisco 2003, Ap 202.	Pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (Erinys), Tripod	
329	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Geneva, coll. Sciclounoff	330–310	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Aellen, Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 161−165*; LIMC* V, Hermes 680*; *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I 77; Todisco 2003, Ap 186; Taplin 2007a, no. 40. Also a *Paris in Sparta* (by Anon.) has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Tripods, stage prop (couch), architectural feature (columns), pose (speaking gesture)	
330	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Darius Painter	New York, Levy Collection 231 (once Zurich Market)	340–320	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* III, Erinys 99; *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I 104; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 28; Oakley 1991, no. 4; Giuliani 2001, 21–24, fig. 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 145.		
331	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter	London, BM F279	340–320	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 108–112, fig. 15; Robert 1919, 361–364, fig. 276; Séchan 1926, fig. 99; *MTSP*^{2}, 158; *IGD* III. 3, 24; *RVAp* II, 487, no. 17, pl. 173,1; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1528, Athena 630; *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I 105; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 29; Oakley 1991, no. 3; Taplin 1997, 82, fig. 14; Green 1999, no. 19, figs. 4, 5; Todisco 2003, Ap 148; Taplin 2007a, no. 42.	Iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, Erinys), pose (distress)	Pl. V.1, Pl. XIII.1
332	Apulian	pyxis	Altamura	Darius Painter (school of)	Altamura, Mus. Arch.	340–330	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 22; *LIMC* VII, Phaidra 16*; Oakley 1991, 68 n. 5; *RVAp* II, 503, no. 73; Todisco 2003, Ap 170.	Pose (despair)	
333	Apulian	krater (fr.)		Hoppin Painter	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 237	380–370	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 107, 42; Hippolytos I 101*; Oakley, 1991, no. 2; Todisco 2003, Ap 40.		
334	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Anzi	Laodamia Painter	London, BM F272	350–340	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 102–108, fig. 14; Séchan 1926, fig. 96; *MTSP*^{2}, 128, TV 50; *RVAp* II, 481, no. 18/14, pl. 171, 1–2; *LIMC* II, Hippodam(e)ia II 13; *LIMC* VII, Phaidra 11*; *RVSIS*, no. 195; Catucci 1996, 47–69, pls. XIV–XXIII; Green 1999, no. 21; Todisco 2003, Ap 120; Taplin 2007a, no. 39. Also Euripides' *Protesilaus* has been suggested, see Todisco.	Stage props (throne, couch), pose (horror, despair, indignation, distress), iconographic figure (paidagogos-	Pl. IV.2
335	Apulian	volute-krater (fr.)	Ceglie	Painter of the Moscow Pelike (related)	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3257	350–325	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 100; *RVAp* I, 169, no. 32; *LIMC* IV, Eunomia 11*; Green 1999, no. 9.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), stage prop (couch), pose (speaking gesture), satyrs	

336	Apulian	volute-krater		Underworld Painter	Naples, private coll. 488	350–310	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 1, 86, 293a, pl. 17,4 ; *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I 103*; Oakley, 1991, no. 5; Todisco 2003, Ap 215.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
337	Apulian	bell-krater			Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 5597	400–370	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*IGD* , 88; Oakley 1991, no. 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 20; Taplin 2007a, no. 41; *LIMC* Suppl, Hippolytos I add. 9*.		
338	Apulian	fragment	Ruvo		University of Halle		***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 101.		
339	Apulian	kalyx-krater			Paris, private coll.	350–340	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Hippolytos I add. 10*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys?)	
340	Attic	krater (fr.)	Unknown (earlier said to be from Taranto)	Pronomos Painter (close)	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 4781	400	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Bieber 1961, figs. 34–35; *MTSP*^{2}, 49, 158; Todisco 2003, A72; Taplin 2007, 30, fig. 10; Csapo 2010b, 110–111, fig. 7.14.	Costumes, masks, aulos player	
341	Attic	hydria	Capua		Berlin, Mus. 3166		***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, fig. 98; *MTSP*^{2}, 158.		
342	Campanian	neck-amphora		Ixion Painter	New York, MMA 06.1021.239	340–310	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 158, *LCS* , 339, no. 795, pl. 131, 8–9; Todisco 2003, C 36.	Costume, iconographic figure (Erinys)	
343	Campanian	bell-krater		Painter of Naples 3227	Freiburg Market, Galerie Günter Puhze	350–320	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Oakley 1991, no. 8; *LIMC* Suppl, Hippolytos I add. 12*.		
344	Paestan	lekythos	Paestum	Primato Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81855 (H 2900)	350–330	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, fig. 97; *MTSP*^{2}, 158; *LIMC* VII, Phaidra 10*; Todisco 2003, L 52.	Stage prop (throne), pose (despair), costume	
345	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Lipari	Maron Painter	Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 340, from tomb 229 bis	375–350/350–320	***Hippolytus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 128, TV 44; *IGD* III. 3, 23; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1527; *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I 102; Oakley 1991, no. 7; Todisco 2003, S 16.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
346	Campanian	squat lekythos		Sharp Nose Painter (group of)	Adolphseck AV 167	350–340	***Hippolytus Kalyptomenos*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 158; *LCS* , 241, no. 113, pl. 95,8 (not 96,3). *LCS* , 241: 'The scene has been interpreted by Schauenburg *(Gymnasium* 67, 1960, p. 379) as representing Phaedra committing suicide by the bier of Hippolytus, from the *First Hippolytus* of Euripides'; Todisco 2003, C 9. See also Barret 1966, 43–44: 'a woman stabbing herself at base of pyre, on which lies a dead body'.		
347	Attic	cup		Brygos Painter	New York, MMA, Coll. Bareiss, L.69.11.35	425–400	***Hoplon crisis*** and ***Thressae*** (by Aeschylus)	Davies 1973, 60–70, pls. 9.1, 10.1, 10.2; *LIMC* I, Aias I 72* and 83* (exterior scene), 140* (tondo of the vase).		
348	Apulian	amphora	Ruvo	BM F308 (group of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81944 (H 1766)	355–320	***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 104; *MTSP*^{2}, 159; *LIMC* IV, Euneos et Thoas 2•; (see Gibert in Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 180: 'Doubtful identification'); Todisco 2003, Ap 109.	Stage prop (throne), costume pose (indignation)	
349	Apulian	volute-krater		Lasimus	Paris, Louvre K 66 (K 790)	340–320	***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 102; *MTSP*^{2}, 158; *LIMC* II, Archemoros 9*; *LIMC* IV, Euneos et Thoas 3; *LIMC* VII, Septem 15*; Todisco 2003, Ap 193; Taplin 2007a, no. 100. The inscription 'Lasimos painted this' may be modern, see Taplin 2007a, 290, n.77.	Stage prop (throne), pose (despair, speaking gesture)	

350	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)			Basel, Cahn coll. HC 295	375–350	***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 61.		
351	Paestan	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Taranto*	Python	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 3581	365–330	***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, 91; *MTSP*^{2}, 83, *PV* 5; *LIMC* II, Archemoros 2*; *LIMC* VII, Suppl., Hypsipyle 2; Simon 2004, 118 n. 32; Todisco P 16.	Stage prop (altar)	
352	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81934 (H 3255)	350–340	***Hypsipyle*** (by Euripides) [body of the vase]; ***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides) neck of the vase]	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 103; Webster 1967, 306; *IGD*, III. 3, 26; *MTSP*^{2}, 75, *TV* 8; *RVAp* II 496, no. 42; *LIMC* II, Archemoros 10*; *LIMC* IV, Euneos et Thoas 1*; *LIMC* V, Kapaneus 7*; *LIMC* VI, Nemea 15; *LIMC* VII, Septem 14*; *LIMC* VII, Suppl., Hypsipyle 15; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., Parthenopaios 9; Green 1999, no. 27, figs. 11, 12; *TrGF* V, 741; Todisco 2003, Ap 179; G.S. Chiesa and E.A. Arslan (eds.), *Miti greci. Archeologia e pittura dalla Magna Grecia al collezionismo*, 2004, no. 99 (with excellent photos of both sides of the vase); Taplin 2007a, no. 79; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 19*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 18; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 18, Pelops 27. For the other side of the vase, see also *LIMC* V, Herakles 2686 = *LIMC* V, Hesperides 56*. B-side: Dionysus with Ariadne between a maenad and two satyrs.	Architectural feature (porch roof), stage prop (couch), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), speaking gesture, name labels	Pl. XX.3
353	Apulian	volute-krater	Gravina	Gravina Painter	Gravina, Museo E. Pomarici Santomasi 177001	400	***Hypsipyle*** or ***Lemniae*** (by Aeschylus) [body of the vase]; ***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus) neck of the vase]	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 58; *RVAp* I, 32, no. 1, pl. 8,1−2; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 126; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 2*; *RVSIS*, no. 47: 'yet unexplained mythological scene on the obverse − perhaps concerned with the legend of Helen of Troy or with the arrival of the Argonauts at Lemnos'; Todisco 2003, Ap 13.	Architectural feature (column), pose (speaking gesture, astonishment, supplication, knee on ground)	
354	Apulian	volute-krater		Lycurgus Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 36822 (J 1097)	355–340	***Ion*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 417,16; *LIMC* II, Apollon 326*; *LIMC* VIII, Xouthos 1*; Schmidt 1979 (in Studies in honour of A. D. Trendall), 159–161, pl. 42; Todisco 2003, Ap 102; Taplin 2007a, no. 46. Also Sophocles' *Creousa* has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (altar), costume, pose (speaking gesture, horror)	
355	Attic	hydria	Nola		Mus. Cassel	?	***Ion*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, fig. 106. Also Euripides' *Orestes* or *Almaeon (in Psophis)* may have inspired this painting, see Séchan 1926,	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on	
356	Apulian	volute-krater	Lucania	Ilioupersis Painter (closely connected)	London, BM F159	380–350	***Iphigenia Aulidensis*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 179; Séchan 1926, fig. 108; *MTSP*^{2}, 159; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 30*; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1373; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 11*; *LIMC* VI, Kalkhas 23; Green and Handley 1995, fig. 22 'which surely reflects Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*'; Keuls 1997, 157–158, fig. 8; Todisco 2003, Ap 79; Taplin 2007a, no. 52.	Stage props (altar, bucrania)	Pl. XIX.1
357	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Baltimore Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1715 (St. 420)	340–320	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 133–135, fig. 20; Séchan 1926, fig. 113; *MTSP*^{2}, 74, TV 4; *IGD*, III. 3, 29; Cambitoglou 1975, 60–61; *RVAp* II, 863, no. 18; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1378*, Athena 629; *LIMC* V, Iris I 158, Iphigeneia 23*; Todisco 2003, Ap 208; Hall 2013, fig. IV.5.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, letter?, statue, temple key), pose (speaking gesture)	
358	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter (circle of) / Moscow Iphigenia (group of)	Moscow, Pushkin Mus. 504	350–330	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 135–139, fig. 21; Séchan 1926, fig. 114; *MTSP*^{2}, 75, TV 5; *IGD*, III. 3, 30a; Cambitoglou 1975, 61–62; *RVAp* II, 478, no. 8; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1379; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 22*; Todisco 2003, Ap 192.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, statue, bucrania, letter, temple key), pose (speaking gesture)	

359	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Hippolytus Painter	Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1469	345–330	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 134; *LIMC* Suppl, Iphigeneia add. 1*; Hall 2013, 21–22, fig. I.8.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, statue, letter), inscriptions	Fig. 49
360	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Ilioupersis Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82113 (H 3223)	370–350	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 127–131, fig. 18; Séchan 1926, fig. 111; Bieber 1961, 33, fig. 116; *MTSP*^{2}, 75, TV 6; *IGD*, III. 3, 28; Giuliani 1996, 72ff.; Cambitoglou 1975, 59; *RVAp* I, 193, no. 3; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1380; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 18*; Todisco 2003, Ap 73; Taplin 2007a, no. 47; Hall 2013, fig. IV.1.	Architectural features (portico, doors), stage props (altar, temple key), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar, astonishment), inscriptions	Fig. 17, Pl. XIII.1
361	Apulian	bell-krater		Iris Painter	Pavia, Museo Civico	380–350	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 110; *MTSP*^{2}, 159; Cambitoglou 1975, 60; *RVAp* I, 130, no. 265; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 14*; Todisco 2003, Ap 53.	Stage prop (temple key)	
362	Apulian	volute-krater		Painter of Bari 12061 / Darius Painter	(once Italian market), Mus. Arch. Matera	340	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 97, no. 126b, pl. 19,2; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 24*.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, statue, temple key, letter), tripod	
363	Apulian	bell-krater		Painter of Boston 00.348	Once New York, Atlantis Antiquities	350	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 63, no. 48a; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 21*; Taplin 2007a, no. 49.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (temple key, letter)	
364	Apulian	amphora	Lucania		ex-Buckingham, now lost	350–330	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 131–133, fig. 19; Séchan 1926, fig. 112; *MTSP*^{2}, 159; Cambitoglou 1975, 64–65; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1377•; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 20•; Todisco 2003, Ap 125.	Architectural features (portico, doors), stage props (letter, temple key), tripod, satyr	
365	Attic	red-figured kalyx-krater		Iphigenia Painter	Ferrara, Spina T 1145	400–380	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 50, AV 32; *IGD*, III. 3, 27; Cambitoglou 1975, 58–59; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1376; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 19*; Taplin 1997, 76–77, fig. 10; Taplin 2007a, no. 48; Hall 2013, fig. IV.2.	Stage props (statue, temple key, bucranium, letter)	
366	Campanian	bell-krater		Errera Painter (school of) / Painter of BM F63	Paris, Louvre K 404	350–320	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	Bieber 1961, 33, fig. 115; *MTSP*^{2}, 84, NV 2; *IGD*, III. 3, 31; Cambitoglou 1975, 62–64; *LCS*, 321, no. 702; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1375*; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 27*; Hughes 1996, n. 68; Todisco 2003, C 51; Hall 2013, fig. IV.4.	Architectural features (porticos, doors)	
367	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua*	Ixion Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2080 (W. 1033)	350–320	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 159; *IGD*, III. 3, 32; Cambitoglou 1975, 64; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 29*; Todisco 2003, C 39; Taplin 2007a, no. 50; Hall 2013, fig. IV.7.	Architectural features (portico, doors)	
368	Campanian	neck-amphora		Libation Painter	Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 51.17	350–320	***Iphigenia Taurica*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; *IGD*, III. 3, 30b; Cambitoglou 1975, 56–57; *LCS*, 406, no. 305, pl. 160, 4–5; *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 25*; Todisco 2003, C 23; Hall 2013, fig. IV.3.	Architectural feature (columns), stage props (altar, letter, temple key)	
369	Apulian	volute-crater, neck	Ruvo	Painter of Louvre K 67	St. Petersburg, Hermitage 424	330–310	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 117; *MTSP*^{2}, 160; *RVAp* II, 930, no. 117; Chamay 1984, 148, no. 8; *LIMC* III, Bia et Kratos 2*, Erinys 20; *LIMC* V, Ixion 3*; Todisco 2003, Ap 228.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne)	
370	Attic	skyphos (fr.)			Basel, coll. H.A. Cahn 541	410–400	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* III, Bia et Kratos 1*; *LIMC* V, Ixion 2.		
371	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua	Ixion Painter	Capua, Mus. Prov. Camp. 7336 (P 16)	350–320	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; *LCS*, 338, no. 788; Chamay 1984, 148, no. 10; *LIMC* III, Bia et Kratos 3*; *LIMC* V, Ixion 14*; Todisco 2003, C 35.	Pose (dismay)	

