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Aeschylus, *Supplikes* 524–624: Text, translation, and commentary

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An earlier draft was published on academia.edu 2018; there are several additions and corrections in this version.

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In the translations from Greek, italic type is used to denote lyrical (sung) passages.

In the commentary, passages in smaller type contains discussion of bibliography and primary source material related to the drama in a secondary fashion; or if directly relevant, deemed as being of secondary or primarily technical importance, for instance in the case of discussions of rejected emendations or uncertain metrical matters.

Χο.	ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων	[str. 1]
	μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων	525
	τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ,	
	πείθου τε καὶ γένει σῶι	
	ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας·	
	λίμναι δ' ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ	
	τὰν μελανόζυγ' ἄταν.	530
	τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιδῶν	[ant. 1]
	παλαίφατον ἀμετέρου	
	γένους φιλίας προγόνου γυναικός	
	νέωσον εὖφρον' αἶνον·	
	γενοῦ πολυμνήστωρ, ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς·	535
	Δῖαί τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι	
	γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἐνοίκου.	

Σ 528 (a) καταπόντωσον αὐτῶν τὴν ὕβριν (b) ἀντὶ δικαίως 530 τὴν ναῦν ἐν ἣι βλαβήσονται  
532 πολυβόητον 534 ἀνανέωσον τὴν φήμην ὅτι σοῦ ἐσμεν 535 πολλὴν μνήμην ἔχων γενοῦ ἐφάπτωρ τῆς  
Ἰοῦς 537 τῆς δίας Αἰγύπτου, τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἱερᾶς γῆς.

527 πειθοῦ Mb : πιθοῦ Stanley ms. γένει σῶι Schütz 1808 (Lobeck 1809) : γενέσθω M 529 λίμναν ...  
πορφυροειδῇ M<sup>ac</sup> 531 γυναικῶν <δ'> Tucker duce Wecklein 1885 532–33 ἀμετέρου γένους Weil : -έτερον  
γένος M 535 πολυμνήστορ Hermann 1816, 232 ἐφάπτωρ MΣ : corr. Askew ms. 536 Δῖαί Pauw : δίας  
MΣ 537 ἀπὸ] ποτε Burges 1821 ἐνοίκου Headlam 1898, 192 : ἔνοικοι M

παλαιὸν δ' εἰς ἵχνος μετέσταν,	[str. 2]
ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπάς,	
λειμῶνα βούχilon, ἔνθεν Ἴω	540
οἴστρωι ἐρεσσομένα	
φεύγει ἀμαρτίνοος	
πολλὰ βροτῶν διαμειβομένα	
φῦλα· διχῆι δ' ἀντίπορον	
γαῖαν ἐν αἴσῃ διατέμνουσα πόρον	545
κυματίαν ὀρίζει·	
ιάπτει δ' Ἀσίδος δι' αἶας	[ant. 2]
μηλοβότου Φρυγίας διαμπάξ,	
περᾶι δὲ Τεύθραντος ἄστρῳ Μυσῶν,	
Λύδιά †τε γύαλα†,	550
καὶ δι' ὀρῶν Κιλικῶν	
Παμφύλων τε διορνυμένα	
γᾶν ποταμούς τ' ἀενάους,	
καὶ βαθύπλουτον χθόνα, καὶ τᾶς Ἀφροδί-	
τας πολύπυρον αἶαν.	555

T 546 cf. Poll. 1.109 καὶ ὁ πόρος ἐτραχύνετο, κυματίας ἦν, ἐκύμαινεν, ἐκυματοῦτο.

Σ 538 εἰς Ἄργος 539 κατανομάς 540 ἔνθα ἐχιλοῦτο ἡ βοῦς καὶ ἦσθιεν 541 ἐλαυνομένη 542 ἀντὶ τοῦ  
μανεῖσα 544–545 Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην 545 ἐν εἰμαρμένῃ 546 τὸν Βόσπορον 548 λείπει ὁ καὶ  
555 Φοινίκην, ἣν ἱερὰν Ἀφροδίτης φησὶ διὰ Βύβλον καὶ Λίβανον

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544 διχᾶι Bowen 547 βασιδος M : corr. Turnebus μουςῶν M : corr. Md 550 λύγια M : corr. Turnebus τ' ἄγ γύαλα Hermann : fort. τ' ἐγγύαλα 551 ὀρῶν McMd : ὄρῶν M (quod ὄρων M<sup>pc</sup> et ὄρῶν M<sup>ac</sup> legerunt Hermann, West) : ὄρων Md<sup>mg</sup> 552 τε γένη M : γένη del. Heath : τεμένη Md 553 γᾶν Wecklein 1885 : τὰν M τ' Portus ms. : δ' M : om. Mc ἀεν[ν]άουσ M : αἰενάους West p. xxviii conf. Threatte I 275 554 τὰν Hermann Ἀφροδίτας Turnebus : -της M

Σ 548 huc trax. Weil : ad 547 M Βύβλον Victorius : βίβλον M

ἰκνεῖται δ' εἰσικνουμένου βέλει [str. 3  
 βουκόλου πτερόεντος  
 Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος,  
 λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον ὄν τ'  
 ἐπέρχεται Τυφῶ μένος, 560  
 ὕδωρ τὸ Νείλου νόσοις ἄθικτον,  
 μαινομένα πόνοις ἀτί-  
 μοις ὀδύναις τε κεντροδα-  
 λήτισι θυιάς Ἥρας.

βροτοὶ δ', οἱ γὰς τότε ἦσαν ἔννομοι, 565 [ant. 3  
 χλωρῶι δείματι θυμόν  
 πάλλοντ' ὄψιν ἀήθη  
 βοτὸν ἐσορῶντες δυσχερές  
 μειζόμβροτον, τὰν μὲν βοός,  
 τὰν δ' αὖ γυναικός· τέρας δ' ἐθάμβουν. 570  
 καὶ τότε δὴ τίς ἦν ὁ θέλ-  
 ξας πολύπλαγκτον ἀθλίαν  
 οἰστροδόνητον Ἰώ;

T 557 cf. Σ rec. Ar. Nu. 1202b, Hsch. β 909

Σ 556 ἰκνεῖται δὲ δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος τοῦ οἴστρου τῶι κέντρῳ αὐτὴν διατρυπῶντος 557 τοῦ μύωπος  
 558 τὴν Αἴγυπτον 559 φασὶ γὰρ λυομένης χιόνος παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς πληροῦσθαι αὐτόν 561 λέγεται γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ  
 κουφότερος εἶναι· ἐπεξηγήσατο δὲ τί ἐστὶ τὸ μένος τοῦ Τυφῶ, εἰπὼν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Νείλου 565 οἰκήτορες  
 567 ὄψιν ἀήθη ὀρῶντες 568 τερατῶδες 571 ὡς ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ 571–72 θεραπεύσας

556 εἰσῖκνουμένου (-ου in ras.) M 557 πτερόεντι Σ Ar. legisse ci. Koster 1974 561 τε Pauw  
 563 κεντροδαλήτισι A. Erfurdt teste Hermann : -λήτοις M 566 δειμακτι M : corr. Me 568 ἐσορῶντες e Σ  
 haustum esse susp. Hermann μιζόμβροτον M : corr. Wilamowitz 569 τὰ Paley 1883 570 τὰ Mc<sup>ac</sup>,  
 Hermann 571 τότε Stephanus : τόδε M δὴ τις M : corr. Σ

Ζεὺς αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου [str. 4

< x x - ~ ~ - - > <575>

βία δ' ἀπημάντῳ σθένει

καὶ θεΐαις ἐπιπνοΐαις

παύεται. δακρύων δ' ἀπο-

στάζει πένθιμον αἰδῶ.

λαβοῦσα δ' ἔρμα Δῖον ἀψευδεῖ λόγῳ 580

γείνατο παῖδ' ἀμεμφῇ

δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ πάνολβον· [ant. 4

ἔνθεν πᾶσα βοᾷ χθών

φυσίζοον γένος τόδ'· ἧ

Ζηνός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς. 585

τίς γὰρ ἂν κατέπαυσεν Ἥ-

ρας νόσους ἐπιβούλους;

Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον· καὶ τόδ' ἂν γένος λέγων

ἐξ Ἑπάφου κυρήσαις.

Σ 576 λείπει ὁ καὶ 578–79 ἐννοοῦσα ὁ πέπονθεν 580a τὸ βάρος 580b καθὼς ἡ φήμη βούλεται 584 τὸ γένος  
τῆς Ἰοῦς 588–89 καὶ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐξ Ἑπάφου λέγων εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας κυρήσεις καὶ οὐ ψεύση

574 Ζεὺς] δι' Burges 1821 κρέων M : κραίνων M<sup>mg</sup> ἀπαύστου West p. xlv conf. Hdn.Gr. I 224 L

575 lac. stat. Canter : πάντων πασιάναξ Ζήν scripsi 576 βίᾱι MdΣ 584 φυσιζόου Schütz 1797 τόδ' ἧ

Headlam 1904 : τόδε Porson 1796 : τὸ δὴ M 586 ]επαυς.[ Π 587 ]πιβουλου[ Π : ἐπιβούλου Schütz 1808

588 ]τοδ'ανγ[ Π 589 κυρήσαι Pauw : ]ρησαις Π

τίν' ἂν θεῶν ἐνδικωτέροισιν 590 [str. 5  
 κεκλοίμαν εὐλόγως ἐπ' ἔργοις;  
 <αὐτὸς ὁ> πατήρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ,  
 γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας  
 τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὐρίος Ζεύς.

ὑπ' ἀρχαῖς δ' οὐ τινος θαάζων 595 [ant. 5  
 τὸ μείον κρεισσόνων κρατύνει·  
 οὐ τινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου †σέβει κάτω†  
 †πάρεστι δ'† ἔργον. ὥς ἔπος  
 σπεῦσαι, τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν;

Σ 592 αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ φυτουργὸς τοῦ γένους, ὁ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ θεραπεύσας τὴν Ἰώ 594 ἢ πάντων μηχανή  
 595–96 οὐχ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς δέ τινος τῶν κρεισσόνων καθήμενος, τὸ μείον ἔχων 597 οὐ σέβει κάτω ὢν  
 αὐτός 598 ἅμα τῶι λόγῳ ἢ πράξις 599 εἰς τὸ συντελέσαι

590 [νδικω] Π 592 <αὐτὸς ὁ> πατήρ Heimsoeth 1861, 14 e Σ : <αὐτὸς> αὐτόχειρ H. Voss teste Wecklein  
 1885 595 ἀρχαῖς West : ἀρχὰς MΣ : ἀρχᾶς Md : ἀρχαῖ Blaydes 1895 596 fort. τι (τί iam Burges 1821)  
 κρεισσόνων Σ : κρεῖσσον ὢν M 597 οὐτινος MaMd : ὅστινος M<sup>pc</sup> : οὐτινος M<sup>ac</sup> κάτω] κράτος Heath :  
 κράτη H. Voss teste Wecklein 1885 597–98 fort. σέβειν κράτος | πάρεστιν ἔργον. 599 τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς  
 Keck 1851, 16: τι τῶν δούλιος M

Σ 597 σέβει Victorius : σέβη M

Δα.	θαρσεῖτε παῖδες· εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων δήμου δέδοκται παντελῇ ψηφίσματα.	600
Χο.	ὦ χαῖρε πρέσβυ, φίλτατ' ἀγγέλλων ἐμοί· ἔνισπε δ' ἥμιν ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος, δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ ὅπῃ πληθύεται.	
Δα.	ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν οὐ διχορρόπως, ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαί με γηραιᾷ φρενί· πανδημίᾳ γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις ἔφριξεν αἰθήρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον· ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους κάρρυσιάστους ξύν τ' ἀσυλίᾳ βροτῶν· καὶ μήτ' ἐνοίκων μήτ' ἐπηλύδων τινά ἄγειν· ἐὰν δὲ προστιθῇ τὸ καρτερόν, τὸν μὴ βοηθήσαντα τῶνδε γαμόρων ἄτιμον εἶναι ξὺν φυγῇ δημηλάτῳ.	605      610

Τ 613 cf. Hsch. γ 125    614 St. Byz. s.v. δῆμος

Σ 603–604 πότερον πλείους οἱ συμμαχοῦντες ἡμῖν ἢ ὀλίγοι.    607 δεξιοῖς.    608 πυκνὰς ἔσχε τὰς ἡρμένας  
αὐτῷ χεῖρας.    609 τὸ ἐξῆς· ἔδοξεν ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν.    611 πολιτῶν.    612 λείπει τὸ τίς· ἀντὶ τοῦ βίᾳ πολιτῶν.

600 punctum post ἐγχωρίων praebebat M : subtul. Heimsoeth 1861, 165    601 δήμῳ Butler    602 ἀγγέλλων M<sup>sl</sup> :  
ἀγγέλων M    603 ἔνισπε δ' Robortello: ἔνεπε δ' Mc : ἐνόσπερ M    ἥμιν West p. xxxi conf. Barrett p. 425  
κεκύρωται M : corr. Me    604 χεῖρ ὅπῃ Portus ms. : ὅποι Victorius : χειροπληθύνεται M    πληθύνεται  
Blomfield 1824, 201    606 ἀνηβῆσαί με Musgrave ms. (et Tyrwhitt ms.?) : ἂν ἡβήσαιμι M    607 δεξιωνύμος  
M<sup>ac</sup>    608 λόγῳ M    610 κάρρυσιάστους Turnebus : καρυ- M

Σ 608 ἡρμένας Robortello : ἡρμένας M

τοιάνδ' ἔπειθε ῥῆσιν ἀμφ' ἡμῶν λέγων 615  
 ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, Ἴκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον  
 μέγαν προφωνῶν, μή ποτ' εἰσόπιν χρόνου  
 πόλει παχύναι, ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἅμα  
 λέγων διπλοῦν μίασμα πρὸ πόλεως φανέν  
 ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς πέλειν. 620  
 τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων χερσὶν Ἀργεῖος λεώς  
 ἔκραν' ἄνευ κλητῆρος ὥς εἶναι τάδε.  
 δημηγόρους δ' ἤκουσεν εὐπειθεῖς στροφάς  
 δῆμος Πελασγῶν· Ζεὺς δ' ἐπέκρανεν τέλος.

Σ 616–618 εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μήπως αὐξήσῃ κότον ὁ Ζεὺς. 618a αὐξήσῃν. 618b ὁ εἶπεν ἄνω  
 ἀστοξένων, τοῦτο διαλελυμένως εἶπεν. 619 διπλοῦν καθὼ καὶ ξένους ὄντας παρορῶμεν καὶ συγγενεῖς  
 δειχθέντας οὐκ ἐλεοῦμεν. 621 ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπέκρανεν, πρὶν εἰπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα· ἀράτω τὰς χεῖρας ὅτῳ ταῦτα  
 δοκεῖ.

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615 τοίαν δ' Garvie ap. Friis Johansen 1970 : fort. δ' delendum 616 Ζηνὸς Ἴκεσίου Burges 1811, 192  
 προφωνῶν Canter 1571, 467 : πρόφρων ὦν M 618 πόλει Bothe 1805 : πολὺν Scaliger ms. : πόλιν M  
 παχύναι Robortello (Σ?) : παχύναι M : πλατύναι M<sup>9</sup>Me 619 πρὸς Bothe 1805 620 ἀμήχανου Auratus ms.  
 622 ἔκλαναν εὐκλήτορος M : corr. Turnebus duce Me (ἔκρανεν), Σ ὥς Pauw : ὥς M fort. lac. post 622  
 623 δημηγόρου Bothe 1805 623–24 choro attrib. Bothe 1830 et δ' prius delevit. 623 εὐπειθεῖς M<sup>pc</sup> :  
 εὐπειθής Bothe 1830



## Translation

*Lord of Lords, most Blessed of Blessed, most Consummate of Consummate powers, Prosperous Zeus, let yourself be persuaded and avert from your kin the Hybris of men, hating it well. Cast the black-yoke bane down into the purple mere.* 525 530

*See to the side of the women and kindly renew the anciently spoken word of our kin of the beloved ancestral woman: become much-remembering, Seizer of Io. We assert to be the kin of Zeus and of an inhabitant of this earth.* 535

*I relocated by the ancient track in the mother's flower-browsing scene, the cow-fodder meadow, whence Io, propelled by the gadfly, fled with errant mind, traversing many tribes of mortals. Cleaving the wavy strait, by providence she defines the opposite land apart.* 540 545

*She projects through the land of Asia straight through sheep-grazed Phrygia; and she pierces through Teuthras' town of the Mysians; and the Lydian hollows; and, racing further through the mountains of Cilicians and Pamphylians, land and ever-flowing rivers; and the deep-treasure earth; and Aphrodite's land, rich in wheat.* 550 555

*She comes, with the winged cowherdsman coming into her with the dart, to the all-pasture grove of Zeus, the meadow snow-fed which the might of Typhos comes upon, the water of the Nile that touches with no disease — a maenad of Hera, manic through toils undignified and noxious goading pain.* 560

*The mortals, who were then the tenants of the land, shuddered in their hearts in pallid fear at the unusual sight, as they looked at the mortal-mix beast, the sight of a cow, then again that of a woman; they were astounded at the monstrosity.* 565 570

*Who was indeed at that moment the one who had enchanted  
much-wandering, miserable, gadfly-driven Io?*

*Zeus, ruler of unending Lifetime < >. 575*

*By painless strength and divine onbreath the violence stops. She  
lets mournful shame of tears drip away. Taking the support of 580  
Zeus, she begets by truthful word a faultless child,*

*who was all-fortunate through a long lifetime: wherefore all  
the earth proclaims of this life-engendering race: “verily, truly it 585  
is of Zeus.” For who would have put a stop to the inimical  
plagues of Hera? This is the work of Zeus. And saying this race  
stems from Epaphus, you would be right.*

*Which of the gods would reason allow me more lawfully to hail 590  
for deeds more just? The Father <himself> — with own hand  
Gardener lord, great wise ancient Builder of the race, Remedy of  
all, Zeus of fair winds.*

*Under no one’s power does he throne, ruling a smaller 595  
portion than superiors: there is no need to revere the might of  
any one sitting above. To speed the word: what of this is not  
borne by the mind of Zeus?*

Dan. — Take courage, children: the all-authoritative vote-decrees of 600  
the deme of the natives have been well decided.

Ch. — O greetings old man, announcing most cherished things to  
me! Tell us at which point the final outcome has been reached,  
where the ruling hand of the people is amassed.

Dan. — The Argives decided not in wavering balance, but so as to 605  
rejuvenate me in my aged mind; for the air bristled throughout  
the entire people with the hands called right of those that ratified  
such a decree: that we may co-inhabit this earth, free and un-

destrainable with inviolability from mortals; and that no mortal, 610  
whether of inhabitants or incoming people, may seize us: should  
force be imposed, that he of the present landowners who does  
not help be deprived of civil rights and driven in exile. Such a 615  
speech did the lord of Pelasgians hold, persuading on our  
account, warning of the great wrath of Zeus Hikesios, that he  
may agglutinate it towards the city, and saying that a twofold  
defilement, of strangers and citizens alike, appearing before the  
city, would be an unmanageable feed for misery. Hearing such 620  
things, the Argive people executed with their hands without a  
herald that this be so. Rather, the people of Pelasgians heard  
well-persuading strophes of public speech: it was Zeus that  
executed the final outcome.

## Commentary

### 524–99. Stasimon.

The stasimon offers a hymnic entreaty to Zeus with a strong narrative and indeed epic element (538–73n.), portraying the passion of Io as parallel to that of the Danaids. Zeus is depicted as Io’s saviour, in order to support the petition of the Danaids that he plays the same role in their destiny (cf. Rash 1981, 105, 110). In a manner reminiscent of ring-composition, an important theme of the ode, the ultimate purport of which is not made fully explicit, stands out at its beginning and end. Here the word γένος and cognates repeatedly appear (526–27, 533, 536, 581, 584, 588, 593), simultaneously denoting Epaphus, the offspring borne by Io at the final release from her sufferings, and his descendants, the kin or race that the Danaids emphatically assert to belong to. By extension, this reference includes the future Danaan people, the mythical origin of which I have argued (Sandin 2021), following Welcker (1846) and e.g., Kruse (1861, 12–13), Simon (1985, 273–74), is the aetiological theme of the Danaid trilogy. The ultimate significance of the parallel promoted between Io and the Danaids is ironically concealed to the latter, being arguably inimical to their present intentions and gamophobic mindset, while in accordance with the will of Zeus. As the passion of Io culminates in her giving birth to Epaphus, so the passion of the Danaids will eventually end in their marrying, conceiving, and giving rise to the Danaan people.

The religious worship on display in this ode, characterized by the first words ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, “Lord of Lords” (see 524–25n.), and then by repeated instances of devotion to Zeus as supreme Lord of all things (524–26, 558, 574–75, 590–99), is arguably depicted as partly foreign in style. The foreign aspects of spirituality on display should not be understood in a disparaging way, but rather as signalling interest and a degree of appreciation from the author, who has learned something of Egyptian, Persian, and other non-Greek styles of religious devotion from studies, travel, or experience resulting from trade or war. The interactions between Greece and Egypt had been quite intensive for at least a couple of centuries (Braun 1982; Graham 1982, 134–35). Recently, Egyptians, Phoenicians and other peoples of the Persian Empire would have constituted significant parts of the invading armies of Darius and Xerxes (Fol-Hammond 1988, 238), some of them perhaps forced to remain in Greece as captured slaves. Bringing back the seed of Zeus to Hellas, the Danaids at the same

time, perhaps, brought with them a manner of verbal devotion and spirituality suited to the dignity of the highest god, who had a special affinity with the land of Egypt (see 4–5n.).

There are diverse aspects to the internationally oriented mythological and ideological complex inherited, wrought, spun, and transmitted by Aeschylus and his contemporaries, some more and some less palatable according to the political sensibilities of our own times. Through the “calf of Zeus” (41), the Danaans and later Greeks were believed to be related to the other peoples of the *oikoumenē*, for Epaphus was in a manner of speaking the political-ancestral founding father of many nations, including the Egyptians and Phoenicians, according to the “Inachid” genealogical family tree (583–85n.). Not only the religious culture and ethnic genealogies, though, but perhaps even more the material riches and territories of the related peoples in the Levant and Egypt were of interest to inquiring Athenian minds such as Aeschylus. These lands, and not least their riches, are described with impressive accuracy in a geographical exposé concerning the flight of Io that takes up a central part of the ode (538–73n.).

**The metre.** The ode is referred to the “Aeolo-Choriambic” section in Dale’s metrical analyses: “Pretty interweaving of dimeter-trimeter structure and continuous run of dactylic and prosodiac-enoplian phrases” (fasc. 2, p. 6). The terms “enhoplian” and “prosodiac” lack a received standard of usage; here the former is used in the broad, generic sense suggested by Willink 1986, p. xx, and Itsumi 1991–93. See also Dale 1968, 157–77. For the metrical symbols and abbreviations, see, e.g., West 1982, pp. xi–xii.

1.

524 ~ 531	υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	ia ch
525 ~ 532	υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	enopl
526 ~ 533	υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	enopl
527 ~ 534*	υ-υ-υ-υ-	ia ba
528 ~ 535*	υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	ia ia ba
529 ~ 536	- - - υ-υ-υ-υ-	4da
530 ~ 537	- υ-υ-υ-υ-	ar

2.

538 ~ 547	υ---υ- υ--	ba ith
539 ~ 548	--υ--υ- υ--	da ar
540 ~ 549	ϑ-υ ---υ ---υ ---	ia ith
541 ~ †550*	--υ--υ-	hem
542 ~ 551	--υ--υ-	hem
543 ~ 552	--ϙ--υ--υ-	2da ch
544 ~ 553	--υ--υ-	2ch
545 ~ 554	--υ-- υ--υ--	3ch
546 ~ 555	--υ--υ--	⌢ar

3.

556 ~ 565	υ---υ--υ-υ-	ba cr ia
557 ~ 566	--ϙ--υ--	pher
558 ~ 567	---υ--	pher
559 ~ 568*	ϑϙυϙϙ--υ-	2ia
560 ~ 569*	ϙ-υ- ---υ-	⌢2ia
561 ~ 570	ϙ- υ-- υ-υ--	ia ith
562 ~ 571*	--υ- υ- υ-	ch ia
563 ~ 572*	- υ--υ --υ-	⌢ch ia
564 ~ 573*	--υ--υ ---	⌢ar

4.

574 ~ 582*	ϑ--- υ- υ-ϑ	ia <sub>λ</sub> ith
†575 ~ 583	---υ--	pher
576 ~ 584	ϙ--υ-ϑ- υ-	2ia
577 ~ 585	--ϑ--υ--	⌢pher
578 ~ 586	--υ- υ--υ-	gl
579 ~ 587	--ϑ--υ--	⌢ph
580 ~ 588	υ--υ-ϙ --υ-ϑ- υ-	3ia
581 ~ 589	--υ--υ--	ar

5.

590 ~ 595	υ --- υ --- υ ---	ba ith
591 ~ 596	υ ---   --- υ ---   ---	ba ith
592 ~ †597*	--- υ --- υ --- υ ---   ---	3ia
593 ~ †598*	υ --- υ --- υ ---	2ia
594 ~ 599	---   --- υ --- υ ---	ia ith

**524–25. ἄναξ ἀνάκτων:** see Schäfer 1974 on the “paronomastic intensifying genitive”, an orientalising formula, best known in extant Greek sources in the title of the Persian Great king, the King of kings. Cf. *Pers.* 24, 666, 681 with the notes of Garvie, and the letter of Darius to the satrap Gadatas, beginning βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Δαρεῖος Γαδάτῃ δούλωι (*SIG* 22, *ML* 12). On the latter inscription, see Dittenberger in *SIG* ad loc. and Brandenstein–Mayrhofer 1964, 91–94 (93, text for n. 6, on the expression βασιλεὺς βασιλέων). The origin of the formula in the Afro-Asiatic language family is certain, with Assyrian or Chaldean influence for the Persian usage most likely (Griffiths 1953, 148–50; Wesendonk 1933, 489–90). In Western tradition, it most famously occurs in the Hebrew Bible: “God of Gods”, “Lord of Lords”, “Song of Songs”, “Vanity of Vanities” (Deut 10:17, Ps 136:2, Song 1:1, Eccl 1:2). The formula is earliest attested in Egypt, where it adorns a long line of pharaohs and gods, not least Amun, the Egyptian Zeus, who is Lord of Lords and God of Gods as well as Father of Fathers and indeed Mother of Mothers (Schäfer 1974, 19–21). As FJW argue (II 409), the Egyptian provenance is more relevant than the Persian one for Aeschylus and likely to have been known to him, whether from Hecataeus (see 220–21n.) or other sources. Cf. Hecat. *FGrH* 1 F 300 (ap. Hdt. 2.143–45) and in Jacoby’s collection of “Anonymes Traditionsmaterial”, *FGrH* 665 F 26 (= D.S. 1.47) on the inscription of Ramesses II, “Ozymandias, King of Kings”.

To the audience of Aeschylus, ἄναξ ἀνάκτων would in the first instance convey “Lord over lords”, with an objective or possessive genitive, the familiar literary role of Zeus, known from the *Iliad* (see 595–96n.). The following μακάρων μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τελειότατε κρότος makes the phrase ambiguous, though. In Egyptian and those Semitic languages that lack comparative and superlative forms of the adjective, the present formula is used to

convey the superlative (Griffiths 1953, 151), and the genitive may in this case be seen as partitive or comparative, “Lord among lords”, “Lordest of lords”. A similar use of the positive adjective is found in *Pers.* 681 ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν and other tragic instances, which together with the present examples suggest that Aeschylus had more than a superficial understanding of the oriental expression, although the use is also related to the similar one of the partitive genitive in poetic Greek: *Od.* 1.14 δῖα θεάων, etc. See KG I 339, Cooper–Krüger III 2108–9 (§§2.47.28.7–8).

