



Cahiers des études anciennes

LXII | 2025

Irruption et résolution de la violence interne dans les cités grecques et romaines

Power, Wealth and Privilege in Euripides' Representation of *stasis*

Valentina Caruso



Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/etudesanciennes/6261>

ISSN: 1923-2713

Publisher:

Université d'Ottawa, Université Laval

Electronic reference

Valentina Caruso, « Power, Wealth and Privilege in Euripides' Representation of *stasis* », *Cahiers des études anciennes* [En ligne], LXII | 2025, mis en ligne le 11 avril 2025, consulté le 18 avril 2025. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/etudesanciennes/6261>

This text was automatically generated on April 18, 2025.



Le texte seul est utilisable sous licence CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. Les autres éléments (illustrations, fichiers annexes importés) sont « Tous droits réservés », sauf mention contraire.

Power, Wealth and Privilege in Euripides' Representation of *stasis*

Valentina Caruso

1. Introduction. Eruption and resolution of *stasis* in Euripides' plays.

- 1 Euripides' theater presents some of the most famous and touching reflections on war in world literature. In plays specifically dedicated to the theme, such as *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, the representation of pain unites vanquished and victors, in the face of the inevitable price of human lives paid in every conflict and at the risk of losing any humanity towards the enemy; in general, the lucid awareness that evil also characterizes the 'just' war substantiates the entire production of the poet and the development of its characters and themes¹.
- 2 These contradictions are particularly lacerating in the case of civil war: the clash that tears apart a city, pitting its members and sometimes members of the same family against each other, becomes an emblem of the devastation of war.
- 3 This contribution aims to investigate Euripides' representation of the causes and consequences of such conflicts. They can be recognized in distortions of the human soul and society: unbridled ambition and selfishness; the thirst for power and wealth; the abuse of others; anger or envy towards different social classes. The analysis of the behaviors – and speeches – of Euripides' characters will reveal the poet's vision on these themes, necessarily influenced by the war events contemporary to his production: it is necessary to recover an ethic often trampled upon, if not lost, in private behaviors to protect the public life of the State.

2.1. The extant plays of the early Euripidean production.

- 4 In the extant plays of the early Euripidean production, *oikeios polemos* is not directly brought on stage, but rather feared or remembered, precisely in order to divert from the city behaviors that could generate it again. Its mention in the *Children of Heracles* is significantly controversial: words are portrayed as the potential cause of a civil war and, to avoid this danger, Athens makes selfish interests prevail and denies its innate political and moral vocation to help the weakest. Indeed, after promising help to the Heracles against the persecution of Argos, the Athenian king Demophon refuses to impose on his citizens the burden of sacrificing a noble virgin, requested by the goddess Kore; despite the city assembly agreeing to face war to protect the suppliants (335-337), he fears that such a serious imposition² would lead to an *oikeios polemos*, which he sees is already being fomented by the speeches of his opponents (415-424):

καὶ νῦν πυκνάς ἄν συστάσεις ἄν εἰσίδοις,
 τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὡς δίκαιος ἦ ξένοις
 ἰκέταις ἀρήγειν, τῶν δὲ μωρίαν ἐμοῦ
 κατηγορούντων· εἰ δὲ δὴ δράσω τόδε,
 οἰκεῖος ἦδη πόλεμος ἐξαρτῦεται.
 ταῦτ' οὖν ὄρα σὺ καὶ συνεξεύρισχ' ὅπως
 αὐτοῖ τε σωθήσεσθε καὶ πέδον τόδε,
 κἀγὼ πολίταις μὴ διαβληθήσομαι.
 οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω·
 ἄλλ', ἦν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.

Now you will see crowded assemblies being held, with some maintaining that I was right to protect strangers who are suppliants, while others accuse me of folly. In fact if I do as I am bidden, civil war will break out. Therefore, consider these facts and join with me in discovering how you yourselves may be saved and this land as well, and how I may not be discredited in the eyes of the citizens. I do not have a monarchy like that of the barbarians: only if I do what is fair will I be fairly treated³.

- 5 The Attic capital seems to give in to the same ambiguity in the first part of the other Euripidean 'political play', the *Suppliant Women*. In asking Theseus for help to return the bodies of the Seven fallen in Thebes to their mothers, Adrastus is forced to admit the recklessness of the expedition he led; it was not only reckless in its implementation, but a truly impious fratricidal war, because it was driven by the thirst for revenge of two warriors, Polynices and Tydeus, against their homeland (147-150)⁴. The Argive king can therefore appeal to a single principle, the only one that can guarantee peace within and between cities with the ability to look with solidarity at others who are in difficulty, be it emotional, political, or economic (176-179):

σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον,
 [πένητά τ' ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν
 ζηλοῦνθ', ἵν' αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἔρωσ ἔχη,]
 τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ τοὺς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι.

It is a wise thing for the rich man to look on poverty [and the poor man to turn his gaze on the rich in envy, so that desire for money may seize him,] and for those who are not unfortunate to look at what is pitiable⁵.

- 6 But Theseus cannot help but point out that it was Adrastus himself who betrayed these ideals, giving in to the ambition that undermines from within the foundations of the civic assembly (232-237)⁶. In famous and discussed sentence verses, the king describes

the disintegrating force of this feeling when it is linked to social envy: if the rich do not hesitate to trample on the poor to obtain ever greater power, the poor vent their frustration in uncontrolled violence, fomented by demagogues. The only possibility of salvation for the divided State resides then in a class of hard-working citizens, 'middle class' in status, but above all in balance and rectitude (238-245):

[τρεῖς γὰρ πολιτῶν μερίδες· οἱ μὲν ὄλβιοι
ἀνωφελεῖς τε πλειόνων τ' ἐρῶσ' ἀεὶ·
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίου 240
δεινοί, νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλέον μέρος,
ἐς τοὺς <τ'> ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφιᾶσιν κακά,
γλώσσαις πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι·
τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἢ ἴσῳ μέσῳ σώζει πόλεις,
κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὄντιν' ἄν τάξῃ πόλις]. 245

[There are three classes of citizens: the rich are useless and always lusting for more; the poor, who lack their daily bread, are dangerous, for they assign too great a place to envy <and> hurl their stings at the rich, being deceived by the tongues of wicked leaders; of the three classes the one in the middle preserves states by keeping to the discipline that the city establishes.]⁷.

- 7 Therefore Theseus refuses to help those who caused so much harm to his fellow citizens: but then the speech of his mother Aethra convinces him that the defense of the suppliants is the most just and pious choice. In conformity with the freedom that characterizes his government, Theseus leaves it up to the citizens to decide on the war against Thebes (349-353): they agree with him on the need to undertake it to defend the values dear to Athens (393-394)⁸. The victory thus allows funeral honours to be given to the deceased, and Adrastus to dedicate a eulogy to the seven leaders; and among their celebrated virtues are those of Parthenopaeus, who, Arcadian by birth, always defended Argos and never sowed discord in his adopted homeland (890-898):

Ἀρκὰς μὲν ἦν, ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοὰς 890
παιδεύεται κατ' Ἄργος. ἔκτραφεῖς δ' ἐκεῖ
πρώτον μὲν, ὡς χρὴ τοὺς μετοικοῦντας ξένους,
λυπηρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἐπίφθονος πόλει
οὐδ' ἐξεριστῆς τῶν λόγων, ὅθεν βαρὺς
μάλιστ' ἄν εἴη δημότης τε καὶ ξένος. 895
λόχοις δ' ἐνεστῶς ὡσπερ Ἀργεῖος γεγώς
ἦμυνε χῶρα, χῶπότη' εὖ πράσσοι πόλις
ἔχαιρε, λυπρῶς δ' ἔφερεν εἴ τι δυστυχοῖ.

