

Female Characters in Fragmentary Greek Tragedy

How were women represented in Greek tragedy? This question lies at the heart of much modern scholarship on ancient drama, yet it has typically been approached using evidence drawn only from the thirty-two tragedies that survive complete – neglecting tragic fragments, especially those recently discovered and often very substantial fragmentary papyri from plays that had been thought lost. Drawing on the latest research on both gender in tragedy and on tragic fragments, the essays in this volume examine this question from a fresh perspective, shedding light on important mythological characters such as Pasiphae, Hypsipyle and Europa, on themes such as violence, sisterhood, vengeance and sex, and on the methodology of a discipline which needs to take fragmentary evidence to heart in order to gain a fuller understanding of ancient tragedy. All Greek is translated to ensure wide accessibility.

P. J. FINGLASS is Henry Overton Wills Professor of Greek and Head of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Bristol. He has published *Sophocles* (2019) in the series Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics, as well as editions of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (2018), *Ajax* (2011) and *Electra* (2007), of Stesichorus (2014), and of Pindar's *Pythian Eleven* (2007) in the series Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries; has (with Adrian Kelly) coedited *The Cambridge Companion to Sappho* (2021) and *Stesichorus in Context* (2015), and edits the journal *Classical Quarterly*, all with Cambridge University Press.

LYNDSAY COO is Lecturer in Ancient Greek Language and Literature at the University of Bristol. Her research focuses on lost and fragmentary ancient Greek tragedy and satyr play. She is writing a commentary on Sophocles' fragmentary Trojan plays, and is coeditor (with Anna Uhlig) of Aeschylus at Play: Studies in Aeschylean Satyr Drama (2019).





Female Characters in Fragmentary Greek Tragedy

Edited by

P. J. FINGLASS

University of Bristol

LYNDSAY COO

University of Bristol





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108495141

DOI: 10.1017/9781108861199

© Cambridge University Press 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Finglass, Patrick, 1979- editor. | Coo, Lyndsay, editor.

Title: Female Characters in Fragmentary Greek Tragedy / edited by P. J. Finglass, Lyndsay Coo.

Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019039791 (print) | LCCN 2019039792 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108495141 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781108817059 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108861199 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Women in literature. | Greek drama (Tragedy)-History and criticism.

Classification: LCC PA3015.W65 F46 2020 (print) | LCC PA3015.W65 (ebook) | DDC 882/.0099287-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019039791

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019039792

ISBN 978-1-108-49514-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Notes on Contributors [page vii] Preface [xi] List of Abbreviations [xii]

1 Introduction [1]
LYNDSAY COO AND P. J. FINGLASS

PART I THEMES [17]

- 2 Female Violence towards Women and Girls in Greek Tragedy [19] FIONA MCHARDY
- 3 Greek Tragedy and the Theatre of Sisterhood [40]
- 4 Women in Love in the Fragmentary Plays of Sophocles [62] ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN
- 5 Heterosexual Bonding in the Fragments of Euripides [73] HELENE P. FOLEY
- 6 Suffering in Silence: Victims of Rape on the Tragic Stage [87] P. J. FINGLASS

PART II PLAYS [103]

- 7 Dancing on the Plain of the Sea: Gender and Theatrical Space in Aeschylus' *Achilleis* Trilogy [105]

 ANNA UHLIG
- 8 Europa Revisited: An Experiment in Characterisation [125] NIALL W. SLATER
- 9 When Mothers Turn Bad: The Perversion of the Maternal Ideal in Sophocles' *Eurypylus* [139]
 ROBERT COWAN

v



vi Contents

- 10 The Music One Desires: Hypsipyle and Aristophanes' 'Muse of Euripides' [162]
 CALEB SIMONE
- 11 Fragmented Self and Fragmented Responsibility: Pasiphae in Euripides' *Cretans* [179]

 LUIGI BATTEZZATO
- 12 Female Agency in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* [198] JAMES H. KIM ON CHONG-GOSSARD
- 13 Making Medea Medea [216]
 MATTHEW WRIGHT

Bibliography [244] General Index [277] Index of main female characters discussed [280]



Notes on Contributors

LUIGI BATTEZZATO is Professor of Greek Literature at the Università del Piemonte Orientale, Vercelli. He is the author of an edition of Euripides' Hecuba (Cambridge University Press, 2018), two monographs on tragedy (Linguistica e retorica della tragedia greca, 2008, and Il monologo nel teatro di Euripide, 1995), and Leggere la mente degli eroi. Ettore, Achille e Zeus nell'Iliade (2019). He has taught as a visiting professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, at the Istituto Universitario di Studi Superiori, Pavia, and at the École Normale Supérieure, Lyon.