**τελέων τελειότατε κράτος:** profoundly ambiguous, freely translated here as “most consummate of consummate powers”. **τελέων** may be a form of the noun τέλος (LSJ I 2–3), and initially, the audience seems to be invited to understand it as such, but syntactical ambiguity is introduced with **τελειότατε κράτος**, which suggests that the adj. τέλε(ι)ος might be understood—but is **μακάρτατε** then also to be taken with κράτος? The sense of either word may be active or passive: “most perfect-perfecting of perfector-perfections”. τέλειος is a common epithet of gods and of Zeus in particular: e.g., *Ag.* 973 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει (see Fraenkel ad loc.), *Pi. P.* 1.67 (cf. 544–46n.). “Aeschylus ... surely intends something far deeper and more comprehensive [than *Sol.* 13.17 W and *Pi. P.* 9.44], when for him Zeus is παντελής and τελέων τελειότατον κράτος: everything else in existence is incomplete, fragmentary, provisional; a finality and completion is given only in Zeus. With this... Aeschylus anticipates an important part of Athenian philosophy.” (Fraenkel 1931, 12 n. 30.) I think the style of devotion may suggest not so much adherence to Greek philosophical tradition as an “Oriental” or “Asiatic” influence (see 524–99n.).

**526. ὄλβιε:** a proper cultic epithet of Zeus, but not attested in this function before Hellenistic times, where it is indeed associated with the taumorphic Zeus (Cook III 628–56). We seem here to be invited to understand the “prosperity” of the god as a radiant, sacred attribute that somehow spreads to humans. Cook (III 630 n. 5) compares *AP* 9.524 Απόλλωνα ... ὄλβιον ὄλβιοεργόν. The active sense of the adjective may be prepared for by the active-passive ambiguity of the previous epithets, and we may also compare Zeus οὔριος, who is mentioned later in the ode (594). As the latter gives οὔρος, so Zeus ὄλβιος may give ὄλβος, as he and other gods do in early poetry (*Od.* 3.208, 6.188–89, cf. *Il.* 3.182). Still, the few times divinities are elsewhere described as ὄλβιοι, the exclusive focus is on their own happiness: *Hes. Th.* 954, *Op.* 172 (of Heroes), *h.Merc.* 461 and memorably *E. Hipp.* 1441, where Hippolytus addresses Artemis as Παρθέν’ ὄλβια as she leaves him to die without



sorrow or anguish. Cf. also δεῦτ' ὄλβιαι (<Μοῖσαι> or <Χάριτες>?) in the beginning of a lost poem by Sappho (or Alcaeus or Anacreon: *SLG S* 286 ii 8).

The fact is that here, too, as will later become clear, the ὄλβος given may be understood as remaining that of Zeus himself, in a tangible physical sense. The prosperity that spreads from Zeus refers specifically to the fertility and worldly success of his offspring (583–85n.). Epaphus, the son of Zeus, is for a long period πάνολβος (582), generating a φυσίζοον γένος (584), which is emphatically re-affirmed as belonging to Zeus (585). Accordingly, the prosperity of Zeus, identical with the prosperity that he gives, is also the prosperity of the race of the Danaids, mentioned in the next verse, which is to become the Danaan people. The tauromorphic form of the Zeus ὄλβιος of cult is particularly relevant, the bull being one of the most potent symbols of male fertility. For ὄλβος as associated with procreation, see also *Od.* 4.207–8; *Theoc.* 15.52–53; Seaford 1994, 334–35.

**527. πείθου** is the reading of M, retained here against the massive editorial consensus in favour of Stanley's πιθοῦ (*Butler* 1809, 120). Four aorist imperatives follow (528, 529, 534, 535), but uniformity of tenses of successive imperatives is not in itself preferable to variation; rather, aorist imperatives naturally follow the present πείθου, as in *Il.* 14.235–36 πείθευ· [...] | κοίμησόν μοι Ζηνὸς ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν ὅσσε φαεινῶ, *Hdt.* 7.10 ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθεο· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον, *Pl. Grg.* 486c ἐμοὶ πείθου, παῦσαι δὲ ἐλέγχων, *A. Th.* 712–15 πείθου γυναιξὶ [...]. | [...] | μὴ ἔλθῃς ὁδοῦς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις, cf. *Hes. Th.* 164–65 αἱ κ' ἐθέλητε | πείθεσθαι· πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην. For this reason, I do not think that [A.] *Pr.* 274 πείθεσθε μοι πείθεσθε, συμπονήσατε ought to be emended either. For the coordination of verbs in imperfective and aorist aspect with **τε καί**, cf. *S. Aj.* 31 φράζει τε κἀδήλωσεν, *Hdt.* 1.48 αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, *Th.* 2.91.1 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν τε καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς. Verbs coordinated by τε καὶ may refer to simultaneous or consecutive actions, cf. *Th.* 1.46.5 ὀρμίζονται τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποίησαντο.

As for the ms. evidence, there is a certainly not decisive, but arguably fair line of argument in favour of the paradosis. The aorist imperative πιθοῦ is more common than the present πείθου in drama (see Finglass 2007 on *S. El.* 1015–16), and the context abounds of aorist imperatives. Even allowing for itacist pronunciation, the accent of the aorist imperative falls on the ultimate syllable. If the scribe had any regard, conscious or unconscious, for the rhythm of the poetry, this accent, as opposed to the accentuated first syllable of πείθου, would

in a time of stress accentuated pronunciation harmonize with the iambic metre (indeed the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Bologna apograph Mb exhibits the reading  $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon$ ). All in all, it is not obvious that an aorist  $\pi\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon$  here should be corrupted into the present  $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon$ .

Emendation is not necessary for metrical reasons, pace Finglass l.c., who miscites FJW. “Probably” is the cautious wording of FJW, but to which side do the probabilities actually tend? While the weight of the ms. evidence may be low (cf. Frankel on Ag. 1054), the metrical argument of FJW, that long anceps responding to short is not found elsewhere in iambo-bacchiac dimeter in Aeschylus, is abysmal. How many examples of this colon does the extant text of Aeschylus offer with symmetrical-length responsion? Possibly four (*Th.* 207~215, *Supp.* 799~807, Ag. 767~777, 1115~1126), in addition to one where this metrical sequence is usually taken as part of a longer colon (*Pers.* 857~863), hence not containing colon-initial anceps. The monostrophic examples and Cassandra’s exclamation  $\acute{o}\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\ \pi\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\ \delta\tilde{\alpha}$  in Ag. 1072~1076, identical in strophe and antistrophe, have no bearing on the argument. Outside Aeschylus, asymmetrical responsion of initial anceps occurs in this colon in [A.] *Pr.* 430~435 (which should have been noted by FJW: cf. 15); *S. El.* 135~151, 159~179, 212~232, OC 1676~1703; *E. Alc.* 255~262, *Herc.* 793~810. There is absolutely no reason why it should be barred in Aeschylus or be less tolerable for ia ba than for ia cr (*Pers.* 280~286, Ag. 197~210), 2 ia (e.g., *Pers.* 549~559, *Th.* 754~762, 968~979, *Supp.* 576~584) or longer cola containing an initial iambic metron, e.g., ia cr ba (*Supp.* 540~549). The handful examples that Aeschylus offers of symmetrical anceps-responsion in ia ba in no way allows for such an awkward conclusion, but on the contrary together with *Supp.* 527~534 would result in what looks like a plausible initial asymmetrical anceps-responsion frequency of 1:5 for this particular colon, had the sample been adequate for statistical purposes. West’s (1982, 100) observation that Aeschylus has a strong preference for short anceps and symmetrical responsion in lyrical iambs, and that “a long anceps in the strophe is usually repeated in the antistrophe” is also very unhelpful, if not directly misleading. In the present drama, long iambic anceps in the strophe is answered by short in the antistrophe in at least 112~123, 540~549, 559~568, 794~802, 811~820. We are not to understand the frequent examples of long anceps and asymmetrical anceps-responsion in Aeschylus as some sort of mistakes or lesser specimens of the art.

On the other hand, corruption is certainly a possibility. With such an easy emendation producing a short syllable, and in particular the strong editorial consensus in support of the emendation, we are perhaps obliged to defend the adherence to the ms. reading with additional arguments. The evidence burden rests as heavy on the side of the paradosis as on that of the conjecture. Which are the reasons why Aeschylus (similarly to for instance Homer and Herodotus in similar rows of imperatives) might prefer the present tense to an initial imperative  $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon$ ? While the exact nuances of the aorist and present tenses are not always easily discernible, the main syntactical distinction of simple and ongoing action remains valid. The semantics have to be sorted out for each individual verb, though. There is no hope of finding criteria for understanding “the aorist imperative” as opposed to “the present imperative” that are valid for  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$  as well as for  $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , not to mention other verbs with

widely dissimilar meanings (Pulley 1997, 221–26, adequately deals with the attempt of Bakker 1966). As regards *πείθειν*, the meaning of the aorist tense is not complicated, describing the executive act of deciding to be persuaded or initiating action accordingly (“obey”, “agree”, “comply”). The present tense describes an ongoing process of sorts, but the complicating factor seems to be that this process is not always that of *becoming* persuaded, but instead sometimes that of *being* in a state of agreement or *acting* in accordance with such a state (acting while motivated by the justice of the argumentation). In the latter cases, the sense of *πείθεσθαι* may be barely discernible from that of *πιθέσθαι* (cf. A. *Th.* 712, S. *OC* 520, [E.] *Rh.* 993, and perhaps [A.] *Pr.* 274: see above).

Nevertheless, in our case, the present tense denoting the process of *becoming* as well as of *being* persuaded does seem more apt than the aorist. The ongoing state of becoming or being persuaded is a necessary condition for Zeus to respond favourably to the two imperatives that follow, but more importantly, the song is only beginning, and more imperatives are to follow accompanied by a lyrical petition. Whereas the aorist *πιθοῦ* arguably implies that the Danaids have already stated their case, the present tense conveys “allow yourself to be persuaded by us as you listen”, as Il. 16.83 *πείθεο δ’ ὥς τοι ἐγὼ μύθου τέλος ἐν φρεσὶ θείῳ*. In particular, the imperatives in the antistrophe (534–35), “renew the ancient tale” and “remember”, followed by the narrative of Io, specify that this narrative is for the benefit of Zeus, and that the entire song is an act of persuasion of Zeus. Hence responsional symmetry of initial anacrusis does not seem more important here than the aptness of the present tense and, frankly, the testimony of the ms.

**527–28. γένει σῶι || ἄλυσσον:** cf. *Th.* 140–43 Κύπρις, ἄτε γένους προμάτωρ, ἄλυσσον· σέθεν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος γεγόναμεν. The verb is construed as *ἀμύνω* and *ἀλέξω*, with the dative (KG I 406; Schwyzler II 146). Schütz’s (1808) excellent emendation of *γενέσθω* is certainly right, summing up the argument of the Danaids in two words: help us because we are *your kin*, the ultimate result of your (entirely proper and commendable) liaison with Io. The less common period-end within the fairly close syntactical unit may serve to add emphasis to the words ending the metrical period. We accordingly have a pause in terms of rhythmical and musical phrasing after *γένει σῶι* which may not answer to the ordinary prosaic pronunciation of the sentence, which is perfectly all right in poetry despite being less usual (see Stinton 1977 on the statistics). Stinton l.c. sees this rhythmical phrasing as suspect, but to read “less usual” as “inferior and unwanted” is an abuse of statistics which is destructive to textual

criticism and to the understanding of poetry. Stinton did not lack sound instincts and understanding in this respect (see 1977, 62–63 [1990, 355–57]) but unfortunately sometimes let himself be overwhelmed by the formidable authority of the statistically ordinary (here: Stinton 1976, 121 [1990, 197]), as did FJW.

Schütz prints γένει σῶ in his revised Halle edition (III, 1808). In his commentary for this edition, apparently printed separately from the Greek text but invariably found bound together with it in a single volume despite individual pagination, he claims the emendation as his own (p. 295): *quod reposuimus*, καὶ γένει σῶ, *sensum efficit aptissimum*, “that which we restored ... results in a sense most suitable”. According to MCL 527n., this commentary was printed a year later than the Greek text, but there is no title page for the commentary with date in the copies I have seen, and there are copies of the edition in circulation without the commentary added, so the first part of the edition with the emendation printed was by all appearances issued in 1808. It is thus unclear why Stinton (1985, 35 [1990, 430]), West, Bowen, Lomiento (2010, 80), MCL, and Sommerstein choose to attribute γένει σῶι to Lobeck, who suggested it a year later (1809, 283), together with further emendations of the passage, in his commentary on *S. Aj.* 397–400 (“*l. πιθοῦ τι καὶ γένει σῶ ἄλευσον ὕβριν ἀνδρῶν*”). I have not seen evidence that Schütz, publishing the emendation in 1808, got the suggestion from Lobeck. It is not impossible that they thought of it independently, though. The conjecture is ingenious, and both scholars may have wanted to claim it as their own.

**528 εὖ στυγήσας:** cf. 81 ἐτόμως στυγόντες. **ἀνδρῶν** adds precision, in favour of the Danaids. The Aegyptiads of course also belong to γένει σῶι, the kin of Zeus, so please help the side of the women and reject the Hybris of men. **ὕβριν** scans –~, which is rare in Aeschylus (elsewhere only at 881, if that instance is sound), but not unusual in the younger tragedians (see FJW). Here the scansion may lend emphasis to the word, as does the long anceps at word-end to **ἀνδρῶν**. Both varieties could be intentional, a “semi-plemmelia” reflecting the horror of the girls with regard to this particular threat: *Men*, and their *Hybris*. See further 535n. on the metre of this verse.

**529–30. λίμναι δ’ ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ:** According to one tradition ([Apolloclod.] 2.22; Hsch. λ 690; Paus.Gr. λ 11 [= Phot. λ 204, *Suda* λ 302]), the heads of the murdered Aegyptiads were deposited in Lerna. If this is followed by Aeschylus or known to him and his audience, the language of the Danaids’ curse is prophetic. Lerna is referred to as a λίμνη in Strabo (8.6.8 [371 C]) and scholia to Homer and Hesiod (ΣΣ Il. 14.319, Hes. *Th.* 313). It was that pollution that gave rise to the Hydra (Tz. *H.* 2.49–57; cf. Simon. fr. 64 P ap. Σ Hes. *Th.* 313; Ps.-Nonn. *Scholia mythologica in Gr.Naz.* 4.49). **530. μελανόζυγ’:** contrasted to πορφυροειδεῖ, the epithet is rich in implicit and associative sense, but ambiguous as to the prima facie literal reference. For the compound, cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 991.7 (*PHib.* 172) κυανόζυγος, from a third-century B.C. glossary of poetical words. In a nautical context, the

usual sense of ζυγόν appears to be *thwart*, i.e., rower's bench, usually occurring in the plural. Fraenkel on Ag. 182 and 1617 (κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῶν δορός) demonstrates that the noun may also mean helmsman's deck, metaphorically referring to the seat of authority. See also Casson 1986, 220–21; Casson 1994, 65.

Is it the deck and benches that are black, or does the epithet refer or allude to the dark-skinned crew and commanding officer that we are to encounter in 825? So already Stanley, who translates *remigibus atris actam navem* (adopting his own conjecture μελανόζυγα νᾶν), and now Sommerstein. FJW claim, with Tucker, that the latter interpretation is impossible, but surely this sense must be at least hinted at, in the light of 719–20, 745, 888. The adjective ζύγιος may mean “with reference to rowing” (LSJ Suppl. s.v. III) and is attested as a noun meaning “rower” (Poll. 1.87, 120); hence a ship may be “black-yoked” with rowers as wagons are τετράζυγοι, “four-yoked” with horses in E. *Hel.* 1039. While a contrast may be intended to the Homeric εὔζυγος (Od. 13.116, 17.288, Alc. fr. 34.9 V) and the traditional poetical epithet “black” of ships remains pertinent, the meaning of μελανόζυξ is open and innovative: dread (cf. Ag. 770) and dark-skinned humans are closer to the minds of the Danaids than the hue of the rowers' benches or helmsman's deck (neither of which would be visible from the beach).

It turns out to be not even the ship but ἄταν which is “black-yoke”, which makes it hard to fathom wherein the “safety” (FJW) lies in restricting the reference of the epithet to thwarts. An ἄτη proper does not have rower's benches. It is rather suggested that the minds of the Danaids are adrift away from nautical matters and back towards their foremost dread. In compounds, -ζυγος and -ζυξ often elsewhere refer to the “marital yoke”: cf. *Pers.* 542 ἀρτιζυγίαν, “recent wedlock”, and Antiph. AP 9.245.3 πρωτόζυγα Κύπριν, “first-time-coupling Aphrodite”, where the *active* sense of the suffix is suggestively found in a depiction of the same kind of dread as that which the Danaids suffer. This active sense, “black-coupling ἄτη”, is actually apt here. The yoke of slavery, as suggested by Sommerstein as relevant here with reference to Ag. 953, conflates in the minds of the girls with the yoke of marriage.

**531. τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν:** “the *side* of the women” in a general sense, “side of interest” or “case”, not intrinsically with reference to the content of the case, that is the opinions or reasoning in its favour, the “standpoint”, but to its mere existence, usually as one of two (or several) sides in a conflict. As in English, to take someone's side does not necessarily imply an intellectual process. Cf. the purely geographical use of πρὸς + gen. in 255 τὸ πρὸς

δύνοντος ἡλίου, E. *Alc.* 57 πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων ... νόμον τίθης. The sense “interest” is accordingly not secondary to “standpoint” (pace FJW) but the other way around. When the reference is explicitly to speaking πρὸς τινος (S. *OT* 1434, *Tr.* 479), the sense “standpoint” becomes natural, though, and it is implied here, as Zeus is asked to “look” at the case.

γυναικῶν ἐπιδῶν rhymes with ἀνάκτων, μακάρων in the corresponding place in the strophe (cf. 110–11n.). The euphemous effect of the stopless nasals and long vowels is lessened with the addition of δ’ after γυναικῶν, which has nevertheless been accepted by virtually every editor after Wecklein (1885) and Tucker suggested it. In my view, the emendation is neither necessary nor an improvement. Asyndeton is natural and regular in a number of circumstances applicable to the present passage, for instance rows of imperatives or wishes (Cooper–Krüger II 949–40, IV 2652–53); “the prayer as an utterance of passion, humility and sincerity” (ibid. IV 2648, 2650); obvious implications of a previous statement (ibid. II 947–48, IV 2648–50; here: having disposed of the evil men, you will naturally see to the side of the women). The addition of δ’ in the antistrophe in order to indicate a contrast between men and women with ordinary force may thus seem pedantic, making the poetical opposition between the good side (the women) and the bad (the men) pedestrian. The side of the men, the black ἄτη, is not an equal part in the contrast but sufficiently far below in moral and existential stature in the view of the singers to avoid connecting it to the good with a particle. The asyndeton can accordingly also be read as “dismissive” (Cooper–Krüger II 945). On the other hand, there is a row of imperatives, πείθου τε καὶ ... ἄλυσον – νέωσον ... αἶνον – γενοῦ πολυμνήστωρ, which is regularly asyndetic (as in, e.g., *Th.* 164–76). The brief exclamative remark about the men in 528–30, introduced by δέ, can then be seen as merely parenthetical. The reference to the side of the women in 531 “dismisses” this parenthesis and resumes the main religious recital.

**532–34. ἀμετέρου γένους:** West revived Weil’s conjecture (ἀμετέρον γένος M), not even mentioned in other critical apparatus and commentaries of the last century, and is rightly followed by Sommerstein (2008, 2019) and Bowen. If the corruption is very old, it might also be very slight, resulting perhaps from the transfer of the text from the old Attic to the Ionic alphabet (cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 30). HAMETEPOΓENOS in the old alphabet might easily in the fourth century B.C. have been read as the haplographic assimilated spelling ἀμέτερο(γ) γένος (cf. Thraette I 630–31, 636–37). Such early corruptions are rarely discussed in text-critical

studies, but here the assumption, while of course remaining hypothetical in the extreme, entails a gain in critical economy.

I do not agree with Tavonatti (2010, 717) that the paraphrase of Portus in his Leiden commentary (welcomely edited by Tavonatti) presuppose his anticipating Weil here. Portus explicitly writes γένος in an abstruse note (p. 262):

**533** φιλί(ας): γένος, inquam, προγόνου, tuae amicae.

**534** νέωσον: renova laetam istam generis nostri famam.

*inquam* in Portus's 533n. can only be understood as if he indeed accepts ἀμετέρον and takes it as akin to Latin epistolary *noster*, and more precisely, παλαίφατον ἀμετέρον as = παλαί ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεχθέν, "the γένος that we talked about before". This he takes as necessary because γένος is defined by an interfering possessive genitive attribute φιλίας προγόνου γυναικός (= προγόνου, *tuae amicae*) in the following. The Latin genitive in 534n. is not a translation but a clarification of νέωσον εὖφρον' αἶνον. *renova laetam ... famam* is a direct translation of this phrase, *istam generis nostri* a clarification (as signalled by *istam*) of what Portus takes as the implicit content of the αἶνος.

**παλαίφατον:** goes according to Weil's emendation with αἶνον, and thus strongly supports his proposal. The adjective always determines verbal matters in Aeschylus, meaning "anciently uttered": *Th.* 766 παλαιφάτων ἄρᾶν, *Ag.* 750 παλαίφατος ... λόγος. Similarly with πρόνοια and δίκη, an intention and an intellectual concept, respectively, in *S. Tr.* 823 and *OC* 1381–82, "which found utterance long ago" and "declared from of old" (Jebb). In *Od.* 19.163 the adjective syntactically determines δρυός and (by implication) πέτρης, but it refers to a proverb, "the anciently spoken 'oak and rock'" (see West 1966 on *Hes. Th.* 35). Only in Pindar is the adjective used a few times of more or less material entities, with what I would regard as intentionally daring *abusio* (while regular and unremarkable in Hellenistic poetry): παλαίφατον ἀγοράν (*N.* 3.14), παλαίφατος γενεά (*N.* 6.31). The proper sense is found in *Pi. O.* 2.40, probably fr. 140a.69 M, and as an adverb — "according to ancient saying", "proverbially" — in *N.* 2.16.

**534. εὖφρον':** "kindly", predicatively with νέωσον. **αἶνον:** apparently "tale", "word" with strong suggestions of either "praise" or "marvel", a natural semantic association, cf., e.g., Slavic \**slŏvo* and \**slàva* (both from PIE \**kl̥eu-*, cf. Greek κλέος), "Word" in dated street English, "I say" in even more dated UMC English. If the original sense of the root is not plain "saying" it might be "affirmation", "affirmative utterance", "claim" (cf. Chantraine s.v., and Pokorny 1959, 11 who takes it to be related to Irish *ōeth*, English *Oath*, Germ. *Eid*). Aeschylus most often uses the word in the sense of "praise", but here "word" is more apt.

What αἶνος meant precisely to Aeschylus and his contemporaries may be a question of choice and erudition more than the result of collective semantic processes, for the word is

exclusively poetical and by all appearances not in use in the everyday language of the fifth century. The poets' use of it may reflect their understanding of and adherence to the poetical tradition, where often "praise" seems preferable (assimilating the sense to ἔπαινος, perhaps with support from Il. 23.652, Od. 21.110), but sometimes something close to λόγος or μῦθος (e.g., Od. 14.508, Archil. fr. 174 W, S. Ph. 1380, E. fr. 25, 321, 333, 508 K—the distinction between "saying" and "tale" that FJW elaborate on here is artificial). Pace Fraenkel on Ag. 1547, it does not seem practical to expect absolute consistency of use from Aeschylus, who knew the *Odyssey* as well as the *Iliad*. See also below on 544–46 ἐν αἴσῃ.

**535. πολυμνήστωρ, ἔφαπτορ:** The latter vocative is certain on metrical grounds (-ωρ ΣΜ). Hermann's (1816, 232) πολυμνήστορ (adopted by West and Bowen) would allow us to read ὕβριν in the strophe as ~~, which is normally the case in Aeschylus (with the apparent exception of 881, q.v.). But the syntactical anomaly is unacceptable. Vocative for nominative in predicative position in second-person addresses is an attested phenomenon, but never in classical literature even nearly as blunt and unambiguous as the present case would be. The phenomenon may have two separate origins, (1) as an extension of an originally proper use of vocative in verbatim quotation with καλέω, "to be addressed πολυμνήστορ" (so Schwyzer II 62–63; cf. Call. fr. 599 Pf.), (2) as an attraction to highly emphatic preceding vocatives with ὦ, which constitutes a kind of anacoluthon, e.g., S. Aj. 695 ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἀλίπλαγκτε Κυλλανίας χιονοκτύπου πετραίας ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ(ι). The use is extended in learned Hellenistic and Latin poetry: see further Wackernagel 1926, 308; Finglass 2011 on S. Aj. 695. In contrast, we would here have the bare two-word clause γενοῦ πολυμνήστορ, which is impossible in fifth-century poetic Greek, despite the subsequent vocative and the parallel in Theoc. 17.66. At most, one might speculate about intentional ambiguity in the sung pronunciation and metrical phrasing. If using the old Attic alphabet in writing (cf. 532–34n.), Aeschylus would not have distinguished the spelling of the vocative and nominative case of this word, but in the Ionic alphabet the edited text should read **πολυμνήστωρ**.

Turning the second iambic metron into a choriamb, Hermann's reading would remove the long iambic anceps falling on word-end in the corresponding place in the strophe, which according to West in his apparatus criticus constitutes "durior rhythmus". Long anceps at word end in this position in the iambic trimeter is by no means forbidden, though, hardly even abnormal, as it agrees with a regular position of the caesura (Parker 1966, 13). Long anceps is generally less frequent than short, but if the combination with word-end in the second metron is in any way remarkable or anomalous, the anomaly may be significant. An exact parallel for the colon, with long anceps at word-end in strophe as well as antistrophe, is found in *Th.* 118~139; very similar examples are *Pers.* 1056~1062 — ~ — — |



— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —, *Th.* 106 — — ∪ — — | — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, and *Ch.* 640–41~647–48 ∪ — — — | — ∪ — ∪ — —. These examples all occur in highly emotionally or thematically charged passages depicting fear, “oriental grief”, and murder; and rather than being intrinsically suspect, the long anceps might implicate an intentional mannerism (see 528n.). In the last-mentioned case, West’s metrical analysis δ<sup>^</sup> | ith is highly artificial, no other dochmiac occurring in the entire ode; and perhaps influenced by Stinton’s improper use of statistics in order to damn the metrical sequence ba ia (cf. 136–37n., 527–28n., and Garvie on *Ch.* 646–47). If we are to compare the frequency of metrical phenomena, the suggested colon ia ch ba is much rarer (in Aeschylus only *Pers.* 1016~1028) than long second anceps at word-end in lyrical iambic trimeters.

**536. Δῖαι** (Pauw) is necessary for δίας (M), the corruption having arisen though visual influence from and grammatical assimilation to γᾶς at the beginning of the subsequent line (see Σ). Cf. 274–75 Ἀργεῖαι γένος.

**537. γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ’ ἐνοίκου:** Io, counterbalancing the mention of the other parent in the previous verse. Headlam’s (1898, 192) emendation (ἐνοικοι M) is likely to be correct, the corruption a natural slip after εὐχομεθ’ εἶναι. For ἀπό “(descended) from” (LSJ III 1), cf., e.g., *Th.* 412 σπαρτῶν δ’ ἀπ’ ἀνδρῶν. Compare the several times recurring expressions of the Danaids’ descent in the drama where both parents are mentioned or elaborated on: 16–17, 43–44, 170–71, 314, 580–89, 1064–67. In our case we get a chiasmic effect with Δῖαι first in the sentence and ἐνοίκου (i.e., Io) last, similar to 16–17. On the word-order, see further FJW.