372	Campanian	neck-amphora	Cumae*	Ixion Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3023 (G 2371)	350–310	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 160; Séchan 1926, fig. 116; Webster 1967, 303; *IGD*, III. 3, 33; Chamay 1984, 148, no. 9; *LIMC* III, Erinys, 19; *LIMC* V, Ixion 15*; Todisco 2003, C 44.	Pose (dismay), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	Fig. 65
373	Lucanian	skyphos (fr.)		Dolon Painter (workshop of)	Metaponto	370–360	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	Chamay 1984, 148, no. 7; *LIMC* V, Ixion 13.		
374	Lucanian	cup		Schwerin Painter	Tübingen Univ. 67.6202	410–380	***Ixion*** (by Euripides)	Chamay 1984, 148, no. 6; *LIMC* V, Ixion 12*; Dearden 1999, 238; Todisco 2003, L 16.		
375	Apulian	oinochoe	Armento		Paris, Louvre K 36	370–350	***Lacaenae*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 149; *LIMC* III, Diomedes I 25*; *LIMC* IV, Helene 203; Todisco 2003, Ap 83.	Stage prop (statue), pose (speaking gesture)	
376	Apulian	skyphos (fr.)	Taranto		Heidelberg, Antikenmus. des Arch. Inst. der Univ. 26/75	340	***Lacaenae*** (by Sophocles)	Moret 1975, pl. 40.3; *LIMC* III, Diomedes I 30*.	Stage prop (statue)	
377	Apulian	oinochoe / pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo		Naples, Mus. Naz. 81401 (H 3235)	late fifth century/370–350	***Lacaenae*** (by Sophocles)	Huddilston 1898, 35; *MTSP*^{2}, 149; Séchan 1926, fig. 49; *LIMC* III, Diomedes I 27*; *LIMC* IV, Helene 201*.	Stage prop (statue), pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions	
378	Apulian / Lucanian	pelike	Ruvo	Group of Naples 3231	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81392 (H 3231)	370–350	***Lacaenae*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 149; Séchan 1926, fig. 48; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1427 [B], Athena 105*; *LIMC* III, Diomedes I 28; *LIMC* IV, Helene 202*; Moret 1975, pls. 34–35; Todisco 2003, Ap 91.	Architectural features (portico, doors), stage props (altar, statue, temple key)	Pl. XXI.1
379	Attic	cup	Apulia	Diomedes Painter	Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1931.39	400–390	***Lacaenae*** (by Sophocles)	*LIMC* III, Diomedes I, 32*.	Stage props (altar, statue)	
380	Apulian	fragment			Ruvo, Mus. Jatta	400	***Laocoon*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 149; Séchan 1926, fig. 50; Todisco 2003, Ap 14.	Tripod	
381	Apulian	column-krater		Prisoner Painter	London, BM F173	380–360	***Lycaeon*** (by Xenocles)	*RVAp* I, 76, no. 73, pl. 26,3–4; Todisco 2003, Ap 46.		
382	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Underworld Painter	Munich, Antikenslg. Inv. SH 3296	330–320	***Medea*** (by Anon.)	Huddilston 1898, 145–167, fig. 23; Robert 1919, 159–167 (160: 'Die Vase von Canosa illustriert die Medeia des Euripides'), fig. 130; Séchan 1926, 405ff, pl. VIII, Schmidt 1960, pl. 19a, 19b, 21; Bieber 1961, figs. 121, 122a–c; *MTSP*^{2}, 167, 75, TV 9; *IGD*, III. 5, 4; *RVAp* II, 533, no. 283, pl. 195; *LIMC* I, Aietes 1; *LIMC* II, Athena 631; *LIMC* IV, Hippotes 1, *LIMC* V, Hippotes 1*, Iason 74; *LIMC* VI, Kreousa II 17*, Medeia 29*, Merope II, 1; *LIMC* VII, Oistros 1*; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1982, 60–62; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, iii; Taplin 1997, 80–82, fig. 13; Green 1999, no. 25, fig.23; Morelli 2001, 113–120 (esp. 115 for references), pl. 4; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 5; Todisco 2003, Ap 219; Taplin 2007a, no. 102. (Also a *Jason* by Antiphon and a *Medea* by Dicaeogenes have been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (throne, altar), iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, nurse, Oistros), tripods, pose (speaking gesture, distress, and ashtonishment), costumes, inscriptions	Pl. XIV.1
383	Apulian	pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo/Canosa	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81954 (H 3221)	340–320	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 170–171, fig. 26; Séchan 1926, fig. 121; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *RVAp* II, 497, no. 43, pl. 178,1; *LIMC* V, Iason 73*; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 37*; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, vi; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 158; Taplin 2007a, no. 36.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	

384	Apulian	bell-krater	Pomarico*	Ilioupersis Painter (circle of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg 526	400–350	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 118; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *LIMC* VI, Kreousa II 16•; Green 1999, no. 26; Todisco 2003, Ap 77; Taplin 2007a, no. 33.	Stage prop (throne), pose (indignation, distress), iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, Erinys)	
385	Apulian	vase (fr.)		Lycurgus Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 30916	375–350	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 419, no. 28, pl. 152,5; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 38; *LIMC* V, Iason 72*; Sorvinou-inwood 1997, 275.		
386	Campanian	neck-amphora	Cumae*	Ixion Painter	Paris, Louvre K 300	340–320	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 120; *LCS*, 338, no. 786, pl. 131,3; *MTSP*^{2}, 84, NV 1; *IGD*, III. 3, 36; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 31*; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, v; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 7; Todisco 2003, C 45.	Architectural feature (columns), stage prop (statue), costume	
387	Campanian	neck-amphora	Nola	Painter of BM F223	Paris, Cab. Méd. 876	350–330	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 169–171, fig. 25; Séchan 1926, fig. 119; Weitzmann 1949, pl. 26.5; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *LCS*, 325, no. 739; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 30*; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, iv; Green 1999, no. 49; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 6; Todisco 2003 C 18.	Stage prop (altar), pose (dismay), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
388	Faliscan	bell-krater			St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2083	350–300	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VI, Medeia 39*; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 4.		
389	Lucanian	bell-krater	Apulia	Dolon Painter	Paris, Louvre CA 2193	400–360	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, pl. VII; *MTSP*^{2}, 130, LV 8; *IGD*, III. 3, 35; *LCS*, 100, no. 517; *LIMC* VI, Kreousa II 1*; Sorwinou-Inwood 1997, 285; Dearden 2002, 190–191; Dobrov 2001, 199, n. 55: 'Communis opinio ... as illustrating Sophokles' *Tereus* '; Todisco 2003, L 30. Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 148; Séchan, and Trendall and Webster suggest Euripides' *Medea*. Also *IA* by Euripides has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Pose (indignation)	
390	Lucanian	hydria	Policoro	Policoro Painter	Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35296	410–390	***Medea*** (by Euripides)	*LCS*, 58, no. 286, pls. 26,3 and 27, 3; *MTSP*^{2}, 129, LV 5 [519]; *IGD*, III. 3, 34; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1412*; *LIMC* V, Iason 70*; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 35*; *RVSIS*, no. 28; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, i; Taplin 1997, 78–80, fig. 11; Allan 2001, 73–74, fig. 5; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 1; Dearden 2002, 188–190; Todisco 2003, L 9; Taplin 2007a, no. 34; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.3.	Pose (despair), costume, inscription ΜΕΔΕΙΑ	Pl. XIII.3
391	Lucanian	bell-krater		Policoro Painter (closely connected)	Cleveland, Museum of Art 1991.1	410–390	***Medea*** (by Euripides); ***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VI, Medeia 36*; *LIMC* V, Iason 71; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 59*; Taplin 1993, 17, figs. 1.101, 1.102; Taplin 1997, 78–80, fig. 12; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, ii; Dearden 1999, 237; Dearden 2002, 189–190, 193; Mastronarde 2002, 66–69, no. 2; Todisco 2003, L 14; Taplin 2007a, nos. 35, 76.	Stage prop (altar), pose (dismay, mourning, supplication, knee on altar), iconographic figures (Erinyes)	
392	Apulian	volute-krater		Underworld Painter	Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University 1994.1	350–320	***Melanippe Sophe*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 162, no. 283d; Aellen, Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 190–199; *RVSIS*, 12, 91, 263–264; no. 210; Green 1994, 54–56, fig. 3.3; *LIMC* VI, Kretheus 1, Melanippe I 1; *LIMC* VII, Poseidon 194*; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., Hellen 1*; Green 1999, no. 2, figs. 7, 8; Todisco 2003, Ap 221; Taplin 2007a, no. 68.	Pose (consolation, speaking gesture), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), stage prop (bucranium), inscriptions	Pl. VI.2, Pl. XIX.2
393	Apulian	volute-krater	Armento	Lycurgus Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 80854 (Stg. 11)	375–330	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 123; Webster 1967, 306; *IGD*, III. 3, 40 (375–350); *MTSP*^{2}, 75, TV 10; *LIMC* I, Althaia 4*; *LIMC* III, Erinys 9*; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 42; *LIMC* VII, Theseus 307; *LIMC* VII, Peirithoos 77 [B]; *LIMC* VII, Peleus 42; Todisco 2003, Ap 106; Taplin 2007a, no 69.	Architectural features (porch roof, columns), pose (dismay, distress, despair), inscriptions	Fig. 66
394	Apulian	fragment			Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz.	C4	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 243.	Architectural feature (column), costume	

395	Attic	hydria	Ruvo	Meleager Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta J 1418	400–370	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1408,1; Webster 1967, 306; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 38*. Todisco 2003, A74.		
396	Attic	kalyx-krater		Meleager Painter	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 522	400–370	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1410,14; Webster 1967, 306; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 39.		
397	Attic	neck-amphora		Meleager Painter	Toronto, ROM 388	400–370	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1411,40; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 40.		
398	Attic	volute-krater		Meleager Painter	Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 158	400–370	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 306; *IGD*, III. 3, 37; *MTSP*^{2}, 161; *LIMC* VI, Meleagros 37*.		
399	Attic	amphora			Athens, N.M. 15113	400–370	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 306; *IGD*, III. 3, 38; *MTSP*^{2}, 161.		
400	Attic	pelike			St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 4528	370–360	***Meleager*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 306; *MTSP*^{2}, 161.		
401	Apulian	hydria	Arpi	Arpi Painter	Foggia 132726	315–300	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Keuls 1978, 46 n. 9; Fracchia 1987, no. 12; *RVAp* II, 925, no. 91, pl. 361; *RVSIS*, no. 265.	Stage prop (altar), pose (horror)	
402	Apulian	hydria		Darius Painter	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire HR 282bis	340–330	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 156, no 63e; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 13*; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 4; Todisco 2003, Ap 138; Taplin 2007a, no. 16.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair), costume	
403	Apulian	hydria		Ganymede Painter	Zurich Univ. 4007 (once Zurich market)	340–320	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	*RVAp* Suppl. I, 70, no. 18/11a, pl. 9,1; Trendall 1985, 137–138, fig. 10; Fracchia 1987, no. 7; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 40; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 19*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 58, Tantalos 6*; *RVSIS*, no. 242; Green 1999, no. 42, fig. 13; Todisco 2003, Ap 194.	Architectural feature (portico), small stage props, pose (dismay, despair), costume, iconographic figure (paidagogos-meesenger)	
404	Apulian	amphora / hydria		Painter of Boston 00.348	London, BM F93	360	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Trendall 1985, 137 n. 14; Kossatz-Deissmann K 23, pl. 9,1; Fracchia 1987, no. 10; Todisco 2003, Ap 49.	Pose (despair), architectural feature (column)	
405	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Painter of Louvre MNB 1148	Malibu, Getty Mus. 82.AE.16	350–325	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Trendall 1985, 129–144; Fracchia 1987, no. 6; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 39*; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 18*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 57; Todisco 2003, Ap 211.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair)	
406	Apulian	amphora		Varrese Painter (workshop of)	Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 99	355–340	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 22; Keuls 1978, 47–48, fig. 5; Trendall 1985, fig. 5; Fracchia 1987, no. 3; Keuls 1997, 160–161, fig. 11; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 16*; Giuliani 2001, 24–27, fig. 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 111.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair)	
407	Apulian	amphora	Canosa	Varrese Painter (workshop of)	Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz. 8935	355–340	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 26, pl. 10; Keuls 1978, 46, fig. 1; Fracchia 1987, no. 1; Keuls 1997, 160–161, fig. 9; *LIMC* I, Andromeda 17*; *LIMC* VI, Kepheus 18, Niobe 10*; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 2; Giuliani 2001, 24–27, fig. 2; Todisco 2003, Ap 114; Taplin 2007a, no. 15.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture, indignation, despair)	
408	Apulian	loutro-phoros / volute-krater	Ruvo	Varrese Painter (workshop of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82267 (H 3246)	350–340	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 75, 143, TV 12; Séchan 1926, fig. 24; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 24, pl. 9,2; Keuls 1978, 47, fig. 2; Trendall 1985, fig. 6; Fracchia 1987, no. 2; *LIMC* II, Apollon 1082; Keuls 1997, 159–160, fig. 6; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1350; *LIMC* VI, Leto 47, Niobe 12*; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 130.	Architectural feature (portico), pose (despair), small stage props	Fig. 50

409	Apulian	neck-amphora (fr.)	Rocca-gloriosa (from tomb 24)			390–380	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Trendall 1985, 138–139; Fracchia 1983, 291–298, figs. 1, 3 and 4; Fracchia 1987, no. 8; *LIMC* VI, Niobe 15•, *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 31.	Stage prop (altar), costume, pose (supplication, kneeling in front of)	
410	Attic	column-krater	the Sicel site of Sabucina		Caltanisetta S 2555	450–425	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	Robertson 1988, 113–114, pls.12.10 and 12.11: 'This can only be Niobe turning into a rock on Mt. Sipylos in Lydia.'		
411	Campanian	hydria		Libation Painter	Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 71.01 (once Italian Market)	345–320	***Niobe*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 23; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 27, pl. 11; Keuls 1978, 47, fig. 4; Fracchia 1987, no. 4; Keuls 1997, 159, fig. 5; *LIMC* VI, Leto 48, Niobe 11*; *LIMC* VII, Tantalos 5; Todisco 2003, C 22.	Architectural feature (portico), costume, pose (dismay, despair, supplication, kneeling in front of)	
412	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Darius Painter	Formerly Princeton Univ. Art Mus. 1989.29	340–330	***Niobe*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* VI, Niobe 20*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 50; Green 1999, no. 32, fig. 14; Todisco 2003, Ap 142; Taplin 2007a, no. 17. The vase has been returned to Italy.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (altar), pose (despair, supplication, kneeling in front of, speaking gesture), iconographic figures (paidagogos-messenger, nurse)	
413	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Baltimore Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Naz. Jatta 36735 (J 424)	340–310	***Niobe*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* II, 855–856, no. 27/24, pl. 324.2; Keuls 1978, 46, n. 9; Fracchia 1987, no. 11; *RVSIS*, no. 252; *LIMC* II, Apollon 1081*, Artemis 1351*; *LIMC* VI, Leto 49; *LIMC* V, Hermes 900; Green 1999, no. 35, figs. 9, 10; Todisco 2003, Ap 205.	Stage prop (throne), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), pose (distress, speaking gesture)	
414	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Painter of Schulthess (closely connected)	Melbourne, Geddes coll. A 5:8 (ex Sotheby, Sale Cat. Dec. 1985, no. 173)	350–340	***Oedipus Coloneus*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 136, no. 81, pl. 33,4; *RVSIS*, 88, 263, no. 200; *LIMC* VI, Ismene 2*; *LIMC* VII, Oidipous 91; Taplin 1997, 84–85, fig. 15; J. R.Green, *Ancient Voices. Modern Echos.* Exhibition Catalogue, 2003, no.1; Todisco 2003, Ap 131; Taplin 2007a, no. 27.	Architectural feature (columns), stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (Erinys), tripods	
415	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Darius painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81393 (H 3254)	340–330	***Oedipus Tyrannus*** (by Sophocles) [neck of the vase]	*LIMC* I, Achilleus 487; *LIMC* I, Antilokhos 17; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 58; *LIMC* III, Automedon 23; *LIMC* III, Erinys 104; *LIMC* IV, Hektor 72; *RVAp* II 495, no. 39; *RVSIS*, no. 204 .	[on the neck] Oedipus and Sphinx; [on the body] inscription ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΣ, speaking gesture, costumes, stage props (couch, bucranium)	
416	Italiot	volute-krater			lost	350–325	***Oedipus Tyrannus*** (by Sophocles)	Huddilston 1898, 77; Séchan 1926, fig. 45; *MTSP*^{2}, 150, TV; Todisco 2003, Ap 132.	Architectural feature (column), pose (speaking gesture), stage props (throne, bucranium), costume	

