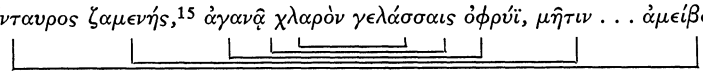
between χλαρὸν and χαλάω was already perceived by him (cf. κεχαλασμένον, above).

Gow (*ibid.*) rejects the view that the eyebrow was a "seat" of emotion and instead believes that ἀγανᾷ . . . ὀφρύϊ refers to the eye and not to the brow; contrast *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 278–279: καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀμαρύσσων / ὀφρῦς ῥιπτάζεσκεν ὁρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. As we have seen, however, the expressive eyebrow can certainly represent, if not a "seat," at least an index, of emotion, so that Gow's objections remain unconvincing. I therefore suggest that Pindar has knit ἀγανᾷ . . . ὀφρύϊ (lit., "with his eyebrows indicating that he was ἀγανός") together with χλαρὸν γελάσσαις by a subtle play of chiastic syntax in which ἀγανός and χλαρός modify with equal appropriateness the senses of ὀφρῦς and γελᾶν. Indeed, note the chiastic pattern of the whole sentence:



The phrase ἀγανᾷ χλαρὸν γελάσσαις ὀφρύϊ might therefore be rendered as "laughing indulgently with gentle gaze."[16]

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15. The sense of ζαμενής and thus its relation to μῆτιν are debatable. While the scholiast's gloss, συνετός, obviously supports a close relationship, ζαμενής is often taken to mean "very strong . . . raging" (LSJ; cf. ζαμενής· εὔψυχος. μέγα μένος ἔχων . . . ἄγαν ἰσχυρός Hsch.). Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien*, p. 82, however, argues that "violent rage" (cf. ζαμένησε Hes. *Theog.* 928?) is excluded by the context and Méautis (*Pindare le dorien* [Neuchâtel, 1962], pp. 208–9) translates ζαμενής as "plein d'une force prophétique" (cf. "inspired," Fennell, Gildersleeve, Sandys, "inspiré," Puech). If Méautis is correct, we may assert at least a Pindaric connection between ζαμενής and μῆτις. This conclusion gains support not merely from the structural arrangement of the rest of the sentence but, more significantly, from a similar collocation of these two words in *Pyth.* 4 where Medea ζαμενής (10) prophesies the future (14–56) as the Argonauts listen in silence to her πυκινὰν μῆτιν (58).

16. Lit., "having burst into laughter" (cf. n. 7). I think that χλαρὸν connotes "indulgence" rather than "lack of restraint" for several reasons. For example, comparable uses of χαλάω and χαλαρός imply "relaxation," rather than "lack of control." Furthermore, the collocation of χλαρὸν and ὀφρύϊ favors our interpretation but has less point if χλαρὸν is to be translated "unrestrainedly." The scholiast's πολύ does not necessarily imply a guffaw.

I thank the late C. M. Dawson and the late Adam Parry for their helpful comments on a previous version of this argument.

A NOTE ON THE DATING OF EURIPIDES' *PHAETHON*

"Wir haben keine Überlieferung über die Abfassungszeit des *Phaethon*." So stated Wilamowitz firmly in 1921.[1] Nonetheless, because of peculiarities in the lyrics of the parodos, the great scholar preferred a *Jugendwerk*.[2] His case was never convincing, and it was not confirmed when even its propounder confessed that the choriambs were "characteristic for Euripides' last period."[3] There was early disagreement.[4]

In an erudite and welcome edition of the play,[5] Dr. J. Diggle (pp. 47–49) must revive the question. He predictably and curtly discards Wilamowitz.[6] Indeed he allows only one criterion, Zieliński's Law.[7] Euripides' iambic trimeters grow progressively more tolerant of resolutions. Diggle rigorously calculates that one-sixth of the trimeters in the *Phaethon* contained resolutions. Hence 16.67% and *ca.* 420 B.C.; fifteen resolutions in ninety verses. The

1. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921), p. 222 (henceforth *Gr. Vers.*).

2. Thus *Gr. Vers.*, p. 222. See earlier *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin, 1875), p. 158 ("ante 425"); *Hermes*, XVIII (1883), 434 = *KS*, I, 147; and *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V. 2, *Griechische Dichterfragmente: Lyrische und Dramatische Fragmente* (Berlin, 1907), 81. For forty-six years he maintained the view.

3. See *Gr. Vers.*, p. 222.

4. See Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, I. 3 (Munich, 1940), 599 with n. 1.

5. J. Diggle, *Euripides: "Phaethon"* (Cambridge, 1970), henceforth Diggle. Verses of the play will be cited by their Diggle numbers.