**538–73.** These two strophic pairs, describing the tale of the Journey of Io, an *antinostos*, as it were, have an epic flavour to them with respect to metre (dactylic; repeated use of epic correption) and choice of words and phrases, such as ἀμαρτίνοος, ἀενάους, πτερόεντος, χλωρῶι δείματι θῦμον πάλλοντ’, and the repeated use of middle-passive participles fitting the metrical sequence (∪)∪ — ∪∪ —.

We have no explicit record of an epic poem depicting the fate of Io, but Eumelus is said to have written an *Europia* and a *Bugonia*, mentioned as a pair by Eus. *Chron.* Ol. 5.1. One may speculate if the latter might not possibly have concerned the tale of Io, culminating in the birth of Epaphus in bovine form. Varro writing on oxen asserts that he will (sc. at least) “be of no less satisfaction to you than he who wrote the *Bugonia*” (*Rust.* 2.5.5), which is often understood as if that poem must have been a didactic treatment of the breeding of cattle. As for the other current hypothesis, I find no instance of the abstract noun in Greek or Latin before modern times referring to the mythological birth of bees from the rotting carcasses of oxen, even if the adjectives βουγενής, βουγονής, βούπαις and βουποίητος attest to this notion. Varro’s mentioning earlier in the same section that such bees were called *bugenēs* by the Greeks need not imply that the *Bugonia* of “Eumelus” concerned this theme, which frankly does not seem to afford material enough for an epic poem. Varro’s mention of the *Bugonia* may simply be a sarcastic reference to the title, not the precise content, of a notoriously bad poem. That Eusebius in his *Chronography* would name these two obscure poems attributed to the fairly obscure poet Eumelus (best known for the *Corinthiaca*) makes little sense, unless perhaps if his source was a Christian author (or a lost work of his own) attacking the religion of the pagans, with

these two notorious tales of the bovine sexual bestiality of Zeus as prime examples of outrageous blasphemy.

In the description of the journey of Io, Aeschylus finds opportunity to exhibit his considerable knowledge of geography once again (cf. 250–59, 279–90). One should perhaps consider the underlying geopolitical implications of his particular interest in this regard, which is not really the picturesque scenery, but rather the material riches of Asia minor and the Levant. The *herds* of Phrygia (548); the *well-watered land* of Pamphylia (553); the *mineral wealth* of Cilicia (554); the *corn* of Phoenicia (555) and Egypt (558); the fabulous, *all-nourishing water* of the Nile (562) are lauded. The opulence of foreign lands had long been of interest to the Greeks, traditionally that of Anatolia, as in the Troy of Homer, the Lydia of Sappho and Alcaeus, and mythological accounts of Phrygian and Lydian kings such as Midas and Croesus. But already in Homer, we also find a mention of the immense wealth of Egyptian Thebes (Il. 9. 381–84; see Braun 1982, 33).

In 459 B.C., that is not long after the first performance of the Danaid trilogy, Athens sent a military expedition to Egypt to support the rebellion of king Inarus, son of Psammetichus, against the Persian yoke (Ray 1988, 276; Rhodes 1992, 50–54, 61). The Greek invaders managed to conquer Memphis for a time, but the campaign eventually failed, taking place in the world of realities. Perhaps it is not out of the question that in addition to economical and material considerations, the Danaid mythos in the recently popular, positive version of Aeschylus had played part in the decision-making concerning that enterprise? In the populist historical imagination of the father of tragedy, the Egyptian-born Danaids had returned to Hellas the γένοϋς of Zeus and Io, giving birth to the heroic Danaan people. Simultaneously, through the brother of Danaus, the Egyptians, cousins of the Greeks, had somehow emerged, despite their 49 evil princes of yore being lost. Lynceus, the surviving, good son of Aegyptus, had played a part in the generation of some Danaan heroes. But whether Aeschylus approved or not of Athenian foreign policy adventurism in the Egypt of reality, he did not live to see its eventual failure.

Later, Danaus and his daughters became villains and barbarians rather than foundational heroes (Isoc. *Helen.encom.* 68, *Panath.* 80; cf. also E. *Or.* 872–73, *Herc.* 1016–18, where the wedding night slaughter is arguably depicted as a criminal act). It could perhaps be argued that it is only after the utter failure of Athenian imperialist ambitions in the Peloponnesian war that one begins to see truly estranged and dehumanizing attitudes towards foreigners in Greek literature. Aeschylus, Herodotus, and the archaic poets, while certainly not consistently

xenophile (as seen in obvious aspects of the present drama), still show considerably more positive interest in foreign people and cultures than, say, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, where foreignness as good as always denotes inferiority or atrocious evil. Notably, the idealized image of the Persian nobility offered by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedeia* as a role model for aristocratically governed society showcased the *ancient* Persians, builders of the empire, not the contemporary ones.

If Greek interests in foreign riches had ever been innocent, in the Classical era, as their military strength increased, they were not so anymore, as we can see for instance in the brutally honest account of Xenophon:

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν οὐποτε ἐπαυόμεν ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχουεν, ὥς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ. (X. *An.* 3.1.19)

For my part, so long as the truce lasted I never ceased commiserating ourselves and congratulating the King and his followers; for I saw plainly what a great amount of fine land they possessed, what an abundance of provisions, what quantities of servants, cattle, gold, and apparel. (Brownson 1921)

ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι σκληρῶς ἐκεῖ πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὄραν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. (X. *An.* 3.2.25–26)

I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians, we may, like the lotus-eaters, forget our homeward way. Therefore, I think it is right and proper that our first endeavour should be to return to our kindred and friends in Greece, and to point out to the Greeks that it is by their own choice that they are poor; for they could bring here the people who are now living a hard life at home, and could see them in the enjoyment of riches. It is really a plain fact, gentlemen, that all these good things belong to those who have the strength to possess them. (Brownson 1921)

Closer to the time of Aeschylus, Herodotus put these words in the mouth of Xerxes scheming his imperialist endeavours against Greece:

εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ χρή σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκ ὦν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι ἱκανῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ πάσχειν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλησι ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσησι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. (Hdt. 7.11.2–3)

I well know that if we remain at peace they [sc. the Greeks] will not; they will assuredly invade our country, if we may infer from what they have done already, for they burnt Sardis and marched into Asia. It is not possible for either of us to turn back: *to do or to suffer* is our task, so that what

is ours be under the Greeks, or what is theirs under the Persians; there is no middle way in our quarrel. (Godley 1922; my italics)

The words of Hdt., ποιέειν ἢ πάσχειν, “to do or to suffer”, finds an echo, albeit in perfectly circumscribed diplomatic language, in the context of that worst-case scenario occurring in imperialist endeavours, genocide. Thucydides famously put these words in the mouth of the Athenian ambassador in the debate that he claims preceded the extermination and enslavement of the population of Melos in 416 B.C.:

δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προύχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ζυγωροῦσιν (Th. 5.89)

Whereas they that have odds of power exact as much as they can, and the weak yield to such conditions as they can get. (Hobbes 1629)

This is famously popularised as: *the strong do what they will, and the weak suffer what they must*. The lesson drawn from that atrocity and from the Peloponnesian war by Greeks such as X. and Isoc. (*Panath.* 42–47, 70–78) seems to have been that things such as the Melian genocide should preferably be done by Greeks to barbarians, not Greeks to Greeks.

**539. ἀνθονόμους:** cf. 43. **ἐπωπάς:** attested only here. Aeschylus is also the only attested author to use ἐπωπάω for ἐφοράω. Commentators understand a passive sense, “the place where she was watched over”, FJW plausibly mentioning the all-seeing Argos (cf. 304) as a likely hint.

**540. λειμῶνα βούχilon:** cf. S. *Tr.* 188 βουθερεῖ λειμῶνι.

**541. ἐρεσσομένα:** the metaphor of rowing is applicable to “speeding” in general in Greek and can include a visual moving object in the instrumental dative case, equivalent to the oars (cf. Ag. 52 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι, S. *Tr.* 560–61, E. *IT* 289). Here, the Oestrus is arguably the oar by which Io is speeded along. If there is a hint at the grotesque, with Io’s legs to be imagined in the position of oars (so FJW, Bowen, Sommerstein; cf. E. *IA* 138 ἐρέσσω ... πόδα), it is faint and not pressed.

West accepts Paley’s (ed. 1844) ἐρεθομένα (“irritated”) and takes the verse to be dochmiac (as the transmitted text of the responding verse in the antistrophe, 550, q.v.). But the imagery is watered down, and the epic correction is particularly suited to dactylic verse, usually found in dactyls in Aeschylus (see FJW 541–42n; Conomis 1964, 40–41; and above 538–73n. on the epic flair of these strophes).

**544–46.** The Greeks took the flight of Io as the origin of the name of the Bosphorus (“Ox-ford”), the strait which marks the border between Europe and Asia Minor, most often referring to the strait passing from the Black Sea to Propontis. This difficult passage seems somehow to recount this origin. If we read διχῆι as something like “apart”, “at variance” (cf. Ag. 1369 τοῦ σαφ’ εἰδέναι δίχα) we might get acceptable syntax and sense: “cleaving the

wavy path she defines the opposite land *apart* (from Europe)”, i.e., in giving name to the strait she defines the border between Europe and Asia, the name making the thing. For the local adverb with **ὀρίζει**, cf. E. *Hel.* 128 χειμὼν ἄλλοσ’ ἄλλον ὥρισεν, Pl. *Sph.* 267a διορίζωμεν δίχα.

At least in poetry, the name Bosphorus is used also of the Hellespont (*Pers.* 722–23, 745–46; S. *Aj.* 884, cf. S. *Poim.* fr. 503 R ap. Ath. 7.109[319a C]). Here the precise location of the passing of Io is not determined, only that she arrives in Asia. Just conceivably, the faint literary allusion to the mountain Ida (548) and the mention of Teuthrania (549), both in the westernmost parts of Anatolia, could suggest that here, too, the actual passing took place at the Hellespont, but the issue is not pressed. In the *Prometheus* (729–35), Io’s fate is instead to pass the Cimmerian Bosphorus, i.e., the Kerch strait, in line with the exotic Scythian geographic setting characterizing that play.

**διχῆι** is elsewhere mostly found in (philosophical and scholarly) prose, but also in Hellenistic epic poetry (A.R. 4.289; Nic. *Alex.* 52), and it should not be intrinsically suspect in Aeschylus. It is often associated with verbs like τέμνω and σχίζω, and this association is valid here, even if close syntactical analysis should force the adverb to go with ὀρίζει.

**διατέμνουσα πόρον** *prima facie* seems to refer to Io’s swimming, “cleaving a strait [in the waves] by swimming across”, cf. Od. 5.409, 7.276; Call. fr. 399.1 Pf., and LSJ τέμνω VI b 3. There is also an echo of the Homeric verse ἡ δ’ ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον (Il. 1.483 = Od. 2.429); cf. also Pi. fr. 128f.8–9 M οἴχεται Καينهὺς σχίσαις ὀρθῶι ποδί | γᾶν. These parallels make Wilamowitz’s διατέμνοντα unattractive and counterintuitive, with πόρον becoming the subject rather than the internal object of διατέμνειν, and the active role of Io in the sentence—her pivotal act of passing the Bosphorus—reduced to the abstract ὀρίζει.

Still in the context, and from the choice of words, one cannot help expecting the verb διατέμνειν here somehow to describe the cleaving of the two continents by the Bosphorus. The syntactical ambiguity and unexpected sense are within the pale of Aeschylean lyrical poetry. Io is cleaving her own path through the waves, but in giving name to the strait with this very act (βοὸς πόρος), she turns out poetically to cleave the Eurasian continent, causing the existence of the Bosphorus in the universe of words. The πόρος that her cleaving produced as a permanent result was not the path that her body swam, but the cleft that it swam across. The same ambiguity is inherent in the name itself (or in the folk-etymological interpretation thereof), where -πορος seemingly refers at the same time to the *ford* (LSJ πόρος I 1) where a

cow passes over, and, paradoxically, to the *strait* (LSJ I 2) over which it passes in traverse direction. Aeschylus may here explore this ambiguity poetically.

ἐν αἴσᾱι is plausible as an analytical morph of ἐναισί(μ)ως, “properly”, “favourably”, “righteously” (see Fraenkel on Ag. 775). LSJ and FJW suggest that it is the opposite of παρ’ αἴσαν (*Supp.* 80; Pi. *P.* 8.13), meeting with opposition from Diggle (1982, 131) and West (1990b, 147), who claim that this opposite should properly be κατ’ αἴσαν. But the proper opposite of κατ’ αἴσαν is ὑπὲρ αἴσαν (Il. 3.59 = 6.333). ἐν αἴσᾱι and παρ’ αἴσαν seem like lyrical variations of these respective epical expressions. It is a mannerism of Aeschylean poetry to offer current words and expressions in morphologically and syntactically twisted form: cf. 276 προσφύσω λόγον, 550 ἐγγύαλα (?), 604 δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ, 691 πρόνομα βοτά (?), 716 πρόσθεν ... βλέπουσ’. Here the “propriety” refers to the naming of the Bosphorus, as rightly Sommerstein and MCL, referring to *Pr.* 732–34, where the aetiological naming of the Bosphorus is called a λόγος μέγας, “Great Word”. Cf. 45–47 where εὐλόγως assumes the equivalent function referring to the naming of Epaphus. There may be a hint at the concept “word” here too, if Aeschylus connects αἴσα etymologically with αἴνος, which appeared in emphatic position in the previous strophe (see 534n.). Aeschylus seems to make such a connection in Ag. 916–17 ἐναισίμως αἰνεῖν.

If this is too unconventional for Aeschylus (I think not), emendations have been suggested, but none that is particularly attractive. Bowen proposes to take διχῆι as an adjective with αἴσᾱι, “in sundered lot”, and to read διχᾱι. For a hypothetical \*διχός, secondary to the adverb δίχα, see Schwyzer I 630. Aeschylus might perhaps have hinted at such a use, but ἐν αἴσᾱι has proper meaning and apparently Aeschylean innovative lyrical form without further qualifications. Hellenistic epic poets see fit to use διχῆι, and the word may well have occurred in Posthomeric, archaic and classical epic poetry. The Ionic form should be retained in keeping with the epic flair of the passage.

**547–61.** The miniature epic continues with a geographic catalogue of Anatolia (see 538–73n). Notably the accuracy is much greater than in the depiction of the Journey of Io in the *Prometheus*, although as mentioned, that itinerary is also far more exotic (see Griffith on *Pr.* 696–741). FJW observe that “the impersonality of such descriptions as 548 μηλοβότου, 553 ἀενάους, 554 βαθύπλουτον, 555 πολύπυρον, gives an impression of alienation from her surroundings, in significant contrast to the description of Egypt (558–61)”. At any rate, the impression is one of furious, unrelenting speed, conveyed in particular by the absence of

pauses and sentence-breaks throughout most of the antistrophe (cf. Rash 1981, 108) and by the repetition of the preposition *διά*, “through”, in various functions, beginning already in the previous strophe: *διαμειβομένα ... διατέμνουσα ... δι’ αἶας ... διαμπάξ ... δι’ ὀρῶν ... διορνυμένα.*

**547. *ἰάπτει*:** intransitive only here, but cf. *S. Aj.* 700 *ὀρχήματ’ ... ἰάψης*, “throw dance-steps”.

**548. *διαμπάξ*** usually denotes violent penetration, including the entering and exiting on the opposite side, often of a human body by weapons, and properly perhaps by something that remains fixed (*-παξ*) in the penetrated body. Here it conveys the sense of a desperate rush straight through, and out of, sheep-grazed Phrygia, *-παξ* merely emphasizing the definitude of the action and the miserable hurry of Io in contrast to the quiet and comfortable pastoral implied by *μηλοβότου*. As for the latter epithet, Phrygian wool is praised in *Ar. Av.* 493, and the country is “rich in herds” in epic verse from the Hellenistic and Roman period (*A.R.* 1.937, *Orac.Sib.* 12.279, *Q.S.* 1.85, 10.126). In *Pers.* 763, Aeschylus applies this quality (*μηλοτρόφος*) to all of Asia, as does Archil. fr. 227 W (*Eust. Od.* II 109 St.), presumably referring to Asia Minor. But the *Urheimat* of the pastoral motif in Greek literary tradition is the mountain Ida, the literary herding-place par excellence: here Paris tended his sheep on the day that he was approached by the three goddesses (*Il.* 24.28–30) and here Apollo tended the herds of Laomedon (*Il.* 21.448–49). Mount Ida is *μηλόβοτος* in *B.* 5.66–67 and apparently *μηλοτρόφος* in *S. Poim.* fr. 511 R (*Σ E. Andr.* 277, corrupt).

**549–55** are littered by minor corruptions, through which I have chosen the path which seemed to offer the least resistance in terms of awkward style and extensive rewriting, taking the verb *περᾶι* (549) as determining the syntactical structure of the entire strophe (549n.). I have not commented on every minor textual change made relative to the manuscript readings, nor in every case argued against alternative solutions, but for further information refer to the critical apparatus and to the more detailed discussion in several cases by FJW, from the text and understanding of whom I deviate considerably.

**549. *περᾶι*,** “pierce (through)”, is understood here as determining all the subsequent accusatives in the strophe: *ἄστν ... (550) Λύδιά †τε γύαλα† ... καὶ ... (553) γᾶν ποταμοῦς τ’ ... καὶ ... (554) χθόνα καὶ ... (555) αἶαν* (see nn. ad locc.). Only in Egypt, Io finds rest (547–61n.). **Τεύθραντος ἄστν:** Teuthrania on the river *Kaikos* (*Bakırçay*) in Mysia directly opposite Lesbos. In the cyclic epic *Cypria*, the Achaeans were said to have attacked this city

in the belief that it was Troy (Procl. *Chr.* p. 81 Sev. [p. 40 B, p. 73 W]; cf. Cypr. fr. 20 B ap. Σ II. 1.59; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.17; Philostr. *Her.* 23.4–5; *Gloss.rhet.* s.v. Μυσῶν λεία in AB I 279.21). The Trojan war is long from now, and the mention of Teuthras by the Danaids seems a more glaring anachronism than the conventional identification of the Troad as ethnically Phrygian. The famous king Teuthras was a contemporary of Heracles, according to some sources adoptive father of one of the latter's sons, Telephus, who helped fight the invading Achaeans at Teuthrania, taking a wound from Achilles (cf. Hecat. *FGrH* I F 29a [ap. Paus. 8.4.9] with n. by Jacoby; Pi. *O.* 9.71–73, *I.* 8.49–51). If challenged, Aeschylus, who composed a tragedy *Telephus* (frr. 238–240 R.; cf. *Trag.adesp.* 560 KS ap. Str. 12.4.4[564 C]), might have argued that Teuthrania was named not after this particular Teuthras but an ancestor of his by the same name.

**Μυσῶν:** prima facie a second possessive genitive independent of Τεύθραντος, which is unusual enough to have prompted emendations. But “of the Mysians” is a different kind of genitive, termed “chorographic” by Smyth 316 (§1311) and “choreographic” by Cooper–Krüger I 169 (§47.5.8), and bordering on the partitive (ibid. p. 188, §47.9.0), or being partitive proper (KG I 338). While rarely attested in poetry (Cooper–Krüger III 2022), this seems an obvious case. It could also be taken with Τεύθραντος as a proper partitive denomination of species or ethnos with proper name (Cooper–Krüger I 189, III 2032). Τεύθραντος ἄστρ, replacing the common name Τευθρανία, is taken closely together in the style of Ἡλίου πόλις, making the expression unobjectionable.

**550. Λύδια †τε γύαλα†:** the Lydian “hollows” or “depressions”, i.e., “vales”. The sense seems right, and the direct accusative object is in accordance with the apparent syntax of the rest of the strophe (549n.), but the metre is deficient on at least one account, as we need responsion with 541, which is certainly a hemiepes. Most editors after Hermann have accepted his τ’ ἄγ γύαλα (for the apocope of this preposition cf. 351, *Pers.* 566).

Bowen (351n.) objects to the sandhi spelling of apocopated prepositions in Greek, arguing that phonetic consonant assimilation is not spelled out in other cases in edited texts (unlike in ancient inscriptions: cf. above 532–34n.). Like many features of the edited Greek text, this is a matter of spelling convention to a large degree. Like the signs of apostrophe and crasis, though, this spelling serves an informative function, marking the compromised status of the apocopated word and its unity with the word to the beginning of which it is assimilated. It may also have been the case that the apocope renders the assimilated pronunciation obligatory. Whereas a speaker may choose to pronounce, e.g., σὺν πέτραις carefully, for the sake of emphasis, \*ἄν πέτραις may have been incorrect pronunciation and hence also improper spelling (cf. Schwyzler I 407).



While ἀνά admittedly has a broader range of use than English “up”, it does not strike the right note together with “depressions”, especially with the case concerning movement and not static distribution. Nor does ἀνά fit **περᾶι**, “pierce through”, which usually takes a direct object as in the previous (ἄστν) and the following accusatives (γᾶν, etc.), or prepositions suitable to piercing such as διά, εἰς, ἐπί (LSJ s.v. II). While the intransitive περῶν ὑπ’ οἴδμασιν (*S. Ant.* 337) is palatable, would περᾶν ἀνὰ γύαλα sound less awkward to a contemporary Greek than “pierce through up the vales” will to us? FJW note further problems with this reading. One might consider τ’ ἐγγύαλα with the sense of “valleyed” (landscapes). The adjective or noun is barely attested—only once in the lexicon of Orion (ε 51.2), and perhaps only as a hypothetical formation in support of an etymology. However, the poetic expression ἐν γύαλοις appears several times in Aeschylus’ contemporaries (*h. Hom.* 26.5; *Pi. P.* 8.63, *N.* 10.51, fr. 140a M; *B.* 16.6), and the poet might have refashioned this expression to suit his purposes (cf. 544–46n.).

Period-end marked by brevis in longo is not certainly attested elsewhere in drama between two hemiepe (FJW; Diggle 1982, 131), even if some accept *Supp.* 843~854 as an example. With the scant statistical material available, this means little (cf. 527n.). It is found in, e.g., *Pi. O.* 6.43–44, 8.16–17, 38–39 and could here allude to the stichic rhythm of epic verse (see 538–73n.).

**551–53.** The hapax **διορνομένα** is best understood as intransitive and parenthetical, construed with **δι’ ὁρῶν Κιλικῶν Παμφύλων τε**, while the accusatives **γᾶν ποταμούς τ’** are governed by περᾶι (449n.). γᾶν (Wecklein 1885) is an easy and necessary emendation of the nonsensical τὰν. τ’ seems a necessary emendation of δ’ (M, om. Mc), connecting ποταμούς with γᾶν similarly as in 63 χώρων ποταμῶν τ’, *Il.* 3.278 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, *Hes. Th.* 108–9. The pair echoes the expression Κιλικῶν Παμφύλων τε in the line above, with which it is intimately connected. τ’ is accordingly not preparatory for the subsequent καὶ βαθύπλουτον χθόνα (see 554n.). The unusual, non-preparatory τε followed by καί may have prompted misconceived emendation at some point in the tradition. The ethnical denominations are genitive attributes of ὁρῶν (or possibly adjectives, cf. *Trag. adesp.* 162 KS [ap. Eust. *Od.* 1 149 St.] Κίλιξ δὲ χώρα καὶ Σύρων ἐπιστροφαί, which may be Aeschylus; cf. fr. 271, 328–29 R), removing the problem of them appearing in the wrong order relative to the passage of Io, unlike if **Παμφύλων** should be taken with γᾶν, “the land of the Pamphylians”, which would also give it unwelcome emphasis. Io passes the Pamphylian and Cilician mountains, travelling through land and rivers belonging to both these regions.

According to Greek genealogical lore, Cilicia was named after a cousin of Danaus and Aegyptus, Cilix, son of Agenor (583–85n.). Incidentally, it is also the birthplace of Typhon (Pi. *P.* 1.16–17, 8.16; cf. 559–60n.).

The land referred to as Pamphylia and Cilicia is a fertile (X. *An.* 1.2.22; Str. 14.5.1[668 C]) plain stretched out south of the Taurus range (Ταῦρος or ταυρόσια ὄρη, Arist. *Vent.* 973a) running parallel to the coastline. The arable plain is a narrow strip in Pamphylia widening into a large area in Cilicia, dispersed throughout with rivers, from Kataraktes (Düden) in the Pamphylian west, to Pyramos (Ceyhan), the greatest, in the Cilician east, of which an oracle later predicted that it will in the future deposit a land bridge to Cyprus (*Orac.Sib.* 4.97–98; cf. Str. 1.3.7[52–53 C]). Bowen mentions the Pamphylian river Eurymedon (Köprüçay), at the mouth of which Cimon defeated a Persian fleet at a contested date in the early 460s (Th. 1.100.1; Rhodes 1992, 43), as another significant example of topical rivers in southern Anatolia.

**553. ἀέναντος:** West (p. xxviii) emends to αἰέναντος as being the allegedly correct pronunciation of the 460s B.C., followed by Sommerstein 2008 and Bowen (without comments, even in the critical apparatuses) but not MCL and Sommerstein 2019 (still without commentary). I believe the issue is not altogether trifling. In the case of lyrical pronunciation, single phonemes may carry significance (cf. 370n.). Nor is the matter as simple as West preferred to see it. Lyrical passages of tragedy are not expected to exhibit consistent vernacular Attic, nor necessarily any kind of “standard” epic or lyric phonology. The problem of ἀέναντος is more complex than the average case of poetic vocabulary. Despite being current in Attic prose and attested with perhaps ludicrously banausic contraction ἀείνω in comedy (Ar. *Ra.* 146, Cratin. fr. 30 KA, taken seriously by Phryn. *PS* fr. 91 Borr. and Moir. α 40, and perhaps revived in Atticist prose, cf. D.C. 39.38.5, etc., —but X., Pl. and Arist. always write ἀέναντος), the word is poetic in its origin, a compound from αἰέν and the verb νάω, both obsolete in Classical Attic (on the simplification of the double consonant -vv-, retained in Ionic prose, see FJW). In Od. 13.109, editors typically choose to preserve ἐν δ’ ὕδατ’ ἀενάοντα of the dominant tradition and oldest mss. (Eust. II 42 St. notes this reading as an alternative to αἰε-). Similarly often in the poetry of Hesiod and Pindar, where mss. variously testify to αἰ- and ᾱ-forms of the compound (sometimes the unmetrical ἀένναντος, e.g., Pi. *O.* 14.12; often in Hes. and E.), and usually in Simonides and Euripides. *POxy.* XXVI 2442.14 of the third century AD reads ἈΕΝΑΟC in Pi. *Pae.* 21.14 (= fr. 52v M: the papyrus is damaged,

but Lobel 1961, 52; Maehler 1989, 65; Rutherford 2001, 403 all agree to this reading). H. Seiler in *Lfgre* s.v. ἀενάοντα and Hoekstra 1989 on Od. 13.109 remark on the historically puzzling case of the long  $\bar{\alpha}$ , but it is assumed to be confirmed as ancient and traditional by the occurrence of the poetic form ἀέ of the simple adverb (by emendation, but metrically necessary) in Pi. *P.* 9.88 Διρκαίων ὑδάτων ἀέ μέμνεται. This may be an allusion to the Homeric formula, perhaps understood as ἀέ νάοντα. ἀέ is also attested in Pisand. fr. 13 B (= 12 W, ap. *Epimer.Hom.* 1.52b Dyck, *Et.Gud. add.* α 25 Stef., etc.). In the case of Aeschylus, all mss. agree in preserving ἀείμνηστος in *Pers.* 760. We may observe that the immediate context of the present passage features an accumulation of lyrical alphas in διορνυμένῃ ... γᾶν ... τᾷς Ἀφροδίτῃς, with which the long alpha in ἀενάους could be argued to harmonize. While it is certainly possible that the chorus here sung, and Aeschylus indeed wrote down, αἰενάους, the transmitted reading should be preserved as backed by sufficient positive evidence.