Appendix II. List of Vases

417	Sicilian	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Syracuse*	Capodarso Painter / Gibil Gabib (group)	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 66557	350–320	***Oedipus Tyrannus*** (by Sophocles)	*IGD*, III. 2, 8; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 276, no. 98a; *LIMC* I, Antigone 1*; *LIMC* V, Iokaste 5; *LIMC* VII, Oidipous 83*; *RVSIS*, 326, no. 429; Hughes 1996, n. 68; Keuls 1997, 364, fig. 94; Taplin 1997, 85–88, fig. 17; Green 1999, no. 50; Todisco 2003, S 14; Taplin 2007a, no. 22; Taplin 2012, fig. 11.1.	Architectural features (columns, stage?), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	Fig. 1
418	Paestan	hydria	Paestum*	Python	London, BM F155 (1362)	365–320	***Oeneus*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 125; *MTSP*^{2}, 83, PV 3, 130, 161; Webster 1967, 299–300; *IGD*, III. 3, 41; *LIMC* I, Agrios I 1*; Todisco 2003, P 13; Taplin 2007a, no. 70.	Stage props (altar, bucranium), iconographic figure (Erinys), costume	Pl. XXI.3
419	Apulian	amphora		Baltimore Painter	Bari, Coll. De Blasi-Cirillo 15	340–320	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 868, no. 40, pl. 327; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 11, Pelops 18*; Todisco 2003, Ap 207.	Stage props (throne, severed heads of Hippodameias' suitors), pose (speaking gesture)	
420	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Ruvo	Baltimore Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 37	325–300	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 5 (= Pelops 11); *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 154, pl. 29,1.	Stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture)	
421	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	once Zurich Market, Galerie Nefer	340–300	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 22*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 17, *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 21, Pelops 29; Todisco 2003, Ap 198.		
422	Apulian	volute-krater	Lecce*	Baltimore Painter (a late follower) / Painter of Louvre K 67 (closely connected)	London, Sir John Soane's Mus. 101 L	320−310	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 13*, Pelops 20; Todisco 2003, Ap 230.	Stage props (altar, statue)	
423	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage 4323	340−330	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 130; *RVAp* II, 487, 18, pl. 173,2; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1522; *LIMC* III, Erinys 106; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 13; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 23, Myrtilos 11; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 9', Pelops 16; Todisco 2003, Ap 151.	Stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (speaking gesture, astonishment), iconogaphic figure (Erinys)	
424	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81667 (H 3256)	340–330	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* III, Erinys 107*; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 20; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 24, Myrtilos 16, *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 19, Pelops 26; Todisco 2003, Ap 178.	Iconogaphic figure (Erinys)	
425	Apulian	volute-krater		Darius Painter (follower)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82344 (H1982)	325–300	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Todisco 2003, Ap 224.	Stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture)	
426	Apulian	pelike		Lycurgus Painter	once New York market, Merrin Gallery	350	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Pelops 7; *RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 110, 22b, pl. 25, 1.	Pose (astonishment), costume	
427	Apulian	volute-krater	Altamura	Lycurgus Painter (late follower)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81666 (H 3222)	350−330	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 431, no. 82, pl. 160,1; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 9*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 6, *LIMC* VII, Orpheus 73, Pelops 10; Todisco 2003, Ap 122. *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 10*.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), pose (speaking gesture), costume, inscriptions	

428	Apulian	situla	Ruvo*	Painter of Athens 1714	Rome, Villa Giulia 18003	365–350	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 126; *MTSP*^{2}, 75, TV 14, 150; *RVAp* I, 212, 149; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1277* and 1520; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 4*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 1*; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 2, Pelops 4, Pothos I 8; Todisco 2003, Ap 86; Taplin 2007a, no. 71.	Architectural features (porch roof, colum), inscriptions, pose (speaking gesture)	Fig. 52
429	Apulian	amphora		Perrone and Phrixos Groups (related)	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 697	340–330	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* III, Erinys 108*; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 21; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 22, Myrtilos 15*; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 20, Pelops 28; Todisco 2003, Ap 187.	Iconographic figure (Erinys)	
430	Apulian	hydria	Taranto	Sarpedon Painter	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4604	390	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 25*.	Costume	
431	Apulian	amphora	Ruvo	Varrese Painter	London, BM F331	360–340	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 129; *RVAp* I, 338, 5, pl. 109,2; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1519; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 12*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 10; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 8, Pelagon 1, Pelops 15, Periphas I 1*, Sterope I 4; Todisco 2003, Ap 113.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, severed heads), pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions	Fig. 54
432	Apulian	Loutrophoros		White Saccos Painter	Formerly Boston, MFA 1988.431	320	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 26*, Pelops 54. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi* , no. 53.		
433	Apulian	amphora	Ruvo*		lost	350–320	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 127; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 7; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 3; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 8•, Sterope I 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 133.	Architectural feature (column), stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (speaking gesture)	
434	Attic	neck-amphora	Casalta	Dinos Painter (manner of)	Arezzo, Mus. Civ. 1460	410	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 133; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 23*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 53.		
435	Attic	bell-krater	S. Agata dei Goti	Oinomaos Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82920 (H 2200)	380–370	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 131; *ARV*^{2}, 1440, 1; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1441; *LIMC* IV, Ganymedes 72; LIMC V, Hippodameia I 10*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 9; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 6, Pelops 13, Poseidon 199. Todisco 2003, A75. McPhee 1986, 715 *(LIMC* III, Elektra I, 55) suggests that this vase represents *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and it shows the influence of Euripides' play.	Stage props (altar, statue)	
436	Attic	hydria			New York, M.M.A. 21.88.162	400	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 150.		
437	Campanian	hydria		Cassandra Painter	Paris, Cab. Méd. 977	370–360	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 134; *LCS*, 228, 11 (9); *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 22*; Todisco 2003, C 3.		
438	Campanian	aryballos / squat lekythos	Capua*	Ixion Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3072 (G 2483)	340–330	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 135; *LCS*, 341, 819, pl. 134,1; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 21, Myrtilos 25*; *LIMC* VII, Pelops 51; Todisco 2003, C 43.	Iconogaphic figure (Erinys)	Fig. 55
439	Campanian	bell-krater	S. Agata dei Goti	Naples 3227 (group of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81444 (H 3227)	345–320	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 8; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 4*, *LIMC* VII, Pelops 9; Todisco 2003, C 21.	Pose (speaking gesture)	

440	Lucanian	bell-krater		Dolon Painter	Paris, Louvre K 17	390–360	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	Séchan 1926, 454 n. 3; *MTSP*^{2}, 162; *LCS*, 101, no. 523; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 11*; *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 7, Pelops 14; Todisco 2003, L 29. Webster (*MTSP*^{2}, 161–162) thinks that the vases collected by Séchan are better referred to Sophocles' *Oenomaus* and has only this vase on his list on vases concerning Euripides' *Oenomaus*.	Pose (indignation)	
441	Lucanian	hydria	Policoro	Policoro Painter	Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35300	410–390	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 22; Todisco 2003, L 8.		
442	Apulian	volute-krater	Taranto*	Black Fury Painter (closely connected)	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 127081	395–380	***Oenomaus*** (by Sophocles and Euripides); ***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Moret 1975, no. 22, pl. 36−37, 64/1; *RVAp* I, 169, no. 29; *LIMC* III, Diomedes I 29*; *LIMC* V, Hippodameia I 18*; *LIMC* VI, Myrtilos 14, *LIMC* VII, Oinomaos 17, Pelops 25; Todisco 2003, Ap 27. In the main picture *Phrouroe* by Ion of Chios has been suggested, why not Sophocles' *Lacaenae*?	Architectural features (doors, portico), stage props (altar, statue), costume	
443	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Lycurgus Painter (Painter himself / workshop of)	Milan, Museo Civico, A 1872 (St. 6873)	360–340	***Parthenopaeus*** (by Astydamas I?)	*MTSP*^{2}, 166; *IGD*, III. 4, 1; *LIMC* I, Adrastos 21; *LIMC* II, Apollon 802, 939, Atalante 91; Green 1999, no. 24: Todisco 2003, Ap 97; Taplin 2007a, no. 85.	Stage prop (couch), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), inscriptions, columns, tripods	
444	Apulian	hydria, fragment		Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (workshop)	Taranto Mus. Arch. Naz. 12566	400–390	***Pentheus*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 18.	Pose (dismay)	
445	Attic	jar (frs.)	Corinth	Leningrad Painter	Corinth T 1144	480−450	***Persae*** (by Aeschylus) or a ***tragedy about Croesus***	Beazley 1995, 305−319; Hammond, and Moon 1978; Hammond 1988, 5−22; *DFA*^{2}, 182−183, fig. 36; Taplin 1997, 69−70; Bardel 2005, 106–111.		
446	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Darius Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81947 (H 3253)	340–330	***Persae*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, pl. IX, *MTSP*^{2}, 76, TV 15; *IGD*, III. 5, 6; *LIMC* I, Apate 1; *LIMC* II, Apollon 919, Artemis 636*, Athena 604; *LIMC* IV, Hellas 5*; Green 1999, no. 29; Todisco 2003, Ap 182; Taplin 2007a, no. 92. This vase was found in the same tomb as Naples 81393 (H 3254), see Taplin 2007a, 289, n. 49.	Stage props (throne, altar, statue), pose (speaking gesture, indignation, supplication, kneeling in front of), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), costume, inscription ΠΕΡΣΑΙ	Pl. VII.1
447	Attic	fragment			Basel, Cahn coll. HC 1738	460	***Philoctetes*** (by Aeschylus?)	*LIMC* VII, Philoctetes 55a*; Taplin 2007a, 99, n. 36.		
448	Sicilian	kalyx krater	Lipari	Santapaola Painter	Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 11155	410–390	***Philoctetes*** (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, S 4.	Stage prop (bow)	

449	Sicilian	bell-krater	Palazzolo	Dirce Painter	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 36319	380–350	***Philoctetes*** (by Euripides?)	Séchan 1926, 489–493, fig. 144; Bieber 1961, 34, fig. 119 (According to Bieber this vase testifies that Euripides had a chorus of women and used Athena as a d*ea ex machina* .); *MTSP*^{2}, 162; Phillips 1968, 11; *LCS*, 204, no. 302; *LIMC* VII, Philoctetes 56; Todisco 2003, S 7; Taplin 2007a, no. 26. This vase is from the same tomb as Berlin F 3296, V 116 in this Appendix (which has been related to *Antiope* by Euripides).	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (speaking gesture), costume	Fig. 67
450	Attic	squat lekythos	Locri		New York, MMA 56.171.58	430	***Philoctetes*** (by Sophocles?)	Séchan 1926, fig. 143; Bieber 1961, 34, fig. 118 (Bieber thinks this vase is based upon the stage setting for Sophocles' play); *MTSP*^{2}, 162; *LIMC* VII, Philoctetes 21*; Todisco 2003, A 38.		
451	Apulian	fragment		Hearst Painter	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 2534	425–400	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 144; *RVAp* I, 13, 44; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 43, pl. 25,1; *LIMC* III, Boreadai 10*; *LIMC* VIII, Phineus I 12; Todisco 2003, Ap 5.		
452	Attic	column-krater	Altamura*	Leningrad Painter	Paris, Louvre MNC478 (G 364)	470–450	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 144; *ARV*^{2}, 569; *LIMC* VIII, Phineus I 21. Todisco 2003, A17.		
453	Attic	neck-amphora	Camiros	Nikon Painter	London, BM E 302	470–450	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 1; *IGD*, III. 1, 25; *MTSP*^{2}, 144; *ARV*^{2}, 652; *LIMC* IV, Harpyiai 10*.	The Harpies are labelled ΚΑΛΟΣ. According to Trendall and Webster (*IGD*, 59), the throne and the footstool allude to the *ekkyklema* .	
454	Attic	stamnos		Painter of the Yale oinochoe	Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. Chr. VIII, 8	470–450	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 24; *MTSP*^{2}, 144; *ARV*^{2}, 502; *LIMC* VIII, Phineus I 19. Todisco 2003, A16.		
455	Attic	neck-amphora		Painter of the Yale Lekythos	London, BM E 291	470–450	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 144; *ARV*^{2}, 662. Todisco 2003, A15.		
456	Boeotian	skyphos			Berlin, V.I. 3413	430	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* IV, Harpyiai 11*; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, pl. 24,2.		
457	Lucanian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Amykos Painter	Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 36820 (J 1095)	425–400	***Phineus*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 26; *MTSP*^{2}, 129, LV 4; *LCS*, 47, no. 243, pl. 19; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 43, pl. 25,2; *LIMC* III, Boreadai 11*; *LIMC* IV, Harpyiai 17*; *LIMC* VIII, Phineus I 13*; Todisco 2003, L 2; Taplin 2007a, no. 19.	Costume, small stage props	
458	Campanian	neck-amphora	Apulia	Ixion Painter	London, BM F338	350–325/330–310	***Phoenissae*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 162; *LCS*, 339, no. 797; Green 1999, no. 47; Todisco 2003, C 47.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), pose (speaking gesture), costume	
459	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)		Darius Painter	Oklahoma Univ. C. 53.455	340–330	***Phoenix*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 129, TV 52; *IGD*, III. 3, 42; *LIMC* VII, Peleus 229*; Todisco 2003, Ap 167; Taplin 2007a, no. 80.	Pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions	
460	Apulian	krater (fr.)		Darius Painter	Taranto, Mus. Naz.	340	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 7; *RVAp* II, 497, 42a		

461	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa / said to be from Taranto	Darius Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1984.41	340–330	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2/1 147, 41b, pl. 35.4; *LIMC* IV, Euphemia 1*; *LIMC* II, Aphrodite 193, Athamas 8; *LIMC* VI, Nephele II 2*; *LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 1*; Green 1999, no. 7, figs. 24, 25; Todisco 2003, Ap 159; Taplin 2007a, no. 81.	Stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), costume, inscriptions	Fig. 68
462	Apulian	bowl			Münster, Univ. 673/9	330	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 530, 277; *LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 27*.		
463	Attic	neck amphora	Capua*		Naples, Stg. 270	440–430	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1161; Webster 1967, 303; *MTSP*^{2}, 163; *LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 2*. Todisco 2003, A56.		
464	Lucanian	bell-krater		Choephoroi Painter	Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11091 (L 232)	360–340	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, L 50.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture)	
465	Lucanian	nestoris		Choephoroi Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. F 3144 (1021)	360–340	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, L 39.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar)	
466	Lucanian	nestoris	Anzi*	Choephoroi Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82109 (H 1988)	360–340	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	Todisco 2003, L 40.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar)	
467	Lucanian	amphora		Dolon Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 6254	400–360	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 6, 4; *MTSP*^{2}, 168: 'One thinks of the stepmother plays such as Euripides' *Ino* and *Phrixos B*'; Todisco 2003, L 28.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
468	Paestan	kalyx-krater	Paestum	Asteas	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82411 (H 3412)	365–340	***Phrixus*** (A or B?) (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 304; *MTSP*^{2}, 163; *LIMC* VI, Nephele II 1*; *LIMC* VII, Phrixos et Helle 26*; Todisco 2003, P 3.	Inscription	
469	Apulian	volute-krater (fr.)		Baltimore Painter	Foggia, Mus. Civ. (I.G. 132821)	345–320	***Phryges / Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 200.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), costume	
470	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter (circle of)	Paris, Louvre K 67 (AC 2), N 3159, K 67	325–300	***Phryges / Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* I, Achilleus 527; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 1, pl. 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 227.		
471	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)		Black Fury Painter (group of)	New York, M.M.A. 20.195	400–390	***Phryges /Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 5, pl. 2,1; *IGD* III. 1, 21; *MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 665*; Todisco 2003, Ap 21; Taplin 2007a, no. 21.	Pose (despair), costume, architectural feature (column)	
472	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter (circle of)	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. No. GR-4651 (B-1718)	350	***Phryges / Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 141, Séchan 1926, pl. 3; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 4, pl. 2,2; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 664*; *RVAp* I 424, no. 55; Taplin 2006, 61–62, figs. 1–2; Todisco 2003, Ap 104. Taplin 2007a, no. 20. On the other side of the vase there is a picture of Jason with the golden fleece, see *LIMC* II, Argonautai 21*.	Stage props (couch, altar), pose (despair, speaking gesture), costume of Priam	Fig. 69
473	Apulian (Gnathia)	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Taranto	Konnakis Painter (closely connected)	New York, MMA 10.210.17A–D	350	***Phryges / Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 6, pl. 3,2; Mercier 1995, 314–315: 'perhaps more likely the *Ransom of Hector* of Dionysius I'; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 666*; Todisco 2003, Ap 123.	Stage prop (couch)	