He was an Arcadian, but he came to the streams of the Inachus and was raised in Argos. Since he was reared to manhood there, in the first place—as befits all foreign visitors—he caused no pain or resentment to the city and was never a wrangler in words, which is what most makes both citizen and foreigner hard to bear. He took his place in the military companies like an Argive born and fought for his country. When the city prospered, he was glad, but he grieved if it met with any misfortune⁹.

- 8 The most vivid Euripidean representation of civil war and its terrible consequences is found in *Heracles*, set over against the characterization of Lycus. In this sense, the words with which Amphitryon presents his enemy in the prologue are emblematic. A stranger, Lycus managed to regain power in the city once governed by his father of the same name by taking advantage of internal conflicts, a real 'disease' (32-34):

Καδμεῖος οὐκ ὦν ἀλλ' ἀπ' Εὐβοίας μολῶν,
κτείνει Κρέοντα καὶ κτανῶν ἄρχει χθονός,
στάσει νοσοῦσαν τήνδ' ἐπεσπεσὼν πόλιν.

no Cadmean but an immigrant from Euboea, killed Creon and having killed him rules the land: he attacked the city when it was suffering from civil discord¹⁰.

- 9 The image is significantly taken up by Corypheus in the first episode. It was madness, brought about by *stasis*, that induced the city to welcome the terrible tyrant who would then lead it to devastation; and for this reason the Corypheus can exhort the Theban people to a sedition, which would become exceptionally just (254-257, 272-274):

οὐ σκῆπτρα, χειρὸς δεξιᾶς ἐρείσματα,
ἀρεῖτε καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνόσιον κάρρα 255
καθαιματώσεθ', ὅστις οὐ Καδμεῖος ὦν
ἄρχει κάκιστα τῶν ἐτῶν ἔπηλυς ὦν;

will you not take up the staves that prop your right hands and bloody this man's godless head? He is no true Theban, and rules most wrongfully over the citizens since he is an immigrant.

ἐν αἷς σὺ χαίρεις οὐ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖ πόλις
στάσει νοσοῦσα καὶ κακοῖς βουλευμασιν.

οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἂν σὲ δεσπότην ἐκτήσατο·

Thebes is not in its right mind, it suffers from civil strife and bad counsel. Otherwise it would never have taken you for a master.

- 10 In the second episode, other painful details on Lycus' seizure of power become a serious warning about the negative values that generate civic conflicts with bloody consequences. Megara tells Heracles that her father was one of Lycus' victims and that he was killed in the dying divided city (539-543):

Με. τεθνᾶσ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατὴρ οὐμὸς γέρων.

Ηρ. πῶς φῆς; τί δράσας ἢ μόρου ποίου τυχῶν;

Με. Λύκος σφ' ὁ καινὸς γῆς ἄναξ διώλεσεν.

Ηρ. ὅπλοις ἀπαντῶν ἢ νοσησάσης χθονός;

Με. στάσει· τὸ Κάδμου δ' ἐπτάπυλον ἔχει κράτος.

Me. My brothers and my old father are dead. He. What is this? What did he do or what was the fate he met? Me. Lycus, the new ruler of the land, killed him. He. Did he meet them in battle? Or was it because of faction in the city? Me. It was faction. He now rules over seven-gated Thebes¹¹.

- 11 Amphitryon explains that those who triggered the civil conflict and then supported the tyrant were decayed nobles, eager to seize other people's property (588-592):

[πολλοὺς πένητας, ὀλβίους δὲ τῷ λόγῳ

δοκοῦντας εἶναι, συμμάχους ἄναξ ἔχει,

οἱ στάσιν ἔθηκον καὶ διώλεσαν πόλιν 590

ἐφ' ἀρπαγαῖσι τῶν πέλας, τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις

δαπάναισι φροῦδα διαφυγόνθ' ὑπ' ἀργίας].

[The king has as allies many men, poor but reputed to be rich, who have formed a faction and destroyed the city in order to plunder their neighbors' possessions since through extravagance and laziness their own property is dissipated].

2.2. The extant plays of the later Euripidean production

- 12 The *topoi* that have emerged so far in the representation of the civil war substantiate fundamental moments of some plays of Euripides' later production. In particular, the subtle rhetoric of demagogues is once again an instrument of conflict within a people, faced with an ethical and political dilemma as in the *Children of Heracles*: in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Agamemnon resigns himself to the sacrifice of the girl for the fear of the revolt of his followers, fomented by Odysseus (506-545); and in *Orestes*, the accusation of an

ambiguous wordsmith prevails in the trial of the protagonist, stirring up the violent instincts of the crowd, while the balanced defense of an honest *autourgos* succumbs (866-956). Even in *Ion* the protagonist fears that words may cause *stasis*. The young man imagines that the powerful of Athens could use tendentious speeches to foment hatred and obstructionism against him, as a foreigner as well as an illegitimate son of the king; and he fears not being able to count on the support of *chrestoi* citizens, who remain extraneous to politics (595-606):

[ἦν δ' ἔς τὸ πρῶτον πόλεος ὀρηθεὶς ζυγὸν 595
ζητῶ τις εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἀδυνάτων ὑπο
μισησόμεσθα· λυπρὰ γὰρ τὰ κρείσσονα.
ὅσοι δέ, χρηστοὶ δυνάμενοί τ' εἶναι σοφοί,
σιγῶσι καὶ σπεύδουσιν ἔς τὰ πράγματα,
γέλωτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μωρίαν τε λήψομαι 600
οὐχ ἡσυχάζων ἐν πόλει φόβου πλέα.
τῶν δ' αὖ ἴλογίων τε ἠρωμένων τε τῆ πόλει
ἔς ἀξίωμα βᾶς πλέον φρουρήσομαι
ψήφοισιν. οὕτω γὰρ τάδ', ὦ πάτερ, φιλεῖ·
οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι κἀξιώματα, 605
τοῖς ἀνθαμίλλοις εἰσὶ πολεμιώτατοι.]

[If I attempt to be somebody by aspiring to the city's helm, I shall be hated by the powerless: men always hate what is above them. As for all those who are of good character and have an aptitude for wisdom but live quietly and do not exert themselves in public affairs, they will think I am laughably foolish not to keep quiet in a city full of fear. But if I invade the prestige of those who speak in public and engage in politics, by their votes I will be kept in check even more. That is the way things usually happen, father. Those who hold office in their cities are always most hostile to their competitors]¹².