West consistently edits αἰ- in long and anceps positions both for the simple adverb and in compounds, often against the ms. evidence (even in *Pr.* 519, which he dated [1990b, 53] to the 440s or 430s). His argument (p. xxviii, citing Threatte I 275) is that early Attic inscriptions of the uncompounded adverb record AIEI, not AEI. But Threatte cited only two examples of AIEI in Attic inscriptions before 450 (*IG* I<sup>2</sup> 1014, 920B = *IG*<sup>3</sup> 1261, 1399B), to which may be added *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 503A I. These are all certainly in hexameter verse. As for prose inscriptions, Threatte states that “both αἰεί and ἀεί are found in state decrees of the period 450–350 B.C.”. I find no more evidence for αἰεί than this, which in no way can be taken as proof that the practice of the second quarter of the fifth century was generally different than the third, or that vernacular Attic of the first half of the fifth century and the tragic trimeter invariably pronounced the adverb as αἰεί. Mss. of A. variously exhibit the forms αἰέν, αἰεί, and ἀεί with α in long, short, and anceps positions for the simple adverb, and always ἀε(ι)- in compounds. ἀεί occurs with the first syllable in short position already in *Pers.* 443. West l.c. argues that despite being short, it might have been pronounced as a diphthong (cf. West 1982, 11), but this is special pleading. In ancient Greek in general, diphthongs tended to be shortened and reduced to simple vowels, in particular before other vowels, various changes being recorded in various periods and dialects (Schwyzer I 194–95, 236). A case in point is the received standard usage of Lesbian poetry, performed as early as the late seventh century B.C., where mss. and standard editions exhibit forms like ὑμῆνᾱος (Att. ὑμέναιος), πόημι (ποιέω), πάων (παιάν). To all appearances, vernacular and literary Greek of various dialects was inconsistent through extended periods of time. In Attic, ἀεί is the standard form of the middle and late Classical period and our school dictionaries, but αἰεί occurs beside ἀεί in official Attic inscriptions until the mid-fourth century B.C. (LSJ; Threatte I 275) and is revived in the Roman era (Threatte I 276). There is simply no evidence that αἰεί was the standard pronunciation in the first half of the fifth century. While some official Attic inscriptions record αἰεί, these are rather likely to have been more formal and conservative than the average speaker, seeing that examples of reduced diphthongs before vowels occur in other words in very early Attic inscriptions, for instance several examples of Ἀθηνᾶα in the sixth and early fifth century (Threatte I 271–72). AEI- is always the form of the prefix in compounds in inscriptions from the Classical era (Threatte I 276), but there seems to be no extant fifth-century examples (ἀειφυγία was diffidently restored by Dittenberger in *SIG* 41.29 [*IG*<sup>2</sup> 65.31; cf. *IG*<sup>3</sup> 14.30] but the text was apparently

unreadable already to Boeckh [1828, 891]). As noted, the ms. tradition is unanimous in preserving αἰμίμηστος in *Pers.* 760 (as in *S. Aj.* 1166, whereas *Th.* 1.33.1, 2.43.2, 2.64.5 writes αἰείμηστος). In light of this inconclusive evidence, several scholars before West have considered the question of which forms to use in edited literature. Björck (1950, 97, cf. 151) resigned to: “Wo etwa αἰεί zu schreiben ist, lässt sich kaum mehr entscheiden.” West was not justified to improve on this judgement and use the inconclusive evidence conscientiously collected and interpreted by Threatte to impose his own preferences as certainties. In the spoken dialogue of Aeschylus, one may consider whether the pronunciation may have been a matter of personal idiolect or choice of the actors rather than strictly imposed by the author, apart from his insisting on correct metrical scansion (cf. Sandin 2007, 221–26 for some speculation, following Havelock 1980, about the earliest, perhaps largely oral textual transmission of the drama). In sung passages on the other hand, precise pronunciation is arguably more important. The long *ā* had a special status in Greek lyrical poetry. Its transmission in mss. traditions should not be treated with contempt, while also not a priori accepted as correct. A more nuanced approach taken by the editor of tragedy than the one advocated by West is to edit αἰεί (or occasionally αἰέν) in dialogue for the simple adverb when the first syllable is long, but to consider the cases of compounds, anapest positions, and lyrical passages on a case-by-case basis.

**554. βαθύπλουτον χθόνα** refers not to the soil in its life-generating capacity, but to the precious metals that abounded in the region, in particular the Cilician silver. The Taurus range is called the “silver mountains” already in the inscription of the Akkadian king Sargon, ca. 2400 B.C. (Goetze 1957, 64, text for nn. 5–7; Riederer in *NP* xi 547). Cyprus also produced gold, silver, iron, and *hyalos* (some sort of rock crystal), apart from being renowned for its abundance of copper (see 282–83n.). The oracle mentioned in 551–53n. speaks of Πύραμος ἀργυροδίνης, “silver-eddying Pyramos”, which may not refer only to the glitter of the water. For καὶ here and in 555 following the copulative, non-preparatory τ’ in 553, see Denniston 500–501.

**554–55. τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ... αἴαν:** Cyprus is the final landing place and frequent poetical eponym of sea-born Aphrodite and may be the first place an Athenian of the fifth century thought of when hearing the expression “Land of Aphrodite”. However, it would be an awkward detour for Io, requiring an unfeasible amount of swimming not hinted at in the poetry. The scholium correctly notes that the reference is (primarily) to Phoenicia. Perhaps it should be widened to include Syria or the larger eastern Levant. Astarte as well as other Asian and North African goddesses were syncretized with Aphrodite and with each other, so that from the widest possible perspective the Egyptian Isis and Hathor and Babylonian Ishtar, perhaps also the Syrian Atargatis (see Lightfoot 2002, 15–18, 35, 389, 441–43), and “Assyrian Mylitta, Arabian Alilat, and Persian Mitra” (*sic* Hdt. 1.131), were all included in the Greek concept “Heavenly Aphrodite of the Orient” (cf. How–Wells 1928 on Hdt. 1.131; Asheri 2007 on Hdt. 1.102–3). According to Herodotus, it was Ascalon in Palestine that had

the oldest temple of Aphrodite in the world (1.105; cf. 1 Sam. 31:10, 1 Kings 11:5) and Phoenicians from here that founded the seminal Greek temples on Cyprus and Kythera. The archaeological evidence naturally suggests a more complicated relation (Burkert 1985, 152–53, 176–77; West 1997, 56–57). For Phoenician and Syrian hypostases and aspects of Aphrodite see also Gese–Höfner–Rudolph 1970, 45–46, 150–54, 156–64, 182–89, 191–94, 213–15.

Even if there is no hint that Io swam to Cyprus, we should remember that the island lies in the immediate vicinity of her path and perhaps consider it part of the larger demesne of Aphrodite in the Levant to which the expression “Land of Aphrodite” refers. Versions of the adventures of Helen and Paris seem to have included symbolically charged sojourns to Cyprus and Phoenicia before reaching Troy; it is uncertain how much of this featured in the epic *Cypria* (cf. Il. 6.289–92; “Dictys Cretensis” *Ephemeris belli Troiani* 1.5; Procl. *Chr.* p. 39 B, p. 79 Sev.; [Apollod.] *Epitom.* 3.4 with n. by Frazer 1921).

**554.** τᾷς should be retained here, despite the strong editorial consensus in favour of Hermann’s τὰν. Cf. E. *Ba.* 402–3 ἰκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον, νᾶσον τᾷς Ἀφροδίτας, Pi. *Pae.* 8.65 (fr. 52i M) τοῦ (Hunt 1922: TON) δὲ παντέχ[νοις] Ἀφαιστοῦ παλάμαις, E. *IA* 169–70 ἀγγιγᾶν ὑδάτων ... τᾷς κλεινᾷς Ἀρεθούσας, A. *Dikt.* 832 (fr. 47a R) δᾶ[ι]σιν λαμπραῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. The rules concerning the use of the definite article in poetry and in particular lyrical poetry are not hard and fast, and the Attic prose conventions described by KG I 607–8 pertaining to the article with personal names in the genitive, according to which the normal expression is (τὴν) Λέσβου ἄλωσιν, (1) do not apply to poetry, as the above examples show, and (2) are in conflict with the strong tendency to use the article with names of gods, also in poetry (KG I 598, §461 8c; Cooper–Krüger I 381). With respect to the names of gods in the possessive genitive, the style τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα (Ar. *Pl.* 124) in place of the more regular Διὸς τυραννίδα and τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τυραννίδα is a rarer anomaly than τᾷς Ἀφροδίτας αἶαν, perhaps only acceptable with the name of Zeus (Cooper–Krüger l.c.). Hermann’s emendation is therefore detrimental.

In the case of lyrical poetry, the question should be which of the words wants more of demonstrative emphasis. Here πολύπυρον αἶαν is the last in a long line of geographical entities, none of the previous of which has been defined by the article, and it stands in particular parallel to the immediately preceding βαθύπλουτον χθόνα. The article with this

particular land in contrast to all other previously mentioned places is awkward, whereas the article with the name of the goddess is proper lyrical and sacral style.

**555. πολύπυρον:** this epithet is actually fitting in the case of Cyprus, which was at least later famous for its rich crops (Str. 14.6.5[684 C]; Ael. NA 5.56; Amm.Marc. 14.8.14). The bread of Cyprus was said to be excellent: cf. Eub. fr. 77 KA (ap. Ath. 3.78[112e–f C]), Hippon. fr. 125 W (ap. Str. 8.3.8[340 C]; cf. Eratosth. *FGrH* 241 F 25 and *Com.adesp.* 419 KA ap. Hsch. s.v. Ῥοίκου κριθοπομπία). However, Sommerstein (with Ostwald 1992, 311–12) notes Hermipp. fr. 63.22 KA (ap. Ath. 1.49[28a C]) in which Phoenicia is described as an exporter of σεμίδαλις, fine wheat flour, to Athens.

**556–58. ἰκνεῖται ... Δῖον ... ἄλσος:** the double meanings both of the verb, “arrive at” and “supplicate” (cf. 1n. [to be updated]), and of the noun, meaning “grove” and “sacred precinct” (558n.), are intentionally utilized. A fugitive in pain, Io arrives in the grove, that is, supplicates the sanctuary, of Zeus.

**556. εἰσικνουμένου** refers to the gadfly repeatedly penetrating Io’s flesh with its goad. The scholium explains the participle with the words διατρυπῶντος αὐτήν, “boring through her”. While M exhibits some suspicious signs (*χ supra lineam* above -κ-, -ου replacing something *in rasura*), we shall do well to accept this, such as the evidence stands. The verb is rare (in contrast to εἰσαφικνέομαι), but the only extant fifth-century instance apart from the present one exhibits the same (disturbing) sense, Hdt. 3.108.4 of a lion foetus clawing into the uterine walls of its mother. In Thphr. *CP* 5.13.1 ἐσικνεῖται is a conjectural reading (the mss. exhibit, perhaps correctly, the even rarer ἐνικνεῖται) describing frost penetrating roots, whereas in Hermesian. fr. 7.23 Pow. (ap. Ath. 13.71[597b C]), the verb is used of Hesiod entering Askra, which is Hellenistic *abusio*. The repeated use of the verb in descriptions of penetration of living bodies suggests that it belonged to ancient medical terminology, a hypothesis that is strengthened by the verbs εἰσματέομαι (Hp. *Art.* 32, 38, etc.), εἰσαφάσσω (Hp. *Nat.Mul.* 11, 35, etc.; cf. A. fr. 204 R), εἰσηθέω (Hdt. 2.87), εἰσφλάω (Hp. *VC* 2, 6, etc.), and εἰσωθέω (Hp. *Art.* 34, *Nat.Mul.* 5, etc.), most of which are unattested outside of the Hippocratic corpus and all of which employ the prefix εἰσ- with reference to human bodies. Cf. also εἰσχωρέω in the same sense as the one needed here, also perhaps professional jargon, found in Hero *Spir.* 1.19 and *Hippiatr.Cantabrig.* 104.3. For further possible influence from medical language and lore in this ode, see 561n., 576–78n.

**558. Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος:** cf. Pi. *O.* 3.17–18 Διὸς ... πανδόκῳ ἄλσει, of the Panhellenic precinct in Olympia. If Olympia is the all-welcoming sanctuary of Zeus, according to Pindar, Aeschylus claims Egypt as its *all-nourishing* counterpart (see 4–5n., 538–73n.). Aeschylus refers to the fertility of the Nile valley, perhaps connecting ἄλσος with ἀλδαίνω in the sense “fertile place”. I believe this etymology is plausible, pace Chantraine s.v.: cf. Od. 10.350–51, 17.208–9, and the epic formulas ἄλσεα δεινδρήεντα, ἄλσεα ... σκιάοντα (the latter referring to the shade of plants and trees). ἄλση are properly fertile grounds near springs and running water, like oases, but normally without the drastic contrast to a surrounding desert (here such a contrast is actually operative). They were often considered holy places, and the word came to be used generally of the sacred precincts of gods.

**559–60.** The involvement of Typhon has caused consternation and doubt among editors (see further below), but he is here little more than a metonym for the power of the winds, as (arguably) χειμῶνι Τυφῶ in Ag. 656 and, with explicit theological reason, ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἔστ’ ἀνέμων μένος ὕγρον ἀέντων, “from Typhōeus is the damp power of winds whirling”, in Hes. *Th.* 869. Together with χιονόβοσκον, “snow-fed”, the Typhonic power is a learned reference to contemporary theories of natural philosophy concerning the inundation of the Nile. The matter was much debated by Greek scholars due to the oddity of the Nile flood appearing in the summer, not winter: see e.g., Hdt. 2.19–27 with the notes of Lloyd 2007; Str. 17.1.5(790 C) with the notes of Radt; Aristid. 48.331–42 J; *FGrH* 646–647; Diels pp. 226–29; and *POxy.* 4458 with the elucidation of Fowler 2000. The most famous hypothesis, perhaps originating with Anaxagoras (59 A 91 DK ap. Aetius 4.1.3 Diels = [Plu.] *Plac.* 897f; cf. id. A 42.5 DK ap. Hippol. *Haer.* 1.8.5), attributed the reason to melted snow from the Ethiopian mountains. This theory is endorsed by the other tragedians (S. fr. 882 R ap. Σ A.R. 4.269–71a; E. *Hel.* 1–3, fr. 228 K) and here too with χιονόβοσκον. However, another hypothesis proposed in its rudimentary form by Thales (11 A 16 DK ap. Aetius 4.1.1 Diels = [Plu.] *Plac.* 897f; cf. Hdt. 2.20) claimed that winds are involved, more precisely the famous “etesian” winds that coincide in time with the Nile inundation. This appears to have been the dominant theory in much of antiquity (Aristid. 48.336 J), especially in the improved version attributed to Thrasyalces of Thasos (ap. Lyd. *Mens.* 4.107; cf. 35 [B] 1 DK ap. Str. 17.1.5[790 C]), suggesting that the etesian winds brought a congregation of rainclouds to the highlands of the upper Nile. This happens to be the more or less correct explanation for the inundation, as later confirmed through observation in Greek expeditions (Arist. *FGrH* 646 T

2a–b ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 249.441, Str. 17.1.5[789–90 C]), except with regard to which particular winds are involved (wet African monsoons, while the etesians are dry). The combination of the two theories, cloud-gathering winds *and* melting ice, is found recorded and attributed to Democritus (68 A 99 DK ap. Aetius 4.1.4 Diels = [Plu.] *Plac.* 898a), but it must be earlier, as it is supported by Aeschylus here and in a fragment (fr. 300 R) preserved in the doxographical text *De incremento Nili* (ed. Landi 1895; Jacoby in *FGrH* 647):

γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν καὶ μαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, Νεῖλος ἔνθ' ἐπτάρροος  
 γαῖαν κυλίνδει πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίαις,  
 ἐν ᾗ ἔπυρωτόν μηνὸς ἐκλάμπας φλόγα  
 τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα· πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλής  
 Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νόματος πληρουμένη  
 φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

I know also having learned to praise the race of the land of Ethiopia, where the seven-flow Nile with the winds' addition of rains revolves the earth, in which ἔshining forth the month's fiery flame it melts snow from rocks; and filled with holy flow, all of flourishing Egypt makes the life-bringing corn of Demeter rise.

Herington (1963, 190, n. 39) suggested that this fragment could belong to the *Danaides*, but only as an alternative just as plausible as the *Memnon*, to which it has often been attributed due the mention of Ethiopia (e.g., Sommerstein 2008, fr. 126A, following Butler 1816 and Hermann 1838, 6–8 [1839, 347–49]). On the text and its sense and further on the etesian winds and the Nile inundation, see Sandin 2017, who argued that while corrupt, the fragment is not so very problematic as it has been made out to be. The corrupt fourth line refers to the intense heat of the period of the Dog star (Sirius) coinciding with the blowing of the etesians. Read perhaps πυρωτοῦ μηνὸς ἐκλάμπασα φλόξ, “the flame of the fiery month shining forth” (Sandin 2017, 43). Cf. also A. fr. 303a R ap. Aristid. 48.345 J, evidence that Aeschylus may have supported the wind-and-rain theory of the inundation a third time: οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦς καταρράκτας δυνατόν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπερβαλεῖν, εἰ μὴ κατ' Αἰσχύλον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξ αἰθέρος τις



αὐτὸ κατάπαλτον φέρεσθαι θείη, “nor is it possible for the water to ascend the cataracts, unless if truly after Aeschylus one set it ‘brought hurled-down from the sky’.” This fragment, and the notion of rains being the ultimate reason for the inundation, may also be influenced by Homer, who speaks of διυπετῆς Αἴγυπτος, the “Zeus-fallen” or “heaven-fallen” Nile (Od. 4.477, 581).

For ὃν τ’, where τε connects a relative (adjective) clause with a previous attribute (and may accordingly be rendered “and which”), cf. *Th.* 501 with the n. of Tucker 1908 (his 488), *Th.* 753 πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν ὃς τε ματρὸς ἀγνὰν σπείρας ἄρουραν ... ἔτλα, “Oedipus patricidal and who dared to sow the sacred field of his mother”, *Ag.* 357 νύξ φίλια, μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα ἥ τ’ ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες στεγανὸν δίκτυον, “dear Night, you great world-ornament gatherer and who cast the tight net on the towers of Troy”, 1122, Denniston 502, 523.

In *Ag.* 357, the attribute κόσμων κτεάτειρα (referring pace Fraenkel ad loc. to the beauty, utility and cosmological dignity of the stars) and the relative clause explain the dearness of night with two independent reasons. For the stars as κόσμοι, “worlds”, cf. Pythag. ap. Arist. fr. 769.11 Gigon (245.11 Rose; ex Oxon.Bodl.Digby 67), to whom is attributed the suggestion that the earth is one of the stars.

**Τυφῶ μένος:** Typhon (his name in standardized Western tradition), last major force of divine opposition, was comprehensively defeated by Zeus and enchained under the earth (Il. 2.781–83; Hes. *Th.* 868). But Hesiod explains (*Th.* 869–80; cf. [A.] *Pr.* 364) how some of the more unpredictable winds active in particular over the seas should be identified as his dispersed impersonal powers, or possibly (West 1966, 381) his nameless offspring, remaining in the skies together with the more distinguished personifications of Boreas, Notus, and Zephyrus. Editors (FJW, Bowen, Sommerstein) are mistaken in taking the theological bad-guy status of Typhon as justification for transposing, emending or obelizing his name here. While a little ominous (see 561n.), and just conceivably a hint at some slightly foreign religious traditions of the Danaids, the description of his forces as the cause of the Nile flood is poetically apposite and in accordance with learned tradition. The summerly, etesian winds from the north are not as a rule associated with Boreas, so it is only natural to lump them together with the fickle winds of Typhon described by Hes. *Th.* 872–80. While the monstrous god himself is safely incapacitated under the earth, some of his chaotic powers remain active, partly with benign effects, may be the underlying theological reasoning. As for foreign religious aspects, Typhon has in Greek sources been identified with the Egyptian gods Set, Babi (Hellanic. *FGrH* 608a F 2 ap. Ath. 15.25 [680a]), and possibly Shu (Man.Hist. *FGrH*

609 F 20–21 ap. Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 371b–c[49], 376a–b[62]), but usually, and eventually more or less canonically, the first-named. Herodotus, citing Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 300 ap. Hdt. 2.144.2), speaks of Typhon in an Egyptian context, omitting mention of the local name of the god, but the mythological account put in the mouth of Egyptian priests clearly implicates Set. It is unproblematic that neither Set nor Typhon is found elsewhere explicitly associated with the Nile, as he is only so in secondary fashion here, his power being that over the winds and rain. Moreover, while Typhon is a monstrous deity (Hes. *Th.* 820–35) and Pindar speaks of him as θεῶν πολέμιος (*P.* 1.15), the transformation of Typhon-Set into virtually the Evil One, dark lord scheming in opposition to all that is good, lawful, and sacred, is of Hellenistic date (Schibli 1990, 85, with further refs.). The mention of Egypt in Pherecyd. fr. 78 Schibli (= DK 7 B 4 ap. Origenes *Cels.* 6.42) is by Celsus, not Pherecydes (West 1966, 380 n. 1; Schibli 1990, 79–80).

The name of the god exhibits exasperating variation in Greek verse, but the 19<sup>th</sup>-century idea that Τυφῶς or Τυφῶν (-άων) is not identical to, but a son of Τυφωεύς, endorsed in LSJ, is mistaken (retracted in the 1996 LSJ Supplement), based on a false reading in Hes. *Th.* 306 (see West 1966 ad loc.). The impersonal use of τυφῶς and τυφῶν in the sense of “whirlwind” is rarely attested before Aristotle (cf. *S. Ant.* 418; *Ar. Lys.* 974, *Ra.* 848; whereas *E. Ph.* 1154 and *A. Ag.* 656 could be references to the god). The name of the god may be primary in relation to the naming of the unusual natural phenomenon, or originally independent thereof (as hinted by West l.c.). Typhon does not look or act like a mere personification in mythical tradition.

**559–60 (~568–69).** As in FJW, these iambics have been printed as two dimeters in synapheia, in harmony with the later “coda” in 562–64 ~ 571–74, consisting of three iambo-choriambic dimeters (cf. Korzeniewski 1968, 108). The metrical analyses of Wilamowitz (p. 356 *app.crit.*), Dale (2.5) and West (p. 479) take the verses as a single tetrameter, while their printed texts adhere to the colometry of M and the majority of editors, presenting the verses as a trimeter followed by Τυφῶ μένος and τὰν μὲν βοός as single lines. Intuitively, I find the latter typographical presentation unsound (and my current intuition is that the colometries preserved from the Hellenistic era are more or less random). Despite the diaeresis, we are not looking at an iambic trimeter followed by a monometer (as explicitly in the metrical analyses of Sommerstein, MCL), but either a tetrameter or two dimeters. Parker (1966, 12) suggests that the iambic tetrameter in *S. Tr.* 210–11, with word-end after long third anceps, may be printed as two dimeters “to bring out the metrical parallelism within the verse”, and this is done by, e.g., Dawe (1996) and Lloyd-Jones–Wilson (1990), both of which editions also show *S. OC* 1077–78~1088–89 and *El.* 484–85~499–500, *prima facie*

tetrameters with shared word-end after fifth and seventh longum and third anceps respectively, as pairs of dimeters. So too in Dale (1.41, 3.211, 214) who like Dawe in all three cases explicitly analyses the verses as dimeters in synapheia. In our case, two dimeters in the printed colometry will similarly as the mentioned editions of Sophocles bring out the external metrical parallelism with the rest of the ode. I leave the question open as to whether the verses are in fact one single tetrameter, in which case the word-end after long second anceps in 568 is uncontroversial (Parker 1966, 13). The diaeresis shared between strophe and antistrophe in 560~569 may be compared to several instances of shared word-ends in the mentioned coda in 562–64 ~ 571–74, including a diaeresis after the first choriambic metron (which is certainly not a monometer).

Cf. also Ag. 224–226 ~ 234–236, where Page’s colometry independent of shared word-ends, i.e., with “dovetailing” (West 1982, 6, 194), seems proper, aligning the metre with the rest of the strophe. In Anacr. 1 P on the other hand, prima facie of identical metre, more or less, to the passage of Ag., Page follows the colometry of the papyrus, aligning word-ends with colon-ends, turning the verses into ionics (cf. West 1982, 58). The one-syllable dovetailing consistently employed throughout the poem of Anacr. would make an iambo-choriambic colometry seem absurd in terms of graphical presentation, whereas in the Aeschylean cases the iambic and iambo-choriambic metrical units as opposed to the irregularly dispersed word-ends provide a wanted symmetric quality.

In our first colon, the second longum is resolved in the strophe (559) as opposed to the first longum in the antistrophe (568). This is combined with long initial anceps answering to short according to the scheme  $\sigma \approx \sim \approx \approx \sim - \sim -$ . The contrapuntal rhythmical effect I take as intentional, eased by the positing of the identical syllable  $-\tilde{\omega}v-$  in the respective unresolved longa and  $-ov$  in the second and the first breve, respectively, of the resolved ones:

**λειμῶνα χιον-** ~ **βοτῶν ἐσορῶν-**. A steadying measure is also accomplished by the exact responsion (apart from initial anceps), shared diaeresis, and identical size of the metrical word units in the second dimeter (or second half of the tetrameter): **ἐπέρχεται | Τυφῶ μένος** ~ **μειζόμβροτον | τὰν μὲν βοός**. An almost exact metrical parallel for the chiasmic arrangement of resolutions in the first dimeter is found in S. OT 192~205, where we also find a steadying caesura after the resolved passages, followed by four-syllable words ending the period in strophe as well as antistrophe: **φλέγει με περιβόητος | ἀντιάζων** ~ **βέλεα θέλοισ’ ἂν ἰδάματ’ | ἐνδατεῖσθαι**. Further metrical parallels are provided by FJW 568n.

With the synapheia after the fourth longum, would Aeschylus and his audience see a difference between dimetric and tetrametric rhythm in this case? We may presume that depending on the diction and musical accompaniment, the director and chorus might implicate either of rhythmical structures. We should not assume that the matter was necessarily unambiguous, though, and that clearly defined

separations of one verse from the next was obligatory. In itself, the existence of the feature of synapheia suggests that ambiguity was an option. In our case, the verses of the rest of the ode, in which iambic dimeters and trimeters and their derivatives dominate, and of this particular strophe, ending with three iambo-choriambic dimeters, hint at a dimetric structure to these verses, and it does not seem like an unreasonable hypothesis that the music and diction might have suggested likewise. As such, the tetrameter could perhaps always be understood as a couplet of two dimeters, as suggested by the middle diaeresis alternating with the caesura in stichic dialogue (S. *Ichn.* [fr. 314 R] 298–328; Parker 1966, 12–13). In contrast, to print the verses as a trimeter followed by a monometer (followed again by a trimeter), as explicitly recommended by Diggle (1982, 131), implies such an awkward rhythm that the allegedly anomalous word-end after long second anceps (-εξ) in the dimeter of 568 should be preferred to this arrangement. I find the strict application to lyrical metres of the rules prohibiting word-end after long anceps in certain positions (see Maas 1962, 34–35) questionable, and I believe that the extant examples of such word-ends in the iambic dimeter (listed by Parker 1966, 14–16; e.g., *Supp.* 808, *Pers.* 280, 286), when compared with the entire corpus of lyric iambic dimeters with long second anceps, show that there is no real statistical basis for the prohibition (cf. 527n., 527–28n.). Parker (1966, 16) explains two of the “offending” passages (E. *El.* 480, *Hyps.* 1625 = fr. 759a.104 K) with an intentional “fierce emphasis” on personal names; in our case, we may observe that the generally unwieldy metre of 568 occurs in a description of the monstrous form of Io during her reverse metamorphosis. An atypical metrical form, if such it should be considered, may therefore be intentional (cf. 528n., 535n.).