6. Diggle, p. 47, where his predecessor is charged with "wanton fabrication." The charge is gratuitous, although I admit that it is fortunate that Wilamowitz' posthumous fame does not rest on his eccentric interpretation of the *Phaethon*. Yet his candid persistence is endearing. "That many have not believed this and will not believe it does not disturb me at all": see *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), p. 38, n. 1.

7. See T. Zieliński, *Tragodoumenon libri tres* (Cracow, 1925), pp. 133–240. Unlike Diggle, Wilamowitz was denied the benefits of this discovery when he sought to date the *Phaethon*.

perils of fragmentary evidence are clear.[8] Nonetheless one should argue from the known, and I find nothing disagreeable in Diggle's cautious conclusion:[9] "Since our material is so slight, it would be foolish to suppose that we can attain anything more than a very approximate result. But the metrical evidence, such as it is, favours the attribution of *Phaethon* to the later part of Euripides' career, to within a few years of 420. However slight the evidence, it is enough to disprove Wilamowitz' ascription of the play to Euripides' earlier years."

A chronologer, however, is struck by the sheer paucity of evidence. Why only iambs? The sum of what is lacking is distinctly peculiar and there are other oddities. Seven observations ought to be made and a hypothesis drawn.

(1) No detectable Aristophanic parody exists. Yet the play is hilarious, even grotesque. Phaethon's corpse is brought on stage in the form of an overcooked chop, still smoking (ἀτμόν, 215). His mother reasonably wants to conceal the horror from her husband and orders that it be hidden in the palace treasury (221–23). An unfortunate choice. The smoke fills the room and escapes through the chinks of the door (254). An alert servant raises the fire alarm (252 ff.). After a hasty prayer to Hecate and Hephaestus, the pious king exits to investigate (269). The interracial marriage and the chorus of fifteen colored housemaids would be memorable and exotic. Aristophanes—we are to believe—allowed Euripides to escape unscathed. (2) The Phaethon story appears on no Attic or South Italian vases,[10] art forms considerably influenced by dramatic productions. (3) The prolific urn factory at Volterra does not know the Phaethon story. This is especially remarkable, first because the "heroic urns" reveal a marked preference for Euripidean themes[11] and, I should suggest, might ultimately descend from an illustrated Euripides edition,[12] and second because the Etruscans delighted in scenes of horses and chariots. Phaethon further is a fine symbol of violent *mors immatura*. One surmises that Phaethon urns could have counted on a large sale. But out of several thousand examples, there is none. (4) In over three hundred preserved and partially preserved verses there is no discernible contemporary allusion, political or historical.[13] (5) *Phaethon* is not quoted until the Augustan Age, precisely by Strabo 1. 33, who implies that he had read the whole play (Frag. 771 N[2]). Ovid certainly read the whole attentively.[14] (6) The first preserved[15] artistic representations of the Euripidean version are also Augustan.[16] (7)

8. See G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester, 1955), p. 93; and *GRBS*, X (1969), 152, n. 34.

9. See Diggle, p. 49.

10. This is implicit in Diggle's thorough survey of the known monuments (pp. 205–20) and is confirmed by Dr. Wolfgang Schindler, Winckelmann Institut, Berlin.

11. For the Volterra urns see C. Laviosa, *Scultura tardo-Etrusca di Volterra* "Raccolta Pisana di Saggi e Studi," 14 (Milan, 1965).

12. For ancient illustrated editions of Euripides, see K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 63 ff.

13. Julian later (Lib. *Or.* 18. 181) devised a political interpretation of the Phaethon story: hereditary succession is dangerous.

14. Diggle in an exemplary essay (pp. 180–200) disposes of Wilamowitz' (*An. Eur.*, p. 158) Alexandrian Phaethon Poet, the source for Ovid, Nonnos, and the sarcophagi. Rather Ovid read Euripides and Nonnos read Ovid, who also influenced the sarcophagi studios. The specter, however, is still abroad: see F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: "Metamorphosen"* Buch I–III (Heidelberg, 1969), p. 221.

15. The earliest traceable representation of the Phaethon story in Greek art is the putative Hellenistic original of the Farnesina relief in the Museo delle Terme, itself dated not before 20 B.C.: see Helbig-Speier, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, III[4]: *Die Staatlichen Sammlungen* (Tübingen, 1969), No. 2482, pp. 430 ff. It can never be proven that the relief requires an original of the third or fourth century B.C. (Diggle, p. 205). Dr. W. Schindler would argue that the original was "not before the second century," *sc.* after the Alexandrian edition of Euripides. Compelling evidence for the early date simply does not exist. Diggle's description (p. 205) is inaccurate in several details. Helios is not "a figure of heroic size" but the same size as the other two figures. The youth holds his staff in his left (not right) hand. The "traces of a column and plinth" are better a little altar. They are not high enough for a column or door. The identification with the Phaethon story ("[it] can scarcely be doubted") depends solely on the diadem worn by Helios. Further corrections ought to be made: *p. 212. 1:* for "three figures" read "four figures"; *212. 4:* the "right hand" may well be Phaethon's hair; *212. 19:* 332a and 332b (CVIII) support clubs over conchs; *212. 21 ff.:* Diggle is too naturalistic in assuming that the curtain indicates an interior scene. It is only a decorative motif. The curtain is through the whole and the horses were not in Helios' living room; *218. 1 ff.:* I think the shepherd is simply a decorative motif indicating a landscape. Cf. Hermes Pastor and the Good Shepherd.