- 13 In the *Phoenician Women* the role of speech is even more decisive: it is at the origin of the conflict and has the power to quell or trigger it. The tragedy stages not a civil war, but a fratricidal war – the same one criticized in the *Suppliant Women*. It is in fact the curse of Oedipus that pits his sons Eteocles and Polynices against each other (66-67)¹³: their rivalry explodes due to a betrayed promise, the pact of alternation in sovereignty betrayed by Eteocles. Jocasta invites her sons to a verbal confrontation to find an agreement (81-82, 444-445)¹⁴. But this possibility is nullified by the feelings and desires of the brothers, most harmful to the State and reaffirmed in an *agôn logôn*. Polynices is moved by anger at being exiled, which also becomes social envy, since as a foreigner he is forced to live in poverty and submit to the power of the rich. Cf. e.g. 388-393, 439-442:

Io. τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
Po. μέγιστον· ἔργω δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον ἢ λόγῳ.
Io. τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγᾶσιν τὸ δυσχερές; 390
Po. ἐν μὲν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.
Io. δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.
Po. τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεῶν.
Jo. What is it like to be deprived of your country? Is it a great calamity? Po. The greatest: the reality far surpasses the description. Jo. What is its nature? What is hard for exiles? Po. One thing is most important: no free speech. Jo. A slave's lot this, not saying what you think. Po. You must endure the follies of your ruler¹⁵.
Po. [τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισι τιμιώτατα
δύναμιν τε πλείστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔχει. 440
ἀγῶ μεθήκω δεῦρο μυρίαν ἄγων
λόγῃ· πένης γὰρ οὐδὲν εὐγενῆς ἀνήρ].

Po. [money is held in the highest esteem by mortals, and of all that is in the world of men it has the greatest power. It is to get this that I have come here with ten thousand spearmen. The nobleman who is poor is nothing].

- 14 Eteocles obeys Ambition (*Philothymia*), which is a thirst for power but also for wealth¹⁶.

Jocasta uses another speech to try to restore peace. It celebrates Equality (Ἰσότης), the positive principle that regulates the universe and which must also be respected in the government to save the city (535-540):

[...]. κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον, 535
 Ἰσότητα τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις
 πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
 συνδεῖ· τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφν,
 τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
 τοῦλασσον ἐχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται. 540

Far finer, my son, to honor Equality, which binds friends to friends, cities to cities, and allies to allies. For Equality, men find, conduces to lawfulness, whereas the lesser is always hostile to the greater and making war against it.

- 15 But such wise considerations can do nothing against the blaze of selfish passions: thus the war breaks out with terrible violence, culminating in a fratricidal duel between Eteocles and Polynices.

3.1. The fragmentary plays: *stasis*, crisis of values and class struggle.

- 16 These images of the civil war partially outlined in Euripides' plays therefore allow us to reconstruct a fundamental dynamic of the phenomenon: the population rises up against an unpopular tyrant, perhaps foreign, certainly cruel in imposing terrible choices such as war or a sacrifice; however, this domination is often imposed thanks to a rift between the wealthier citizens, who arrogantly wanted to prevail, and the less wealthy, exasperated by their living conditions and envious of the wealthier. Such clashes are fomented out of self-interest by skilled but dishonest speakers. In the vast *corpus* of the poet's fragments there are other texts, of limited extent but capable of completing the picture of civil war and clarifying its meanings and intentions. Even more than war against foreigners, civil war highlights a degeneration of social and individual morality, which perverts the behavior of rulers and the governed.

- 17 The *oikeios polemos* is at the center of two fragments. Fr. 173 of the *Antigone* defines it as an internal division of the *polis*:

οἰκεῖος ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ
 πόλεμος ἐν ἀστοῖς, ἣν διχοστατῆ πόλις.

Men usually have internal feudings occur among citizens, if their city is divided¹⁷.

- 18 Critics generally consider it plausible that the sentence refers to the consequences of Creon's edict, and therefore that it refers, as in other plays, to an ethically controversial order of an authoritarian tyrant¹⁸. Even the most famous Euripidean verses on *stasis*, fr. 453 of *Cresphontes*, appear connected to the criticism of a tyrannical government, as well as to the resolution of a family conflict. This choral song on the joy and harmony guaranteed by peace probably prepares or inspires the protagonist's revenge against Polyphontes¹⁹; in the finale the painful criticism of the hateful (*echtra*) sedition is still described as a 'crazy' explosion of violence:

Χο. Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε καὶ

καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
 ζῆλός μοι σέθεν, ὡς χρονίζεις.
 δέδια δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις 4
 ὑπερβάλλῃ με γῆρας,
 πρὶν σὰν προσιδεῖν χαρίεσσαν ὥραν
 καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδάς
 φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους 8
 <ἴθ' > ἴθι μοι, πότνια, πόλιν.
 τὰν δ' ἐχθρὰν στάσιν εἴργ' ἄπ' οἴ-
 κων τὰν μαινομέναν τ' Ἔριν
 θηκτῷ τερπομέναν σιδάρῳ 12

Peace, with your depths of wealth, fairest of the blessed gods, I pine for you, so long you are in coming; I fear old age may overwhelm me with hardships before I can look upon your graceful beauty, your songs adorned with dancing, your garland-loving revels. Come, come, mistress, to my city! Ban from our homes the hateful discord, and raging Strife that delights in whetted iron²⁰.

- 19 Therefore, frequent reflections are dedicated by the poet to the importance for the city of wisely choosing a leader who respects the law and his people. On this theme, fr. 171 and 172 of *Antigone* can be placed in speeches of blame towards Creon²¹:

δεῖ τοῖσι πολλοῖς τὸν τύραννον ἀνδάνειν
 The king must please the many.
 οὐτ' εἰκὸς ἄρχειν οὐτ' ἐχρῆν † εἶναι νόμον †
 τύραννον εἶναι μωρία δὲ καὶ θέλειν
 * * *

ὅς τῶν ὁμοίων βούλεται κρατεῖν μόνος
 It is neither reasonable to rule, nor ought there † to be a law † to be a king. It is folly (for a man) even to want < . . . > who wishes to hold sole power over his peers²².

- 20 In the well-known fr. 626 of *Pleisthenes* (fr. 626), the trust granted to evil tyrants is significantly represented as affliction, a metaphor, as seen, typical for civil war itself:

δήμῳ δὲ μήτε πᾶν ἀναρτήσης κράτος,
 μήτ' αὖ κακώσης, πλοῦτον ἔντιμον τιθείς.
 μηδ' ἄνδρα δήμῳ πιστὸν ἐκβάλλης ποτέ
 μηδ' αὖξε καιροῦ μεῖζον', οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλές, 4
 μή σοι τύραννος λαμπρὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φανῆ.
 κώλυε δ' ἄνδρα παρὰ δίκην τιμώμενον·
 πόλει γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες οἱ κακοὶ νόσος

Do not attach power wholly to the people, nor on the other hand degrade them by privileging wealth. Never expel a man who is trusted by the people, and do not let him grow greater than he should be, for that is unsafe, in case he should turn into a manifest tyrant. Check a man who gains esteem unjustly, for base men prospering are an affliction to a city²³.