474	Attic	kalyx-krater (fr.)		Polygnotos	Vienna University 505	450–440	***Phryges* / *Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 18–19; *MTSP*^{2}, 141; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 660.		
475	Italiot	stamnos		Praxias	Munich 890 J	460?	***Phryges* / *Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 36; *MTSP*^{2}, 141.		
476		relief-krater			Berlin F 3884		***Phryges* / *Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 3. 'Wahrscheinlich nicht antik.'		
477		vase			lost		***Phryges* / *Hectoros lutra*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 2.		
478	Apulian	oinochoe		Ascoli Satriano Painter	Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 1989.30	340–330	***Prometheus Lyomenos*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* VII, Prometheus 72 bis?; *RVAp* Suppl. 2.2, 224, 878b, pl. 57,1		
479	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Sybaris*	Branca Painter (workshop of the Darius Painter)	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1969.9	350–320	***Prometheus Lyomenos*** (by Aeschylus)	*IGD*, III. 1, 27; Moret 1975, 185–6, no. 124; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 45, pl. 26,1–27,1; *RVAp* II 476,6 pl. 169; *LIMC* II, Apollon 928, Athena 627; *LIMC* III, Dike 13*, Erinys 21; *LIMC* VII, Prometheus 72*; Simon 1982, 21; De Vries 1993, 517–520, fig. 1; Keuls 1997, 158–159, fig. 4; Todisco 2003, Ap 129; Taplin 2007a, no. 18.	Stage prop (rocky arch), pose (speaking gesture), iconographic figure (Erinys)	Fig. 7
480	Apulian	lekythos			Munich, Antiken sig. 9679	340	***Prometheus Lyomenos*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl, Prometheus add. 2*.	Stage prop (rocky arch)	
481	Attic	kalyx/bell-krater (fr.)	Gordion		Gordion Museum exc. inv. nos. P 4714, P 4715, P 4716	370–360	***Prometheus Lyomenos*** (by Aeschylus)	De Vries 1993, 520–523, fig. 2.		
482	Attic	pelike	Suessula		Cancello (Spinelli)	460–450	***Prometheus Vinctus*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 46, AV 12, 145.		
483	Lucanian	skyphos	Pisticci	Pisticci Painter (close)	Metaponto 20150	late fifth century	***Prometheus Vinctus*** (by Aeschylus)	*LCS* Suppl 1, 6, 84b, pl. I.2; (mentioned in *IGD* II, 6), *LIMC* VI, Io 40.	Inscription (KALE..N.)	
484	Apulian	vase (fr.)		Darius Painter	Mainz, Antikenslg. Univ. 185	340–330	***Protesilaus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 128, TV 51; *RVAp* II, 503, no. 75; Todisco 2003, Ap 166.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne)	
485	Apulian	volute-krater	Rutigliano	Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl	Taranto, Mus. Arch. Naz.	430–420	***Psychostasia*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, Ap 2.		
486	Campanian	amphora		Ixion Painter	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMM 1	340–330	***Psychostasia*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, C 42.	Pose (mourning)	

487	Apulian	volute-krater	Canosa	Darius Painter	Berlin, Antikenslg. 1984.39	340	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 146, no. 17a, pl. 35.1; Giuliani 1996, pls. 17, 19, 20; *LIMC* VI, Odysseus 49, Mousa, mousai 155; *LIMC* VII, Strymon 2*; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., Rhesos 4*; Todisco 2003, Ap 147; Taplin 2007a, no. 54.	Stage prop (rock), inscriptions, iconographic feature (eidolon), pose (speaking gesture), costume	Fig. 63
488	Apulian	situla	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81863 (H 2910)	360–340	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 167; *IGD*, III. 5, 7; *RVAp* I, 417, no. 18, pl. 151,2; Giuliani 1996, pl. 16; *LIMC* VI, Odysseus 48*; Todisco 2003, Ap 100. Two maenads, a satyr (with a torch in left hand), and Dionysus are depicted on the other side of the vase (see *RVAp* I, pl. 151,2).		
489	Apulian	volute-krater		Rhesus Painter / Ilioupersis Painter (closely connected)	Berlin, Antikenslg. VI. 3157	365–350	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 167; *IGD*, III. 5, 8; *RVAp* I, 441, no. 102a; Giuliani 1996, pl. 18; *LIMC* VI, Odysseus 47*; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., Rhesos 3; Todisco 2003, Ap 68; Taplin 2007a, no. 53. Dionysus (with satyrs) is depicted on the other side of the vase.	Pose (distress)	
490	Campanian	bell-krater		Caivano Painter	Naples, private collection	340–330	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* III, Dolon 18*; *RVSIS*, no. 282.	Costume	
491	Lucanian	nestoris		Choephoroi Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 20	340	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* III, Dolon 15*.		
492	Lucanian	kalyx-krater		Dolon Painter	London, BM F157	390–380	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	Bieber 1961, 129, fig. 478 'a parody of the story of Dolon'; *MTSP*^{2}, 167: 'the two vases of about 380 B.C. illustrating Odysseus and Diomedes catching Dolon may be inspired by the Rhesus but there is no discription of this incident in the play'; *LCS*, 102, no. 533, pl. 52, 3; *LIMC* III, Dolon 14*.		
493	Sicilian	bell-krater		Dirce Painter	Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 36.332	380–370	***Rhesus*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 167; *LCS*, 204, no. 31, pl. 80, 2; *LIMC* III, Dolon 17*; Lambrugo 2004, no. 135.	Architectural feature (column)	
494	Apulian	amphora			Florence, Mus. Arch. Naz. 1320		***Scyroe*** (by Sophocles)	Vogel 1886, 135–137 (suggests an unknown tragedy of Euripides); Engelmann 1990, 37−38; Todisco 2003, Ap 239.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), pose (speaking gesture)	
495	Apulian	volute-krater		Arpi Painter	Tampa Museum of Art 87.36	315–300	***Semele / Hydrophoroe*** (by Aeschyles)	Todisco 2003, Ap 237.	Pose (horror), papposilenos	
496	Attic	volute-krater	Spina		Ferrara T 549	450	***Septem contra Thebas*** (by Aeschylus)	*MTSP*^{2}, 47, AV 18, 145.		
497	Apulian	column-krater		Ariadne Painter	Ruvo 1091.	400	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I , 24, no. 107; *RVSIS*, no. 46; Dearden 1999, 236 n. 56.		
498	Apulian	column-krater		Ariadne Painter / (circle of)	(once Hillsborough)	400–380	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 26, no. 116; *LIMC* V, Iobates 5*.		
499	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Baltimore Painter	Germany, private coll.	340–320	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.2, 280, no. 43–4, *LIMC* V, Iobates 4*; Todisco 2003, Ap 199.	Stage props (letter, throne), costume	
500	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	once art market	320	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Iobates 12*.	Costume, pose (speaking gesture)	
501	Apulian	volute-krater		Baltimore Painter	Private coll.	320	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Iobates 13*.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (throne), costume, pose (speaking gesture)	

502	Apulian	bell-krater		Darius Painter	Tampa Museum of Art (on loan from William K. Zewadski)	350	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 2.1, 151, no. 65d; *LIMC* V, Iobates 3*.	Stage props (throne, letter), pose (speaking gesture), costume	Fig. 56
503	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum 15 (once Los Angeles Market)	340–330	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* II, 501, no. 64a; *LIMC* V, Iobates 1*; Todisco 2003, Ap 156; Taplin 2007a, no. 74.	Stage prop (letter, couch), pose (dismay, distress)	
504	Apulian	oinochoe	Taranto	Felton Painter	Taranto 52363	375−350	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 174, no. 61; *LIMC* II, Athena 543*.	Papposilenos	
505	Apulian	amphora	Gravina	Gravina Painter	Museo E. Pomarici Santomasi 177005 / Taranto, Mus. Naz. I/96	400	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 32, no. 2, pl. 8,3; *LIMC* VII, Stheneboia 7*; Todisco 2003, Ap 12.	Costume	
506	Apulian	bell-krater	Egnazia	Hearst Painter	Bonn 80	420–400	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 163; *RVAp* I, 1/49; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 2*; Dearden 1999, 236 n. 55; Todisco 2003, Ap 6.	Stage prop (letter), pose (indignation)	
507	Apulian	krater (fr.)		Hearst Painter	once Basel market, MuM.	420–400	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* I, 13, no. 40: 'Bellerophon on Pegasus, Athena seated to r.'; Dearden 1999, 236, n. 55.		
508	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.t)		Tarporley Painter (follower)	Geneva, collection Hellas et Roma, inv. HR 75	400–370	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	Aellen, Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 55–56.		
509	Apulian	volute-krater		Underworld Painter	Los Angeles market, Summa Galleries 2028	330–310	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*RVAp* Suppl. 1, 86, no. 288a, pl. 17,3; *LIMC* V, Iobates 2*; Todisco 2003, Ap 216.	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), pose (despair), costume	
510	Apulian	vase			lost, once coll. Hamilton	end of the fifth century	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Iobates 9; Moret 1972, 101−105, Fig. 1.		
511	Campanian	squat lekythos	Aversa	Aversa Painter	Naples 147868	340	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LCS*, 334, no. 781; *LIMC* V, Iobates 8*.	stage prop (letter), costume	
512	Campanian	hydria	Capua	Caivano Painter	Capua, Mus. Prov. Camp. 7459	350–320	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LCS*, 308, no. 571; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 7*; Todisco 2003, C 28.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
513	Campanian	bell-krater		Iobates Painter	Windsor, Eton College.		***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LCS*, 326, no. 746.		
514	Campanian	Lekythos		Laghetto Painter	Naples, private coll.	340	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LCS*, 302, no. 537; *LIMC* V, Iobates 7: 'I. erhält den Brief.'	Stage prop (letter)	

515	Campanian	bell-krater		Libation Painter (group of) / Painter of Naples 3227 (group of)	Geneva, Coll. Naef 2265	345–320	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 46; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 6*; Todisco 2003, C 25.	Stage prop (letter), costume, pose (despair)	
516	Campanian	bell-krater		Manchester Painter	Winterthur 364	375−350	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LCS*, 415, no. 360, pl. 167, 5–6; *LIMC* V, Iobates 6*.	stage prop (letter), costume	
517	Campanian	neck-amphora		Painter of Carlsruhe B 2400	Capua, Mus. Prov. Camp. 7559 (P 14)	350–320 / 325–300	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LCS*, 331, no. 767; *LIMC* III, Erinys 39*; Todisco 2003, C 17. It is not at all certain that the figures depicted on the vase are Bellerophon, Proetus and Stheneboea. They may as well be Orestes, Pylades and Electra, or Theseus, Hippolytus and Phaedra, or even Orestes, king Thoas and Iphigeneia, see *LIMC* V, Iphigeneia 31*.	Iconographic figure (Erinys), costume	
518	Campanian	hydria		Sydney Painter	once London market	340	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Bellerophon add. 3*.	Stage prop (letter)	
519	Etruscan	bell-krater		Sommavilla Painter	Parma, Mus. di Ant. C. 101	end of the fifth century	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Iobates 10; *LIMC* III, Chimaira (in Etruria) 67*.		
520	Etruscan	kalyx-krater			Paris, Louvre K 401		***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Proitos 8*.		
521	Faliscan	bell-krater	Falerii		Rome, Villa Giulia 1514	350	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* V, Iobates 11*.	Costume	
522	Lucanian	pseudo-pan-athenaic amphora	Ruvo/Anzi	Amykos Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82263 (H 2418)	425–400	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 146; Webster 1967, 301; *MTSP*^{2}, 163–164; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 1*; Todisco 2003, L 3.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar, letter)	
523	Lucanian	bell-krater		Creusa Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81622 (H 1891)	400–360	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 147; Webster 1967, 301; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LIMC* VII, Stheneboia 2*; Todisco 2003, L 26.	Architectural feature (door/portico), speaking gesture	
524	Lucanian	bell-krater		Dolon Painter	Brussels R 372	390–360	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LCS*, 100, no. 516; Todisco 2003, L 33.		
525	Lucanian	bell-krater		Kalathiskos Painter	Compiegne 1057	400–360	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LCS*, 105, no. 550; *LIMC* VII, Stheneboia 1*; Todisco 2003, L 36.	Inscription	
526	Paestan	hydria	Agropoli / Paestum	Asteas	Paestum, Mus. Arch. Naz. 20202	365–330	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, III. 3, 44; *RVPa*, 86, no. 134; *LIMC* III, Erinys 88*; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 5*; Todisco 2003, P 5; Taplin 2007a, no. 73.	Architectural features (columns), stage prop (letter), inscriptions, costume	
527		krater			St. Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 427		***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 148.		
528	Apulian	stamnos	Gela	Ariadne Painter	Boston, MFA 00.349a	405–370	***Stheneboea*** (by Euripides) [B-side]; ***Theseus*** (by Euripides) [A-side]	Webster 1967, 301; *MTSP*^{2}, 127, 165, TV 41 (535); *IGD*, III. 3, 45, III. 3, 51; *RVAp* I, 24, no. 104; *LIMC* III, Ariadne 54*; *LIMC* VII, Proitos 3*; *RVSIS* 26, no. 45; Padgett *et. al*. 1993, pl. II, cat. no. 8B; Dearden 1999, 236; Todisco 2003, Ap 3; Taplin 2007a, no. 72.	Architectural feature, (portico, doors), stage prop (letter), costume	Pl. XV.2, Pl. XXI.2
529	Campanian	amphora (fr.)	Paestum	Caivano Painter	Paestum, Mus. Arch. Naz.	340–330	***Supplices*** (by Aeschylus)	Todisco 2003, C 29.	Architectural feature (column), inscriptions	

530	Apulian	volute-krater		White Sakkos Painter	Geneva, Sciclounoff collection (once Antiquities market)	320	***Supplices*** (by Aeschylus) [neck of the vase]; ***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.) [body of the vase]	*RVAp* II, 961, no. 29/2a; Schauenburg 1983, 339–358, pls. 79–81; *RVSIS* 118, no. 256; Keuls 1997, 317, fig. 81; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 89; Todisco 2003, Ap 232; Taplin 2007a, no. 78: 'may well be related to a Telephos tragedy, probably not that of Euripides.'	Architectural feature (portico), stage prop (couch), pose (speaking gesture)	
531	Attic	pelike	Vulci	Chicago Painter (follower of)	London, BM F382	450	***Telephus*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 37; Bauchhens-Thüriedl 1971, no. 52; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 11*.	Stage prop (altar)	
532	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)			Tampa, Tampa Museum of Art 86.103 (Maplewood, coll. J.V. Noble)	395–350	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 165; Todisco 2003, Ap 26.		
533	Apulian	kalyx-krater			once Munich market	C4	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Agamemnon 14a.		
534	Apulian	vase			lost (once naples, Coll. Hamilton)	350–320	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 150; Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 64; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 16*; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 58; Keuls 1997, 322, fig. 76; Todisco 2003, Ap 240.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
535	Apulian?	krater (fr.)			Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 2496	350	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* VII, Telephos 60*.		
536	Attic	bell-krater		Hector Painter	once Paris market	440	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Telephos add. 5*.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), architectural feature (column), tripod	
537	Attic	pelike	Olynthus	Painter of Thessalonici 34.263	Thessalonici 34.263	375–350	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 165; *ARV*^{2}, 1473; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 54.		
538	Attic	kalyx-krater			Berlin, Antikenslg. 3974	400–370	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; *IGD*, III. 3, 47; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 53, pl. 2; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 13*; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 55*; Keuls 1997, 320–321, fig. 82; Dearden 1999, 242; *TrGF* V, 685; Taplin 2007a, no. 75.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
539	Attic	squat lekythos (relief)			New York, MMA 28.57.9	325–300	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 165; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 55.		
540	Campanian	lebes gamikos		Cassandra-Parrish Painter (workshop of) / Head with Pilos (group of)	Graz, Landesmuseum Joanneum 8641/2	350–320	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 164; *LCS*, 269, 278, pl. 108,5–6; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 62; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 63*; Todisco 2003, C 19.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	
541	Campanian	bell-krater		Io Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 81646 (H 2293)	350–320	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Séchan 1926, fig. 151; Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 164; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 60; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 12; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 62*; Todisco 2003, C 16.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar)	