JAMES H. KIM ON CHONG-GOSSARD is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Melbourne. He is the author of *Gender and Communication in Euripides' Plays: Between Song and Silence* (2008) and of articles on various topics, including consolation in Greek tragedy, the reception of Euripides, sex scandals in the Roman Empire, fifteenth-century commentaries on Terence's comedies and fourteenth-century commentaries on Seneca's tragedies.

LYNDSAY COO is Lecturer in Ancient Greek Language and Literature at the University of Bristol. Her research focuses on ancient Greek drama, in particular the lost and fragmentary works. She is writing a commentary on the fragmentary Trojan plays of Sophocles, has published on Greek tragedy and satyr play, and is coeditor (with Anna Uhlig) of Aeschylus at Play: Studies in Aeschylean Satyr Drama, a themed issue of the Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies (2019).

ROBERT COWAN is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Sydney, having previously held posts in Exeter, Bristol and Oxford. His research interests range over much of Greek and Latin poetry, and he has published on Sophocles, Aristophanes, Plautus, Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Cinna, Ticida, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Columella, Martial, Suetonius and Juvenal, as well as ancient graffiti and the operatic reception of Greek tragedy. His main specialisms are Imperial epic and Republican tragedy.

P. J. FINGLASS is Henry Overton Wills Professor of Greek and Head of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Bristol,

vii



viii Notes on Contributors

and Director of the Arts and Humanities Research Council South, West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership. He has published a monograph *Sophocles* (2019) in the series Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics; has edited Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (2018), *Ajax* (2011) and *Electra* (2007), Stesichorus' *Poems* (2014), and Pindar's *Pythian Eleven* (2007) in the series Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries; has (with Adrian Kelly) coedited *The Cambridge Companion to Sappho* (2021) and *Stesichorus in Context* (2015); and edits the journal *Classical Quarterly*, all with Cambridge University Press.

HELENE P. FOLEY is Claire Tow Professor of Classics, Barnard College, Columbia University. She is the author of books and articles on Greek epic and drama, on women and gender in antiquity and on modern performance and adaptation of Greek drama. Author of Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides (1985), The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (1994), Female Acts in Greek Tragedy (2001), Reimagining Greek Tragedy on the American Stage (2012) and Euripides: Hecuba (2015) and coauthor of Women in the Classical World: Image and Text (1994), she has edited Reflections of Women in Antiquity (1981) and coedited Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature (2007) and Antigone on the Contemporary World Stage (2011).

FIONA MCHARDY is Professor of Classics at the University of Roehampton. Her research focuses on aspects of gendered violence in ancient Greek literature, in particular revenge ethics in Homeric epic, Greek tragedy and Attic oratory. She is author of Revenge in Athenian Culture (2008) and has coedited four volumes: Revenge and Gender in Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Literature (2018), From Abortion to Pederasty: Addressing Difficult Topics in the Classics Classroom (2014), Lost Dramas of Classical Athens (2005) and Women's Influence on Classical Civilization (2004). She is currently writing a book on gender violence in ancient Greece.

CALEB SIMONE is Teaching Fellow and Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Classics at Columbia University. He has published on sound in Pindar and is currently writing a dissertation on the cultural discourse that emerges around *aulos* performance in ancient Greek literature and art.

NIALL W. SLATER is Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Latin and Greek at Emory University. His research focuses on the ancient theatre and its production conditions, prose fiction and popular reception of classical literature. His books include *Spectator Politics: Metatheatre and*



Notes on Contributors

ix

Performance in Aristophanes (2002), Reading Petronius (1990) and Plautus in Performance: The Theatre of the Mind (1985, 2000²), as well as the Bloomsbury Companion to Euripides' Alcestis (2013). His translations of various Middle and New Comedy poets are included in The Birth of Comedy: Texts, Documents, and Art from Athenian Comic Competitions, 486–280, edited by Jeffrey Rusten (2011). With C. W. Marshall he coedits the series Bloomsbury Ancient Comedy Companions. He is currently working on fragments of Roman Republican drama for the new Loeb Fragmentary Republican Latin.

ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN is Emeritus Professor of Greek at the University of Nottingham. He has published extensively on Greek drama, literature, language and society; has produced editions of the plays and fragments of Aeschylus (2008), including commentaries on *Eumenides* and *Suppliants* (Cambridge University Press, 1989, 2019), of selected fragmentary plays of Sophocles (with Thomas Talboy and David Fitzpatrick, 2006–2012), of the eleven comedies of Aristophanes (1980–2001) and of Menander's *Samia* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); and is editor of *The Encyclopedia of Greek Comedy* (2019).