- 21 The verses insert the motif into a broader criticism not only of the foolishness of the popular class, but of the contemporary crisis of values, in particular of a real cult of wealth. This imbalance, already included among the remote causes of city unrest in extant tragedies, is extensively reconstructed and analyzed by Euripides in the production known to us in fragments. In many texts, the socially recognized primacy of wealth is bitterly noted (*Danae*, fr. 325, *Eurystheus*, fr. 378)²⁴. It thus becomes, for the majority of men, the main objective of existence, to which everything else and anyone else is subordinated. This false accusation is addressed by Odysseus – with his tendentious oratory art – to *Palamedes* in fr. 580:

Ἀγάμεμνον, ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσαν αἰ τύχαι

μορφῆν ἔχουσι, συντρέχει δ' εἰς ἓν τόδε·
 τούτου δὲ πάντες, οἳ τε μουσικῆς φίλοι
 ὅσοι τε χωρὶς ζῶσι, χρημάτων ὑπερ
 μοχθοῦσιν, ὃς δ' ἂν πλεῖστ' ἔχη, σοφώτατος
 Agamemnon, men's fortunes take every form, but there is concurrence upon one
 thing: of this all, both those friendly to the arts, and those who live without them,
 labour for wealth; and whoever has most, is wisest²⁵.

- 22 Above all, it is significant that the head of the Trojan embassy uses this argument to convince *Philoctetes* to betray his people (fr. 794):

ὄρᾳτε δ' ὡς κἂν θεοῖσι κερδαίνειν καλόν,
 θαυμάζεται δ' ὁ πλεῖστον ἐν ναοῖς ἔχων
 χρυσόν. τί δῆτα καὶ σὲ κωλύει <λαβεῖν>
 κέρδος, παρόν γε, κάξομοιοῦσθαι θεοῖς; 4
 You see that making a profit is honourable among the gods too, and that the one
 with most gold in his temples is admired! What prevents you too from <taking>
 profit, then, when it is quite possible, and from making yourself like the gods?²⁶

- 23 This exaltation of wealth corresponds to a contempt of poverty. This is in fr. 248 of *Archelaus*, attributed by critics to a negative character such as the perfidious advisor who persuades Cisseus to ambush the protagonist:

οὐκ ἔστι Πενίας ἱερὸν αἰσχίστης θεοῦ.
 μισῶ γὰρ ὄντως οἵτινες φρονοῦσι μὲν,
 φρονοῦσι δ' τοῦδενός τετ' χρημάτων ὑπερ
 There is no shrine of Poverty, that vilest of deities. I truly detest those who are
 capable of thought, but think ... over money²⁷.

- 24 For this reason, in *Erechtheus*, fr. 362, 16-17, the king, in giving his son instructions for good government, is forced to admit the importance of getting possessions:

ἐν τῷ πένεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τ' ἀδοξία,
 κἂν ἢ σοφός τις, ἢ τ' ἀτιμία βίου.
 poverty brings disrepute and low esteem in life, even if one is wise²⁸.

- 25 The necessary unity in citizenship is undermined by differences in wealth. This is evident in verses in which economic privilege is placed before the qualities of nobility and honesty of the protagonists of the respective dramas (*Danae*, fr. 326, 327; *Andromeda*, fr. 142; *Cretan Women*, fr. 462)²⁹. Emblematic is the famous meditation of *Bellerophon*, fr. 285, 3-17:

τρισῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἐγκρινῶ νικᾶν μίαν,
 πλούτου τε, χῶτῳ σπέρμα γενναῖον προσῆ, 4
 πενίας τ' ἀριθμὸν γὰρ τοσόνδε προουθέμην.
 ὁ μὲν ζάπλουτος, εἰς γένος δ' οὐκ εὐτυχής,
 ἀλγεῖ μὲν, ἀλγεῖ, παγκάλως δ' ἀλγύνεται
 ὄλβου διοίγων θάλαμον ἠδιστον χερί. 8
 ἔξω δὲ βαίνων τοῦδε, τὸν πάρος χρόνον
 πλουτῶν, ὑπ' ἄτης ζεῦγλαν ἀσχάλλει πεσῶν.
 ὅστις δὲ γαῦρον σπέρμα γενναῖόν τ' ἔχων
 βίου σπανίζει, τῷ γένει μὲν εὐτυχεῖ, 12
 πενία δ' ἐλάσσω ἐστίν, ἐν δ' ἀλγύνεται
 φρονῶν, ὑπ' αἰδοῦς δ' ἔργ' ἀπωθεῖται χερῶν.
 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς, διὰ τέλους δὲ δυστυχῶν,
 τοσῶδε νικᾷ· τοῦ γὰρ εὔ τητῶμενος 16
 οὐκ οἶδεν, αἰεὶ δυστυχῶν κακῶς τ' ἔχων.
 but of (life's) three estates I'll judge one superior—wealth, noble blood in a man,
 and poverty: that is the total number I advance. The man with great wealth, but

unlucky in his birth, hurts at this, he hurts, but it is a quite splendid pain for him when he opens his wealth's treasure-chamber to his hand's great pleasure; when he leaves it, however, after his riches before, he is distressed at falling under ruin's yoke. The man of proud and noble descent who wants for a livelihood, has the good fortune of birth but is diminished by poverty, and is pained moreover by thinking of it; but out of shame he rejects manual work. The absolute nobody, however, in continual misfortune, is superior inasmuch as his deprivation of good keeps him unaware of it, being in constant misfortune and evilly situated³⁰.

26 Material wealth, however, is almost never combined with spiritual wealth³¹. This is claimed by virtuous heroes in battle with the antagonists who threaten them: *Alexander* in fr. 55, *Archelaus* in fr. 235, *Dictys* in fr. 341, *Phaeton* in fr. 776, 164-167³². Living in poverty instead leads to cultivating more important and lasting personal qualities: thus in *Alexander*, fr. 54, *Hippolytus Veiled*, fr. 438, *Polyidus*, fr. 641³³.

27 Beyond the characteristics of the social parts, their opposition can only cause damage to the *polis*. If, as seen, the thirst for wealth and power never quenches, those who have the most wealth become increasingly aggressive towards others, as observed in famous *gnomai*, although of uncertain contextualization. The fr. 7a of *Aegeus* is perhaps part of an attempt by the wicked Medea to discredit her stepson Theseus:

ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις χρημάτων μὲν ἐνδεής,
δράσαι δὲ χειρὶ δυνατός, οὐκ ἀνέξεται
τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων χρήμαθ' ἀρπάζειν φιλεῖ.

A man who lacks possessions but has the ability to act forcefully will not hold back; he likes to seize the possessions of those who are well off³⁴.

28 Fr. 92 of *Alcmene* could instead refer to the deceptive seduction suffered by the protagonist:

ἴστω τ' ἄφρων ὦν ὅστις ἄνθρωπος γεγώς
δῆμον κολούει χρήμασιν γαυρούμενος

A man who is merely human yet disdains the people and prides himself on his wealth should understand that he is a fool³⁵.

29 And if wealth fuels vices, the questions about its contribution to the common good are rhetorical, in the deceptive speeches of *Archelaus*, fr. 247 and *Ino*, fr. 407:

τί δ' οὐκ ἂν εἶη χρηστὸς ὄλβιος γεγώς;
Why would he not give good service once he is wealthy?³⁶

ἄμουσία τοι μηδ' ἐπ' οἰκτροῖσιν δάκρυ
στάζειν· κακὸν δέ, χρημάτων ὄντων ἄλις,
φειδοῖ πονηρᾶ μηδέν' εὖ ποιεῖν βροτῶν

Just as it's boorish, I tell you, to shed no tear even for those deserving pity, so it is bad, when there is money enough, not to help any man through cheap thriftiness³⁷.