16. The undated "Florentine" cameo (Diggle, pp. 214–15) does not require Euripidean inspiration but could revert to Aeschylus' *Heliades* or elsewhere. Such pieces are notoriously difficult to date precisely (Dr. Schindler suggests "middle to late Hellenistic") and imitations abound. Diggle never says,

Finally there is a difficulty of production.[17] At verse 62, Phaethon and Clymene prepare to exit into the central door of the *scaenae frons*. At verse 54, the chorus have already begun to enter the theater through the same door (for the technique compare Aesch. *Cho.* and Soph. *El.*) and not from the parodos. Scholars have detected an awkward situation. Webster[18] wants an entrance from the parodos. This contradicts verse 54 (ἔξω δόμων) and will not do. Hourmouziades[19] is reluctant to have two actors stand idly by the door while the chorus enter, cross the *logeion*, and reach the orchestra "without noticing their presence." He prefers an entrance by a side door. Diggle[20] argues that the chorus "begin to appear from the door of the palace" at 54 and by 62 are arrayed in the orchestra. This excessively accelerates the action; and such stage business would detract from the spoken dialogue. Rather, at 54, the double central door would begin to open. At 62, the flute-player would lead the fifteen housemaids across the *logeion*, down a step or two, into the orchestra past the actors who would enter the *scaenae frons* before the singing of the first ode began. The situation could be managed. It could also have been eliminated in rehearsals.

The authenticity of the tragedy is indubitable. How does one explain its peculiarities? The play was never performed and thus never parodied and never painted. Either Euripides submitted the script to the archon eponymous who rejected it[21] or he never completed it and, with the *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, it survived in his *Nachlass*. A rejection accords with the low esteem in which his contemporaries held him.[22] The absence of Phaethon at Volterra and the lack of quotations from the play for four hundred years suggest that it was in no pre-Alexandrian edition nor in the repertoire of roving acting companies. *Ca.* 420 B.C., therefore, is the date of composition and not of performance.[23]

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as he always should when treating any ancient artifact, where the cameo is today and so I could not examine it. The Florentine sarcophagus (Diggle, p. 214) is Uffizi No. 432.

17. Diggle's discussion (pp. 94–95) is obscured by two slips. At p. 94. 29 for "their entrance" read "their exit," and at p. 95. 5 for "Phaethon enters" read "Phaethon exits."

18. See T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967), p. 222. In establishing any stage direction, we must always begin with what the text says.

19. See N. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides* (Athens, 1965), pp. 22–23.

20. See Diggle, pp. 94–95.

21. For what would have happened, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*[2] (Oxford, 1968), p. 84. A rejected script would never reach the Metroon but would remain in private hands.

22. See V. Martin, "Euripide et Ménandre face à leur public," *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens* VI (Geneva, 1960), 245 ff.

23. I am grateful for beneficial advice to K. Dunbabin, W. Schindler, W. J. Slater, and J. Vaio.

CATULLUS 76: ELEGY OR EPIGRAM?

David O. Ross (*Style and Tradition in Catullus*, Cambridge, 1969) claims that stylistic analysis proves *c.* 76 to be an epigram. He bases his analysis on "vocabulary, metrical features, and other stylistic criteria" (p. 170) and on literary history. But it seems clear that he begins by assuming that 76 is an epigram primarily because it is embedded amidst the epigrams and that his job is to sweep away the notion that it is an elegy. Three points only are connected by Ross with 76: violation of Hermann's Bridge, spondaic lines, and the use of *que–que*. This is a thin collection; nor does it lead very far in his direction.

Hermann's Bridge (p. 129) turns out to be violated once in the elegiacs (65–68), three times in the epigrams proper, and once in 76 (Ross considers 76 an epigram), there being 325 lines in the elegies and 319 in the epigrams. But Golden Age verse is cited (p. 129) as being "indifferent to it [Hermann's Bridge]," and Vergil violates it frequently. On this basis Ross simply cannot make any point out of the pitiful handful of examples culled from poems 65–116. On the other hand, one suspects that literary criticism could show that, as in the case of certain elisions, forces other than genre requirements have produced this small number.