542	Campanian	hydria	Cumae*	Ixion Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 86064 (RC 141)	350–310	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Huddilston 1898, 181; Séchan 1926, fig. 149; Webster 1967, 302; *MTSP*^{2}, 165; *IGD*, III. 3, 48; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 61; *LIMC* I, Agamemnon 15*; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 64; Keuls 1997, 322, fig. 85; Todisco 2003, C 46.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, knee on altar), pose (mourning)	
543	Campanian	bell-krater		Parrish Painter	Genf, Mus. HR 1998.28	330	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Telephos add. 7*.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
544	Faliscan	kalyx-krater		Nazzano Painter	Boston, MFA 1970.487	380–350	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	IGD, III. 3, 49; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1971, no. 57, pl. 3; LIMC I, Agamemnon 18*; LIMC VII, Telephos 56*; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, cat. no. 166, pl. XXIII; Keuls 1997, 321, fig. 83; Dearden 1999, 242.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
545	Faliscan	stamnos			Rome, Villa Giulia 6208	375–350	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* I, Agamemnon 19*; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 65.	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
546	Lucanian	bell-krater		Ragusa Painter	Bari, Mus. Arch. Prov. 12531	400–370	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LCS* Suppl. II 165 no. 416d; Keuls 1997, 322, fig. 86; Dearden 1999, 242, n. 85; Dearden 2002, 193; Todisco 2003, L 35.	Architectural feature (doors), stage prop (altar), pose (dismay, distress, supplication, knee on altar)	
547	Paestan	kalyx-krater	Paestum*	Asteas	San Antonio, Museum of Art 86.134.167	365–340	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	Keuls 1997, 321–322, fig. 84; *LIMC* V, Kalkhas 4*; *LIMC* VII, Telephos 57; Shapiro, Picón , and Scott 1995, cat. no. 118, pl. XIV; *TrGF* V, 685; Todisco 2003, P 2; Taplin 2007a, no. 77.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (distress, dismay, supplication, knee on altar), inscription	Pl. VIII.3
548	Paestan	amphora		Painter of Naples 1778	Private coll.	320	***Telephus*** (by Euripides)	*LIMC* Suppl, Telephos add. 6*.	Stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
549	Apulian	hydria or amphora (fr.)		Black Fury Painter, workshop near	San Antonio, Museum of Art 86.134.91a-b	395–380	***Tereus*** (by Sophocles)	Todisco 2003, Ap 29.	Costume	
550	Apulian	loutro-phoros	Ruvo	Darius Painter (late circle of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82268 (H 3233)	340–330	***Tereus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 152; Todisco 2003, Ap 177; Taplin 2007a, no. 29; *LIMC* Suppl, Tereus 7*.	Pose (distress, speaking gesture), inscriptions	
551	Apulian	skyphos (fr.)		Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl	Paris, Cab. Med.	430–420	***Tereus*** (by Sophocles)	*MTSP*^{2}, 152; Dobrov 2000, 199 n. 55; Todisco 2003, Ap 1.		
552	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Via Giovine	Painter of the Birth of Dionysus (close)	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 52230	400–370	***Theseus*** (by Euripides)	*IGD*, 105; *LIMC* III, Suppl., *RVAp* I, 39–41, no. 25, pl. 12.2; Ariadne 96*.	[B-side] satyr, [A-side] costume, architectural feature (portico), inscriptions	
553	Attic	kalyx-krater	Camarina*	Kadmos Painter	Syracuse 17427	430–420	***Theseus*** (by Euripides)	*ARV*^{2}, 1184/4; Webster 1967, 303; *MTSP*^{2}, 165; *IGD*, III. 3, 50. Todisco 2003, A 63.		
554	Attic	fragment	Taranto*	Polygnotos (group of)	Tübingen, Antikensammlung 5439	450–430	***Theseus*** (by Euripides)	*MTSP*^{2}, 165, *ARV*^{2}, 1057. Todisco 2003, A 42.		

555	Etruscan	krater	Vulci		London, BM F480	400–350	***Thressae*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, 129–130, fig. 38; *EVP* 136–40, pl. 32.1–2; *LIMC* I, Aias I 117*. On the other side of this vase, there is a picture showing the death of Actaeon.		Pl. XVIII.1
556	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Boston MFA 1987.53	340–330	***Thyestes in Sicyon*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* Suppl 2.1, 151, no 65c, pl. 37,4; Vermeule 1987, 124–128, fig. 1; *LIMC* VII, Pelop(e)ia I 1*; *LIMC* VIII, Thyestes 1*; *LIMC* VIII, suppl, Sicyon 1*; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, cat. no. 41, pl. X; Todisco 2003, Ap 144; Taplin 2007a, no. 30. B-side: Dionysiac scene.	Stage props (throne, bucrania), costume, pose (speaking gesture, consolation), inscriptions, iconographic figure (Erinys)	Pl. XVI.1
557	Apulian	amphora		Darius Painter	Formerly Boston MFA 1991.437	340–330	***Thyestes in Sicyon*** (by Sophocles)	Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, cat. no. 42, pl. XI; Todisco 2003, Ap 137; Taplin 2007a, no. 95. It is intresting to compare the costume and the pose of Thyestes on this vase to the costume and the pose of the comic actor (named as ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ by inscription) on an Apulian krater in Tampa, Zewadski coll. (Green 1994, frontispiece; Csapo 2010, jacket image). The comic undercostume and the comic mask except, these two figures look almost identical. B-side: Dionysiac scene. The vase has been returned to Italy, see *Nostoi*, no. 50.	Stage props (throne, bucranium), iconographic figure (Erinys), inscriptions, costume, pose (distress, horror)	
558	Apulian	stamnos		Painter of BM F308 (group of)	Paris, Cab. Méd. 949	355–340	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 54, pl. 30,2; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 112*.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
559	Apulian	bell-krater	Sybaris*	Branca Painter	Göteborg, Röhsska Konstlöjdmuseet RKM 13–17	350–340	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 50, pl. 31,1; Leach 1981, 323, pl. 137.2; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 44*; *LIMC* V, Ismenos 4; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 4*.	Stage props (rocky arch, bucranium), iconographic figure (Erinys)	
560	Apulian	oinochoe	Taranto	Felton Painter (closely connected)	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 214004	375–350	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 57, pl. 29,2; *RVAp* I, 175, 63, pl. 57; *LIMC* II, Apollon 917; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 83b*; Todisco 2003, Ap 59.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
561	Apulian	situla		Hippolytus Painter (closely connected) / Ganymedes Painter	Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Art Mus. 70.97.1	340–330	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 47, pl. 31,1; Leach 1981, 310, pl. 131,1; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 111*; Todisco 2003, Ap 195.	Pose (speaking gesture)	
562	Apulian	krater	Ruvo*	Ilioupersis Painter (group of) / Lycurgus Painter (group of)	Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg 31	365–350	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 41; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 53; *RVAp* I, 203, 100; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 110*; Todisco 2003, Ap 75.	Pose (supplication, knee in air)	
563	Apulian	dish	Canosa	Lampas Painter (circle of)	Taranto, Mus. Naz. 8894	380–360/ 340–330	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 56; *RVAp* I, 286, no. 248; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 46; Todisco 2003, Ap 56.		
564	Apulian	rhyton (fr.)		Lycurgus Painter	Matera, Mus. Naz. 11013	350	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 61; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 51a; Todisco 2003, Ap 103.		
565	Apulian	jug			Private collection	320	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LIMC* Suppl. Aktaion add. 9*.	Pose (supplication, knee on rock)	
566	Apulian	oinochoe (fr.)	Taranto*		Boston MFA, 1900.03.839a–b	400–380/ 370–360	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 48, pl. 28,1; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 48b; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1417; *LIMC* VI. Lyssa 3; Padgett, Comstock, Herrmann, and Vermeule 1993, cat. no. 11; Todisco 2003, Ap 65.	Pose (supplication, knee in air)	

567	Apulian	fr.			Tampa Museum of Art (on loan from William K. Zewadski)		***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)		Pose (supplication, knee in air)	
568	Attic	bell-krater	Vico Equmse*	Lykaion Painter	Boston, MFA 00.346	440	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 40; *ARV*^{2}, 1045; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 147–148; *MTSP*^{2}, 145; *IGD*, III. 1, 28; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 81*; *LIMC* II, Artemis 1400; *LIMC* VI, Lyssa 1; Todisco 2003, A 45.	Pose (supplication, knee in air), inscriptions (EYAION AKTAION)	Pl. VI.3
569	Attic	volute-krater			Paris, Louvre CA 3482	450	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	*ARV*^{2}, 613,3; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 149–150; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 16*.	Pose (distress)	
570	Boeotian	pyxis			Athens N.M. 3554	C4	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Séchan 1926, fig. 42; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 121*.		
571	Campanian	hydria	Eboli	Painter of the BM F223	lost	340–320	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 60; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 50; Todisco 2003, C49.	Pose (supplication, knee on ground)	
572	Italiot	pelike / bell-krater			lost		***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 59; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 47; Todisco 2003, L 56.	Pose (supplication, knee in air)	
573	Lucanian	nestoris	Lucania	Dolon Painter	London, BM F176	390–380	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	*LCS*, 103, 540; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 52, pl. 28,2; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 48a; Todisco 2003, L 31.	Pose (speaking gesture, supplication, knee in air)	Pl. XX.1
574	Paestan	bell-krater	Paestum	Python	S. Agata dei Goti Coll. Rainone 178 (A 42)	365–330	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 55; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 127; Todisco 2003, P 11.		
575	Sicilian	skyphos	Paestum		Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 76/106 (72335)	400–360	***Toxotides*** (by Aeschylus)	Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, K 51, pl. 29,1; *LIMC* I, Aktaion 49; Todisco 2003, S 9.	Tripods	
576	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)		Darius Painter (workshop of)	Basel, Cahn coll. HC 229	340–320	***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	*IGD*, III. 2, 12; Todisco 2003, Ap 163.	Inscription	
577	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Lycurgus Painter	Milan, Coll. H.A. 260	355–340	***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	*RVAp* I, 417, no. 13; Todisco 2003, Ap 99.		
578	Attic	pelike	Sicily	Meidias Painter	New York, MMA 37.11.23	420–410	***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	*ARV*^{2}, 1313, 7; *MTSP*^{2}, 153. Todisco 2003, A 66.		
579	Attic	pelike	Nola*	Washington Painter (manner of)	London, BM E 370	430–420	***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	*ARV*^{2}, 1134; *MTSP*^{2}, 153. Todisco 2003, A 58.		
580	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Lipari*	Adrastos Painter	Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 9341 D	340–330	***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	*IGD*, III. 2, 11; *LCS* Suppl. 3, 275/46f; *RVSIS*, no. 428, 238: 'This is a splendid illustration of Deianeira's opening speech in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles and would have made an excellent poster for the play'; Keuls 1997, fig. 98; Todisco 2003, S 18.	Inscriptions	
581		amphora	Ruvo	White Saccos Painter (close in style)	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82261 (H 3252)		***Trachiniae*** (by Sophocles)	Séchan 1926, fig. 46 (referring to Robert, Die griechische Heldensage, 573): 'Heracles, bull, Dianeira, Eros'; *RVAp* II, 977, no. 200, pl. 382, 5−6: 'Jason, bull, Medea, Eros'.		
582	Apulian	amphora	Gioia del Colle		Bari, Mus. Prov. 5590	330	***Troelus*** (by Sophocles)	*LIMC* I Achilleus 372*.		
583	Campanian	bell-krater		Caivano Painter	Geneva, Coll. Savoia	340–330	***Troelus*** (by Sophocles)	Todisco 2003, C 32.		

584	Campanian	hydria		Io Painter	St. Petersburg 2944	350–330	***Troelus*** (by Sophocles)	Todisco 2003, C 15.		
585	Italiot	stamnos			Lost, once Paris, Coll. Fould	330	***Troelus*** (by Sophocles)	Séchan 1926, fig. 68; *MTSP*^{2}, 153; *EVP*, 180; *LIMC* I, Achilleus 274•; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick and Talboy 2006, 214.		
586	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Black Fury Group, close to	Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.93	380	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* IV, Erysichton II 2*; Taplin 2007a, no. 83: 'may well be related to a tragedy about the Daughters of Kekrops.'	Costume, pose (speaking gesture, ashtonishment, distress)	
587	Apulian	amphora		Darius Painter	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (on loan)	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* VIII, Hesione 1; Todisco 2003, Ap 185; Taplin 2007a, no. 96: 'May well be related to a tragedy about Hesione.'	Pose (supplication, kneeling in front of), architectural feature (column), costume, inscriptions	
588	Apulian	jug		Darius Painter	Basel, Antiken Museum BS 473	340–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*RVAp* II 503, no. 73a; *LIMC* VII, Oidipous 84*; Taplin 1997, 85–88, fig. 16 (according to Taplin, this vase might as well be associated with *Antigone*, 988ff); Todisco 2003, Ap 162; Taplin 2007a, no. 23: 'a general Teiresias and King scene'. Usually this vase has been associated with Sophocles' *OT*. Also Euripides' *Phoenissae* has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Costume	
589	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Germany, private coll.	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* II, Apollon 941; *LIMC* IV, Heracles 2807; Taplin 2007a, no. 98: 'possibly connected with a tragedy concerning a larger-than-human figure in a wild landscape.'	Stage prop (rocky arch), costume, pose (speaking gesture)	
590	Apulian	kalyx-krater		Darius Painter	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig S 34	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* V, Herakles 2807*; Taplin 2007a, no. 97: 'possibly related to a tragedy about Rhodope.'	Stage props (altar, statue, throne), pose (speaking gesture), costume, inscriptions	
591	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Salapia*	Darius Painter	Miami, Coll. Dan Paul	340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 139.	Architectural feature (column), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
592	Apulian	lekythos, monu-mental		Darius Painter	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire HR 134	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Aellen, Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 136−149; *LIMC* IV, Helene 174, *LIMC* VI, Niobe 2; Taplin 2007a, no. 99: 'possibly related to a tragedy, possibly about Amphion and Tantalus.' Cf. this vase with V 412 in this Appendix (which has been been related to a *Niobe*).	Stage props (throne, bucrania), iconographic figure (nurse?), costume, pose (speaking gesture)	
593	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Darius Painter	Naples, private coll.	340–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 160.	Stage props (altar, bucraniua), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar), architectural features (columns)	
594	Apulian	volute-krater		Darius Painter	Cleveland, Museum of Art 88.41	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* I, Amphiaraos 74; Taplin 2007a, no. 93: 'may be related to a tragedy about the departure of Amphiaraus'; There is a closely similar picture of the scene in St. Petersburg and a fragment in Boston, both by the Darius Painter.	Iconogaphic figures (nurse, Erinys), pose (speaking gesture), costume	

595	Apulian	volute-krater		Darius Painter	Princeton Univ. Art Mus. 1983.13	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*RVAp* Suppl. 1, 78, no. 41a, pl. 12; *LIMC* III, Demeter 468; *LIMC* IV, Herakleidai 9*, Herakles 1409; *LIMC* V, Iris 153*; *LIMC* VI, Medeia 68; Schmidt 1986, 169–174; Sorvinou-Inwood 1997, 278–279; Green 1999, no. 31; Todisco 2003, Ap 165; Taplin 2007a, no. 94: 'may well be related to a play about Medeia at Eleusis '; Giuliani, and Most 2007, 197−217. Also *Hercules furens* (by Euripides) has been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (portico), stage props (altar, bucranium), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), pose (speaking gesture), inscriptions ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ, and ΜΗΔΕΙΑ.	Pl. XV.1
596	Apulian	volute-krater		Darius Painter		340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 152. (*Supplices* by Aeschylus, and *Tereus* by Sophocles or Philocles have been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
597	Apulian	volute-krater		Ilioupersis Painter / Lycurgus Painter (closely connected)	Vatican 18225 (AA 2)	365−320	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, fig. 65; *MTSP*^{2}, 128, 157, TV 48; *RVAp* I 194, 13; *LIMC* III, Danae 71*; *LIMC* VII, Pelop(e)ia I 3 'incertain'; *TrGF* V, 211; Todisco 2003, Ap 69; Taplin 2007a, no. 84. This vase has been related to Euripides' *Dictys* or *Almaeon in Corinth*, or to Sophocles' *OC* or *Thyestes II*, or to a story about Daedalus and Pasiphae on Crete, see Todisco and Taplin for references.	Stage prop (altar), pose (speaking gesture, supplication, sitting on altar), costume	
598	Apulian	kalyx-krater (fr.)	Adria	Lycurgus Painter	Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 147	355–340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 98; Taplin 2007a, no. 86.	Costume	
599	Apulian	kantharos	Ruvo	Paidagogos Group, workshop near	Ruvo, Mus. Naz. 1394	340–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Green 1999, no. 36, fig. 2; Todisco 2003, Ap 191.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger), speaking gesture	
600	Apulian	volute-krater		Painter of Bari 12061	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 24692	350	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* VII, Pelasgos 8*; Todisco 2003, Ap 119; Taplin 2007a, no. 87: 'probably related to an unidentified tragedy involving two suppliant women.' (Also *Supplices* by Aeschylus, and *Tereus* by Sophocles or Philocles have been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Architectural feature (colum), stage props (altar, bucranium), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
601	Apulian	loutro-phoros		Painter of Louvre MNB 1148	Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.680	340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* VI, Leda 17*; Taplin 2007a, no. 89: 'possibly related to a tragedy about Leda, but more probably not.'	Architectural feature (portico), inscriptions, pose (speaking gesture)	
602	Apulian	kalyx-krater	Ruvo	Painter of the Berlin Ganymedes (workshop)	Berlin, Staatliche Mus. F 3297	355–340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* II, Aphrodite 1490a*; *LIMC* IV Ganymedes 84; Green 1999, no. 10, fig. 16; Todisco 2003, Ap 116.	Iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
603	Apulian	volute-krater	Ruvo	Sisyphus Painter	Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek	410–400	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*RVAp* I, 16, no. 51; Todisco 2003, Ap 7. It has been suggested that *Laertes* (by Ion) has inspired this vase painting, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (column), inscription	
604	Apulian	volute-krater	Conversano	Underworld Painter	once Brussels, coll. Errera	330–310	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, Ap 217. (*Supplices* by Aeschylus and *Locrian Maidens* by an unknown author and a trilogy on Danaides by Aeschylus and *Tereus* by Sophocles or Philocles have been suggested, see Todisco for references.)	Architectural features (columns), stage prop (altar), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	