30 On the other hand, as shown in fr. inc. 915, those who are or become poor will be willing to do anything, also, to change their status³⁸; and, as stated in fr. 201 of the *Antiope*, this can become a serious public danger:

(Αμ.) καὶ μὴν ὅσοι μὲν σαρκὸς εἰς εὐεξίαν
ἀσκοῦσι βίοτον, ἦν σφαλῶσι χρημάτων,
κακοὶ πολῖται· δεῖ γὰρ ἄνδρ' εἰθισμένον
ἀκόλαστον ἦθος γαστρὸς ἐν ταυτῷ μένειν 4

Look! All those whose regimen of life is to acquire a fine physique are bad citizens if ever their money fails; for once a man is accustomed to undisciplined habits of appetite, he inevitably stays in that condition³⁹.

3.2. The fragmentary plays: virtue and rhetorical skill at the service of good government.

- 31 According to a principle of atavistic wisdom, for the salvation and peace of the State a balance is necessary that calms the selfish and destructive instincts of the different social groups and, contrarily, fruitfully channels their qualities and their means. The praise of the virtuous public and private behavior of the 'middle class', seen in the *Suppliant Women*, is embodied, in extant plays, by two farmer characters – the husband of the protagonist of *Electra* and the defender of Orestes in the drama of the same name⁴⁰. It finds correspondence in the ideal of a government in which rich and poor collaborate, having equal rights, which *Erechtheus* proposes to his son as future sovereign (fr. 362, 7-8):

τῷ πλουσίῳ τε τῷ τε μὴ διδοῦς μέρος
ἴσον σεαυτὸν εὐσεβῆ πάσιν δίδου.
give equal weight to rich and poor alike, and show yourself respectful to everyone⁴¹.

- 32 *Aeolus* admits the same thing to Macareus, reflecting on the importance of the criterion of wealth in choosing the marital destiny for his daughters (fr. 21):

δοκεῖτ' ἂν οἰκεῖν ἴγαντ', εἰ πένης ἅπας
λαὸς πολιτεύοιτο πλουσίων ἄτερ;
οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακά,
ἄλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις, ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς. 4
ἅ μὴ γὰρ ἔστι τῷ πένητι, πλούσιος
δίδωσ'· ἅ δ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα,
τοῖσιν πένησι χρώμενοι ἴτιμώμεθα.
Do you think you could live in a country, if the entire population of its poor governed the city without the rich? Good and bad would not be separate; yet there is a mixture of them where things can be well. What the poor man does not have, the rich one gives; and what we rich do not possess, we get through our dealings with the poor: honour⁴².

- 33 If the fracture in the *polis* reflects a cultural void and a moral distortion, the reconstitution of a peaceful balance requires everyone to become aware: private citizens will not only have to avoid violent and abusive behavior, but actively put their abilities at the service of the homeland⁴³. Fr. 91 of *Alcmene* therefore exhorts the good *politês* to justice:

ἀτρέκεια δ' ἄριστον ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει δικαίου
A just man's honesty is a city's best asset⁴⁴;

- 34 fr. 187 of *Antiope* to altruism:

<Ζη.> ἀνήρ γὰρ ὅστις εὖ βίον κεκτημένος
τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἀμελία παρὲς ἔῃ,
μολπαῖσι δ' ἠσθεὶς τοῦτ' ἀεὶ θηρεύεται,
ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοις καὶ πόλει γενήσεται, 4
φίλοισι δ' οὐδέϊς ἢ φύσις γὰρ οἴχεται,
ὅταν γλυκείας ἡδονῆς ἦσων τις ἦ
A man who possesses a good livelihood but neglects matters in his own house and lets them slip, and from his pleasure in singing pursues this all the time, will become idle at home and for his city, and a nobody for those close to him: a man's nature is lost and gone when he is overcome by pleasure's sweetness⁴⁵;

- 35 fr. 239 of *Archelaus* to courage:

ὁ δ' ἠδὺς αἰὼν ἢ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία

οὔτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν <ἀν>ορθώσειεν ἄν
A pleasant life and base unmanliness cannot restore a family or a city⁴⁶;

36 fr. 512 of *Melanippe captive to virtue*:

ἄργος πολίτης κεῖνος ὡς κακός γ' ἀνήρ
That man is a useless citizen, for he is a worthless man;

37 fr. inc. [886] to prompt generosity:

μισῶ πολίτην, ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν
βραδὺς πέφυκε, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,
καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον.
I detest the citizen who will be slow to aid his country, quick to do her great harm,
resourceful for himself, incompetent for the city⁴⁷.

38 The rulers will have to do the same thing indiscriminately towards all the members of the city⁴⁸. In this sense, the careful use of speech will be fundamental. As seen in extant Euripidean plays, words can also separate blood relatives and incite war; their use in inopportune ways or times can therefore corrupt the city in various ways. Fr. 61 of *Alexander* warns of these consequences:

ἤμισῶ σοφὸν ἐν λόγοισιν, ἐς δ' ὄνησιν οὐ σοφόν†
I detest a man who is clever in words but not clever at doing good service⁴⁹.

39 Another reflection, complementary to this one, is proposed in the fr. 219 of *Antiope* and fr. 411 of *Ino*. Sometimes it is necessary to know how to keep silence to protect the State from destructive rivalries:

κόσμος δὲ σιγῆς στέφανος ἀνδρὸς οὐ κακοῦ·
τὸ δ' ἐκλαλοῦν τοῦθ' ἡδονῆς μὲν ἄπτεται,
κακὸν δ' ὀμίλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλει
The ornament of silence is a crown for a man without vice; while chattering of this kind fastens upon pleasure, and makes bad company, and is a weakness too for a city⁵⁰.

ἴστω δὲ μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ἄ σιγαῖσθαι χρεῶν·
μικροῦ γὰρ ἐκ λαμπτήρος Ἰδαῖον λέπας
πρήσειεν ἄν τις, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρ' εἰπῶν ἕνα
πύθοιντ' ἄν ἄστοι πάντες {ἄ κρύπτειν χρεῶν} 4
And let no one know these things which ought to be kept quiet. Just as one could set fire to the slopes of Ida from a small torch, so from one's word to a single man all citizens could find out {what one ought to conceal}⁵¹.

40 On the contrary, if rulers and ruled use rhetorical skill for good, they will be able to save the city from internal and external dangers. Therefore this ability is an integral part of the ideal of virtue, which is both public and private, outlined by Aeolus in the drama of the same name (fr. 16), as well as in the sententious fr. 729 of the *Temenidae*⁵²:

λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν αἰχμαῖς Ἄρεος ἐν τε συλλόγοις,
μή μοι τὰ κομψὰ ποικίλοι γενοίατο,
ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ μεγάλα βουλευόντες εὔ
May they be brilliant amid the spears of War and in debates, not devious I hope with sophistries but good with counsel needed by the city upon great matters⁵³.
εἰκὸς δὲ παντὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μηχανῇ
πατρίδος ἐρῶντας ἐκπονεῖν σωτηρίαν
It is to be expected that men should love their country and strive for its preservation with every kind of argument and device.

41 So it is fundamental for those who lead the *polis* to fully understand the potential of their words, as recalled in the *gnomai* of the *Alcmena* (fr. 94) and of the *Dictys* (fr. 335)

τῶν γὰρ δυναστῶν πλεῖστος ἐν πόλει λόγος

What the powerful say carries the most weight in a city⁵⁴.