ANNA UHLIG is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of California, Davis. Her research focuses on the performance culture of Greek lyric and dramatic poetry in the archaic and classical periods. She is coeditor (with Richard Hunter) of *Imagining Reperformance in Ancient Culture: Studies in the Traditions of Drama and Lyric* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), and (with Lyndsay Coo) of *Aeschylus at Play: Studies in Aeschylean Satyr Drama*, a themed issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (2019), and author of *Theatrical Reenactment in Pindar and Aeschylus* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

MATTHEW WRIGHT is Professor of Greek at the University of Exeter. He has published widely on fragmentary Greek drama, and his books include *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy* (two volumes, 2016–2019) and *The Comedian as Critic: Greek Old Comedy and Poetics* (2012).





Preface

This book has its origin in the conference 'Fragmented Women: The Female Characters of Fragmentary Greek Tragedy' co-organised by the editors at the University of Nottingham in July 2016; the papers presented there have been revised for this volume (with the exception of papers by Lucia Athanassaki, Marco Catrambone and Erika Weiberg, which are to appear in other venues), and augmented by two further chapters, by K. O. Chong-Gossard and Caleb Simone. We are most grateful to Cambridge University Press for publishing the volume, to the two anonymous referees and to Michael Sharp for his advice throughout the publication process.

The conference was funded by the Leverhulme Trust through the award to Patrick Finglass of a Philip Leverhulme Prize; the Trust's generous support allowed us to offer many bursaries to postgraduate students and early career researchers, especially from overseas. Lyndsay Coo's participation in the conference, as well as that of two Bristol PhD students, was funded by the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition at the University of Bristol. We thank administrative staff at the University of Nottingham, both at the School of Humanities and at Nottingham Conferences, for their support of the event.

Tragic fragments are cited using the numeration of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, although individual contributors take responsibility for the actual text that they print and are not bound by any editor's decisions. A dot under a letter indicates that it is not certain; a dot under empty space indicates that the letter in question cannot be identified. Gaps on a papyrus (or inscription) are represented by square brackets, []; scholars' attempts to fill these gaps are found within the brackets. Angular brackets, < >, signify letters not found on the papyrus; curly brackets, {}, signify letters erroneously included on the papyrus. When a gap on a papyrus coincides with a quotation found in an ancient author, the text thus added to the papyrus text is placed within half square brackets, L J. Ancient dates are BC unless otherwise indicated. Cross-references are given by citing the author's name in small capitals, with a page reference if needed.

PJFF LMLC Bristol, June 2019

L	Е	٧	Е	R	Н	U	L	М	E
т	R	U	S	т					

Patrick Finglass's work on this book was supported by the award of a Philip Leverhulme Prize by the Leverhulme Trust.

хi



Abbreviations

Adler A. Adler (ed.), Suidae Lexicon, 5 vols. Lexicographi Graeci

1. Leipzig, 1928-38

BAPD Beazley Archive Pottery Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/

pottery/)

BNJ I. Worthington (ed.), Brill's New Jacoby (https://

referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-

jacoby).

Breithaupt M. Breithaupt (ed.), De Parmenisco grammatico. Στοιχεῖα

4. Leipzig and Berlin, 1915

Carey C. Carey (ed.), Lysiae orationes cum fragmentis.

Oxford, 2007

CEG P. A. Hansen (ed.), Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, 2 vols.

Texte und Kommentare 12, 15. Berlin and New York,

1983-9

CGFPR C. Austin (ed.), Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in

papyris reperta. Berlin and New York, 1973

Chantry M. Chantry (ed.), Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars III:

Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas, Ranas, Ecclesiazusas et Plutum. Fasc. Ia, continens Scholia vetustiora in

Aristophanis Ranas. Groningen, 1999

D-K H. Diels (ed.), Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker⁶, 3 vols.,

rev. W. Kranz. Berlin, 1951–2

Drachmann A. B. Drachmann (ed.), Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina,

3 vols. Leipzig, 1903-27

EGM R. L. Fowler (ed.), Early Greek Mythography, 2 vols.

Oxford, 2000-13

F. P. J. Finglass, 'Text and critical apparatus', in Davies and

Finglass, 2014: 93-205

FGE D. L. Page (ed.), Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before

A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other Sources, not included in Hellenistic Epigrams or The Garland of Philip, revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and

revised and prepared for publication by R.

J. Diggle. Cambridge, 1981

xii



List of Abbreviations

xiii

GEF M. L. West (ed.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to*

the Fifth Centuries BC. Loeb Classical Library 497.

Cambridge, MA and London, 2003

Harder A. Harder (ed.), Callimachus. Aetia, 2 vols. Oxford, 2012

Holwerda D. Holwerda (ed.), Scholia in Aristophanem, Pars

I. Prolegomena de comoedia, Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes; Fasc. III 1, continens Scholia vetera in

Nubes. Groningen, 1977

Hordern J. H. Hordern (ed.), The Fragments of Timotheus of

Miletus. Oxford, 2002

 $IG II - III^2$ J. Kirchner (ed.), Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno

posteriores, 4 vols. Berlin, 1913-40

Jocelyn H. D. Jocelyn (ed.), The Tragedies of Ennius.

Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 10.

Cambridge, 1967

K-G R. Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen

Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre², 2 vols., rev. B. Gerth.

Hannover and Leipzig, 1898-1904

Leone P. A. M. Leone (ed.), Scholia vetera et paraphrases in

Lycophronis Alexandram. Lecce, 2002

LSI9 H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon⁹, rev.

H. Stuart-Jones et al. Oxford, 1940

Martin J. Martin (ed.), Scholia in Aratum vetera. Stuttgart, 1974 Most

G. W. Most (ed., transl.), Hesiod. Theogony. Works and

Days. Testimonia. Loeb Classical Library 57. Cambridge,

MA and London, 2006

M-WR. Merkelbach and M. L. West (eds.), Fragmenta Hesiodea.

> Oxford, 1967, supplemented in id. (eds.), Fragmenta selecta, ap. F. Solmsen (ed.), Hesiodi Theogonia Opera et

Dies Scutum.3 Oxford, 1990

Nauck, A. Nauck (ed.), Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.² $TrGF^2$ Leipzig 1889, reprinted with a supplement by B. Snell,

Hildesheim, 1964 [1st edn 1856]

P.Berol. Berliner Papyri

PCG R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), Poetae Comici Graeci, 8

vols. to date. Berlin and New York, 1983-

P.IFAO Papyrus grecs de l'Institut français d'archéologie

orientale

PMGD. L. Page (ed.), Poetae Melici Graeci. Oxford, 1962,

corrected reprint 1967



xiv List of Abbreviations

P.Oxy. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt et al. (eds.), The Oxyrhynchus

Papyri, 83 vols. to date. London, 1898-

Rotstein A. Rotstein, *Literary History in the Parian Marble*. Hellenic

Studies 68. Cambridge, MA and London, 2016

Schwartz E. Schwartz (ed.), Scholia in Euripidem, 2 vols. Berlin,

1887 - 91

SEG J. J. E. Hondius et al. (eds.), Supplementum Epigraphicum

Graecum, 63 vols. to date. Leiden, Amsterdam,

Boston, 1923-

S-M B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.), Pindari Carmina cum

Fragmentis, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1987-9, and Bacchylides.

Leipzig, 1970

Stählin O. Stählin (ed.), Clemens Alexandrinus, 4 vols. Leipzig,

1905-34

Theodoridis C. Theodoridis (ed.), Photii Patriarchae Lexicon [A-Ф

only], 3 vols. Berlin and New York, 1982-2013

Thilo and G. Thilo and H. Hagen (eds.), Servii grammatici qui

Hagen feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, 3 vols. Leipzig,

1878-1902

TrGF Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Vol. 1 Didascaliae

Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum, Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum, ed.
B. Snell, 2nd ed. rev. R. Kannicht. Göttingen, 1971¹, 1986².

Vol. 2 Fragmenta Adespota, ed. R. Kannicht and

B. Snell. 1981. Vol. 3 *Aeschylus*, ed. S. L. Radt. 1985. Vol. 4 *Sophocles*, ed. S. L. Radt. 1977¹, 1999². Vol. 5 *Euripides*, 2

parts, ed. R. Kannicht. 2004

TrGFS J. Diggle (ed.), Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta.

Oxford, 1998

Van der Valk M. van der Valk (ed.), Eustathii Archiepiscopi

Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, 4 vols. Leiden, New York, Copenhagen,

Cologne, 1971-87

Voigt E.-M. Voigt (ed.), Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta.

Amsterdam, 1971

Warmington E. H. Warmington (ed.), Remains of Old Latin, Volume II:

Livius Andronicus. Naevius. Pacuvius. Accius. Loeb

Classical Library 315. London and Cambridge, MA, 1936.

Wehrli F. Wehrli (ed.), Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und

Kommentar. Heft II: Aristoxenos.² Basel and Stuttgart,

1967 [1st edn 1945]



List of Abbreviations

XV

Wendel C. T. E. Wendel (ed.), Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium

vetera. Leipzig, 1935

Wessner P. Wessner (ed.), Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora.

Leipzig, 1931

W-H C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense (eds.), *Ioannis Stobaei*

Anthologium, 5 vols. Berlin, 1884–1912

Wilson N. G. Wilson (ed.), Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars 1:

Prolegomena de comoedia, Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites,

Nubes. Fasc. I B, continens Scholia in Aristophanis

Acharnenses. Groningen, 1975

Xenis G. A. Xenis (ed.), Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Electram.

Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker

12 Berlin and New York, 2010