605	Apulian	bell-krater (fr.)	Taranto		Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 4600 (L 832)	360–340	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 106; *DFA*^{2}, 188−189, fig. 54a; *CAD*, frontispiece; Todisco 2003, Ap 95; Taplin 2007a, 10, fig. 3; *LIMC* Suppl, Tereus 10*. Simon 1982, 11: 'the actor probably played the Thracian king Tereus in the Sophoclean tragedy of that name'. Taplin 2007a, 10: 'This is, in fact, an unusually characterful portrait of an individual, and that individual is an actor carrying the symbol of his profession. Conceivably the great Aristodemos himself?' For more references, see Todisco.	Costume, mask	Fig. 12
606	Apulian	volute-krater (fr.)	Ruvo		Ruvo, Mus. Naz. Jatta	330−300	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, fig. 161; *MTSP*^{2}, 76, 167, TV 17: 'Orpheus in Hades'; *LIMC* VII, Orpheus 83•; Todisco 2003, Ap 66. For Hades tragedies, see Arist. *Poet*. 1456a3.	Architectural features (portico, door), costume, inscriptions	
607	Apulian (Gnathia)	bell-krater (fr.)	Taranto	Konnakis Painter	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 4696 + 4701	360–350	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*IGD* III. 3, 43 (Euripides' *Stheneboea*); *MTSP*^{2}, 80, 163, GV 1 (Euripides' *Stheneboea*); *LIMC* V, Iason 2*, *LIMC* VII, Pegasos 240*, Proitos 13*; Hughes 1996, n. 68; *CAD*, 62–63: 'The scene better suits Euripides' *Peleus*'; Todisco 2003, Ap 94; Taplin 2007a, no. 88: 'apparently representing a scene of an unidentifiable tragedy.' Also Sophocles' or Euripides' *Peliades* have been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural features (portico, doors), stage prop (altar)	Pl. II.3
608	Campanian	amphora (fr.)	Paestum	Caivano Painter	Dresden ZV 2891	340–310	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 83, PV 6, Séchan 1926, fig. 20; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, fig. 53; Bieber 1961, 29, fig. 105; *LIMC* VII, Prokne et Philomela 9 'incertain'; Hughes 1996, n. 68; Dobrov 2000, 199 n. 55; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006, 148–149; Todisco 2003, C 30; Taplin 2007a, no. 107; *LIMC* Suppl, Tereus 9*. This vase painting has been related to Aeschylus' *Lycurgeia* and to Sophocles' *Tereus*, see Todisco for references.	Architectural feature (doors), costume, pose (dismay)	Fig. 2, Fig. 13
609	Campanian	bell-krater	Baia*	Caivano Painter	Schwerin, Staatl. Mus. 719	350–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, fig. 67; *MTSP*^{2}, 168; *LIMC* VI, Makaria 2; *LIMC* VII, Pelop(e)ia I 6: 'incertain'; Todisco 2003, C 33. This vase has been related to Euripides' *IA* and *Heracleidae*, and to Sophocles' *Thyestes II*, see Todisco for references.	Stage prop (altar), costume	
610	Campanian	neck-amphora		Caivano Painter	Malibu, Getty Mus. 92.AE.86	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* VII, Septem 42; Taplin 2007a, no. 109: 'just possibly related to some kind of performance about Seven against Thebes, but probably not a tragedy.'	Architectural features (doors, windows), stage prop (ladder)	Pl. III.3
611	Campanian	neck-amphora		Caivano Painter	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire HR 411	330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Taplin 2007a, no. 108: 'possibly related to a tragedy, possibly including the sacrifice of a young woman.'	Pose (despair, distress, supplication, kneeling in front of), costume	
612	Campanian	neck-amphora	Capua	Ixion Painter	St. Petersburg, Hermitage ь 2081 (W 1032)	330–310	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Séchan 1926, 446, fig. 66; *MTSP*^{2}, 168; *LIMC* VII, Pelop(e)ia I 4 'incertain'; *LCS*, 338, 791, pl. 131.5; Todisco 2003, C 38. This vase has been related to Sophocles' *Thyestes*, and also *Oeneus* by Euripides has been suggested, see Todisco for references. Webster (*MTSP*^{2}, 168) suggests: 'perhaps the death of Aegisthus in Sophoclean *Electra*.'	Stage props (altar, bucrania), pose (supplication, sitting on altar)	
613	Lucanian	nestoris	Apulia	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Bonn, Arch. Instit. 2667	400–360	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LCS* 113, no. 584, pl. 59, 1−2; *MTSP*^{2}, 166, 130, LV 9; *IGD*, III. 6, 3 'The scene may perhaps be connected with the *Lynkeus* of Theodektes'; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 54, fig. 12; *LIMC* III, Danaos 5*; Todisco 2003, L 22. Dearden 1999, 238 suggest that this vase presents the killing of Aegisthus. Usually it has been interpreted as depicting the killing of Danaus. See also *LIMC* I, Aigisthos 27: 'Also identified as Heracles slaying Bousiris. − Almost completely repainted by a modern painter.'	Architectural feature (column), costume, pose (distress)	

Appendix II. List of Vases

614	Lucanian	nestoris	Anzi	Brooklyn-Budapest Painter	Naples, Mus. Naz. 82125 (H 1760)	400–375	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 168, LV: 'Probably Melampos and the Proitides'; Todisco 2003, L 18.	Stage props (altar, statue), pose (supplication, sitting on altar), architectural feature (column), tripod	
615	Paestan	kalyx-krater		Aphrodite Painter	St. Petersburg, Florida (on loan from William K. Zewadski)	340−330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*LIMC* III, Elektra I 52*; Taplin 1993, 24, pl. 3.106 'This scene has completely grown away from its theatrical origins'; Hughes 1996, 104, n. 64; Todisco 2003, P 18.	Architectural features (windows, columns), pose (distress), iconographic figures (Erinyes), inscriptions	Fig. 3
616	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Lipari	Adrastos (group)	Lipari, Mus. Arch. Reg. 10647	340–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*APS*, 23, no. i, pl. 6, figs. 25–26; *RVAp* I, 101, no. 262; Dearden 2004, 125 n. 23; Todisco 2003, S 17; Taplin 2007a, no. 103: 'may well be related to a tragedy concerning Adrastus and his daughters'; Also Euripides' *Phoenissae* and his *Supplices* have been suggested, see Todisco for references.	Architectural features (porch roof, doors, columns)	
617	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Monte Capodarso*	Capodarso Painter (Gibil Gabib group)	Caltanissetta, Mus. Civ. 1301bis	350–320	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 168 (*Electra* by Sophocles?); *IGD*, III. 6, 1 (*Hypsipyle* by Euripides?); Keuls 1997, 364–365, fig. 95 (*Persae* by Aeschylus); Green 1999, no. 51; Todisco 2003, S 13; Taplin 2007a, no. 105.	Architectural feature (stage), pose (supplication, kneeling in front of), iconographic figure (paidagogos-messenger)	
618	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Lipari, tomb 402	Maron Painter	Lipari, Mus. Aeliano 2297	350−330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	*MTSP*^{2}, 126, SV 1 [488], 157: 'may be inspired by Eur. *Cycl*. 141'; *IGD*, III. 6, 2 'must be of dramatic inspiration ... might have been one of the hilarotragedies'; *RVSIS*, no. 430; Taplin 2007a, no. 104: 'may be related to a tragedy, or tragedy-related performance, about Odysseus and Maron.'	Architectural feature (stage floor?), costume	
619	Sicilian	kalyx-krater	Canicattini	Painter of the Canicattini krater	Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. P. Orsi 47038	340–330	***Unknown tragedy*** (by Anon.)	Todisco 2003, S 19.	Architectural features (porch roof, columns)	

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Theodorus, actor (t) 18–19, 57, 116, 117, 119, 144, 147, 155, 165n.198, 166, 198, 199, 207, 213, 214, 215, 216, 244
Thettalus, actor (t) 14, 103–105, 108–109, 110, 112, 127, 144, 199, 207, 214, 242, 244
thunder machine (in staging) 85, 90n.66, 212–213, 228, 232
Thurii 52, 60, 72, 74n.251, 123, 156, 204, 205, 207, 210
Timocles, playwright (c) 160, 189
Timocles, playwright (t) 9n.50, 14, 181
tritagonist 147, 198, 247
Tyre 102, 103–105, 106, 110, 114, 207
visual interpolation 57–58
Würzburg Telephos, vase 21, 30, 195
χοροῦ μέλος 16, 168
Zeus 40n.112, 50, 80, 85, 102, 132–135, 148n.131, 187, 230, 235, 239

Appendix III. List of tragedies

The purpose of this Appendix is to show all the different kinds of evidence regarding individual plays at a glance. The plays are listed in chronological order (and in alphabetical order when the date is not known) in four sections: plays by Aeschylus, plays by Sophocles, plays by Euripides, and plays by minor (and anonymous) tragedians. The sections are divided by a line with the information (Play │ Date │ etc.). The extant plays are written in italics with capital letters (e.g. *AGAMEMNON*).

The date estimations for the extant plays are from editions and commentaries of the plays. The date estimations for the fragmentary plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles are from *TrGF* III and *TrGF* IV and from some other articles and studies, and the date estimations for the fragmentary plays of Euripides are from Cropp and Fick 1985. Authors of the plays are bracketed and abbreviated in the following way: (A) = Aeschylus, (S) = Sophocles, (E) = Euripides. The names of the minor tragedians are not abbreviated.

The plays that are known to have been (re)performed outside Athens are written in bold letters and highlighted in red (e.g. ***Aetnaeae***). The plays that, I suggest, were very probably performed outside Athens are written in bold letters and highlighted in yellow (e.g. *CHOEPHOROE*). The plays that were probably performed outside Athens are written in bold letters and marked in green (e.g. ***Edonoe***), and the plays that were possibly performed outside Athens are written in bold letters and highlighted in light blue (e.g. ***Callisto***).

In the columns under the titles 'Pl.' (= Plato), 'Arist.' (= Aristotle), 'Other Authors', 'Ar.' (= Aristophanes), and 'Other comedians', the following abbreviations are used: a = allusion, q = quotation, p = parody. Quotations by lexicographers and in anthologies are not mentioned here; only quotations made by some historical persons (such as Alexander the Great) and some other quotations that may be of some importance from our point of view are mentioned.

The figures given in the columns entitled 'S-I vases' (South Italian vases), and 'Attic vases' refer to vases in Appendix II. A question mark in the column called '*LIMC*' means that for some plays there is plenty of other evidence, but no (or only a few) vases. It would be interesting to find some (more) vases or to be able to point out, for example, from *LIMC* (or from some other publication) vases that might be related to the plays in question. For example, Aeschylus' *Myrmidones*, Sophocles' *Antigone*, and Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Helena*, and *Orestes* are such plays.

Verses included in the column entitled 'Localization' are discussed and explained in Chapters II, III and IV. Verses included in the column entitled 'Actors' interpolations' are drawn from Page 1934, and from editions and commentaries to the plays. I have not included all suspect lines, only lines that may have some significance regarding possible reperformances of the play in question.

In the column of the 'Roman tragedians', I have included the authors who are known to have written a tragedy bearing the same name as the play in question or who have handled the same story in a play with a different title. I have excluded the authors who are known to have written a tragedy bearing the same name as the Greek tragedy in question but who have handled a different story in the Roman tragedy. Thus, for example, the name of Ennius, in the column of 'Roman tragedians' and in the row of '***Aegeus*** (E)', refers to *Medea exul* by Ennius which handled the same story (i.e. Medea in Athens), and

the name of Accius is not included in the row of '***MEDEA*** (E)', although Accius wrote a tragedy entitled either *Medea* or *Argonautae*, because his play handled the events at Colchis, not the events at Corinth. A question mark after the name of a Roman tragedian means that there is only a remote possibility that the Roman tragedy was adapted from the Greek tragedy in question. Names without question marks mean a more secure connection between the Greek original and the Roman adaptation. Connections between the Greek and the Roman plays in this Appendix are drawn from *TF*, *passim*; Warmington 1936, *passim*; Jocelyn 1967, *passim*; and Erasmo 2004, appendix.

Figures in the column entitled 'papyri' refer to the number of occurrences of papyri in two separate online databases. For example, figure 20/17 in the row of '***MEDEA*** (E)' means that a search in the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* for Euripides' *Medea* gives 20 hits, and a search for the same play in *CEDOPAL, Mertens-Pack*^{3} *online Database* gives 17 hits.

The information given in the columns entitled 'Inscriptions', 'Actors', and 'NB' is discussed more thoroughly in Chapters II, III, and IV.

The information given in the column entitled 'Staging' is collected from Hourmouziades 1965, *passim*; Taplin 1977, *passim*; Mastronarde 1990, 247–294; Newiger 1990, 33–42; Pöhlmann 1995, 155–164; *TrGF* III; *TrGF* IV; and *TrGF* V, and regarding the extant plays, from editions of and commentaries to the plays. A question mark after, for example, *mech*. means that the use of the *mechane* is suggested by some scholars and denied by some other scholars. More details regarding the staging of the plays are given in Chapters II, III, and IV, and in Appendix I.

Appendix III. List of Tragedies

Play	Date BC	Pl.	Arist.	Other authors	Ar.	Other comedians	S–I vases	Attic vases	*LIMC*	Inscriptions	Actors	Localization	Actors' interpolations	Roman tragedians	Papyri	NB	Staging
Aetnaeae (A)	476?						4					The play is set in Sicilian locations			2?	*Vit. Aesch*. 9: The play was produced in Sicily.	mech., Charon's steps
Glaucus Potnieus (A)	472				2a										4/3		
PERSAE (A)	472		1a	Athenaeus q	2a	Epicharmus C6/5, Pherecrates C5, Chionides C5, Metagenes C5/4		1?	?				(529–531)?		0	Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 1028, 10–15, *Persae* was performed in Syracuse by Aeschylus on the request of Hieron. (cf. *Vit. Aesch*. 18)	chariot, Charon's steps
Phineus (A)	472					Theopompus C5/4	2	4							0		*mech*.?, *ekkykl*.?
Aegyptioe (A)	468/463						6										
HIKETIDES (A)	468/463				1a		1								0		chariot
Edonoe (A)	467				2q		10	2						Naevius, Accius?	0		
Laius (A)	467				1a										1		
SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS (A)	467				4q, 1a	Alexis C4, Amphis C4		1	?				275–279, 804–822, 1005–1078		3		
Bassarae (A)	after 467						4	1									
AGAMEMNON (A)	458			Soph. *El*. 1415–1417	4q		2						518–544, 991–996, 1005, 1028	Seneca	1		chariot, *ekkykl*.?
CHOEPHOROE (A)	458		1a	Eur. *El*. 518–544	3q, 2a	Alexis C4	59	3				490?			0		*ekkykl*. ?
***EUMENIDES* (A)**	458				1a	Cratinus C5, Timocles C4	43	7					405	Ennius	0		chariot/ *mech*.?