τυραννικόν τοι πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν

It is the quality of a ruler, I tell you, to know how to say much⁵⁵.

- 42 The idea is clearly expressed through the *Autolycus*' famous verses criticizing athletes (fr. 282, 23-28); sovereigns, just and wise men can benefit the city and the entire Greek land first of all with words, the only ones capable of quelling the *staseis*:

[...]. ἄνδρας χρῆ τοὺς σοφοὺς τε κάγαθούς
φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χῶστις ἡγεῖται πόλει 24
κάλλιστα σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ,
ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακὰ
μάχας τ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ στάσεις τοιαῦτα γάρ
πόλει τε πάσῃ πᾶσι θ' Ἑλλησιν καλά 28

Wreathing with leaves should be for men who are wise and brave, and for the man who leads a city best through being prudent and just, and whose words deliver it from evil acts by removing feuds and factions: such are the things good for every city and all Greeks⁵⁶.

- 43 Therefore, the constant attention and vehement condemnation of the mechanisms that generate and are generated by stasis reflects a clear awareness of Euripides: historical and political defeats - such as that of Athens in the Peloponnesian War, a decisive background to the poet's production - are ultimately determined by the clash of ideals and human interests. The staging of conflicts within the city allows the public of the fifth century B.C. as well as today to recognize not only the negative feelings that animate them, but also the hypocritical or blind acceptance of them in the choice of rulers and in their own participation in civic life. This warning therefore takes on fundamental value: in the recognition and reflection on such emotional movements can reside the hope of the reconstitution of a generous virtue and an intelligent respect in the soul of individuals, an essential condition for the just and free conduct of the State.

KANNICHT, R. (ed), 2004. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TGrF)*, Voll. 5.1-5.2, *Euripides*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BESSO, G., 2002. «I Sette e i nuovi valori eroici delle *Supplici* di Euripide», in A. ALONI, E. BERARDI, G. BESSO & S. CECCHIN (eds), *Atti del Seminario Internazionale "I Sette a Tebe. Dal mito alla letteratura"*. Torino 21-22 Febbraio 2001, Bologna, Pàtron Editore, pp. 145-154.
- BOND, G. W. (ed.), 1981. *Euripides, Heracles. With Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- BUBEL, F. (ed.), 1991. *Euripides, Andromeda*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag.
- CARRARA, L. (ed.), 2014. *L'indovino Poliido. Eschilo, Le Cretesi, Sofocle, Manteis, Euripide, Poliido*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- CARUSO, V., 2010. «Euripide, *Supplici* 176-183», *Vichiana* s. IV, 12/2, p. 156-171.

- CARUSO, V., 2014. «Storia e invenzione in Euripide: la teoria della classe media in *Supplici* 238-245», *Dalla civiltà classica all'umanesimo*. Studi dei Dottori di Ricerca del Dipartimento, Naples, Dipartimento di Filologia Classica "F. Arnaldi", p. 29-50.
- CARUSO, V., 2018. «La retorica dell'εὐγένεια in Euripide», *A&R* n.s. II, 12/1-2, p. 77-102.
- CARUSO, V., 2022. «Sull'Egeo di Euripide», *A&R* n.s. II, 16/1-4, p. 1-22.
- COLLARD, C. (ed.), 1975. *Euripides, Supplices, with introduction and commentary*, Volume II, *Commentary*, Groningen, Bouma's Boekhuis b.v. Publishers.
- COLLARD, C. & CROPP, M. (eds), 2008a. *Euripides, Fragments: Aegeus - Meleager*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.
- COLLARD, C. & CROPP, M. (eds), 2008b. *Euripides, Fragments: Oedipus - Chrysippus. Other Fragments*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.
- CRISCUOLO, U., 2016. «Sulle Fenicie di Euripide», in U. Criscuolo (ed.), *Studi sulla tragedia greca*, Naples, M. D'Auria Editore, p. 433-471.
- CURNIS, M. (ed.), 2003. *Il Bellerofonte di Euripide. Edizione e commento dei frammenti*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso.
- DI BENEDETTO, V., 1971. *Euripide: teatro e società*, Torino, Einaudi.
- DI GIUSEPPE, L. (ed.), 2012. *Euripide, Alessandro*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia.
- DIGGLE, J. (ed.), 1970. *Euripides, Phaeton, with prolegomena and commentary*, Cambridge, University Press.
- FALCETTO, R. (ed.), 2002. *Il «Palamede» di Euripide. Edizione e commento dei frammenti*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso.
- HARDER, A. (ed.), 1985. *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos. Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- HENDERSON, J. (ed.), 2002. *Aristophanes, Frogs - Assemblywomen - Wealth*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.
- JÄKEL, S., 1979. «The Aiolos of Euripides », *GB*, 8, p. 101-118.
- JOUAN, F. & VAN LOOY, H. (eds), 1998. *Euripide, Tragédies, tome VIII, 1^{re} partie. Fragments: Aigeus-Autolykos*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- JOUAN, F. & VAN LOOY, H. (eds), 2000. *Euripide, Tragédies, tome VIII, 2^e partie. Fragments: Bellérophon-Protésilas*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- JOUAN, F. & VAN LOOY, H. (eds), 2002. *Euripide, Tragédies, tome VIII, 3^e partie. Fragments: Sthénébée-Chrysispos*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- JOUAN, F. & VAN LOOY, H. (eds), 2003. *Euripide, Tragédies, tome VIII, 4^e partie. Fragments de drames non identifiés*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- KARAMANOU, I. (ed.), 2006. *Euripides, Danae and Dictys. Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Munich / Leipzig, K. G. Saur.
- KARAMANOU, I. (ed.), 2017. *Euripides, Alexandros. Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Berlin / Boston, de Gruyter.
- KOVACS, D. (ed.), 1995. *Euripides, Children of Heracles - Hippolytus - Andromache - Hecuba*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.

- KOVACS, D. (ed.), 1998. *Euripides, Suppliant Women – Electra – Heracles*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.
- KOVACS, D. (ed.), 1999. *Euripides, Trojan Women – Iphigenia among the Taurians – Ion*, Cambridge, MA / London, Harvard University Press.
- KOVACS, D. (ed.), 2002. *Euripides, Helen. Phoenician Women. Orestes*, Cambridge / London, Harvard University Press.
- MENDELSON, D. 2002. *Gender and the City in Euripides' Political Plays*, Oxford, University Press.
- MÜLLER, C. W. (ed.), 2000. *Euripides, Philoktet. Testimonien und Fragmente, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert*, Berlin / New York, de Gruyter.
- PECHSTEIN, N. (ed.), 1998. *Euripides Satyrophagos. Ein Kommentar zu den Euripideischen Satyrspielfragmenten*, Stuttgart / Leipzig, B. G. Teubner.
- SONNINO, M. (ed.), 2010. *Euripidis Erechtaei quae exstant*, Florence, F. Le Monnier.