**561.** Whether in apposition to λειμῶνα (in turn in apposition to ἄλλσος) or to the sentence as a whole (KG I 284–85; cf. *Ag.* 226) as the pivotal result of the Typhonic forces and melting snow, I think ὕδωρ τὸ Νείλου might be sound, although misunderstood by the scholiast, who thinks it stands in apposition to the subservient power of Typhon only. Pauw’s τε, widely accepted, restores a commonplace dichotomy, distinguishing the water from and coupling it with the λειμῶν, interpreted as referring to dry land, whereas the text as it stands equates and merges the two. I believe the merging may be intentional. In fr. 300 cited in the previous note, the water of the Nile *rolls earth* (γαῖαν κυλίνδει) instead of rolling waves. Here the *meadow* is *fed* (-βοσκον) by melted snow, which is hyperbolic referring to the commonplace relation between land and water, but a satisfying metaphor when referring to a water increased by snow melting. ὕδωρ τὸ Νείλου accordingly functions as an explanatory apposition. Conversely, as χιονόβοσκον in itself properly refers to the waters of the Nile, distinguishing that water when explicitly mentioned from the melting snow with τε is awkward.

To the poetical and religious mind of Aeschylus, the defining feature of the “meadow” of Egypt is the radical fusion of the elements, earth, water, and air, during the inundation (Sandin 2017, 42–43; cf. FJW II 444, who however reject this interpretation). λειμῶν is used metaphorically of water in S. fr. 659 R ἐν λειμῶνι ποταμίων ποτῶν | ἴδηι σκιᾶς εἶδωλον,

where the mirror-surface of the drinking water is intended, not the meadows that may irrelevantly surround the river, but the idea here is more profound, a cosmological hybrid, earth and water at the same time: all-nourishing grove, meadow handled by the elements, river flow. All of Egypt proper, “the Black (sc. Earth)” (*km.t*) according to native speech, is covered by water during the inundation, the borders of the land being traditionally defined by the edge of the waterfront at its highest level (cf. *Pr.* 852; Pietschmann in *RE* I 981). The hybrid landscape parallels the current hybrid existence of Io herself, who during her reverse transformation is at the same time cow and woman, until the powers of the divine have fulfilled their course and normality is restored (565–81).

**νόσοις ἄθικτον:** the instrumental dative implies that the sense of the adjective is active (see FJW; LSJ s.v. ἄθικτος II need to be supplemented with at least this passage and E. *Hipp.* 1002). This is of no fundamental importance: for the water to touch a human, the human of course needs to touch the water and may in the case of the Nile do so without hazard. Waters were considered as some of the most important sources of disease in antiquity, in particular waters cultivated by bad winds, as elaborated on obscurely in Hp. *Hum.* 12–18. Other kinds of radical changes in the conditions of waters could have unsound effects (cf. Hp. *Morb.* 1.24, 2.55 and also *Vict.* 90, concerning waters in dreams). Here, the process of inundation has been described as involving of the might of Typhon, who is not benign in any respect, and the stem of whose name at least later denote pathological conditions (τῦφος, τυφώδης). Accordingly, Aeschylus lets the Danaids assure that the power of Typhon and the ominous behaviour and unusual meteorological interactions of the Nile have only positive effects.

Later, the water of the Nile is described as a source of fertility for women who drink it or feed off the produce of the Egyptian earth (Onesicrit. *FGrH* 134 F 22 and Arist. fr. 280 Gigon [284 Rose] ap. Str. 15.1.22[695 C]). Only here and in *Pr.* 811 is its purity emphasised.

**562–64(–571–74).** On the metre, see 559–60(–568–69)n.

**562–64. θυιάς** is probably fully synonymous with μαινάς, the close affinity here emphasized through the predicative use with **μαινομένα**. Its etymological sense (from θύω/θυίω, “rage”) is operative. But like μαινάς, θυιάς is also a theological concept, properly used of women possessed or inspired by Dionysus or of divine nymphs in his retinue (the latter sense in Alcm. fr. 63 P ap. Σ min. Il. 6.21 de Marco, perhaps S. *Ant.* 1151; μαινάδες in this sense in Hsch. η 500).

It may be that on a theological level, divine and human maenads are identical. The religious notion that the frantic women of the Dionysian rites are transformed into divine beings is easy enough to

infer (cf. Dodds 1951, 271; D.S. 4.3.3; Luc. *Bacch.* 4; Posidon. fr. 370 Theiler ap. Str. 10.3.9–10[467–68 C]; and Parker 2005, 326 on iconographic sources). See Nilsson 573–74 for late evidence of the word in attested cult.

In Aeschylus, θυιάς is found three times, used either as a simile or in a basic etymological sense of “raging” or “maddened” woman, with dark and ominous connotations: *Th.* 498 ἔνθεος Ἄρει | βακχᾷ ... θυιάς ὥς, 836 ἔτευξα τύμβωι μέλος | θυιάς, and here, where Io by her torments is turned into the raving maenad of Hera, who has brought them upon her. The likening of a terrorized woman to a maenad is Homeric: *Il.* 22.460 μαινάδι ἴση (of Andromache), which may well hint at a maenad proper rather than a “mad woman” in general (cf. Richardson 1993 ad loc.; Seaford 1994, 330 n. 6).

**563–64. κεντροδαλήτις** is Erfurdt’s (reported by Hermann) metrically necessary emendation of -τοις. Choriambes are occasionally contracted in quasi-aeolic meters in drama (Sicking 1993, 197) but never in the aristophanean colon or other iambic contexts, never in Aeschylus, and never in responsion to uncontracted choriambes (cf. West 1982, 117). Here the statistical evidence is significant and decisive (cf. 527n., 527–28n., 550n.).

FJW provide a useful list of Aeschylean feminine nominal formations on -ις/-ίς. Together with Vürtheim and Italie 1964, they follow the cue of Wilamowitz and accentuate -ίσι (without comment). This is incorrect: feminine adjective formations on -τις go back on or at least imply a masculine adjective -της (cf. Hsch. δ 1845), and both gender forms are invariably paroxytone in the nominative (Schwyzer I 464). κεντροδαλήτις is accordingly not derived from the nouns δηλητήρ or δηλητής, which are secondary formations (the latter barely attested, cf. Choerob. in *An.Ox.* II 197).

**565–70.** Io is now described as half-woman, half-cow, scaring the locals. Earlier, her shape seems from the descriptions by the speakers and singers in the drama to have been assumed as fully bovine (cf. 16–17, 43–44, 51–52, 170, 275, 299–306, 539–41, 556–57; Sommerstein 1977, 74). The audience or reader should now imagine her as slowly reverting to human shape as she enters the holy ground of Zeus, with Zeus acting covertly, only to be revealed in 571–75 (see further 568–70n.).

In the art of the Archaic and early Classical period, Io is always depicted entirely in the shape of a cow—or in fact more often, due perhaps to the iconographic convention from sacrifice scenes and lack of education in the painters, a bull. One special case that has been compared with the present verses of the *Supplices* (FJW; Bowen; Sommerstein; Engelmann 1903, 38–39; Cook III 1.2, 634; Yalouris in *LIMC* v 1 675), a south Italian oinochoe from the third quarter of the fifth century (fig. 1), features a cow with the face of a woman. The vase also features Hermes with caduceus and sword and a male figure opposing him, fighting over

Io who is the latter's captive. The battle of Hermes with Argos is accordingly depicted,



**Figure 1.** Hermes, Io in hybrid form, and Argos anthropomorph. Lucanian red-figure oinochoe (*BAPD* 9053900; Trendall 16; *LIMC* s.v. Io no. 33), attributed to the Pisticci painter (fl. ca 440–430 B.C.), currently in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (00.366). The photograph is reproduced from Cook III 1 635 = Engelmann 1903, 39 (detail).

wherefore a direct influence from the *Supplices* is unlikely, where this conflict is only mentioned in passing (303). Nor does Engelmann's hypothesis (1903, 40), that the poetry of Aeschylus in our passage would have been influenced by contemporary art featuring Io in this hybrid form, have anything to show for it in terms of evidence (which of course does not disprove it: cf. *Ag.* 241–42, *Eu.* 50–51 for examples of Aeschylean poetry related to imagery in painting).

Simon (1985, 272–74) argues that the frequent depiction of Io as a bull in the early Classical period is especially suited to the myth of the ethnogenesis of the heroic Danaans, popular after the Persian wars, with Zeus as progenitor, the bull being especially sacred to Zeus, and Io in this form becoming “Eigentum des Zeus” (274). This argument is awkward, as the central feature of this mythical complex is the fertility of Io and her actual impregnation by Zeus, who himself takes the form of a bull (see 526n.). The masculine gender of a bovine Io makes no sense in this scenario.

The form of Io in the Boston oinochoe is unique, having nothing in common with the reverse kind of hybrid in the form of horned women, which start to occur in vase paintings in the second half of the fifth century, and which Hdt. 2.41.2 claimed to represent the normal Greek manner of depicting Io, comparing Egyptian statues of Isis (cf. Engelmann 1868, 30; Meyer 1892, 78 n. 2). This latter form is not unlikely to have been influenced by theatrical productions featuring Io on stage, in particular the *Prometheus*, the only instance known to us. The earliest examples in *LIMC* are four red-figure vases of south Italian provenance dated to 450–430 B.C. (nos. 34, 39, 62, 63, the first one, identified as belonging to the Polygnotus group [= *BAPD* 213678; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> II 1054.48; Hoppin 1901, 339 n. 1, 343–44], being currently dated to 475–425 on the Beazley archive webpage). An anthropomorph sculpture of Io by Deinomenes (fl. 400 B.C.) was seen by Paus. 1.25.1 on the Acropolis (*LIMC* no. 83). *LIMC* no. 55, dated in the lexicon to ca 460, but to 475–425 in *BAPD* (no. 207283; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> I 628.2), preserves no image of Io, but the motif, the death of Argos, and the remains of the design, imply that she featured in bovine form (Ducati 1906, 99–104), wherefore the placement under the heading “III. Délivrance d’Io anthropomorphe” appears to be a mistake. I thus find no evidence for the repeated claims in secondary literature (e.g., Sommerstein 568n.; FJW 569n.; Garvie 2006, 159) that hybrid forms in the style of horned anthropomorphs start to occur around 470 B.C. These claims seem intimately connected with the theory originally proposed by Engelmann 1868, 30–34 and id. in Roscher II 270–72, that horned women began to occur due to influence from theatrical productions featuring Io on stage in this form, in combination with the received scholarly opinion of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that the *Prometheus* should be dated to 478 or 468 B.C. (cf. Hoppin 1901, 344; Ducati 1906, 108–10; and the conservatively inclined Sutton 1979, 5). But the date 470 seems to have no foundation in stylistic analyses independent of considerations of the dating of *Pr.* That is not to say that the intuition of Engelmann is not valid, as the production of *Pr.* is now usually dated to around

450–430 B.C. (e.g., West 1990b, 65–66), and none of the extant anthropomorphic depictions of Io seems to be dated with unanimity or confidence earlier than this time. As for the Boston vase (fig. 1), the *Inachus* of Sophocles has often been mentioned (e.g., Trendall–Webster 1971, 32), probably containing a depiction of the original metamorphosis of Io into a cow (fr. \*\*269a R) and featuring Argos and Hermes in prominent roles. See 568–70n. below for a reading of the fragments. The bovine form of Io makes it improbable that the picture represents a scene from a stage production, though, and it should be noted that the face and nose of Io in S. fr. \*\*269a R are explicitly said to assume bovine shape, unlike in this painting. Visual representations of the battle of Hermes and Argos typically feature Io in fully bovine form, occurring on several vases from the archaic and classical era (*LIMC* s.v. Io no. 1–8). Apart from *Inach.*, the most comprehensive literary depiction of the event may have occurred in the epic poem *Aegimius* variously attributed to Hesiod and Cercops (Hes. fr. 5–6 Kinkel, 294 MW, ap. Σ E. Ph. 1116; Σ Venet. Il. 24.24 [= Heraclit. *All.* 72.10]; Tz. *Schol. ad exeges. in Il.* 62 Pap.; [Apollod.] 2.1.3.3).

**568. ἑσποῶντες**, with the split resolution -ὄν ἐσ- (cf. 592n. below), may well be sound, despite ὀρῶντες being used in Σ 567 to simplify the unusual syntax of πάλλοντ’ ὄψιν ἀήθη, which made Hermann suspect that the word has intruded into the text from there. On the unusual features of metre, coinciding with the depiction of the metamorphosis of Io (568–70n.), and in particular the long anceps at word-end, see 559–60 (~568–69)n.

The thirty-something examples of “problematic” prima facie split resolutions in tragic lyric metre collected by Parker (1968, 253–62) should perhaps properly be interpreted as statistically significant, suggesting that this phenomenon might not be all that problematic after all but an acceptable and even stylistically purposeful feature of lyrical metre, which should not be subject to emendation as a matter of course based on rigid parameters extrapolated from severely limited evidence (cf. 527n., 527–28n.).

**568–70. βοτόν ... μειζόμβροτον**: on μειζο- (Wilamowitz: μιζο-), see FJW, Threatte II 623–24; on the form -μβροτον in compounds, FJW, Schwyzer I 277. The compound implies a mixed form, but some details of the depiction, including perhaps the use of the abstract and generalizing -βροτος, also suggest an ongoing metamorphosis, as hinted by Bowen ad loc., “the change is what first astonishes the local Egyptians”. This is not the case with μειζόθηρ and μειζοπάρθεος in E. *Ion* 1161, *Ph.* 1023 and Hdt. 4.9.1 (of Centaurs, the Sphinx and Echidna, respectively), but the echo of the Homeric φοισίμβροτος (Il. 13.339, etc.), φαεσίμβροτος (Il. 24.785, etc.), τερψίμβροτος (Od. 12.269, etc.) and λησίμβροτος (*h.Merc.* 339) may suggest to the audience a process, which the mortal object in the compound is subject to, an active “mixing”. Compounds of μειζ- or μιζ- may refer to processes as well as permanent mixtures, as μειζαίθρια (Hp. *Epid.* 1.2.4.5), μειζόθορος (A. *Th.* 331, fr. 355). Similarly **δυσχερές** may hint at a literal, physical sense, “hard to handle”, because of the ongoing metamorphosis, with a tinge of something revolting (so *δυσχέρεια* S. *Ph.* 473, 900;



δυσχερές E. Or. 792). In *Pr.* 802, the adjective is used in a more facile, purely intellectual and conceptual sense, of the unusual appearances of griffins and one-eyed Arimaspians.

**τὰν μὲν βοός, τὰν δ' αὖ γυναικός:** the genitives seem natural only as objective with ὄψιν, which supports the transmitted reading, which is also arguably *lectio difficilior* in relation to the now vulgate text as emended by Hermann and Paley (1883), τὰ μὲν ..., τὰ δ'. The genitives in similar expressions adduced by FJW in support of the emendations are not sufficient parallels, even if one would take the expression as “partitive apposition to βοτὸν ... μειζόμβροτον”. In our case, as object to ἐσορῶντες, this would still entail a rough ellipsis of ὄντα. Instead, referring back to ὄψιν ἀήθη, the expression again suggests that Aeschylus is describing an ongoing metamorphosis. αὖ confers a temporal force following μὲν ... δ' (as is often the case, cf. Il. 8.322–23, 24.371–72). Besides different parts of Io's body being bovine and human, one should understand “the sight of a cow, then again that of a woman”. The sight changes, without a change of focus from the observer.

A papyrus fragment of what on reasonable grounds has been assumed to be the *Inachus* of Sophocles, probably a satyr-play, preserves details from a description, probably from the mouth of Inachus, of the reverse metamorphosis of Io, which has been induced by a mysterious stranger, almost certainly Hermes (rightly Sutton 1979, 58–63; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1960, 26). The papyrus preserves a notation indicating verse 300 of the drama and the fragment can therefore be placed in its middle or first half (S. fr. \*\*269a R):

ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ χεῖρα παρθέν[ωι	×	–	υ	–	
Ἰοῖ δι' οἴκων οἷχεται σ[	×	–	υ	–	
κόρης δὲ μυκτὴρ κρατ[	υ	–	×	–	υ
ἐκβουτυποῦται κα[	υ	–	×	–	υ
φύει κάρα ταυρῶ[π	υ	–	×	–	υ
αὐχὴν ἐπ' ὤμοι[ς	–	υ	–	×	–
ποδῶν δὲ χηλ[αῖ	–	υ	–	×	–
κροτοῦσι θράν[	υ	–	υ	–	×
γυνὴ λέαινα π[	–	υ	–	×	–
ῥῖσται λινεργ[	υ	–	υ	–	×

300

305

τοιαῦτα [ - x - ∪ - x - ∪ -

ὁ ξειῖνος α[ x - ∪ - x - ∪ -

306 ᾿λέαιν’ ἀπ’ S. West 1984, 299

He, his hand on the virgin [                    ] Io, goes away through the house [                    ] and the  
nostril of the girl [                    ] turns cow-shaped [                    ] a head bull-faced grows  
[                    ] the neck on her shoulders [                    ] hooves on her legs [                    ]  
rattle the floorboards [                    ] woman lioness [or: “the woman smoothed” (sc. the  
linen)?] [                    ] sit, linen-work [                    ] such [                    ] the  
stranger

The received notion that this strange magician, who has earlier in the fragment (291–92) been described as ἐξ ἐνωπίων (“out of sight”) and φηλώσας ἐμέ (“deceiving me”), and after this bout of conjuring is called πολυφάρμακος (“alchemist”) and κάρβανος αἰθὺς (“sun-scorched barbarian”) by the chorus (317–18), should be Zeus in some dark, chthonian aspect, is sorely mistaken, in light of fifth-century religious tendency, the defining attributes of the gods, and the conventions of characters in Greek drama (pace Lobel 1956, 59; Pfeiffer 1958, 37–39; Seaford 1980; Lloyd-Jones 2003, 114). The wandering stranger in disguise, trickster and magician, assuming the characteristics of a servant (Nilsson 508) and being sometimes invisible, has all the stereotypical attributes of Hermes, ὁ φηλητής (Nilsson 507–10; *h.Merc.* 214, 292, 446, etc.), playing a central role in this drama and myth as Ἀργειφόντης, slayer of Argos (a victory perhaps achieved with the aid of music: cf. fr. \*\*269c.7, 281a R). Sutton (1979, 58–63) is right about this if not in every detail. As for αἰθὺς, Lloyd-Jones (1960, 26) briefly remarks on an interesting but enigmatic parallel in Call. *Dian.* 3.68–70, where Hermes is σποδιῇ κεχρήμενος αἰθῇ, “smirched in scorched ashes”, and similarly as here performs the action δώματος ἐκ μυχάτοιο | ἔρχεται, “comes from the innermost of the house” (cf. *Inach.* 299 δι’ οἴκων οἴχεται), in this case as a fright to a disobedient nymph child. The parallel may be incidental or a subconscious reminiscence by Callimachus (who may also allude to a simile used on Hermes hiding from Apollo in *h.Merc.* 238; cf. Bornmann 1968, Adorjányi 2021 ad loc.), but it is intriguing that the actions and appearance of Hermes in both cases are similar to those of the house spirits of European folklore, the brownies (hobgoblins, *Kobolde*, *tomtar*, *nisser*, *домовые*, etc.), shady and often swarthy tricksters sometimes affiliated with the hearth, disappearing and turning invisible at will, moving as if at home in the household and punishing perceived misdeeds pertaining to it and themselves. Haupt (1849, 44 [1875, 257]) compared Hermes in Call. *Dian.* 3.68–70 to Knecht Ruprecht, another manifestation of the same traditional mythological entity. Pace Lloyd-Jones ll.cc. and others, *Zeus* does not enter the house of Inachus, only Hermes, testing the boundaries of the laws of hospitality, perhaps, but in light of his enigmatic, popular-religious role δώματος ἐκ μυχάτοιο in Callimachus, he might have a lawful place in any house, being not a ξένος in relation to the οἶκος, or to any place in the universe. Knecht Hermes is doing the good work of Zeus by turning Io into an attractive, fertile cow and deceiving her father, who is a wicked character in *Inach.*, a blasphemer acting in opposition to divine plan and destiny (fr. \*\*269c, \*\*269d R; Ps.-Plu. *Fluv.* 18.1), having a barren, tyrant-like

power over Argos (fr. 284 R, cf. 286), colluding perhaps somehow with the jealous Hera (cf. Wilamowitz 1889, 88–89 n. 53). But the river-god violates the order of the land and the household, not even allowing his daughter the rights of a grown woman but keeping her at home as a household servant (306–7) until the benign intervention of Zeus. The reference by Inachus to Io as a “virgin” (298) has a comical effect if she at this point is known or suspected to have already been blessed by Zeus, outside of the house. Zeus’ impregnating Io in the house of her father would have looked like a crime, though. The girl must leave home to become a woman. Cf. [A.] *Pr.* 640–86, where Io has had to leave the house of her father to meet Zeus on the orders of his minister Apollo. Io describes the actions of Zeus as those of a tyrant in relation to her and her father, as is his *prima facie* role throughout that drama, but *Pr.* is unique in this respect, and she and the other actors may not have perceived or been told all details correctly or understood the full picture yet. In *Inach.*, as in *Supp.*, the divine impregnating of Io is a positive act, symbolic and emblematic of the general prosperity that Zeus, with the aid of Pluto, the personification of Wealth, later in the drama gives to the land (cf. fr. 273, 275–76, 283 R). Despite the false leads of the son of Io by Zeus being called “black Epaphus” in *Pr.* 851 and the “touch” (ἄψάμενος) of Zeus turning Io into a cow in [Apollod.] 2.5 (cf. Hes. fr. 124 MW), the swarthy or sooty barbarian conjurer in *Inach.* 318 is not Zeus but certainly an archetypical Hermes, which becomes clear from fr. \*\*269c R, where his identity is revealed and he is said by Inachus to “return to me” (l. 23 μοι δεῦρ’ ἀνέστρεψεν πόδα: cf. Sutton 1979, 58–59). The chorus here notes the role of Hermes as minister of the love-affairs of Zeus and observes that he wears the cap of Hades conferring invisibility (ll. 19–21).

**571–72. τίς ἦν** and even more so the following questions pertaining to Zeus (586, 590, 599) are distinct in style from the similarly phrased questions found in narrative epic poetry (cf. FJW 571–75n.), e.g., Il. 1.8 τίς τὰρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; “Who of the gods joined them to fight in enmity?” The tone of Aeschylus is not dispassionately matter-of-fact and didactic, as characterizes the epic style, but devotional (see further 574–99n.). Several markers indicate that the answer to the first question is or should be known to the audience. **δῆ** accentuates something which is known or easily inferred from what has just been said (cf. Denniston pp. 225–31; Sandin 2012, 11–12). The definite article **ὁ ... θέλξας** indicates someone or something already known or mentioned. If the narrative contains innovative detail, these stylistic markers serve to add authoritative reassurance. This is *of course* how things actually happened, seeing to the true nature of Zeus and the good order of the universe.

**τότε δῆ** includes or refers in particular to the moment described just before (cf. E. *El.* 727, *Or.* 1483; Hdt. 3.132.1; Th. 4.78; Pl. *Th.* 157a). Who is *the one* (ὁ) who *at that moment* (τότε) *indeed* (δῆ) *had performed* (θέλξας) the enchantment that started the process of reverse metamorphosis and healing restoration? The (ingressive or resultative) aorist aspect of the participle tends to be ignored in translations. The sense “soothe”, “heal” of θέλξαι is relevant (cf. A. *Ch.* 670–71 πόνων θελκτηρία | στρωμνή, *h.Hom.* 16.4 θελκτῆρ’ ὀδυνάων, and

further examples in FJW), sexual innuendo less so at this moment (unlike in 1004, 1055), the erotic affair having been concluded in Argos (295–301), and the role of Zeus now being that of medic and deliverer, midwife. The association of consensual sexual activity with sound health and prosperity, central to the present trilogy (A. fr. 300 R) and commonly illustrated in myth, poetry and art by the association of Aphrodite with the Graces (cf. Il. 5.338; Od. 8.362–66 ≈ *h.Ven.* 58–63 [see AHS 61n., p. 357]; *h.Ap.* 194–95; *Ar. Pax* 38–41), may perhaps play a role in the associative use of the verb, though, which carries the simultaneous meanings of “soothe”, “make comfortable”, and “seduce”.

**574–99.** The last two strophic pairs of the ode return to the devout style of veneration of Zeus found in its beginning, here predominantly in the third-person “dynamic predicative” mode described by Norden (1913, 221) as “reinhellenischen”: pure Greek. Cf. FB I 56 and (on this particular ode) I 283. Classical Greek gods are typically praised by depictions of their acts, not their essential qualities. The devotional narrative in 576–89 portrays the acts of Zeus as he saves Io from suffering and helps deliver his and her son, Epaphus. The ultimate consequences of this *aristeia* are more profound than the singers themselves realize (see 524–99n.). Apart from this typical Greek style of devotion, we again find stylistic elements intertwined that may be determined by foreign influence (cf. 524–99n., 524–25n.). In 592–95, the praised acts of Zeus are represented in the form of panegyric nominal attributes, belonging to the style of *essential* predication that Norden (1913, 221–39) contrasted to the Greek dynamic style of devotion and identified as “oriental”. The repeated questions in 571–72 τίς ἦν ὁ θέλξας, 586 τίς γὰρ ἄν κατέπαυσεν, 590 τίν’ ἄν θεῶν, 599 τί τῶνδ’ οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν, may perhaps similarly be identified as “orientalising”. The first is superficially similar to the epic narrative technique of posing questions to the muses, but as already observed (571–72n.), the style is different, this and the following questions being not dispassionate devices to intensify the narrative, stimulating interest and preparing for new information to be introduced, but devout, emotionally charged, and “rhetorical” in the sense of admitting of one answer only, which is already known or at least implied by the very posing of the question. West (1997, 560, 563–64) noted better parallels from Akkadian sources and the Bible, e.g., Ps 18:32(31) = 2 Sam 22:32 *For who is God apart from Yahweh, | or who is a rock except our God?* and LKA 16 *Which (other) [cr]eator of all inhabited places | should I name, of all parts of the world?* (cited after West 1997, 564).

**574–75. Ζεὺς αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου:** for all the positive reasons (listed below) for keeping the initial Ζεὺς of the ms., the expression is problematic with regard to the sense of αἰῶνος (see 46n. [to be updated]). The word typically means “life” or “lifetime” in the fifth century and earlier; so with regard to Epaphus in the echo occurring in the antistrophe (582), whose lifetime is contrasted with the αἰών of Zeus his father. But the word seems by the early fifth century already to have taken on an arcane and transcendental sense in philosophy and esoteric religious discourse. See e.g., Stadtmüller 1951, 315, referring to Orphic religion for the early esoteric use of the term; the difficult ἀπ’ αἰῶνος in Hes. *Th.* 609 (with the n. of West 1966); αἰῶνα “generation” in A. *Th.* 744; Heraclit. 22 B 52 DK (ap. Hippol. *Haer.* 9.9.4) αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊ, “*aiōn* is a child playing, playing draughts: to a child, the kingdom belongs”; E. *Heracl.* 900 personifying Αἰών as a son of Χρόνος; and Pl. *Ti.* 37d reversing this genealogical relation, taking χρόνος as the secular, changing time of the material world, which is projected from the eternal, unchanging αἰών of ideal reality. The word has an inherent numinous and spiritual quality. In the translation, Lifetime is printed with an uppercase initial letter in order to render the religious ambience. Familiar with contemporary esoteric religious discourse, whether labelled Pythagorean, Orphic, or otherwise, Aeschylus may hint that Zeus’ individual Life is identical with the Living Timeframe of the world, over which he rules eternally. The notion of Zeus as the ruler of the living αἰών of the world could be reinforced in the following, missing line, for instance by πάντων in its beginning and a repetition of the name of Zeus in the form that emphasizes the popular etymology relating to *life* (cf. 585): πάντων πασιάνναξ Ζήν. “Zeus, ruler of unending Lifetime of all things, Lord of all things, *Zēn*.”