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PROMETHEUS VINCTUS (A)	440?				4q, 1a		1	1				351–372			1		thunder machine?, *mech*.?, *ekkykl*.?
Prometheus lyomenos (A)	440?					Cratinus C5	4							Accius ?	1?		
Callisto (A)	?					Alcaeus C5/4, Amphis C4, Antiphanes C4	4	1							0		
Cycnus (A)	?				1q										0		
Europa/Cares (A)	?				1a	Hermippus C5, Plato C5/4, Eubulus C4, Antiphanes C4	18	1							1		*mech*.?
Hiereiae (A)	?				1q										0/1		
Hoplon crisis (A)	?				1q, 1p		1							Pacuvius, Accius?	1?		*mech*.?
Iphigenia (A)	?				1q										1?		
Memnon (A)	?				1q										0		
Myrmidones (A)	?				10q, 1a	Strattis C5/4, Philemon C4/3			?					Accius	3/4		*mech*.?
Niobe (A)	?	2q	1a		2q, 2a		14	1			Oeagrus?				2?/1		
Philoctetes (A)	?				1q	Epicharmus, C6/5, Strattis C5/4, Antiphanes C4		1						Accius ?	2?		
Phryges/Hectoros lutra (A)	?				2a		9	1						Ennius?	1/0		
Psychagogoe (A)	?				1q										1?/0		
Psychostasia (A)	?				1a		2								0		*mech*.?
Salaminiae (A)	?				1a										0		
Thressae (A)	?				1q		1								0		
Telephus (A)	?				1q			1						Accius?	0		
Toxotides (A)	?						19	2			Euaeon				0	Vase inscription: EYAION AKTAION	*mech*.?
Xantriae (A)	?		1a												0/1?		*mech*.?

Appendix III. List of Tragedies

Play	Date BC	Pl.	Arist.	Other authors	Ar.	Other comedians	S–I vases	Attic vases	*LIMC*	Inscriptions	Actors	Localization	Actors' interpolations	Roman tragedians	Papyri	NB	Staging
Andromeda (S)	ca. 450					Phrynichus C5, Eupolis C5, Antiphanes C4		5			Euaeon			Livius, Ennius, Accius?		Vase inscription: ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΙΣΚΗΥΛΟΥ	
AJAX (S)	440s						2	1			Timotheus?		839–842, 1262–1263	Livius, Ennius	5?/4		*mech.? ekkykl.*
ANTIGONE (S)	441?		4q, 2a	end scenes in Aesch. *Sept.*, Eur. *Pho* .	1a	Eupolis q, Antiphanes C4 q	2	1	?		Aeschines, Theodorus, Aristodemus	1119?	904–920	Accius?	0		*ekkykl.*
TRACHINIAE (S)	457–430						4	2				200, 436–437, 633–639, 1191 ff	84, 88–89, 362–364		3		
OEDIPUS TYRANNUS (S)	ca. 430		1q, 3a		1q, 1a	Eubulus C4	4							Seneca, Julius Caesar?	4/3	*TrGF* I, Did A 4b10, an anonymous actor was third in 'old tragedies' with an *Oedipus* at the Great Dionysia in C3.	*ekkykl* .?
Troelus	418						4							Quintus Cicero	0		
ELECTRA (S)	ca. 415				3q	Python C4 q (in satyric *Agen*)	6?				Theodorus?, Polus C4l		691?	Atilius, Quintus Cicero	2		*ekkykl.*
Tereus (S)	pre–414		1a		1a	Cantharus C5, Anaxandrides C4, Philetaerus C4	9?					F 586?		Livius?, Accius	1		*mech* .
Ajax Locrus (S)	pre–414				1q?		16	8							1		*mech* .?

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Oenomaus (S)	pre–414				1q	Nicochares C5/4, Antiphanes C4, Eubulus C4	26?	3?			Aeschines?, deme of Collytus			Accius?	0		chariot?
Tyro I/II (S)	pre–414		1a		3q		1	1							1		
PHILOCTETES (S)	409		1a?			Epicharmus C6/5, Strattis C5/4, Antiphanes C4		1				490–492, 721–729, 1428–1433	1365–1367, 1407	Accius?	1		*mech*.
OEDIPUS COLONEUS (S)	401					Anon. C4? q	1						769		2/1		thunder machine
Camicoe (S)	?			Plutarch a			1					The play is set in Sicilian Camicus.					
Creousa (S)	?						2										
Helenes apaetesis (S)	?						1										
Lacaenae (S)	?		1a			Apollodorus Carystius/ Gelonus? C4/3?	4	1							0		
Laocoon (S)	?				1q		1										
Niobe (S)	?				Ar. *Niobos*		1				Oeagrus?				3		
Thyestes I/II (S)	?		1a			Diocles C5/4	4				Aeschines?			Ennius?, Accius?, Cassius Parmensis?, Varius Rufus?, Sempronius Gracchus?, Seneca?, Bassus?, M. Curatius Maternus?	0		

Appendix III. List of Tragedies

Play	Date BC	Pl.	Arist.	Other authors	Ar.	Other comedians	S–I vases	Attic vases	*LIMC*	Inscriptions	Actors	Localization	Actors' interpolations	Roman tragedians	Papyri	NB	Staging
Thyestes in Sicyon (S)	?		1a			Diocles C5/4	2				Aeschines?	F 255		Ennius, Varius, Gracchus, Cassius Parmensis, Bassus, Maternus	0		
ALCESTIS (E)	438				7q	Antiphanes C4, Menander p/q?	3	1				835–836, 1153–1156	132–135, 818–819, platitude (1159–1163)		4		*ekkykl.* ?
Alcmaeon in Psophis (E)	438		1a?		1q	Amphis C4?, Mnesimachus C4?, Antiphanes C4 a, Timocles C4 a	1?		?					Ennius?, Accius	1/2		
Cressae (E)	438				1q, 2a				?		Theodorus?				1		
Telephus (E)	438		1q, 1a		13/17q, 5a, 2/3p		15	4						Ennius, Accius?	5		
MEDEA (E)	431		2q, 2a	Alexander q, Timoleon q	5/7q	Epicharmus, C6/5, Cantharus, C5, Dinolochus C5, Strattis C5/4, Antiphanes C4, Eubulus C4 + q, Philemon C4/3 q, Rhinton C4/3	9+1					824–845 (of Athens)	40–41, 85, 87, 148, 228–229, 356, 910, 923–924, 949, 1006–1007, 1062–1063, 1078, 1121, 1233–1235, platitude (1415–1419)	Lucan, Curatius Maternus, Bassus, Ennius, Seneca	20/17		*mech.*
Philoctetes (E)	431	1a	1a?		1q, 1a	Epicharmus, C6/5, Antiphanes C4, Strattis C5/4		2						Accius?	1		*mech.* ?
Dictys (E)	431						4								0		
Aegeus (E)	455–430 ?		1a			Philyllius C5/4	4	8						Ennius			

HIPPOLYTUS (E)	428?		1q		11q, 2a	Xenarchus C4/3? q, Sopater C4/3	16	2				722–742 (737)	634–637, 871–873, 1049–1050	Seneca	8/8	*P. Sorbonne* 2252, ca. 250–150 BC, χοροῦ μέλος?	*ekkykl.*, *mech.*?
Cretes (E)	455–428			Plutarch a	1q	Nicochares C4	5								2		*mech.*
Protesilaus (E)	455–428					Anaxandrides C4	2							Pacuvius, Titus			
HERACLEIDAE (E)	430–427				2q		12						97–98, 103–105, 299–301, 529, 629, 793, 819–822, 1019		0		
Bellerophon (E)	455–425				6q, 5a, 2p	Eubulus C4									1/2		*mech.*
Danae (E)	455–425							2							1/0		
Ino (E)	455–425				2a									Livius?	1/0		
Oeneus (E)	455–425	1a			3/2q, 1a		2							Pacuvius	0	*P. Hibeh*. 1. 4, C3e BC, Eur. *Oen.* / Chaer. *Ach.*? χοροῦ μέλος	
Phoenix (E)	455–426			Aeschines q	2q, 1a, 1p	Eubulus C4	1		?		Molon, Aeschines?			Ennius?	2/1		
Thyestes (E)	455–425		1q		2q, 1a									Ennius?	1?		
Cresphontes (E)	455–424	1a	1a	Hermocrates q	1q				?		Aeschines? Theodorus?			Ennius?	5/3		*ekkykl.*?, *mech.*?
Aeolus (E)	455–423	1a			4q, 4a, 1p	Antiphanes C4, Eriphus C4	2					The play is set in Aolian Islands (Lipari).			1		*ekkykl.*?, *mech.*?
ANDROMACHE (E)	ca. 425?			Alexander q	1q		2					16–20, 43–44, 115, 1243–1249, 1263–1269	7, 89–90, 330–332, 397–398, 668–677, platitude (1284–1288)	Livius, Pacuvius	16/15	Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 455, the play was not produced in Athens.	*mech.*

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HECUBA (E)	ca. 424		1q, 1a?	Demosthenes q	3/5q, 1a		1		?		Aeschines? Theodorus?	444–483	169–176, 279, 606–608, 793–797, 1087	Ennius, Accius	11/10		ghost, *mech*.? *ekkykl*.?
Stheneboea (E)	455–422			Aeschines q	5q, 2/3a	Eubulus C4, Menander q	32				Aeschines?				1		*mech*.? *ekkykl*.?
Theseus (E)	455–422				2/6a	Theopompus C5/4, Anaxandrides C4, Diphilus C4/3	2	2							2/3		*mech*.?
Peleus (E)	pre–417				1q, 1/2a										1?		
Phrixus A/B (E)	455–*c*.416			Isocrates q	1q		10	1							4/3		*mech*.?
SUPPLICES	424–416																*mech*.?
HERCULES FURENS (E)	ca. 415				2q	Philyllius C5/4, Anaxandrides C4, Diphilus C4/3	2+2			*SIG*^{3} 1080	Anon., Delphi, Argos 276–219	639, 687–688	452, 1291–1293, 1299–1300	Seneca	4		*mech*., *ekkykl*.
Alexander (E)	ca. 415				2q										3/2		
Palamedes (E)	ca. 415				1q										1		
TROADES (E)	ca. 415		1a				2?		?		Theodorus?, Aeschines?	220–229	380–382, 862–863, 1140	Ennius, Accius?, Seneca	4		*ekkykl*.?, chariot, *mech*.?
Pleisthenes (E)	455–414				1q										0		
ELECTRA (E)	422–413				1q		4				Phocion, Athens 404	781, 815–818, 1273–1274, 1347	373–379, 688, (1233–end)?		3/2		chariot, *ekkykl*., *mech*.
IPHIGENIA TAURICA (E)	414–413		2/1q, 5a	Isocrates q	2q	Diphilus C4/3 q	12	1		*IG* II^{2} 2320?	Neoptolemus Athens 341?		38–41, 116–117, 682, 714–715, 1010–1011, 1025–1026, 1059, 1414–1415, prayers for victory (1497–1499)	Naevius	4/5		*mech*.?

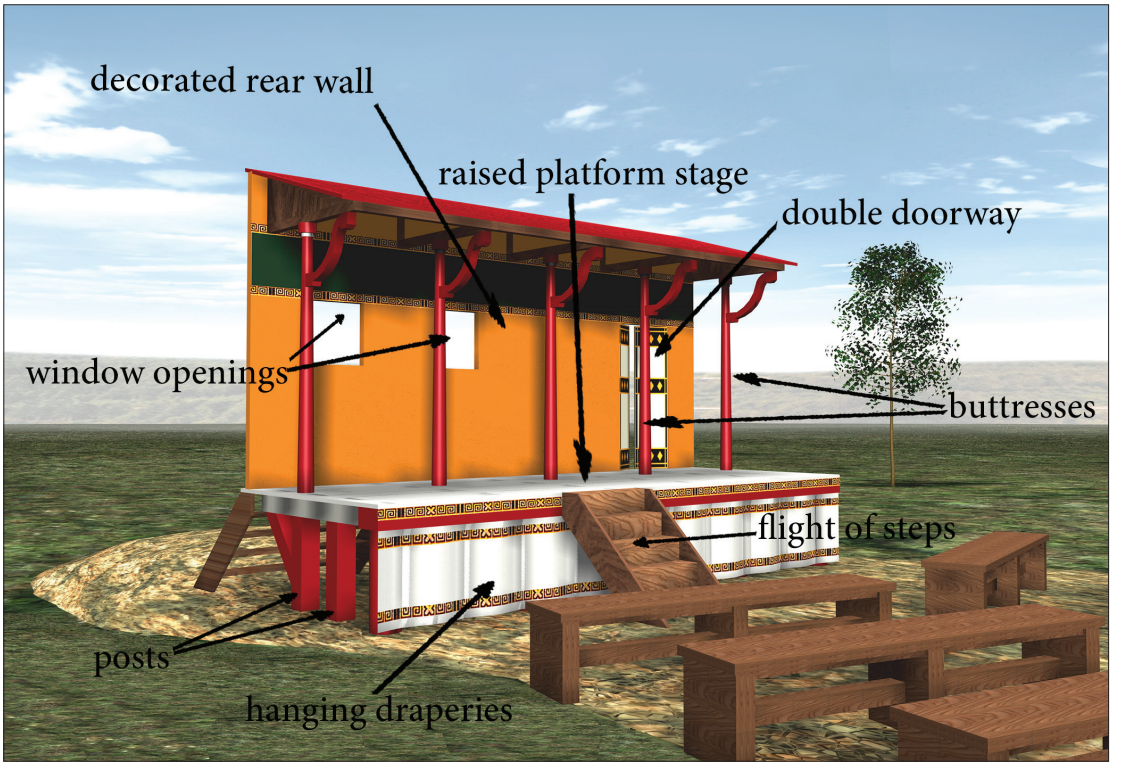
Andromeda (E)	412		1q	Alexander q	5q, 1a, 3p	Antiphanes C4, Eubulus C4 q	31	2			Archelaus, Abdera 306/5–281			Livius, Ennius, Accius?	2/1		*ekkykl.* ?, *mech.*
HELENA (E)	412	1a		Carcinus II q/a, [Demosthenes] a	15q, 1a	Philyllius C5/4, Alexis C4, Anaxandrides C4, Menander p/q			?				5, 9–10, 83–86, 257–259, 299–302, 388–389, 504, 892–893, 905, 1197–1198, 1512, 1667–1668, 1679, 1680–1687, platitude (1688–1692)		4/2		*mech* .?
Melanippe sophe (E)	455–411		1a		5q, 1a		1					F 481	prologue	Ennius	2/1		*mech* .
Alcmena (E)	455–410				1/2q	Plato C5/4, Philemon C4/3	8							Accius, Plautus	1/0		*mech* .?
Erectheus (E)	421–410			Lycurgus q	2/3q	Anaxandrides C4	1						Ennius	Ennius	1/0		*mech* .?
ION (E)	419–410				2a	Eubulus C4	1	1					843–858, 1117, 1138–1139, 1399		0/1		*mech.* ?
Antiope (E)	411–409	3q, 3a	1q		1a	Eubulus C4, Diphilus C4/3 q	7							Pacuvius	1/0		*ekkykl.* ?, *mech.* ?
Hypsipyle (E)	411–409				4/5q, 1p		7							Ennius?	6		*mech* .?