NOTES

1. See in this regard the fundamental analysis by V. DI BENEDETTO (1971), in particular Part Two *La tragedia di Euripide e la realtà politica e sociale del suo tempo*, p. 105-219.
2. For the *Children of Heracles*, the text and translation of D. KOVACS (1995) are reproduced.
3. See the interpretation of these verses offered by D. MENDELSON (2002), p. 85-89: in the system of conceptual and moral oppositions that runs through the drama, they mark the denial of the positive openness to the 'other', a characteristic identity of Athens, and the negative closure of the king – and of the city – within the narrow horizon of the 'self', thus identifying themselves with the Argive herald.
4. Θη. ἦλθον δὲ δὴ πῶς πατρίδος ἐκλιπόνθ' ὄρους; / Αδ. Τυδεὺς μὲν αἶμα συγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός. / Θη. ὁ δ' Οἰδίου <παῖς> τίνι τρόπῳ Θήβας λιπών; / Αδ. ἀραῖς πατρῴαις, μὴ κασίγνητον κτάνοι. «Th. Why did they leave their own countries? Ad. Tydeus was in exile for shedding kindred blood. Th. And the <son> of Oedipus, why did he leave Thebes? Ad. Because of his father's curse, to avoid killing his brother». For the *Suppliant Women*, here and below, I reproduce the text and translation of D. KOVACS (1998).
5. The interpretation and textual reconstruction of the passage are controversial: some editors have proposed to delete 177-178 for lack of coherence with the context (for the same reason the presence of a *lacuna* between 179 and 180 has been hypothesized); in 179 Tyrwhitt's emendation δεδορκέναι, on δεδοικέναι of the *codices*, is discussed. See V. CARUSO (2010), with the cited bibliography.
6. [νέοις παραχθεῖς οἵτινες τιμώμενοι / χαίρουσι πολέμους τ' ἀξάνουσ' ἄνευ δίκης, / φθείροντες ἄστους, ὁ μὲν ὅπως στρατηλατῆ, / ὁ δ' ὡς ὑβρίζη δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβών, / ἄλλος δὲ κέρδους οὔνεκ', οὐκ ἀποσκοπῶν / τὸ πλῆθος εἴ τι βλάπτεται πάσχον τάδε]. «[You were led astray by young men who enjoy being honoured and who multiply wars without justice to the hurt of the citizens. One wants to be general, another to get power into his hands and commit wanton abuse, another wants wealth and does not consider whether the majority is at all harmed by being so treated]».
7. For the controversial interpretation and textual reconstruction of these verses, see V. CARUSO (2014), with the cited bibliography.
8. Cf. C. COLLARD (1975), p. 198-199, in part. *ad* 352-3.
9. Cf. G. BESSO (2002), *passim*.

10. For *Heracles*, here and below, I reproduce the text and translation of D. KOVACS (1998).
11. On the metaphor of νόσος in these verses cf. G. W. BOND (1981), p. 203 ad 542.
12. For the *Ion*, I reproduce the text and translation of D. KOVACS (1999).
13. Io. πρὸς δὲ τῆς τύχης νοσῶν / ἀρᾶς ἀρᾶται παισὶν ἀνοσιωτάτας, «Made sick by what had befallen him, he pronounced an impious curse on his sons». For the *Phoenician Women*, here and below, I reproduce the text and translation of D. KOVACS (2002).
14. 81-82 Io. ἐγὼ δ' ἔριν λύουσι' ὑπόσπονδον μολεῖν / ἔπεισα παιδὶ παῖδα πρὶν ψαῦσαι δορός. «To try to end their strife I persuaded the one son to come to the other under a truce before taking up the spear»; 444-445 Xo. σὸν ἔργον, μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, λέγειν / τοιούσδε μύθους οἷς διαλλάξεις τέκνα. «It is your task, mother Jocasta, to say such words as will reconcile your sons». Cf. U. CRISCUOLO (2016), in part. p. 443-453.
15. Cf. also 404-405: Io. οὐδ' ἠὺγένειά σ' ἤρην εἰς ὕψος μέγαν; / Πο. κακὸν τὸ μὴ 'χειν τὸ γένος οὐκ ἔβοσκε με. «Jo. And did your noble birth not raise you high? Po. Want is a curse: my lineage did not feed me».
16. See 531-534 Io. τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι / Φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σύ γ' ἄδικος ἢ θεός / πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας / ἐσῆλθε κάξῃθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων. «Why do you strive for Ambition, the basest of divinities, my son? Do not do so: she is an unjust goddess! Often she goes in and out of prosperous cities and houses and ruins those who have dealings with her!». Cf. U. CRISCUOLO (2016), in part. p. 453-457.
17. For Euripides' fragments, here and below, the text and numbering of R. KANNICHT (2004) are reproduced; the translation, adapted where necessary, is by C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a-b).
18. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 200; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 157.
19. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 269 (and p. 286, n. 63 with the cited bibliography); C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 494-495; see also A. HARDER (1985), p. 102-110 ad Fr. 453 = 71 A.
20. The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a).
21. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 200; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 157.
22. The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a).
23. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 555; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008b), p. 80 and 83. As noted by the latter (p. 83, n. 1), the image returns in fr. 644 of *Polyidus* with regard to the damage that the government of someone devoid of moral sense can cause to the city and the citizens: ὅταν κακὸς τις ἐν πόλει πράσῃ καλῶς, / νοσεῖν τίθησι τῶν ἀμεινόνων φρένας, / παράδειγμ' ἔχοντας τῶν κακῶν ἐξουσίαν «When a bad man does well in a city, he corrupts the minds of his betters, who have as their example the power given to bad men».
24. *Danae*, fr. 325 κρείσσων γὰρ οὐδεὶς χρημάτων πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ, / πλὴν εἴ τις – ὅστις δ' οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρῶ «No one is born superior to money, unless (there is) someone—but who this is, I do not see»; *Eurystheus*, fr. 378 νῦν δ' ἦν τις οἴκων πλουσίαν ἔχη φάτνην, / πρῶτος γέγραπται τῶν κακίωνων κράτει / τὰ δ' ἔργ' ἐλάσσω χρημάτων νομιζομεν «Now if anyone keeps a rich board at his house, he is listed first on the authority of his inferiors; and we regard his actions less than we do his money». On the first text cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 58; I. KARAMANOU (2006), p. 93-94 ad Fr. 10; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 324. On the second cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 136.
25. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 500; R. FALCETTO (2002), p. 79-95 ad Fr. III.
26. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2002), p. 293, who attribute it to Paris; C. W. MÜLLER (2002), p. 408-413 ad Fr. 15; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008b), p. 371.
27. Cf. A. HARDER (1985), p. 240-243 ad Fr. 248 = 22 A; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 285, with the bibliography and other interpretations cited; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 231.

28. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 105; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 365; M. SONNINO (2010), p. 297-300, 306-307 *ad Fr.* 16, 16-17. Cf. fr. inc. 1059, 3 δεινὸν δὲ πενία, δεινὰ δ' ἄλλα μυρία, «terrible is poverty, and terrible are countless other things».
29. On *Danae*, fr. 326 and 327 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 58; I. KARAMANOU (2006), p. 87-93 *ad Fr.* 9, p. 95-101 *ad Fr.* 11; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 324. On *Andromeda*, fr. 142 cf. F. BUBEL (1991), p. 143-144 *ad Fr.* 30; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 159-160. On *Cretan Women*, fr. 462 cf. C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 518.
30. On the interpretation of the text cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 11; M. CURNIS (2003), p. 104-129 *ad Fr.* 285; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 290.
31. Cf. *Pleisthenes*, fr. 632 πολλῶν δὲ χρήματ' αἴτι' ἀνθρώποις κακῶν «Money is the cause of many evils for men».
32. On *Alexander*, fr. 55 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (199), p. 50; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008), p. 36; L. DI GIUSEPPE (2012), p. 100-102; I. KARAMANOU (2017), p. 275-277 *ad Fr.* 25. On *Archelaus*, fr. 235 cf. A. HARDER (1985), p. 217-219 *ad Fr.* 9; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 287-288, with the bibliography and other interpretations cited; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 231. On *Dictys*, fr. 341 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 82; I. KARAMANOU (2006), p. 213-216 *ad Fr.* 15; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 348. On *Phaeton*, fr. 776, 164-167 cf. J. DIGGLE (1970), p. 131-133; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008b), p. 325; as well as F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 241.
33. On *Alexander*, fr. 54 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 50; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008), p. 36; L. DI GIUSEPPE (2012), p. 121-126; I. KARAMANOU (2017), p. 220-225 *ad Fr.* 17. On *Hippolytus Veiled*, fr. 438 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 233; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 469. On *Polyidus*, fr. 641 cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 556; L. CARRARA (2014), p. 348-352 *ad fr.* 641.
34. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 6; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 4; and the discussion and bibliography cited in V. CARUSO (2022), in part. p. 6, 8-9.
35. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 128; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 102.
36. Cf. A. HARDER (1985), p. 239-240 *ad Fr.* 247 = 21 A; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 285-287, with the bibliography and other interpretations cited; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 231.
37. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 194; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 439.
38. νικᾷ δὲ χρεία μ' ἢ κακῶς τ' ὀλουμένη / γαστήρ, ἀφ' ἧς δὴ πάντα γίγνεται κακά «I am subdued by need and by my damnable belly, the source of all miseries». Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2003), p. 31; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008b), p. 513.
39. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 231; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 172.
40. See the bibliography cited in V. CARUSO (2018), p. 96-100.
41. Cf. M. SONNINO (2010), p. 302-303 *ad Fr.* 16, 7-8; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 105; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 365.
42. The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a). S. JÄKEL (1979), p. 105 attributes the fragment to Aeolus, while F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 25 read in it an exhortation by Macareus to him; see also C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 13.
43. Cf. also fr. inc. 910 ὄλβιος ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας / ἔσχε μάθησιν, / μήτε πολιτῶν ἐπὶ πημοσύνη / μήτ' εἰς ἀδίκους πράξεις ὀρμῶν, / ἀλλ' ἀθανάτου καθορῶν φύσεως / κόσμον ἀγήρων, πῆ τε συνέστη / καὶ ὀπη καὶ ὄπως. / τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις οὐδέποτε' αἰσχροῦν / ἔργων μελέτημα προσίζει «Happy the man who has gained knowledge through inquiry, not causing trouble to his fellow citizens, nor aiming to act unjustly, but observing eternal nature's ageless order, the way it was formed, and where and how. Such men are never inclined to practise shameful deeds». The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a).
44. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 128.
45. The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a). Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 230; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 172.

46. Cf. A. HARDER (1985), p. 223-225 ad Fr. 239 = 13 A; F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 285, 287, with the bibliography and other interpretations cited; C. COLLARD & H. CROPP (2008a), p. 231.

47. The translation is adapted from that of J. HENDERSON (2002).

48. *Antiope* fr. 200 (Αμ.) γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις, / εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα / σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας / νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν «Cities are well managed by a man's judgements, and his house well, and he is a great resource in war; for one wise counsel defeats many hands, and crassness partnered with a mob is the greatest evil». Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 231; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 172. See also fr. inc. 1053 μισῶ δ' ὅταν τις καὶ χθονὸς στρατηλάτης / μὴ πᾶσι πάντων προσφέρει μειλίγματα «I hate it too when a country's general does not use winning ways towards everybody in everything», cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2003), p. 93; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008b), p. 593.

49. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 50; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 36; L. DI GIUSEPPE (2012), p. 94-96; I. KARAMANOU (2017), p. 191-194 ad Fr. 10. See also fr. inc. 928b ὦ Ζεῦ, τί τοῦτ' ἐφόδιον ἀνθρώποις δίδως, / τοῖς | μὲν πονηροῖς πᾶσι | τὴν εὐγλωσσ<σ>ίαν, / τοῖς | δ' οὔσι χρηστοῖς ἀδύναμ<ε>ῖν ἐν τῷ λέγειν; «Zeus, why do you give men this endowment for life's journey—a ready tongue to every wicked man, but inability in speaking to those who are good?».

50. The translation is adapted from that of C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a). Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2002), p. 231; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 172.

51. Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 191, 194, with the bibliography and other interpretations cited; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 440.

52. See also *Antiope*, fr. 202 (Αμ.) ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ᾄδοιμι καὶ λέγοιμί τι / σοφόν, ταράσσω μὴδ' ἐν ὧν πόλις νοσεῖ «No, rather may I myself sing and say something wise, without stirring up any of the city's ills». Cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 231; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 13.

53. On the interpretation of the text cf. S. JÄKEL (1979), p. 104; nonché F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 25; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 172.

54. On the interpretation of the text cf. F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 128.

55. On the interpretation of the text cf. I. KARAMANOU (2006), p. 135, 187-190 ad Fr. 5; as well as F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (2000), p. 81-83; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 348.

56. For the interpretation of the fragment and in particular of these verses cf. N. PECHSTEIN (1998), p. 68-70 ad 23-28; as well as F. JOUAN & H. VAN LOOY (1998), p. 334-335; C. COLLARD & M. CROPP (2008a), p. 280.

ABSTRACTS

Painful reflections on war are frequent in Euripides' theatre: the causes and consequences of civil war are often investigated in the extant plays. In particular, the representations of *Heracles* and *Phoenician Women* are emblematic. The poet's large collection of fragments presents isolated passages on the theme, whose rhetorical analysis nevertheless allows us to reconstruct a significant picture. At the origin of the ἐχθρὰ Στάσις (see fr. 453, 10 Kn.) there is often the social conflict between the arrogant power of the rich and the furious envy of the poor, increased by a distorted conception of values. Oratorical skill can foment or extinguish conflict: its virtuous use therefore becomes an essential virtue for both the citizen and the ruler.

Les réflexions douloureuses sur la guerre sont fréquentes dans le théâtre d'Euripide : les causes et les conséquences de la guerre civile sont souvent étudiées dans les pièces complètes. En particulier, les représentations d'*Héraclès* et de *Les Phéniciennes* sont emblématiques. La vaste collection de fragments du poète présente des extraits isolés sur le sujet, dont l'analyse rhétorique permet néanmoins de reconstituer un tableau significatif. À l'origine de l'ἔχθρὰ Στάσις (cf. fr. 453, 10 Kn.), il y a souvent le conflit social entre le pouvoir arrogant des riches et l'envie furieuse des pauvres, accru par une conception déformée des valeurs. L'art oratoire peut attiser ou éteindre le conflit : son utilisation vertueuse devient donc une vertu indispensable pour le citoyen comme pour le gouvernant.

INDEX

Mots-clés: Euripide, tragédie, pièces fragmentaires, guerre civile

Keywords: Euripides, tragedy, fragmentary plays, civil war

AUTHOR

VALENTINA CARUSO

Université de Cagliari - Université de Sassari