The expression Ζεὺς αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου finds echoes in Hellenistic esoteric pagan writings and lyrical passages of the *Septuaginta* and later Christian poetry and prose (cf. Stadtmüller 1951, 317–18). Whether these compositions and translations from Hebrew have been directly or indirectly influenced by Greek religious language of the fifth century B.C. and earlier is difficult to ascertain. But in light of the noted orientalising style of Aeschylus in this ode and elsewhere in the drama, the parallels may be relevant in the other direction as well. Dionys.Skyt. *FGrH* 32 F 7 (ap. D.S. 3.56.5), in an atheist, euhemerist account influenced by Pl. *Ti.*, claims that the people of Atlantis referred to Uranus, their first king, as πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων, “king of All Things for the *aiōn*”. This formulation is probably not the invention of the author but possibly related to a seminal passage of Greek Biblical tradition: LXX *Ex.* 15.18 κύριος βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι. “[The LXX text of Exodus] renders the MT’s כֹּהֵן with an expanded τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα. This is a unique rendering for a unique phrase which occurs only here in the MT of Exodus” (Gurtner 2013, 344). Cf. *Ps.* 9.37, 28.10, 73.12, 145.10; *To.* 13.7; *Wi.* 3.8; 1 *Ep.Ti.* 1.17; *Apoc.* 11.15, 22.5; Synes. *Hymn.* 5.68 σὺ δ’ ἄναξ αἰῶνος αἰών, *AP* 1.19.12 φρουρὲ βίου, σῶτερ μερόπων, αἰῶνος ἀνάσσω.

I have come around to the view that we must give the ms. reading Ζεὺς the benefit of the doubt, despite the formidable consensus of scholars against it. As noted first by Canter, a verse (575) has been lost in transmission following the present one, and we do not even know the construction of the full sentence. In such cases, the standard principles of textual criticism discourage confidence in emendation. Nevertheless, with very few exceptions in the twentieth century and later (notably Lomiento 2010, followed by MCL), Burges's (1821) emendation δι' for Ζεὺς has been accepted by editors and critics, who usually assume a misplacement of the first word of the missing following verse (FJW argued that an intruding gloss would be a more probable cause for corruption). The predominant attraction of this emendation seems to have been that it produces exact verbal responsion with the beginning of the antistrophe in 582 δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ πάνολβον (see 110–11n.). But this is a false lead, seeing that variations like the one offered by the paradosis are a typical feature in such verbal echoes. A famous parallel case featuring the name of Zeus as the first word of the strophe, while echoing the second word in the antistrophe, is Ag. 160: Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν ~ 168 οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν. Cf. also, e.g., *Supp.* 103 ἀφ' ἀγνῶν ~ 111 †μεταγνούς, 750 περίφρονες ~ 757 οὐλόφρονες (like the present case exhibiting asymmetrical-length responsion of the first syllable of the verse – in dochmiac metre, here contracted iambic), 752~759, *Pers.* 550–52~560–62, 573~581, *Th.* 934~948. There is nothing that makes repetition of the identical phrase δι' αἰῶνος obviously more attractive than the variation supplied by the transmitted text. On the contrary, it has been noted that apart from in the case of interjections, exact verbal responsion in the beginnings of strophes and antistrophes of the kind produced by the emended text is very rare. The two extant cases in Aeschylus combine the artifice with particular features of style, context, and lyrical genre so as to present harmonic rather than stilted effects, and we do find some slight variation: *Ch.* 935 ἔμολε μὲν ~ 996 ἔμολε δ', *Eu.* 996 <χαίρετε> χαίρετ' ~ 1014 χαίρετε χαίρετε (unelided). In the present paradosis, it might be possible to discern a subtle wordplay Ζεὺς ~ δι', as more obviously in *Th.* 934 διατομαῖς ~ 948 διοδότων, and Ag. 1485 διὰ Διός (see Fraenkel ad loc., cf. Hes. *Op.* 2–3). The devout and hymnic style of the last two strophic pairs favours an initial Ζεὺς in this verse, as in Ag. 160, the name of the god to be praised being also often the first word in the Homeric hymns (e.g., *h.Cer.*, *h.Merc.*, *h.Mart.*, and *h.Hom.* 23 to Zeus). The juxtaposition of Ζεὺς first in this strophe with Ἴώ last in the previous one is attractive in light of the prominent and central

thematic of their union in the drama, repeatedly emphasised by similar stylistic effects of word placement (cf. 16–19, 41–43, 162, 314, 535–37).

Lomiento (2010, 78) has addressed the metrical argument put forward against the transmitted reading, correctly noting that the parallels ought to be sufficient. The case is similar to the one addressed above in 527n., concerning long initial anceps responding to short in the antistrophe. Few extant examples of the *exact* metrical equivalent, bacchius responding to molossus, are to be found in Aeschylus, none of the instances (*Pers.* 281~287, *Th.* 356~368, *Ag.* 977~990) being absolutely certain. FJW are inclined to explain them all away, referring to Fraenkel and Denniston–Page on *Ag.* 977~990 (their 978n., 991n.). But the former accepts verse-initial anceps responsion of this kind (with reference to Schroeder 1916, 102), allowing for *Th.* 356~368 as a hardly doubtful case in Aeschylus. West similarly accepts *Th.* l.c. and (with doubt) *Pers.* 281~287 as genuine examples of this type of responsion, while taking the verse-ending ὕμνωδεῖ in *Ag.* 990 as a bacchius (cf. West 1982, 18). Dale (1968, 73, cf. 101–2) observes that “the apparent ‘molossus’ is ... permitted as an opening metron in place of a bacchiac”; and Diggle (1981, 86 [1994, 201–2]) lists all occurrences of this kind of responsion in Euripides and Sophocles. Diggle is somewhat inclined to disallow the Aeschylean instances but admits that *Th.* 356~368 “seems likely”. Generally, whereas the evidence for the constitution of the text is often notoriously uncertain in Aeschylus, as well as the other tragic poets, the argument that the ordinary rules of initial anceps responsion are invalid unless confirmed by many safe instances for each individual metrical sequence and poet seems untenable. The molossus as such in iambic contexts is rare in Aeschylus, and the bacchius is not all that frequent either, so that the evidence for symmetrical-length responsion is not much stronger than for asymmetrical (cf. *Pers.* 282~288, *Ch.* 588~597). Nevertheless, the iambic molossus is safely attested in Aeschylus and Sophocles as well as Euripides. If a special justification is really needed for asymmetrical anceps responsion, it could be argued that the personal name of Zeus in the beginning of a strophe is sufficient (quod licet Jovi). It may be observed that initial asymmetrical responsion of anceps in uncontracted iambs occurs in 527~534, 540~549, 559~568, 560~569, 561~570, 576~584 of the present ode, which is otherwise dominated by choriambic and Aeolic metres, in which irregular responsion at the beginning of the verses is the rule (for instance, initial “molossus” very often answers to “bacchius” in the “choriambic dimeter”, e.g., *E. Supp.* 1001~1024, *El.* 178~201, *Ion* 459~479, *Hel.* 1306~1324, 1313~1330).

**576–78.** In light of the repeated emphasis in the previous strophes on the violence done to Io by the gadfly (541 οἰστρωι ἐρεσσομένα, 556 εἰσικνουμένου βέλει, 563–64 ὀδύναις τε κεντροδαλήτισι, 573 οἰστροδόνητον), **βία ... παύεται** is welcome as an explicit reference to the end of the torment. The reading of M should accordingly be preserved, and βία interpreted as the nominative case. “[L]a violenza di Hera contro l’infelice Io ha fine con il tocco divino di Zeus”, rightly MCL (p. 335). We may again identify a hint at medical language (see 556n.): cf. *Hp. Morb.* 1.20 παύεται ἡ νοῦσος, 3.5 ἡ ὀδὴν παύεται, *VM* 18 παύεται ... τό γε καῦμα, *Coac.* 137 τὰ τρομώδεα παύεται, *Mul.* 7.15 παύεται ἡ πνίξ, etc. —as is appropriate with Zeus assuming the role of healer and confirmed by 586–87 κατέπανσεν

Ἡρας νόσους. We may note that in Attic legal terminology, βία means rape (LSJ s.v. II 3), and that such an association may attach to the assault of the gadfly in 556–57.

The retaining of the nominative is a minority choice among 20<sup>th</sup>- and 21<sup>st</sup>-century editors (Wilamowitz, Vürtheim, Murray 1955, Werner 1959, MCL), perhaps because βία ... παύεται seems such an unadorned, naked expression that one may not think it Aeschylean language; because the word βία is associated with the actions of Zeus in the phrase εὐμενῇ βίαν in a similar context in 1066; and because the scholium, together with the apograph Md, reads the dative case. FJW and Sommerstein follow the second of those reasons, finding the affinity with 1066 and perhaps with the general theme of the ambiguous “touch” of Zeus, associated with violence also by Bowen (412n.), more congenial than “assigning the ‘violence’ to Hera” (FJW) or “left unspecified” (Sommerstein). But the very concrete violence, indeed intense physical pain, which has been administered by Hera through the gadfly, has been highlighted no less than four times before in this ode. This is what βία must refer to. This violence is contrasted by δ’ to the previously described act of healing enchantment, and within the phrase also to ἀπημάντωι σθένει, the painless, non-violent strength employed by Zeus. εὐμενῇ βίαν in 1066 may point back to ἀπημάντωι σθένει here but is not evidence that βία in our case refers to the actions of Zeus. I now believe that the last choral ode in 1018–73 is interpolated.

The poet intentionally veils the concrete interaction of Zeus with the gadfly, not mentioning either the god or the Oestrus by name in the sentence, rendering the intervention entirely impersonal through the use of instrumental datives. This is appropriate, because while prominent in the present ode and in the life of Io, the gadfly is too insignificant in relation to Zeus to be depicted as his antagonist. Aeschylus reduces the manifest elements of the event to a bare cessation of pain, portraying the action of Zeus as not only impersonal but supremely effortless (cf. 98–103n.). Still, the θεΐαις ἐπιπνοΐαις, divine on-breath, which serves to relieve pain and to heal wounds, may perhaps at the same time be hinted to blow the gadfly away.

**578–79. ἀποστάζει πένθιμον αἰδῶ:** sc. Io. The lack of both explicit naming and demonstrative emphasis of a new grammatical subject (being obvious) is a not uncommon feature of Aeschylean lyrics, cf. Ag. 239, 404, 445, 1126, 1128. The cleansing, cathartic feeling of crying is brought out by ἀποστάζει: the hurtful shame is distilled out as tears, with



full force given to the suffix ἀπο-, as emphasized by FJW. Cf. *Ch.* 153–55 ἴετε δάκρυ ... κακῶν ... ἀπότροπον, “shed a tear turning ills away”.

**580–81. λαβοῦσα δ’ ἔρμα:** with the support of medical expertise and a number of parallels from Greek literature (see below) supplied by James Diggle, Bowen shows beyond reasonable doubt, in my opinion, that this should be understood, not as it usually has been, to refer to the conception of Epaphus, but instead literally to the solid physical support used to spurn against by Io when in labour. Io does not conceive in Egypt but gives birth here (cf. *B.* 5.39–42). **Δῖον** may go with ἔρμα or later with **παῖδ’**, the latter connection being stressed repeatedly in this ode and elsewhere in the drama. Mentioning the support without specifying its nature seems trivial, though, and there is a certain literary and theological finesse to having Zeus do the supporting. The woman in labour needs something literally immovable to hold on to, such as no human could offer, but a god could, and the immovable strength of Zeus is an attribute that Aeschylus emphasizes several times in this drama (cf. 98–103n., 576–78n., 595–96n.). The physical contact of Zeus with the labouring mother harmonizes with the topic of his eponymous touch (ἐπαφή, ἔφαψις), whether or not this should be understood as referring to actual midwifing (see 313n. [to be updated]) performed simultaneously with the supporting.

Sommerstein and MCL ignore Bowen’s contribution completely, following the received interpretation of e.g., LSJ (s.v. ἔρμα I 4) “having conceived”. I believe this is a mistake. Whereas ἔρμα, “support”, “stay”, as a metaphor for either the load of insemination, its gestation in the uterus, or the *membrum virile* in sexual intercourse, is unfathomable, even given the sense “(steadying) ballast” in nautical contexts, the act of grasping support when giving birth is an authentic procedure (see Bowen and e.g., Pingiatoglou 1981, 21 n. 26) and a Classical literary and iconographic topic, featuring repeatedly in relation to the birth of Apollo and Artemis, which was accomplished by Leto holding on to a palm tree (or sometimes laurel or olive). The seminal passage is *h.Ap.* 117 ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πήχεε, “she threw her hands around a palm”; cf. *Thgn.* 6 φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη, “grasping a palm with slender hands”; *E. Hec.* 458–61, *IT* 1099–1102, *Ion* 919–22; *Call. Del.* 209–11. The act is found explicitly (while far from realistically) depicted on a fourth-century Kerch style pyxis from Eretria (fig. 2). See AHS on *h.Ap.* 117 and Mineur 1984 on *Call. Del.* 210 for further references and discussion. In the case of Io, the authentic detail of grasping support when giving birth lends emphasis by tangible visual illustration to

her full restoration to human form, with hands able to grasp, before this seminal act, a matter that may be important from certain Greek religious viewpoints (cf. Hdt. 2.46.2, 2.47.2 with



**Figure 2.** Leto giving birth λαβοῦσα ἔρμα, *grasping the support* of a palm tree, assisted by Eileithyia (probably, left) and supervised by Athena (right). Eretrian pyxis, fourth century B.C. (BAPD 2090; LIMC s.v. Leto B 6), currently in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Collection of Vases, inv. no. A 1635).

Courtesy Hellenic National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Photographic Archive. Photograph by Kostas Xenikakis (detail). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture – Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D.).

the note of Sandin 2008, 14). The subsequent depiction of the moment of delivery, **γείνατο παῖδ' ἄμεμφῇ**, similarly implies a fully human form of the child, the affirmation **ἄψευδεῖ λόγῳ** hinting perhaps at untrue versions of the myth in which Epaphus, the Egyptian Apis, was born as a calf or hybrid. Cf. 583–85n. ἧ ... ἀληθῶς, and also the similar adverbial affirmations of theologically and historically important, if sometimes innovative or revisionist mythological details, in 45–47 εὐλόγως, 545 ἐν αἴσῃ, 571–72n. δῆ. Epaphus is called the “calf of Zeus” in 41, but we now understand that this was a lyrical figure of speech. Cf. 41–44n., 117=128n. [to be updated].

**582. δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ πάνολβον:** If αἰῶνος, as it seems in 526, here also has a broader sense

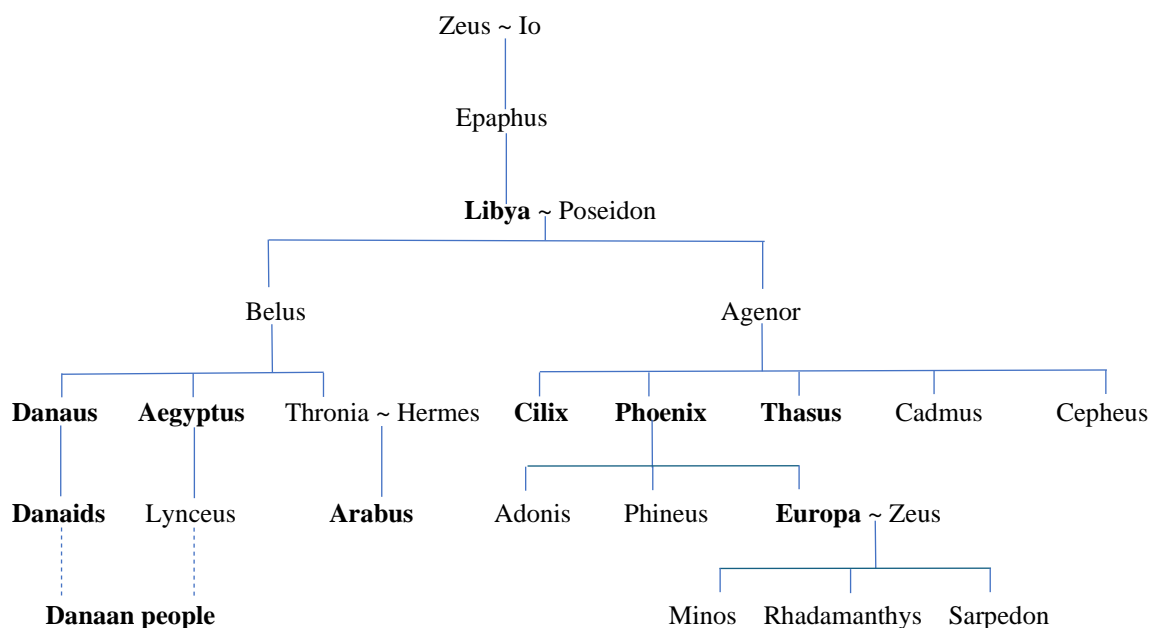
than merely “lifetime”, it could perhaps hint at the entire time in which the descendants of Epaphus prosper and multiply, up to the present moment (see 583–85n.). At any rate, the future international success of his grandsons and subsequent generations is part of the prosperity lauded: Epaphus is πάνολβος, extensively, globally prosperous, as Egypt, the land of his and of Zeus (4–5) is πάμβοτος (558), globally nourishing. Cf. 526n., 538–73n., 574n.

**583–85. πᾶσα ... χθών** should be understood as “all the earth” (as *Pr.* 139), not “the entire land” (as *Ag.* 528). In 565, γᾶς has local reference, but Egypt has not been the topic since then, Zeus has, who is not a local deity. Because of (ἐνθῆν) the pan-prosperity of Epaphus, *all the world* βοᾷ ... γένος τόδ', “calls out this race” (cf. LSJ βοάω II 4 “celebrate”), πᾶσα echoing πάνολβον in 582. The proud boast of the Danaids refers to the genealogical lore according to which Epaphus' descendants, referred to in modern scholarship as the “Inachids” after the father or ancestor of Io (following [Apollod.] 2.1–2), spread to rule over the inhabited world, giving their names to its peoples and countries, for instance Egypt, Phoenicia, Libya, Arabia and most importantly to Aeschylus, the Danaan people (Sandin

2021, 138–42). Inachus is not mentioned as a person in the present drama (cf. 497 [to be updated]), where Zeus, Io, and Epaphus are promoted as the seminal “holy family” giving rise to the Danaans and the peoples of the world.

The internationalization of the “Inachids” may have been a comparatively late innovation. West (1985, 154) guesses for the sixth century for “the addition of Aigyptos, Belos, Libye, and Kyrene” to this genealogy (the last mentioned being a hypothetical inference). Some of the fragments attributed to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* include references to descendants of Io who established kingdoms outside of Greece, which West (1985, 135–36) dated in its entirety to the sixth century. Whether this dating is correct, or the *Catalogue* is a more ancient epic poem or even an authentic work of Hesiod (Janko 2007, 41–43), as was the consensus view in antiquity, the global impact of the family of Io was a current and productive narrative in the fifth century (see e.g., West 1985, 76–78, 82–89, 149–54; Hall 1989, 35–37; West 1997, 442–52; Mitchell 2006, 223), which Aeschylus helped to develop and canonize. In the present drama, Epaphus’ daughter Libya is hinted to have expanded the territory of her family’s reign in north Africa (317). The coryphaeus went on to mention her son Belus, father of Danaus and Aegyptus, who is a mythological transfiguration of the Semitic god or divine epithet Baal (Ugarit. *baʿlu*; Akkad. *bēlu*; Aram. *bēʿēl*; Hebr. *baʿal*; cf. 319n.; West 1997, 446). Another son of Libya by Poseidon was Agenor, who ruled in Phoenicia (E. fr. 819 K ap. Σ E. *Ph.* 6; Pherecyd.Ath. *FGrH* 3 F 21 ap. Σ A.R. 3.1186). According to partly fragmentary statements attributed to Hesiod and authors from the fifth century, his sons were Cilix (E. l.c.; Hdt. 8.91); Phoenix (Hes. frr. 138–39 MW ap. Σ A.R. 2.178, [Apollod.] 3.14.4; E. l.c.; Pherecyd.Ath. l.c.); Thasus (E. l.c.; cf. Hdt. 6.47); Cadmus (Pherecyd.Ath. l.c.; E. l.c. — or did E. here suggest that Cadmus is the same person as Phoenix, changing name when moving to Thebes?—, *Ba.* 171; Hdt. 4.147); and Cepheus (Hdt. 7.61, 7.150; E. fr. 881 K ap. [Apollod.] 2.1.4). Europa may be the daughter of Agenor or Phoenix (Il. 14.321; Hes. frr. 138, 140, 141.7–8 MW; Hellenic. *FGrH* 4 F 51 ap. Σ ‘D’ Il. 2.494). She speaks in [A.] fr. \*\*99 R, which I agree is not by Aeschylus (it is found written in the very suspect “Didot papyrus”; Weil 1879). But according to the dominant canon, Zeus impregnated her as well, his great-great-great-granddaughter (and grandniece), like Io in bovine shape, conceiving Minos, king of Crete, Sarpedon, king of Lycia (cf. 869), and Rhadamanthys, functionary of the underworld (e.g., Hes. fr. 141.9–15 MW). Further names exist and conflicting genealogies, often chronologically problematic with respect to the

events that the prominent characters are said to have taken part in, for instance the Trojan war. It is not known which family tree Aeschylus would have accepted, but perhaps he agreed not only that Agenor ruled in Phoenicia, but that his son Phoenix gave his name to this entire land, Cilix to Cilicia in Asia Minor (cf. 551), Thasus to the island of Thasos, that Cadmus founded Thebes, and that Cepheus ruled in Ethiopia. Probably he had heard from Hesiodic poetry or other sources that Danaus and Aegyptus had a sister Thronia, who conceived Arabus, the eponymous ancestor of the Arabs, by Hermes (Hes. fr. 137 MW [+ Stesich. fr. 60 P] ap. Str. 1.2.34 [C 42]), and beside Europa two other prominent cousins once removed Phineus, who ruled in Thrace (Hes. fr. 138, 157, 254 MW ap. Σ A.R. 2.178; Pherecyd.Ath. l.c.; cf. A. *Eu.* 50–51, fr. 258–260 R), and Adonis, who was loved by Aphrodite (Hes. fr. 139 MW; Sapph. fr. 140, 214 V). These were all descendants of Epaphus, as were the Danaids, eventually giving their name to the Danaan people. A genealogical tree could look for instance like this (geographical or geopolitical eponyms in bold type):



See West 1985, 177–78; Hall 1997, 84–85 for expanded versions of some of the branches. Accordingly, the entire earth, more or less, “cry out”, “call on” or “laud” this prosperous, life-engendering γένος: not the person of Epaphus, but his extended family and the peoples and

lands taking their names from its preeminent representatives. This extended reference of γένος is confirmed in 588–89 and 593–94. On the use of the accusative with βοάω and similar verbs, see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 48 ff. and Diggle 1994, 437–39: “an accusative with βοᾶν ... expresses the content of the βοή”. Here as in *E. Hel.* 1107–11, the internal accusative is followed by a verbatim quotation of the cry, in which γένος is the implicit subject. The mere mention of Egyptians, Libyans, Phoenicians, Cilicians, and later Danaans, may be counted as instances of “lauding the race”.

The race of Epaphus is φυσίζοον, “life-producing”, that is multiplying, as evidenced visually on stage by the chorus itself, representing, while not actually encompassing, fifty Danaids. In early epic poetry, the epithet is used of fertile land (*Il.* 3.243, 21.63, *Od.* 11.301; *h. Ven.* 125), the true etymology of the -ζοος suffix being not ζωή but probably ζειαί, “wheat” (see Kirk 1985 on *Il.* 3.243–44; *EDGO* s.v. ζειαί). The association of love and human fertility with natural growth and material prosperity is a prominent leitmotif in the drama and trilogy, in the finale of which Aphrodite herself holds a speech where sex is associated with the growth of nature, claiming both under her authority and responsibility (fr. 44 R). This attribute of the seed of Epaphus, its abundant fertility and strength, is ultimately the result of its hailing from Zeus.

I find no merit in the current consensus reading φυσιζόου (Schütz 1797), which makes the construction with internal accusative impossible, instead introducing direct quotation from 584, and making further emendation to τόδε, an easier reading, necessary. The epithet φυσίζοος suits the abstract γένος but not the person of Zeus, belonging to the impersonal sphere of nature. Only very late does the word appear as a personal epithet (cf. *AP* 11.400; Nonn. 39.146).

ἦ Ζηνός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς alludes to a perceived etymological kinship between -ζοον and Ζήν. Zeus means life (cf. above, 574–75n.; *E. Or.* 1635; *Pl. Cra.* 396a; Cook I 11–12 n. 5; Pfeiffer 1938, 9). This popular etymology is underscored by ἀληθῶς in a manner similar to 47 εὐλόγως, 545 ἐν αἴσῃ (see 544–46n.). Direct quotation is introduced by ἦ, as per Headlam’s (1904) emendation (τὸ δὴ M). The position of the particle is thus unproblematic, counting as initial. It should be observed that what is put forward here is not strictly the authorial view, nor even that of the personae of the Danaids, but the *faith of the world* in this truth, that Zeus is the origin of Epaphus and the Heroic races of the world. See Denniston 279–80 on the “subjective certainty” of the particle ἦ, not used (in Homer and prose authors) by the authorial voice, but in speeches of depicted personae. I have elsewhere asserted (Sandin 2021, 144 n. 63) that the choral voice in the case of Aeschylus in matters of religion

is close to the personal truth of the author, though. Through the double affirmation with ἦ and ἀληθῶς one may perhaps here, similarly to ἀψευδεῖ λόγῳ in 581, imagine a critique of the impious falsehood of certain rationalising accounts, if such circulated already in the early fifth century, like the one found in Herodotus (1.1), who claimed that it was Phoenician merchants who raped Io and brought her to Egypt (he attributes this version to Persian λόγιοι). The seminal role of Zeus, Io and the Argives in the population of the world and construction of national identities is also revisionist to the point of full inversion of the view of Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F 119 (ap. Str. 7.7.1[321 C]), who claimed that the Peloponnese and “almost all of Greece” were once the home of barbarians.

The Pelasgians are mentioned as an example of the barbarians that once inhabited Greece in Hecat. l.c. (cf. 253n.), as well as “Danaus from Egypt” and “the Phoenicians coming with Cadmus”. These specifications could be the additions of Str. to his cited source (cf. Jacoby ad loc.). But the notion that the Pelasgians were Greeks and the essential, genetical and spiritual Hellenism of Danaus and his daughters and relatives arguably promoted in the Danaid trilogy do not seem to have attained canonical or consensus-view status at any time. About a century later, Isoc. *Helen.encom.* 68, *Panath.* 80 considers Danaus to be an invading barbarian (see 538–73n.).

**586–87. τίς γὰρ ἄν:** see 574–99n. As FJW observe (II 471), γὰρ is somewhat illogical in relation to what has just been said, but it will not gain in precision with Schütz’s φουσιζόου, as they argue, nor is logical precision wanted. See Denniston 61–62 on “illogical” γὰρ, and 85 on the ellipsis “who (else)”. **κατέπαυσεν Ἥρας νόσους:** see 576–78n. **ἐπιβούλους:** often as here merely “with hostile intent”, without the notion of scheming and conniving (cf. LSJ ἐπιβουλεύω I 2–4). The intent is that of Hera, transferred by enallage.

**588.** As reported in the apparatus criticus, a small papyrus scrap, *PVindob.* inv. G40458 (Sijpesteijn 1980, 92 + Taf. 1), preserves remains of vv. 586–90. The papyrus offers no surprises apart from this line, which when compared with the preceding lines seems to offer room for no more than approximately ten letters before **τόδ’ ἄν**. The reason could perhaps be abbreviations of **καί**, **ἔργον**, or possibly **Διός** (the last is not attested in McNamee 1981 or McNamee 1985).

**588–89. λέγων ... κυρήσαις:** for the construction, formulaic in inquiries of names especially in drama, cf. Ag. 1232–33 τί νιν καλοῦσα ... τύχοιμ’ ἄν, fr. 281a.14 R; Fraenkel on Ag. l.c.; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 826–27; Arnott 1996, 307. Aeschylus here supplies the answer to an inferred question τί γένος; and as has already been asserted (583–85n.), it is not the individual baby Epaphus, but (τὸ) ἐξ Ἐπάφου (γένος), his descendants as a collective. **τόδ’**

ὄν γένος repeats γένος τόδ' in 584, and its exact significance is here explained: the race of humans that descends from Epaphus.