PHOENISSAE (E)	411–409			Antigonus q, a lot of quotations by ancient authors	1q	Strattis C5/4, Antiphanes C4	3?		?			208–213	264, 372, 428, 710, 756, 912, 915, 1075, 1104–1140, 1184, 1221–1263, 1281, 1346, 1430, 1758–1763, prayers for victory (1764–1766)	Accius, Seneca	31/29		
ORESTES (E)	408		2q, 1a	Alexander q, a lot of quotations by ancient authors	3/1q	Dinolochus C5, Strattis C5/4, Timocles C4, Alexis C4, Rhinton C4/3, Sopater C4/3			?	*IG* II^2 2320, *SIG*^{3} 1080	Neoptolemus Athens 340; Anon., Athens 276–219		140–141, 349–351, 906–916, 957–959, 1366–1368; 1618–1620, 1631–1632, prayers for victory (1691–1693)	Pacuvius?	22/21	Schol. *Eur. Or.* 270, Hegelochus saw a weasel coming from the waves. *P. Vindob*. G 2315 (with musical notation)	*ekkykl.* ?, chariot, *mech.*
Archelaus (E)	408–407			Isocrates q					?	*SIG*^{3} 1080	Anon., Argos, Dodona 276–219	genealogy of Archelaus	prologue		3/2	*Vit. Eurip*. Euripides wrote a homonymous play for Archelaus.	*mech*.
Temenidae (E)	422–406				1q?										2/1		
Polyeidus (E)	421–406				1q										1		
Antigone (E)	420–406				3/2q		4							Accius	0		*mech.* ?
Ixion (E)	420–406					Eubulus C4	6	1							1?		*ekkykl.* ?
Meleager (E)	418–406		1a		5q, 2a	Antiphanes C4, Philetaerus C4	3	6					prologue	Accius	1?		*mech.*
Auge (E)	414–406				1a	Eubulus C4									1		

Play	Date BC	Pl.	Arist.	Other authors	Ar.	Other comedians	S–I vases	Attic vases	*LIMC*	Inscriptions	Actors	Localization	Actors' interpolations	Roman tragedians	Papyri	NB	Staging
BACCHAE (E)	405?			Alexander q, Demetrius q		Epicharmus C6/5, Lysippus C?, Diocles C5/4, Antiphanes C4	12	1				409–411, 560–575	platitude (1388–1392)	Pacuvius, Accius	12/10		thunder machine?, *mech.* ?
IPHIGENIA AULIDENSIS (E)	405?		1q	Aelian q	1q		2			*IG* II^2 2320?	Neoptolemus Athens 341?	231–302?	prologue, catalogue of the ships (231–302), secondary chorus (590–597), end (1578–1629)	Ennius	3/4	*P. Leiden* 510 (with musical notation)	chariot, *mech* .?
Alcmaeon at Corint (E)	405?		1a?			Amphis C4, Mnesimachus C4?	1?		?					Ennius?, Accius?	?		
Chrysippus (E)	any					Strattis C5/4	6	1						Accius	1		
Oenomaus (E)	any					Nicochares C5/4, Antiphanes C4, Eubulus C4	26?	3?			Aeschines?, deme of Collytus				0		chariot?
Eriphyle (Anon.)							2	1									
Merops (Anon.)							1										
Persae (Anon.)							1										
RHESUS (Anon.)							3+4					962ff	prologue, 70–71, 85–86, 90–94	Accius	3		*ekkykl.* ?, *mech* .
Antaeus (Archestratus)										*SIG*^{3} 1080	Anon., Delphi 276–219						
Antigone (Astydamas II)	341		1a				4			*IG* II^2 2320	Athenodorus, Athens 341				0		*mech.* ?
Hector (Astydamas II)							1							Naevius	5/4		
Parthenopaeus (Astydamas I)							1										

Appendix III. List of Tragedies

Parthenopaeus (Astydamas II)	340									*IG* II^2 2320	Thettalus, Athens 340				0	*Suda* σαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖς, a statue was erected to Astydamas in the theatre of Dionysus after the success of this play.	
Medea (Carcinus II)			1a				1								2/1	*P. Louvre* 10534 (with musical notation)	
Oedipus (Carcinus II)			2a												0		
Achilles Thersitoctonus (Chaeremon)	pre-350			Diog. Laert. a			1			*SIG*^{3} 1080	Anon., Dodona 276–219				0		*mech.* ?
IT (Polyeidus)			2a												0		
Agen sat. (Python)				Athenaeus q												Ath. *Deipn.* 13.595e–f, the play was performed at river Hydaspes in 326/4.	
Ajax (Theodectes)			2a												0		
Lynceus (Theodectes)			2a				1								0		
Mausolus (Theodectes)																Suda θ 138; Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.18.5–7, the play was produced in Halicarnassus in 353/2.	



1. Reconstruction of a comic stage in Magna Graecia. Based on an image by Drew Baker & Martin Blazeby, THEATRON consortium, Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London.

2. Apulian bell-krater, attributed to the McDaniel Painter, London, British Museum 1849,0620.13 (F151), 380–370 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Paestan kalyx-krater
by Asteas, *c*.365–*c*.340 BC.
© Photo: Antonio Trigo Arnal.
Museo Arqueológico Nacional,
Spain (N.I. 11094).

2. Lucanian squat lekythos
by the Primato Painter,
London, British Museum
1958,0214.1, 360–320 BC.
© The Trustees of the British
Museum.

3. Apulian bell-krater fragments by the Konnakis Painter,
Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4696 + 4701, 360–350 BC.
© Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Foto: P. Neckermann.

1. Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas, Lipari Museo Eoliano inv. 927, *c.*360–350 BC. © 2014. Photo Scala, Florence - courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

2. Apulian volute-krater, closely connected to the Black Fury Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82270 (H 3249), 370–360 BC.
© 2014. Photo Scala, Florence/Fotografica Foglia - courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

3. Campanian neck-amphora by the Caivano Painter, Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.86, *c.*330 BC.
© Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

4. Apulian kalyx-krater, attributed to the Varrese Painter, London, British Museum 1772,0320.33 (F269), 360–330 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Apulian bell-krater, attributed to the the Sarpedon Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.140, 400–380 BC. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916. Open Access for Scholarly Content (OASC), www.metmuseum.org.

2. Apulian kalyx-krater, attributed to the Laodamia Painter, London, British Museum 1870,0710.2 (F272), 350–340 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Apulian volute-krater, attributed to the Darius Painter, London, British Museum 1856,1226.1 (F279), 340–320 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Paestan bell-krater by Python,
London, British museum 1890,0210.1 (F149), 360–320 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

3. Campanian hydria, attributed to the Danaid Group,
London, British Museum 1824,0501.35 (F209),
340–320 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Apulian bell-krater, attributed to the Eumenides Painter, London, British Museum 1772,0320.96 (F166), 380–360 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Detail of an Apulian volute-krater depicting the story of Melanippe. Greek, Apulian, attributed to the Underworld Painter, ca.330–320 B.C. Ceramic, red-figure. 1994.1. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2005.

3. the Lykaon Painter
Mixing bowl (bell krater)
Greek, Classical Period, about 440 B.C.
Place of Manufacture: Greece, Attica, Athens
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 37.8 cm (14 7/8 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 00.346
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

1. Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81947 (H 3253), 340–330 BC.
© 2014. Photo Scala, Florence - courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

1. ITALY, Campania
The Libation Painter (attributed to)
Bell krater (Campanian red-figure ware)
350 BC-325 BC
earthenware
36.6 x 33.5 cm diameter
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1973 (D14-1973).

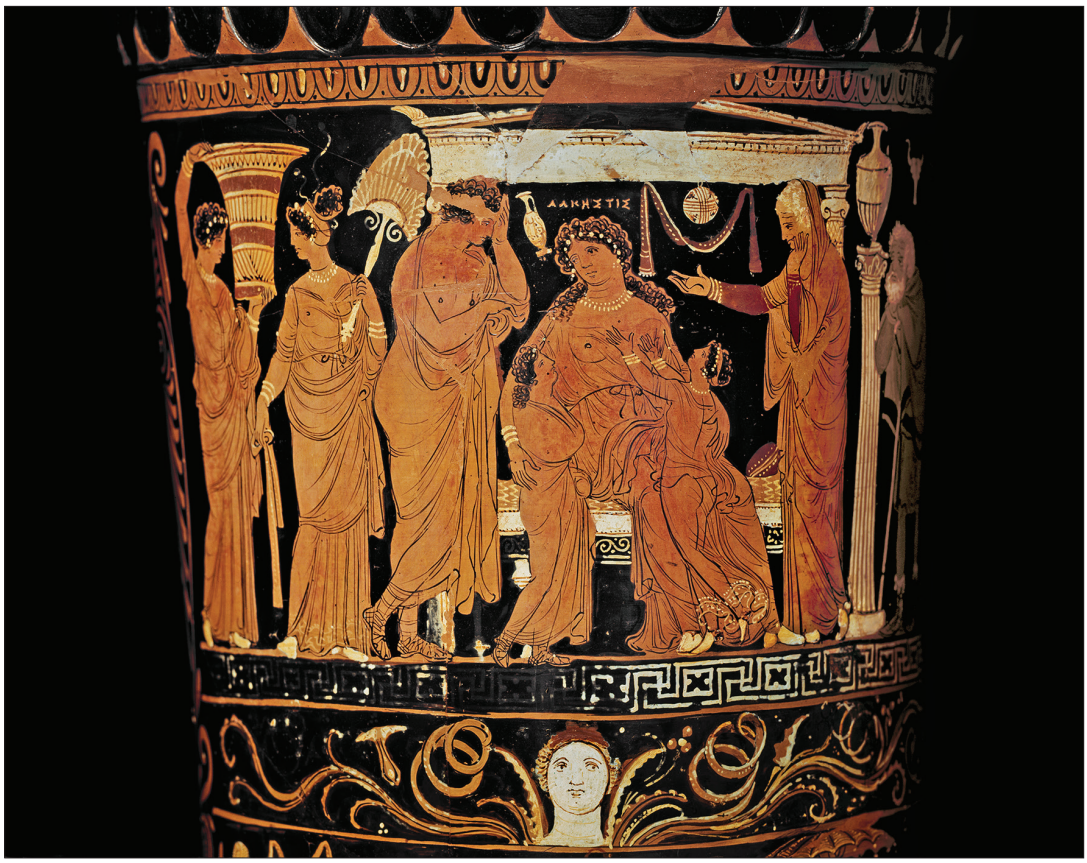
2. Attic white-ground kalyx-krater by the Phiale Painter, Agrigento, Museo Nazionale AG 7, 450–440 BC.
© 2014. DeAgostini Picture Library/Scala, Florence.

3. Detail of a Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas, San Antonio Museum of Art, gift of Gilbert M. Denman, Jr., 86.134.167, *c.*340 BC. Courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art. Photography by Peggy Tenison.

1. Apulian kalyx-krater by the Tarporley Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.104, 400–390 BC.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924.
Open Access for Scholarly Content (OASC), www.metmuseum.org.

2. Theatre of Aegae: copyright, archive IZ'EPKA.

1. Style resembles: the Varrese Painter
Mixing bowl (volute krater)
Greek, South Italian, Late Classical Period, about 340 B.C.
Place of manufacture: Italy, Apulia
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 124.6 cm (49 1/16 in.); diameter: 56 cm (22 1/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Francis Bartlett Donation of 1900, 03.804
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

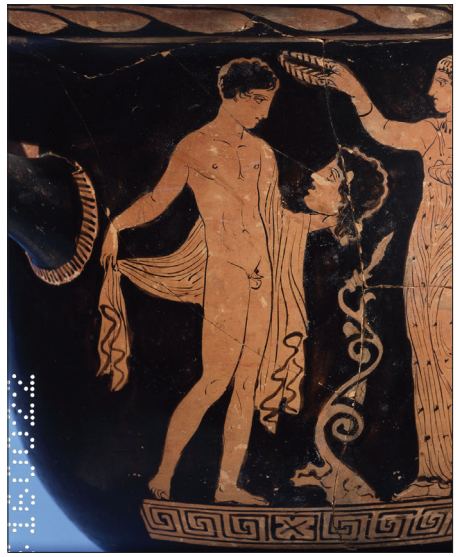


1. Apulian loutrophoros by a forerunner of the circle of the Darius and the Underworld Painters, Basel, Antikenmuseum S 21, 350–325 BC. © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig / Andreas.F. Voegelin.

2. Apulian phiale, close to the Thyrsus Painter, London, British Museum 1836,0224.54 (F133), 360–340 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

3. the Darius Painter
Mixing bowl (calyx-krater)
Greek, South Italian, Late Classical Period, about 340–330 B.C.
Place of Manufacture: Italy, Apulia
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 56.8 cm (22 3/8 in.); diameter: 50.2 cm (19 3/4 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Harry J. Denberg, Jerome M. Eisenberg, and Benjamin Rowland, Jr., by Exchange; Gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, and Classical Department Curators's Fund, 1989.100
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

1. © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California,
Gift of Stanley Silverman
Number: 80.AE.155.1
Artist: Attributed as close to Asteas
Title: Paestan Red-Figure Neck Amphora
Date: about 340 B.C.
Medium: Terracotta
Size: Object: H: 47.7 x Diam.: 19.8 cm (18 3/4 x 7 13/16 in.)
Object (foot): Diam.: 14.2 cm (5 9/16 in.)
Country: South Italy, Europe.



2. Apulian bell-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter, London, British Museum 1836,0224.175 (F163), 400–380 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

3. Apulian kalyx-krater by the Konnakis Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Inv. No. GR-4676 (B-1743), 360–350 BC.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

1. Apulian volute-krater, attributed to the Darius Painter, London, British Museum 1856,1226.1 (F279), 340–320 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Apulian volute-krater by the Ilioupersis Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82113 (H 3223), 370–350 BC. © 2014. Photo Scala, Florence/Fotografica Foglia - courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

3. Lucanian hydria by the Policoro Painter, Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35296, 410–390 BC. © 2014. DeAgostini Picture Library/Scala, Florence.

1. Apulian volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek Inv. SH 3296, 330–320 BC. © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photograph by: Krista Koppermann.

1. Apulian volute-krater
by the Darius Painter,
Princeton, Princeton University Art
Museum 1983.13, 340–330 BC.
Photo: Bruce M. White.
© 2014. Princeton University Art
Museum/Art Resource NY/Scala,
Florence.

2. The Ariadne Painter
Jar (stamnos)
Greek, South Italian, Classical Period, about 400–390 B.C.
Place of Manufacture: Italy, Apulia
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 30 cm (11 13/16 in.); diameter (body just above handles):
25,6 cm (10 1/16 in.); diameter (foot): 15,7 cm (6 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 00.349a,
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

3. Apulian relief guttus, St. Petersburg, Florida,
(on loan from William K. Zewadski), *c*.330 BC.
Photo: courtesy of William K. Zewadski.

1. Painter: Darius Painter
Mixing bowl (calyx-crater)
Greek, South Italian. Late Classical Period, about 340–330 B.C.
Place of Manufacture: Italy, Apulia
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 63.5 cm (25 in.); diameter (rim): 58.5 cm (23 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Museum purchase with funds donated by Esther D. Anderson, Edith and Harvey Bundy, Suzanne Dworsky, Leon Levy, Josephine L. Murray, Maurice Tempelsman, Emily T. and Cornelius C. Vermeule, Shelby White, Florence and Leonard Wolsky and the John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund, 1987.53
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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1. Greek theatres in Sicily and Magna Graecia; locations of the workshops for the production of the vases; the top-ten find-spots of the tragedy related vases; and actors and authors of tragedies and comedies who either were from Sicily or Magna Graecia, or visited Sicily/died there.

1. Etruscan kalyx-krater, London, British Museum 1867,0508.1328 (F480), 400–350 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Apulian kalyx-krater attributed to the Lycurgus Painter, London, British Museum 1849,0623.48 (F271), 350–340 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Apulian volute-krater, close to the Ilioupersis Painter, London, British Museum 1865,0103.21 (F159), 370–350 BC.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Detail of an Apulian volute-krater depicting the story of Melanippe. Greek, Apulian,
attributed to the Underworld Painter, ca.330–320 B.C. Ceramic, red-figure. 1994.1. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art.
© Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2005.

1. Lucanian nestoris, attributed to the Dolon Painter, London, British Museum 1865,0103.17 (F176), 390–380 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Apulian oinochoe, attributed to near the Black Fury Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.128, *c*.370 BC. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

3. Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81934 (H 3255), 350–340 BC. © 2014. Photo Scala, Florence/Fotografica Foglia - courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

1. Apulian pelike, attributed to the group of Naples 3131, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81392 (H 3231), *c*.340 BC.
© 2014. Photo Scala, Florence
- courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

2. The Ariadne Painter
Jar (stamnos)
Greek, South Italian, Classical Period, about 400–390 B.C.
Place of Manufacture: Italy, Apulia
Ceramic, Red Figure
Height: 30 cm (11 13/16 in.); diameter (body just above handles): 25,6 cm (10 1/16 in.); diameter (foot): 15,7 cm (6 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 00.349a,
Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

3. Paestan hydria by Python, London, British Museum 1772,0320.37 (F155), 360–320 BC. © The Trustees of the British Museum.