**590–91. τίν' ὄν θεῶν:** see 574–99n. on the possibly orientalisising influence on these questions. An echo of the orientalisising style, now pejorative, is offered by the chorus of Oceanids in *Pr.* 160–63, addressing the enchained Prometheus:

τίς ὦδε τλησικάρδιος  
θεῶν, ὅτῳ τάδ' ἐπιχαρῆ;  
τίς οὐ ξυνασχαλαῖ κακοῖς  
τεοῖσι, δίχα γε Διός;

*Who of such ruthless heart exists of gods, for whom this is gratifying? Who joins not in distress over your evils, apart from Zeus?*

**ἐνδικωτέροιςιν ... ἐπ' ἔργοις:** The phrase is ambiguous, but the primary sense, “for the sake of more just deeds”, cannot be excluded. The justice and righteousness of the acts of Zeus, his merciful saving of Io and the creation of the race descending from Epaphus, have been and continue to be comprehensively praised. ἐνδικωτέροιςιν includes a reference to these accomplishments as acts of justice in themselves. However, as first observed by Weil and elaborated on by Fraenkel on *Ag.* 997 (who overlooks Weil but refers to Wecklein 1902 and Headlam 1900), the adjective may also be understood as “justifying” in specific relation to **κεκλοίμαν**, i.e., “deeds that justify our calling him”. These deeds of Zeus are especially pertinent with regard to the Danaids, the descendants of Io and the youngest and most promising representatives of the race created. **εὐλόγως** supports this hint. The translation is free at this point, taking both senses into account. See also 595–96n. ὅπ' ἀρχαῖς δ'.

**592–94.** All the roles here described of Zeus are relevant in relation to the Danaids being justified to call upon him (see 590–91n.) and stated in temporal order: Zeus is the *gardener*, or literally **φυτουργός**, “breeding-worker”, that is the conceiver and deliverer of Epaphus (592); he is **γένους ... τέκτων**, “builder of the race”, that is the creator of the extended breed represented by the Danaids (593–94); and he is the *remedy of all*, that is the last great hope for a positive outcome of the present situation (594). All three denominations should preferably be taken as predicates of <αὐτὸς ὁ> **πατήρ**, which results in the kind of short and

simple predications that we might expect to be asyndetic, with οὐριος Ζεύς finally put in apposition.

The list of panegyric nominal epithets of Zeus is representative of the style that Norden (1913, 222) called *essentielle Prädikationsart*, “essential style of predication”, typical of “oriental” religion (see 574–99n.). We are not allowed to claim exclusive rights to certain religious styles of discourse for certain ethnic or geographical groups, but Norden presents many concrete examples of the so-called dynamic and essential styles and is arguably correct to identify tendencies as typical of defined groups. If one is allowed to recognize tendencies, it may also become possible to discern influences in either direction. According to Norden, the essential predication is “as common to the peoples of the Orient, as it is foreign to those of Classical antiquity” (1913, 222, cf. 177–201, 223–39). In the essential style, Zeus is τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, the All-Remedy (594), similarly to, e.g., Ps. 27:1 *The Lord is my light and my salvation*. It should be noted that such kinds of predications do occur, while uncommonly, in ancient Greek religious discourse, typically perhaps in examples that has been identified as belonging to philosophical (and sometimes “Orphic”) tradition, famously A. fr. 70 R (ap. Clem.Al. *Strom.* 5.14.114.4, Phld. *Piet.* p. 22 Gomperz).

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ’ οὐρανός·  
Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα, ἧ τι τῶνδε ἴτοι ὑπέρτερον.

Zeus is the Sky, Zeus is the Earth, Zeus is the Heavens:  
Zeus is all things, and whatever is above those.

**592.** <αὐτός ὁ> πατήρ: the corresponding verse of the antistrophe (597), while partly corrupt, is certainly a trimeter, necessitating the supplement of half an iambic metron here. Heimsoeth’s (1861, 14) restoration from the scholium produces exact responsion. Put at the beginning of the verse, αὐτός seems like a proper response to the question τίς ἂν θεῶν posed in the previous verse: “which god should I call on with greater justice? *The father himself* is...”. Zeus is often αὐτός in relation to other gods in Homer, or simply αὐτός (*LfgrE* I 1634–35). Compare the assembly held in Il. 8.4: αὐτὸς δὲ σφ’ ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ’ ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον, “Zeus himself (‘as opp. others who are less prominent’, LSJ s.v. αὐτός I 1) addressed them; and all the gods listened”. This image is similar to the situation described in 595–96, where



ὑπό also appears, and may have influenced Aeschylus here. The gods sit and listen, subordinated to the authority of the highest power, Ζεὺς αὐτός. Cf. Il. 4.167 Ζεὺς ... | αὐτὸς ἐπισσείησιν, 17.630 πατὴρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀρήγει, 18.58 Ὀλύμπιος αὐτὸς ἐγείρει, Od. 6.188 Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν (cf. 526n.). Together with the scholiast paraphrase, the Homeric parallels indicate that αὐτός with strong confidence can be restored to the lost parts of the verse.

FJW and FB adopt the supplement φυτουργὸς <αὐτὸς> αὐτόχειρ attributed to Voss, which finds a parallel in S. *Ant.* 52 αὐτὸς αὐτουργῶι χερί. The corruption would amount to an easy case of haplography (cf. Havet 1921, 80–81), and the style is impeccable in itself, but it becomes less convincing as an answer to the previous verse. Through its position after φυτουργὸς and the lack of the definite article, the stress of αὐτὸς is here put entirely on Zeus in the role as “gardener”, whereas in the present context, where he is compared with the other gods mentioned in the previous verse, and compared also in the following with hypothetical κρείσσονες, we expect to find a wider significance and scope to αὐτός. A lesser objection is that the metrical responsion ~ – ~ – ~ is rare at the beginning of antistrophic iambic verses, not found in Aeschylus, and perhaps only in S. *OT* 194~207 and E. *Supp.* 1157~1163. As such, the initial form – ~ ~ – is certain in *Th.* 154~161 and Ag. 768~778. The latter instance seems to have been overlooked by FJW (597n.), who argue that the sequence should be banned from the initial position of iambic di- and trimeters in Aeschylus.

Sommerstein supplies <αὐτὸς> πατὴρ without the definite article, arguing that the split resolution –ὸς ὁ is problematic (thus also obelizing ἐσορῶντες in 568, q.v.). I would contend that the definite adjective and article form a sufficiently close unit together with the determined noun to make the resolution unexceptionable, in addition that the exact responsion of this double determinate to the contrapuntal negated indefinite οὐ τινος in 597 is very attractive (see ad loc.).

Bowen suggests that **φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ**, Zeus’ “gardening by own hand”, hints at midwifing, which I find attractive. See 313n. [to be updated], 580n.

**593–94. γένους ... τέκτων:** Zeus is the ancient architect of the race, building the future. With this important statement the Danaids make explicit the claim that they have hitherto hinted at, that his affair with Io was planned and devised in order to create the glorious family that descends from her. The seduction was not the result of irresponsibility and uncontrolled desire, but a justified divine intervention.

**594. τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ:** Zeus is the *remedy* of all, but the noun also implies intention, plan, and purpose. When it comes to the actions of Zeus, everything happens according to a plan, with a view to a beneficial outcome, hopefully also for the Danaids. Zeus Μαχανεύς may have been worshipped in Argos (Cook II 1144 n. 2; Lyceas epicus, *Suppl.Hell.* 527 ap. Paus. 2.22.2). **οὔριος Ζεύς:** occurring first here, apparently already metaphorical, the epithet is later attested as a cult-title of Zeus (Cook III 142–57). Gods dispensing οὔριος are commonplace in Homer, Διὸς οὔριον (-ον) being formulaic (Il. 14.19, Od. 5.176, 15.297,

*h.Ap.* 427), but always with reference to the fair wind of a sea voyage. The successful voyage of Danaus and his daughters across the Mediterranean may here be taken as emblematic for their success in general (cf. 29, 134–40). See further van Nes (1963, 7–11) on οὔρος and its derivatives in Aeschylus.

**595–96. ὑπ’ ἀρχαῖς δ’:** West suggested the dative plural in the apparatus criticus, but adopted (with Page and Bowen) Blaydes’s (1895) ἀρχαῖ in the text. The dative case is paralleled in similar phrases denoting abstract power and authority in *Pers.* 58 ἔπεται δειναῖς βασιλέως ὑπὸ πομπαῖς, *Eu.* 521 σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ σθένει. But the plural is an improvement over the singular with regard to critical economy and style, producing a close phonetic echo to 591 ἐπ’ ἔργοις, linking this phrase conceptually by a balancing (Denniston 165) adversative δέ: his *works* – under *no one’s rule*. This is attractive enough to convince me to adopt the dative plural in the text. The corruption is easy and fairly common (FJW III 366). The accusative ἀρχὰς (MΣ) is certainly impossible.

At least before Menander (*Mis.* fr. 5 S ap. Σ Od. 17.442), the accusative with ὑπό is found in a similar sense only in relation to the process of becoming subjugated, ὑπό τινα ποιεῖσθαι (Th. 4.60.2; Pl. *R.* 348d), ἐδεδούλωτο ... καὶ ἦν (“had become”, with aspect attracted to the previous pluperfect) ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος (Hdt. 7.108). The genitive singular ὑπ’ ἀρχᾶς (Md), implying agent or cause, is accepted by LSJ s.v. θαάζω, Murray 1955, FJW, Sommerstein, and MCL. This reading is tentatively translated as “sitting by no other’s mandate” by Jebb (I 207), who is rightly sceptical, but wrong in his endorsement of Elmsley’s (1811, 81) ὑπαρχος, which is feeble and prosaic.

The negation οὐ may be formally valid for the predicate verb as well as for the participle (KG II 199 Anm. 1). Arguably *ad sensum* it is relevant not for the verbs as such but for their subordinate modifiers. The position of the negation after the adversative ὑπ’ ἀρχαῖς δ’ puts it in emphatic relation to this phrase in particular (Cooper-Krüger II 1117, IV 2722). By inference it goes also with τὸ μεῖον κρείσσονων. Zeus does rule throning, but not under someone’s authority, nor a lesser part than superiors. Cf. Cooper-Krüger II 1114–15, IV 2721 for some examples of the remarkable freedom of association of the Greek negation in proximity to participles. For clarity with regard to the sense and syntax, orthographic division is introduced before τινος here and in 597. **θαάζων:** the verb is found ten times in Euripides meaning “speed”, “haste”, but nowhere else in this sense until the third or fourth century AD. It is used once by Sophocles and once by Empedocles, but nowhere else, in the sense “sit”, in the former case of a suppliant posture (*OT* 2), in the latter of the throning at the peak of wisdom (DK 31 B 3.8; v.l. θαμίζειν). Plutarch and the grammarian Philoxenus assent to the reading and sense in Sophocles (Philox.Gramm. fr. 7 Theod. ap. *EM* 460.8, etc.; Plu.

*Quomodo adul.* 22e–f). Modern scholarship accepts the etymological feasibility of both meanings (Chantraine s.vv.  $\theta\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ). The evidence is somewhat exasperating, but we seem to have to accept both senses or rather verbs as real. If they were identically pronounced, one suspects that the contemporary audience of the play must have had as much difficulty as we with the ambiguity, but perhaps the verbs are not true homonyms, if the one derived from  $*\theta\acute{o}(\text{f})\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (cf. *EDGO* s.v.  $\theta\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ) had a long  $\tilde{\alpha}$ , the other short.

With the scholium, most scholars have preferred the sense “sit”. Hermann, FJW, FB, and Sommerstein choose “speed”, on the rationale that the poetry describes what Zeus does *not* do. “One who follows the command of a superior has to hasten”, Hermann. Still, the participle is here applicable to the religious vision of Zeus underlying the image, showcasing the philosophical and theological commonplace of effortless, seated power (MCL compare Xenoph. DK 21 B 23, 25, 26; cf. 98–103n., 576–78n., 580n. above). The text does not mention commands or biddings, but reads **κρατύνει**, “rules”, even if referring to one subordinated under ἀρχαῖς. If the image is conceptualized as that of the subordinate authority rather than of Zeus himself, it remains that of ruling, not ministering or serving. The role described is then that of a satrap or vassal king, not a minister.

**τὸ μείον κρείσσωνων κρατύνει**: the style has raised questions about the integrity of this verse, all except the last word obelized by Page. However, the metre is intact and the syntax coherent. Aeschylus elsewhere uses κρείσσονες of gods (fr. 10 R ap. Hsch. κ 4041), and the etymological kinship of the adjective with **κρατύνει** and κράτος (perhaps in 597) makes the word particularly apt here. Cf. *Ag.* 60 ὁ κρείσσων (with the note of Frankel), *Pr.* 903; *E. Ion* 973; *Pl. Sph.* 216b, *Euthd.* 291a; Wilamowitz 1931, 19; Headlam 1901, 396 (on *Ch.* 957 κρατεῖ πῶς τὸ θεῖον). For the abstract neuter adjective in the comparative determined by the definite article, cf. *S. OC* 598; Thgn. 269, 1286. The definite aspect may seem unwarranted here in comparison to those cases, in view of the hypothetical situation, the indefinite **οὔ τινος**, and the non-existent superiors. τι for τὸ might perhaps be considered an improvement, the resulting synapheia paralleled by those in the previous two strophic pairs (559, 562–64~571–73, 584, 578~586). But possibly the definite article could here hint at the case of lords having varying rank being a familiar phenomenon, known in the case of the Homeric heroes and gods, e.g., *Il.* 8.4 cited above, 592n.

**597–99.** The indefinite **οὔ τινος** answers to the demonstrative αὐτὸς ὁ at the corresponding place in the beginning of the strophe; the contrastive effect looks intentional (see 592n.). The

anaphoric repetition of the previous οὐ τινοῦς is regular with asyndeton. ὥς ἔπος σπεῦσαι looks like a variation of the commonplace ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (LSJ s.v. ἔπος II 4; cf. *Pers.* 714), “to hasten the word”, perhaps “to sum up”, referring to the Danaids’ present discourse, in preparation of the emphatic rhetorical question that will end the ode. Cf. Pl. *Plt.* 262b ἐπέσπευσας τὸν λόγον. I do not take ὥς connected with σπεῦσαι as indicative of synapheia; the intervening ἔπος allows a following pause, which before this verb has poetical value, emphasizing it and the important final question (cf. 527–28 γένει σῶι || ἄλευσον).

In contrast, the understanding of the scholium and most critics of **πάρεστι ... σπεῦσαι** as referring to the actions of Zeus, “it is in his power to hasten the deed as (fast as) the word”, is awkward and very unsatisfying. The emendation of Portus, σπεῦσαι τι τῶν βούλιος φέρει φρήν, which was long thought to be the final word on the passage, eased the application of σπεῦσαι to Zeus slightly, but this reading is now obsolete (see 599n.), and in reality, to “hasten”, “urge on” or “exert oneself to execute”, which is what σπεῦσαι means transitively in the aorist tense, was always unsuitable to Zeus, whose actions, as repeatedly emphasized in this drama, are executed effortlessly (see 98–103n., 576–78n.). To perfect an action with the nod of one’s head (92) is not to σπεῦσαι; the verb refers not to the swiftness of the action as such, but to the exertion and haste exercised by its agent. Occasionally, when a human is the actual worldly agent, a god or divinity may be said to σπεύδειν, either in order to lend power to one in need, A. fr. 395 R ap. Stob. 3.29.21 φιλεῖ δὲ τῷ κάμνοντι συσπεύδειν θεός, “God tends to lend his own zeal to one who tires”, or conversely to work demonic influence, E. *IT* 201–2 σπεύδει δ’ ἀσπούδαστ’ ἐπὶ σοὶ δαίμων, “A daemon urges upon you that which should not be urged”. But nothing similar is intended here, where the acts of Zeus Himself, independent of humans, are concerned. To let **πάρεστι** determine this verb, “it is in his power to exert himself”, only makes the expression more incredible. **κάτω** is also suspect, obelized or emended by most, being possibly an intrusion from the scholium. κράτος (Heath) or κράτη (Voss) may be right (cf. 596n., Ag. 258 ἤκω σεβίζων σὸν ... κράτος).

Taking **ἔργον** as the subject (LSJ s.v. ἔργον IV 1b–c; cf. Hes. *Op.* 454 πάρα δ’ ἔργα βόεσσιν) and emending the text to σέβειν κράτος πάρεστιν would remove the curiously feeble and enfeebling reference to Zeus’ powers. “There is no need to worship the power of anybody sitting above (him)”. This would be true for Zeus himself, who is the subject of the previous clauses, as well as for the Danaids and mankind in its entirety. Three words in a row would have to be altered, though.

**599. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν;** West (1990b, 147–48) adopted Keck's (1851, 16) forgotten emendation τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς (τῶν δούλιος M) and has rightly been followed by Bowen, Sommerstein and MCL. Cf. 823, Ag. 1488 τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται; τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν; In relation to verse 596, on the question of lesser and greater powers, one could perhaps here identify an allusion to the boast of Poseidon in Il. 15.194, οὐ τι Διὸς βέομαι φρεσίν, “I will not live after the mind of Zeus”. According to the theology of Aeschylus, even Poseidon may have to.

**600–624.** Danaus returns and describes in picturesque detail the democratic decision that the Argive people (605n.) has taken to offer asylum and certain rights to the fugitives. While Greek democracy was instituted in Athens in the lifetime of Aeschylus, he treats it as an ancient feature of Argive society, and the audience are invited to identify with the ancient Argives as representing “the Greek (or Athenian) way”. On this passage in relation to contemporary Athenian politics, see Rhodes 1992, 67–68 and Petre 1986, who suggest that the pro-democratic political climate of the 460s, leading to the reform of Ephialtes in 462/1, may have influenced Aeschylus to support and showcase the institutions of democracy.

**600–601.** Page takes these lines together as a syntactical unit, removing the stop after 600 (so first Heimsoeth 1861, 65; cf. Tucker; Griffith 1986). I believe that this must be correct. The expression, like the following one of the Danaids, is that of a foreigner to whom the phenomenon of democracy is novel and intriguing. Hence, in τῶν ἐγχωρίων δήμου and τὰ ... παντελῆ ψηφίσματα, the technical terms are qualified by an epithet expressing the learner's pedagogical elaboration. The entire former compound expression qualifies the latter in the same manner. Not simply “the deme” and “the decree”, but “those all-authoritative *vote-decrees* of the *deme* of the natives”. This is a contrast to the all-powerful king with “mono-electoral nods” that the Danaids have earlier assumed (370–75, with lyrical, not learner's elaboration) to be a universal feature of political life, and indeed to the absolute monarchy, παντελῆ μοναρχίαν, of the Thenes of Creon in S. Ant. 1163. The elaborate expression coming from Danaus would seem “clumsy” and “redundant” (FJW) in the mouth of a contemporary Athenian but is a characteristic expression of the *ēthos* of an intelligent foreigner recently learning of such things. For the same reason, Heimsoeth's (ibid.) λαῶν is detrimental, removing much of the alienating emphasis. Butler's δήμωι may be worth considering (cf. 605). All things equal, εὔ seems best taken with δέδοκται, which needs a

predicate modifier, which is syntactically equivalent to and arguably answered by the interrogative ποῖ κεκύρωται in 603, where the Danaids' request clarification. One wonders if a large portion of the audience would not have understood it in this way, regardless of how large a pause the coryphaeus makes after 600. A new asyndetic clause, which syntactically looks as if it is part of the previous one, would have been a cause of some confusion.

In cases of enjambment after definite article, the noun determined is usually placed first in the subsequent verse, but cf. *Ag.* 1056–57 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου | ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα, *Ch.* 193–94, *Eu.* 913–14. In these elaborate cases of separation, in particular where the predicate verb intrudes between the article and noun of the subject, the article is properly to be regarded as a demonstrative, or perhaps more accurately a determinative pronominal adjective (Lat. *is*), a remnant of the Homeric use (e.g., *Il.* 1.348). *ea suffragia incolarum bene decreta* “they have been well decided, the vote-decrees of the natives”. See Fraenkel on *Ag.* l.c.; cf. also *Pers.* 796–97, *Ag.* 882–83, 1641–42, *Ch.* 240–41. As several of these examples show, there is no ground for restricting these separations of the determinative-adjectival article from its noun to cases of persons, as Denniston–Page on *Ag.* 1056–57 suggested for iambic passages of tragedy (this mistaken notion is tacitly retracted by Page here).

**601. ψηφίσματα:** attested first here, the noun is derived from ψηφίζομαι, “vote”, also first in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1353). A reference to actual pebbles is not necessary, the generalization of meaning having occurred earlier, the practice of voting with and without pebbles being more ancient than institutional democracy. The noun properly refers not to the act of voting but to the result, the thing voted for. Later the singular number is always used in the meaning “decree”; here one may perhaps imagine that each item described in 609–14 was put to vote separately. At any rate, the complex decree with a number of paragraphs makes the use of the plural natural, “things decided by vote”.

**602. πρόσβυ:** not necessarily respectful or affectionate, as shown for instance by *S. OT* 1121 οὗτος σύ, πρόσβυ (Oedipus to a slave), ‘*Cypr.*’ 16 B ap. D.L. 2.117 (on which see Obbink 1996, 544–48), nor inherently condescending, as shown by the many examples collected by FJW, but neutrally signalling the perception that the addressed person is of advanced age.

**603.** The imperative ἐνίσπε δ’ is Robortello’s correction of the deep and inexplicable corruption ἐνόσπερ, perhaps one of the indications that M might have been copied from a minuscule exemplar. The verb ἐννέπω is exclusively poetic, of distinguished epic flavour (cf. *Od.* 1.1), but adopted as standard diction in tragedy set in the Heroic ages and earlier. On the form of the imperative, paralleled (*metri gratia*) in *Od.* 4.642, *h.Cer.* 771, *Theoc.* 25.34, perhaps A. fr. \*\*25d R, see Sommerstein; Chantraine 1958, 467. On the postponement of δ’ after the vocative, certainly preferable to asyndeton and the standard Homeric form ἐνίσπες,

Denniston 189. **ἡμιν**: West introduces the enclitic form of the pronoun here, for which the evidence is sufficient to make it probable in this position of the clause. See Barrett pp. 346–47, 424–25. **ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος**: arguably echoing εὖ ... δέδοκται παντελῇ ψηφίσματα, requesting clarification (see 600–601n.).

**604. δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ**: The Danaids now (in contrast to 370–74) understand the concept of democracy. On the analytical periphrastic expression, see 544–46n.; and cf. E. Cyc. 119 δεδῆμενται κράτος, fr. 626.1 K (ap. Stob. 4.7.1) δήμῳ δὲ μήτε πᾶν ἀναρτήσης κράτος, also Od. 11.353 τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ δήμῳ. The last-mentioned example occurs in a situation very similar to the present one, the king (Alcinous) deliberating in assembly (the Phaeacian lords) over whether to offer assistance to a suppliant in need (Odysseus). But in this case, the message conveyed is the exact opposite to the present one: “His [sc. the king’s] is the power in the *dēmos*.” In the case of the comparatively democratic polity of Pelasgian Argos, some ambiguity remains as to the scope of the powers of the people and the king. Cf. 398–99, where Pelasgus described himself as κρατῶν, although not fully sovereign (οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου). Ancient Greek democracy, both in practice and theory (e.g., Thuc. 2.65.8–10), typically included a prominent component of strongman populism.

The noun δημοκρατία and cognate verb δημοκρατέομαι, implicitly current from the periphrastic expression, are not attested as such before Hdt. 4.137.2, 6.43.3, although attributed in later sources to sayings and letters of men of wisdom of the archaic era. The abstract noun is ill suited to iambic verse. Ar. adopts verse-initial ὃ δημοκρατία (*Ach.* 618, *Av.* 1570), and τὴν δημοκρατίαν (*Pl.* 949), which is hardly acceptable in tragic trimeter.

**ὅπη πληθύεται**: Portus’ emendation (χειροπληθύεται M) is convincing, the local adverb introducing a visual metaphor, suggesting that the hands of the collective multiply in a spatial direction, similar to a water rising. The middle or passive voice of the verb is attested in this sense in Hdt. 2.24.1, 2.93.5 (v.l.), referring to the Nile inundation, which has been a topic here in the preceding choral ode (559–60n.). Cf. also Il. 2.142–49, where the πληθὺς of Achaeans addressed by Agamemnon is likened to a water affected by powerful winds (in that case, the counsel affecting the people is bad). Parallels to the relative local adverb in the context of decision-making are found in Semon. fr. 1.1–2 W τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει [... | ...] καὶ τίθησ' ὅκη θέλει, E. *Or.* 1545 τέλος ἔχει δαίμων [... | ...] ὅπῃ θέλη. Here, κεκύρωται τέλος may be visually integrated in the spatial metaphor, the flood of hands reaching a final destination. Victorius’ ὅποι may be worth considering as an alternative to ὅπη, seeing that ποῖ in the previous verse is arguably a correlate rather than asyndetically coordinated with the

relative or indirect interrogative (so FJW; against Dindorf's [1841] <θ'>, adopted by West, see also Sommerstein, who prefers to take the clause as explanatory asyndeton). The simple corruption by haplography assumed by Portus' emendation tips the balance in its favour, though.

Together with Ag. 1370 and the phrase ὁ δῆμος πληθύνων, "the people majority", in early inscriptions from Athens and Elis (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 105; *Schwyzer* 410, 412; see Ryan 1994), the present passage implies that the verbs πληθύνω and perhaps πληθύνω belonged to the early terminology of political democracy. In Ag. l.c., an old man of the chorus says πληθύνομαι, perhaps "I am decided by majority opinion", which may be, in the quasi-comical setting, an awkward use of a term with which he (like the old men of contemporary Athens, perhaps) is not entirely at home. His intended meaning seems clear enough, that his is the majority opinion (even though this might not be strictly true). In the present case, the term may be more accurately applied: the ruling hand of the people "is multiplied", "forms a majority".

FJW, following Fraenkel on Ag. 1370 and Pearson (1917, II 322) on S. fr. 718, demonstrate that there is at least a fifty-fifty chance that πληθύεται is correct against Blomfield's (1824, 201) -ύεται, adopted by most editors after Hermann, including Sommerstein and MCL. We may add that there is a strong case for critical economy here. Apart from consensually recognized corruptions of forms of πληθύνω into πληθύνω being hard to find, whereas the opposite change seems to be common (vv.ll. and emendations presenting forms of πληθύνω are read by consensus in *Pers.* 421, Ag. 869; S. *OC* 377, 930 against mss. readings featuring -υν-), we should note that the paradosis χειροπληθύεται makes it clear that the scribe has written down something that was incomprehensible to him. Whereas corruption from less into more common and recognized morphology is commonplace (and the transitive πληθύνω is very common in Biblical Greek and later), two independent mechanical errors within the space of a few letters in copying an incomprehensible text is exponentially more unlikely than a single error.

Σ πότερον πλείους οἱ συμμαχοῦντες ἡμῖν ἢ ὀλίγοι looks as if the scholiast has read something in the style of †χεῖρον ἢ† πληθύεται, which suggests that the corruption here is much older than M. An independent corruption of an original πληθύνεται is certainly possible, but the evidence for this verb is not sufficient to conclude that it is more likely than the paradosis. It would even be possible to argue that Ag. 1370 may be a corruption of πληθύνομαι, seeing that πληθύνω is not safely attested elsewhere before the mid-fourth century B.C., and then apparently properly in the context of scholarly prose pertaining to the life sciences (Arist. *HA* 587b τὸ γάλα πληθύνεται, *Thphr.* *CP* 3.1.4 πληθυνόμενα [sc. φυτά] ταῖς τροφαῖς, etc.). The weightiest argument in favour of Blomfield's emendation has been the demonstrably short υ in *Pers.* 421 ἐπλήθυον. Against this, FJW refers to



Schultze (1892, 344) who observes that  $\bar{u}$  is regular and in fact occurring almost without exception in forms of the present stem of denominal  $-u\omega$  verbs in drama, in the cases where the quantity can be determined (there is a strong tendency towards anceps positions). But *Pers.* l.c. is an exception. With respect to this form, which Schultze takes as a relic of older diction, it should be observed that the quantity of  $u$  in  $-u\omega$  verbs is in general highly variable (cf. LSJ s.vv. ἀπύω, δύω, θύω, λύω, μηνύω, φύω, etc.), and that the evidence in the case of denominal verbs may not be sufficiently extensive to formulate certain rules. It may not be without significance that Schultze found evidence for both short and long  $u$  in drama in the case of κωλύω, the most common of the presumably denominative  $u$ -verbs. Perhaps the quantity of  $u$  in such verbs is not subject to strict observance at all in poetry, apart from the demands set by the verse itself. The evidence may perhaps rather suggest that the convention of poetic tradition allows *metri gratia* adaptation in the case of all  $-u\omega$  verbs, as in the case of φύεται Thgn. 357 but φύεται 1164; μήνυε *h.Merc.* 254 but μηνύειν 373. The middle-passive ending  $-u\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  invariably scans  $-\sim-$  in iambs but  $\sim\sim-$  in hexameter, e.g., [A.] *Pr.* 908 and E. *Heracl.* 419 ἐξαρτῦεται vs. Sol. 27.11 W καταρτῦεται.

**605–14.** The language is that of a formal decree in an official inscription, with a sequence of oblique clauses dependent on ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν in 605 or τόνδε ... λόγον in 608. Cf. ML nos. 14, 23, 31, 46. The decree is analysed in detail by Petre 1986, 26–27 (cf. above, 600–624n.), who adduces further parallels from Athenian inscriptions; see also FJW 609–14n.

**605. Ἀργείοισιν:** significantly not “Pelasgians” in this context, i.e., the subjects of king Pelasgus (cf. 617), but citizens of the *polis* Argos and Greeks residing in the capital of Greece.

**605. οὐ διχορρόπως:** virtually unanimously, as confirmed in 607, there being no doubt as to which side the scales will drop, no significant degree of dissent. Cf. 403 ἑτερορρεπής.

**606. ἀνηβῆσαι με γηραιῶι φρενί:** a certain correction by Musgrave (ἀν ἡβήσαιμι M). On the repeated rejuvenation of Danaus (775, fr. 45 R), see Sandin 2021, 154.

**607. δεξιόνμοις:** a hapax, likely invented by Aeschylus. The expansion of δεξιός is not semantically nor emotionally indifferent but emphatic, “the hands that are called right”, underlining the auspiciously positive quality of the right side as opposed to the left (pace FJW, rightly Bowen), and reminding of the sense “assurance, pledge, treaty” of δεξιά and δεξιὰ χεῖρ. For the right hand as a poetical trope, even in secular situations such as battle and dining always in some degree indicative of the good, strong and dependable, cf. Il. 2.341, 7.108 (+ 2x Il., 4x Od.); Hes. *Th.* 178–79; Thgn. 758; Pi. fr. 146 M; A. Ag. 1405 (blasphemous). See Sandin 2022 on the significance of the gods gathered on the right and the left side of the East frieze of the Parthenon.

**609. μετοικεῖν:** it is not clear to which degree the concept of μετοικία (on which see Harrison 1968, 187–99, Whitehead 1977) was formalized in law at the time of Aeschylus, but

the occurrence of the affiliated technical term *προστάτης* later in the play (963) suggests that the law is relevant. We should not make too much of it here, though, or in particular consider the precise legal implications of the formal status of a *μέτοικος* as opposed to a *πολίτης* or *ἄστος* of very great importance (cf. Wilamowitz 1887, 256–59). Certainly, the Danaids are not made into citizens: as women, they cannot be (still on the assumption that the law of Athens is the proper frame of reference). Danaus could, but accepting him as a citizen would immediately turn the focus of attention unto him, and to his position and rights in relation to his daughters, something which Aeschylus studiously avoids in this play. Aeschylus may also not want to give the impression that the ancient state of Argos gave away citizenships as a matter of course. The implied *μετοκία*, with Pelasgus and the citizens of Argos as *προστάτης* (963–64), will be a minimum requirement for the *polis* to offer, in the present state of emergency, the protection necessary for the plot to unfold. The question of citizenship would be reserved for later, to be properly investigated in the following plays, when the emergency is over; or, more likely, to be ignored, if it so happens that Danaus dies, the Danaids marry, and Lynceus through divine intervention becomes king. **τῆσδε γῆς:** in its earliest attested occurrences, *μετοικεῖν* takes a dative once (Pi. *P.* 9.83), an accusative once (E. *Hipp.* 837, in the sense “change location to”), and here a genitive, seemingly partitive with *μετ-*. Later the verb is found with local adverbs, city names in the dative, and prepositional phrases.

**610–11. ἀρρυσιάστους ... ἀσυλίῃ:** the language is proper legal writing, paralleled in inscriptions. The verbs corresponding to the technical terms, *ῥυσιάζω* and *συλάω*, may mean to seize something while claiming a right to do so, to appropriate according to legal or moral claims, for instance on recompense, restitution of property, or prize of war. FJW and others discuss the sense “not liable to be seized as *surety*” of *ἀρρυσιάστους*, which is too narrow, allowing for only one specific type of appropriation. On *ῥύσιον* and *ῥυσιάζω* see also 315n., 412n, LSJ *συλάω* 3d, LSJ *σύλη*. The decree of the Argives grants not only protection against unlawful violence, but legal immunity against any claims that the Aegyptiads may have on their persons. Similarly for artisans from Delphi working in Athens under the protection of the Amphictyonic league in the third century B.C.: *μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηθενὶ ἄγειν τὸν τεχνίτην τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις συνόδου μήτε πολέμου μήτε εἰρήνης μηδὲ συλλαν μηδὲ ῥυσιάζειν* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1132.82–84). **βροτῶν:** a contractual *force majeure*: the decree guarantees protection only from humans (not gods). The mortals are in legalistic manner exhaustively defined as *μήτ’ ἐνοίκων μήτ’ ἐπηλύδων τινά*.

**613. τῶνδε:** the first-person demonstrative implies that Danaus is quoting directly from the text of the decree at this point, since the people referred to are no longer in his presence. **γαμόρων:** Bowen associates these “landowners” with Athenian *hoplites*, “people of substance enough both to defend the country themselves and to organise others to help”. Cf. Hdt. 7.155.2, Th. 8.21, where γεώμοροι are contrasted to and in conflict with the δῆμος. FJW and Sommerstein, comparing Pl. *Lg.* 737e, argue that they are here understood as citizens in general, in an ideal archaic state where every citizen owned land. Perhaps the contemporary audience of Aeschylus would similarly have read his or her own dreams and ideological viewpoints into the word.

**615–24.** “If the first part of Danaus’ speech has for referent the *text* of Athenian decrees, the second centres on the political *discourse*” (Petre 1986, 27). The expressions found here echo the ruminations of Pelasgus on these matters from the amoibaion and dialogue in 346–79, conveying a vivid image of Pelasgus’ argument before the Argives.

**615. τοιάνδ’ ... ῥῆσιν ... λέγων:** “such was the moving speech” (Headlam), i.e., so *good* as to result in this decree, but perhaps also including the details of the decree as a proposition. For **τοιάνδ’**, cf. *Ag.* 529. Troy is razed, its “seed obliterated from the earth”: τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον | ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης ... | ἥκει, “imposing *such* an oke on Troy, the son of Atreus had arrived”. The metaphorical ζευκτήριον determined by τοιόνδε may in this case be argued to be identical to the destruction of Troy, though, rather than its cause. The indirect, causal reference of the demonstrative pronominal adjective is better attested for τοῖος; cf. *Pers.* 605–6: βοᾷ δ’ ἐν ὧσὶ κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος· | τοῖα κακῶν ἐκπληξίς ἐκφοβεῖ φρένας, *E. Alc.* 64–65 ἧ μὴν σὺ πείσῃ καίπερ ὦμός ὢν ἄγαν· | τοῖος Φέρητος εἶσι πρὸς δόμους ἀνήρ, *Ar. Ra.* 470 (paratragic). Garvie’s (ap. Friis Johansen 1970) emendation τοίαν δ’ is therefore worth considering, although the connecting particle ought then better to be removed.

**ἐπειθε** is absolute, without an expressed object, which in the context of oratory and democratic politics is perfectly natural. The object is the people, the logical subject of 605–14 (FJW’s misgivings about object-less πείθειν are incomprehensible: In Aeschylus, apart from 941 of the present drama, cf. also *Ag.* 1239, in both of which cases the unexpressed object is no more obvious than in the present one). The imperfect aspect of this verb does not usually imply unfulfilled, potentially unsuccessful action, but the ongoing action of successfully persuading: “he was persuasive” (cf. 527n.).

**616–17. Ἰκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον | μέγαν:** it is implied that before the assembly, Pelasgus used a formulation similar to the one given to the Danaids in direct speech in 347: βαρύς ... Ζηνὸς Ἰκεσίου κότος (cf. also 385 and 478–79). There may be a stylistic point to the reverse order of name and epithet here (changed by Burges 1811, 192, followed by FJW, West, Bowen, and Sommerstein), namely to present, in the indirect speech, the impression of a mirror version of the expression given earlier. The less standard word order with the attribute preceding the noun is found in two other instances in the present account of Pelasgus' speech: 619 διπλοῦν μίασμα, 620 ἀμήχανον βόσκημα. The preserved word-order also introduces variety to what would otherwise be a sequence of three pairs of noun + modifier in that order, which may give the expression a monotone quality. Finally, corruption reversing the order of noun and attribute from NA > AN is very rare, probably unparalleled in the case of personal names (a few examples in late mss. involving common nouns are given by FJW ad loc.), whereas the reverse dislocation is common. On the whole, the case for transposition is weaker than the one for retention of the transmitted word-order, even if FJW show that forms of Ζήν is elsewhere used only in cases of metrical necessity in Aeschylus. The latter is to be expected, for in addition to forms of Διός in oblique cases being the default, an option between the two, except in the nominative and vocative cases, is given the poet only when the first syllable falls on an anceps, which is also by default short. The proliferation of forms of Ζήν in the present drama (and the *Prometheus*) is not the result of Aeschylus incidentally having to place the name of the god in certain metrical positions of the verse, though, but an intentional feature of the composition, perhaps intending to reflect either an archaic or a foreign tendency to the speech.

**617–18. προφωνῶν** (Canter's correction of πρόφρων ὦν) takes a double construction with an internal object and a subjunctive μή-clause of fear (cf. 584–85). Unusually but not without parallel, the object rather than the subject of the subordinated clause is attracted to the main clause: see Cooper–Krüger II 987–88 (§61.6.5–7), IV 2671 (§§ 2.61.6.4–6). Here is adopted the text that might have been read by the scholium (so Paley 1878, 11; cf. FJW, Sommerstein): the optative **παχύναι** (Robortello) and the dative **πόλει** (Bothe 1805), the latter not reflected in the scholiast paraphrase (cf. Σ 365–66a, ignoring κάθησθε, Σ 381–84, ignoring βροτῶν, Σ *Ch.* 27–31, ignoring ὕπ' ἄλγεσιν). The corruption could be a minimal acoustic error, [poli:p] being heard as nasal [polĩp]. The dative is unexpected with **παχύναι** (cf. West 1990b, 148), but so intimately associated with κότον and κοτέω from Homer, with

frequent reference to Zeus, that its presence is intuitively acceptable: cf. *Eu.* 800 ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε τῇδε γῆι βαρὺν κότον | σκήψητε, *Il.* 8.449 Τρῶας, τοῖσιν κότον αἶνὸν ἔθεσθε, 13.517, *Od.* 11.102, 13.342 and the verb construed with the dative *Il.* x11, *Od.* x3.

**618. ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἄμα:** see 356n.

**619. μῖασμα:** the threatened suicide. **πρὸ πόλεως:** usually emended to πρὸς, but see FJW. That the pollution should originate from the city, which is how πρὸς with gen. must be taken in combination with φανῆναι, makes little sense either as anticipated reality or political argument. The relevant idea is that the pollution will come upon and have dire consequences for the city, its origin being the Danaids outside of the city. One could argue that the μῖασμα will appear to the gods as emanating from the city, but the next verse shows that the unexpressed indirect object of φανέν is the Argives. Bad things appearing πρὸ πόλεως, πρὸ δωμάτων, etc., is a literary trope: cf. *S. fr.* 799.5–6 R πρὸ Θηβῶν ὠμοβρῶς ἐδαίσαστο | τὸν Ἀστάκειον παῖδα διὰ κᾶρα τεμών, *E. Ph.* 239–42 πρὸ τειχέων | θούριος μολὼν Ἄρης | αἶμα δάιον φλέγει | τᾶιδ', ὃ μὴ τύχοι, πόλει, *Or.* 479–80, fr. 370.40–42 K. For an issue closely related to the present one cf. also *A. fr.* 53a R ὄργα τὸ πρᾶγμα· διεμύδαιν' ἤδη νέκυς, where the source (*Didym. in D.* col. XIV 12–15) could have preserved some of Aeschylus' expression in his subsequent explanation ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς Καδμείας νεκρῶν.

The trisyllabic pronunciation of πόλεως is not found elsewhere in Aeschylean or Sophoclean trimeter, but this is not due to a restrictive principle but to its being rarely congenial to the metre. Trisyllabic πόλεως is common in anapaests and choral odes (*Th.* 164 πρὸ πόλεως, *Supp.* 7, *Pers.* 947, 318); similarly, βασιλέως is usually trisyllabic in anapaestic verse, but attested as tetrasyllabic in trochaic dialogue (*Pers.* 234, *Ag.* 1346). The trisyllabic pronunciation is attested in the sufficiently large corpus of Euripidean trimeters, *Tr.* 1178 offering πρὸ πόλεως. For a preposition in resolved fourth longum, cf. *Th.* 534 διὰ παρηίδων, *Ag.* 1265 περὶ δέρι στέφη, fr. 180.3 R, *Pr.* 273. In fifth longum, *Eu.* 265 ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ.

**620. ἀμήχανον:** echoes 379 ἀμηχανῶ. The future ἀμηχανία will be worse, unless the Danaids are accommodated. Auratus' ἀμηχάνου is worth considering in light of *Eu.* 561 and 769, where this adjective determines synonyms of **πημονῆς**. On the other hand, the word-order in this case would seem to place unwanted stress on the adjective in relation to its determined noun, and the phrase ἀμήχανον τέχνημα beginning a trimeter in fr. 375 R may support the transmitted text (for the rhythmical phrasing, cf. also the previous verse and, e.g., 356, 397, 449, *Th.* 269, 449, *Ag.* 346, 920, 1281). **βόσκημα** is attested for “food”, “fodder” in Aeschylus and Sophocles, besides in the more usual sense of that which is fed. In all three cases (here, *Eu.* 302, *S. El.* 364), the fodder is of a non-material, metaphorical or spiritual

nature. The elevated metaphor on the base of an inherently banausic concept is parodied by Ar. *Ra.* 892, targeting Euripides: αἰθήρ, ἐμὸν βόσκημα.

**621–22. ἔκραν’ ἄνευ κλητήρος:** the correction of Turnebus (ἔκλαναν εὐκλήτορος M) and explanation of the scholium is accepted by most scholars: the assembly raised their hands before a signal was given by “the herald” (τὸν κήρυκα). The unfinished action of the present tense ἀκούων accords with this understanding. The term κλητήρ is not attested in preserved reports of ancient democratic voting procedures, but there is little evidence at all for the process of the decisions of the Athenian ecclesia, especially from the fifth century. Here it seems to mean “herald” or “chairman” (LSJ Suppl. s.v. κλητήρ). Sommerstein compares the καλήτωρ in Il. 24.577. In the context of the Athenian court, κλητήρ is attested in functions in relation to the summons, either “summons-witness” or “summoner” (See Dunbar 1995 on Ar. *Av.* 145–47; Harrison 1971, 85–86; Todd 1993, 125). **χερσὶν ... λεώς | ἔκραν’:** see 623–24n.

As in most recent editions, Pauw’s ὥς is adopted here, even though the short form of οὔτως is poorly attested in tragedy (see FJW and Fraenkel on *Ag.* 930). Without the accent, we would have a consecutive ὥς + infinitive, which could perhaps be acceptable as such, but κραίνω nowhere else takes a consecutive or final clause. The verb takes a predicative complement in 92 εἰ κρανθῇ πρᾶγμα τέλειον. More importantly, εἶναι τάδε without a complement, “they decided for this to be”, seems wrong, as τάδε in this case must refer to the decree in 609–14. But appearing in the same sentence as τοιαῦτα, which refers to Pelasgus speech in 615–20, the first-person demonstrative should refer to something that is closer to the speaker, and indeed normally something that follows the speech rather than precedes it (KG I 646–47). The demonstrative adverb ὥς may refer back to the decree, whereas τάδε takes on a more general sense, as often in tragedy: “the present matters” (cf. 12, 208, 486, 599, *Ag.* 1488).

**623–24. ἤκουσεν** repeats ἀκούων in 621, and its object **δημηγόρους ... εὐπειθεῖς στροφάς** like τοιαῦτα in 621 epitomizes the account of Pelasgus’ speech in 615–20. Both adjectives are attractive as epithets of the speech as such and should not be emended with Bothe and others to refer to the speaker (δημηγόρου) and people (εὐπειθής). The novel phenomena of persuading speech and debate, prominent attributes of democratic society, is still affecting Danaus so as to emphasize the vivid, concrete features of this process (see 600–601n.). While εὐπειθής is used repeatedly by Plato in the passive sense “obedient”, the active

sense of the adjective is valid, found in the only other extant poetic instance, Opp. C. 1.313, but cf. also S. *Aj.* 151 εὔπειστα λέγει. **Ζεὺς δ' ἐπέκρανεν** is adversative to 622–23 λεώς | ἔκραν' (so already Stanley: *Jupiter vero finem statuit*; cf. Fischer 1965, 51). While the words are a close repetition of what has already been said, the conclusion here is one of rectification. The people heard persuasive rhetorical “turnings”—but it was *Zeus* that accomplished the result. FJW argue that the prefix turns the sense of the verb into something like an additional confirmation of the people’s verdict (“authorized”, Bowen), but I believe it is stronger, ἐπικραίνω suggesting overriding, executive control of the course of action, more definitely so than the simple κραίνω. Zeus does not merely give his blessings to the results of the democratic process; he is the author of the outcome. This means that these verses constitute either Danaus’ own correction of his previous statement (so Wellauer 1823; Paley), or a reply of an adversative kind by the Danaids to their father (so Bothe 1830). The former is better, and while the lack of a clear and emphatic acknowledgement of the contradiction is somewhat unexpected, it is perhaps not intolerable. The prefix to the verb may suggest the adding of precision rather than correction.

**στροφάς** appears first here, already metaphorical, but it is unclear which image precisely lies at bottom, and how alive the metaphor is at this stage. I believe the readiness to assign most early metaphorical instances of στροφή to the topic of wrestling is misguided, resting on insufficient and superficially interpreted evidence. LSJ are not useful to understand the metaphorical uses of στροφή and στρέφω, rather haphazardly assigning the various instances to different figurative bases. I suspect that wrestling is never relevant apart from Pi. *N.* 4.93 (cf. also Arr. *Epict.* 4.6.15), where the verb in the active voice alludes to a simple throw or takedown. No more elaborate technical sense than so should be understood.

In the context of verbal discourse, the verb in the middle voice, sometimes in combination with λυγίζω, may properly refer to the expressive body language of a speaker trying to persuade of something. Plato in *R.* 405c and *Euthd.* 302b embellishes this use, offering more or less vague allusions to hunting with nets and perhaps melee combat. Wrestling is irrelevant in these cases, as also in the examples of στροφή in Aristophanes, where a number of different senses seem to be comically intertwined and jokes of a sexual nature apparently often intended.

The noun takes on an obscure obscene sense in comedy, perhaps denoting the dominant *turning* of a “passive” sexual partner around 180° for standing or kneeling intercourse; hence στροφή simply = coitus (from the “active” male perspective). Cf. Ar. *Th.* 68, *Ra.* 775, *Ach.* 346, *Ec.* 1026, *Pl.* 1154, the

last two instances apparently offering the same joke with reference to pandering and prostitution (cf. ἐμπολή in Artem. 1.78, D.C. 79.13). ἔδραν στρέφειν in the context of wrestling in Thphr. *Char.* 27.14 is sometimes cited as evidence for στροφή as referring to wrestling movements, but I believe the technical meaning is here “empty one’s bowels”, in order to avoid involuntary defecation during the strong exertion of the exercise. Cf. the pathological condition ἔδραν ἐκστρέφειν in Asclep. ap. Gal. *De compos. med. sec. loc.* XIII 314 Kühn.

Wrestling and obscenity are irrelevant here, as is a reference to the steering of horses, which has been suggested for Bothe’s (1830) reading στροφήζ, which should be rejected. I should not exclude the possibility that the sense in our case, while originally deriving from the expressive gesturing of the orator or partisan speaker, has been assimilated to the στροφή of poetry, that is part of a song. So probably in Ar. *Ra.* 775, of the λυγισμῶν καὶ στροφῶν of Euripides, and more obviously Ar. *Th.* 68 and Pherecr. fr. 155.9 KA ap. Ps.-Plu. *Mus.* 1141e, alluding to poetry and obscenity. A systematic study of the metaphorical and specialized senses of στρέφω and στροφή should bring further insight.



## Citation and abbreviations

The information supplied here about the manuscripts and their contents is taken from the editions and published scholarship currently available to me, in particular West 1990a (= “West”), West 1990b, Friis Johansen–Whittle 1980 (= “FJW”), and Merkel 1871.

M	Laur. 32.9 (“Codex Mediceus”, 10 <sup>th</sup> century)
Mb	Bonon. Bibl. Univ. 2271 (15 <sup>th</sup> century)
Mc	Guelferbytanus Gud. gr. 4° 88 (ca. 1495, by Michael Suliardus)
Md	Scorial. T.I.15 (ca. 1540)
Me	Par. Gr. 2886 (ca. 1518–21, by Arsenius)
Π	P. Vindob. G 40458 (2nd century, ed.pr. Sijpesteijn 1980).

M <sup>ac</sup>	Ms. before correction
M <sup>pc</sup>	Ms. after correction
M <sup>sl</sup>	Variant reading recorded above the line in ms.
M <sup>yp</sup>	Variant reading recorded in margin of ms.
Σ	Scholia

Secondary literature is normally referred to by last name(s) of author(s) and year of publication. The following editions and standard reference works are cited with simplified references or abbreviations, except in instances where ambiguity or awkward style entails. For abbreviations other than those explained here, refer to LSJ (Greek authors and works; inscriptions and papyri; general abbreviations on pp. xliii–xlv, Suppl. pp. xxx–xxxii) and *OCD* (Latin authors and works; general abbreviations on p. xxix). Some ancient author names not listed in those sources may be abbreviated when identified by reference to a published edition. For some ancient work titles not listed in these sources, easily deciphered abbreviations of the titles currently listed in the *TLG Canon* have been used.

AHS = Allen–Halliday–Sikes 1936  
ARV<sup>2</sup> = Beazley 1963  
B = Bernabé 1996  
BAPD = *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* (see  
List of all cited secondary literature below)  
Barrett = Barrett 1964  
Borr. = de Borries 1911  
Bowen = Bowen 2013  
Butler = Butler 1809  
C = Casaubon 1597, Casaubon 1620

Canter = Canter 1580  
Chantraine = Chantraine 1968–1980.  
Cook = Cook 1914–1940  
Cooper–Krüger = Cooper–Krüger 1997–2002  
Dale = Dale 1971–1983  
de Marco = de Marco 1932  
Denniston = Denniston 1954  
Denniston–Page = Denniston–Page 1957  
Diels = Diels 1879  
DK = Diels–Kranz 1951

Dyck = Dyck 1983  
*EDGO* = *Etymological Dictionary of Greek Online*  
 (see List of all cited secondary literature below)  
 FB = Furley–Bremer 2001  
*FGrH* = Jacoby 1923–1958  
 FJW = Friis Johansen–Whittle 1980  
 Fraenkel = Fraenkel 1950  
 Garvie = Garvie 1986, Garvie 2009  
 Gigon = Gigon 1987  
 Gomperz = Gomperz 1866  
 Griffith = Griffith 1983  
 Heath = Heath 1762  
 Hermann = Hermann 1852  
 J = Jebb 1722–1730  
 Jacoby = Jacoby 1923–1958  
 Jebb = Jebb 1887–1900  
 K = Kannicht 2004  
 KA = Kassel–Austin 1983–  
 KG = Kühner–Gerth 1898–1904  
 Kinkel = Kinkel 1877  
 KS = Kannicht–Snell 1981  
 Kühn = Kühn 1821–1833  
 L = Lentz 1867–1868  
*Lfgre* = Snell 1979–2010  
*LIMC* = Various 1981–2009, *Lexicon*  
*Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*  
*LKA* = Ebeling 1953  
 LSJ = Liddell–Scott–Jones 1996  
 M = Maehler 1989  
 MCL = Miralles–Citti–Lomiento 2019  
 ML = Meiggs–Lewis 1988  
 MW = Merkelbach–West 1968  
 Nilsson = Nilsson 1967  
*NP* = Cancik–Schneider 1996–2002  
*OCD* = Hornblower–Spawforth 1996  
 P = Page 1962  
 Page = Page 1972  
 Paley = Paley 1879  
 Pap. = Papathomopoulos 2007  
 Pauw = de Pauw 1749  
 Pf. = Pfeiffer 1949–1953  
 Portus = Tavonatti 2010  
 Pow. = Powell 1925  
 R = Radt 1985 or Radt 1999  
 Radt = Radt 2002–2010  
 Robortello = Robortello 1552  
 Roscher = Roscher 1884–1937  
 Rose = Rose 1886  
 S = Sandbach 1972  
 Som. = Sommerstein 2008  
 Schibli = Schibli 1990  
 Schwyzer = Schwyzer 1939–1950  
 Sev. = Severyns 1963  
*SLG* = Page 1974  
 Smyth = Smyth 1920  
 Sommerstein = Sommerstein 2019  
 St. = Stallbaum 1825–1826  
 Stanley = Stanley 1663  
 Stef. = de Stefani 1909–1920  
 Stephanus: see List of all cited secondary literature  
 below.  
 Taplin = Taplin 1977  
 Theiler = Theiler 1982  
 Theod. = Theodoridis 1976  
 Threatte = Threatte 1980–1996  
*TLG Canon*: see List of all cited secondary  
 literature below.  
 Trendall = Trendall 1967  
 Tucker = Tucker 1889  
 Turnebus = Turnebus 1552  
 V = Voigt 1971  
 vdV = Valk 1971–1987  
 Victorius = Victorius 1557  
 Vürtheim = Vürtheim 1928  
 W = West 1989–1992, West 2003  
 Weil = Weil 1866  
 West = West 1990a  
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- Askew ms. = Anthony Askew’s marginalia in Cambridge University Library Adv. b.51.2 (see West 1990b, 366).
- Auratus ms. = emendations attributed to Auratus (Jean Daurat) in the margin of one or more of the following sources: London National Art Library Dyce 113.9 Q 2; Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson G 190; British Library 11705 d.2 (see West 1990b, 358–62).<sup>1</sup>
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<sup>1</sup> For his edition of 1990, Martin West collated these and other sources of early emendations on Aeschylus written down by critics and their contemporary students in the margins of copies of early printed editions (see West 1990b, 358–65 for a full account). In private communication of August 2001, I received tables of West’s collations of nine such manuscript sources of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emendations pertaining to the *Supplices*, containing much information not published in his edition.

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