

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

AESCHYLUS
SUPPLIANTS

EDITED BY ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN

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ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN
University of Nottingham



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PREFACE

I first became interested in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* as a result of the teaching preferences of the late Molly Whittaker, to whose post at Nottingham I succeeded on her retirement in 1974. In those days Nottingham Classics undergraduates began Part II of their degree course in April of their second year, and consequently, when I took over in the autumn, they had already studied *Suppliants* as the first component of their Tragedy special subject; the experience of teaching the play then stimulated my first significant publication on tragedy (Sommerstein 1977).

In the 40 years since then, and even in the 10 years since my Loeb edition of Aeschylus, I have changed my mind about many things, large and small, in this play. I have taken the view that readers are entitled to know why I am departing from my own previously expressed opinions, and I have accordingly referred more often than is customary to positions that I once held but hold no longer. On the other hand, by the advice of the series editors, I have restricted my references to other recent editions, and instead make a general acknowledgement here of the great debt this edition owes to the work of Holger Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, of Pär Sandin, and of A. J. Bowen.

I have learned much too from many other scholars over many years, and regret that I am not in a position to catalogue all those from whose assistance I have benefited or tried to benefit. One of my most recent benefactors, however, deserves a very special mention: Vittorio Citti, who not only made freely available to me, well in advance of publication, the edition of the play which he has created together with the late Carles Miralles, but also read through my near-final draft with great care and saved me from some serious errors. The differences between us on fundamental questions of text-constitution have in no way diminished his enthusiasm for our common goal of understanding this play and, so far as may be possible, the tetralogy of which it was part. His collaborator Liana Lomiento has likewise shared with me the results of her work on the lyrics, much of which might otherwise have proved hard to access.

I am most grateful for the assiduity, and the patience, of the current series editors, Richard Hunter and Neil Hopkinson. All their many suggestions for improvement have been worthwhile and thought-provoking, even those which after careful consideration I decided not to adopt. If some of those decisions were wrong, that, like all other errors, is my sole responsibility.

Nearly 30 years ago – it happened to be on that auspicious day when the Berlin Wall was broken down – I published in this series an edition of another Aeschylean play, *Eumenides*. I began my preface then with a

salute to Pat Easterling. I shall end this one in the same way. Through the half-century and more since I first came into contact with Pat, what she has done to help me, and to benefit our discipline, its scholars and its students in Cambridge and everywhere, is beyond measuring and can only be admired and praised. Let this book serve as another tribute to her name.

Alan H. Sommerstein
Nottingham, February 2018

ABBREVIATIONS

In general, abbreviations follow the style of LSJ (including its *Revised Supplement* (ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford, 1996)) or of *OCD*^t, though in some cases fuller forms are used.

Fragments of tragedy and satyr-drama are cited from *TrGF*; for Aeschylean fragments the numbering of Sommerstein 2008 is also given where it differs. Fragments of comedy and mime are cited from *PCG*. For other collections of fragments the editors' names or initials are normally given.

The Teubner edition of Aeschylus (M. L. West 1990a) and the editions of, or commentaries on, *Supp.* by Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980 ('FJW'), Sandin 2005, Bowen 2013 and Citti and Miralles 2018 ('Citti-Miralles') may be cited by editors' name(s) alone.

A.	Aeschylus
Ant.	Antiphon
Ap. Rh.	Apollonius Rhodius
[Apoll.]	Pseudo-Apollodorus (the mythographer)
Ar.	Aristophanes
Arist.	Aristotle
GL	D. A. Campbell, <i>Greek lyric</i> (5 vols.), Cambridge, MA, 1982–93
Hclld.	<i>Heracleidae</i> (Euripides)
h.Herm. etc.	<i>Homeric hymn to Hermes</i> (etc.) (<i>Hymns</i> 1–5)
h.Hom.	<i>Homeric hymns</i> 6–33
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones and R. Mackenzie, eds., <i>A Greek–English lexicon</i> , 9th edn, Oxford, 1968. Revised supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford, 1996.
<i>OCD</i> ^t	S. Hornblower and A. J. S. Spawforth, eds., <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> , 4th edn, Oxford, 2012
PSchubart	W. Schubart, <i>Griechische literarische Papyri</i> , Berlin, 1950
Radt	<i>TrGF</i> III
Σ	scholium/scholia
T	Testimonia in <i>TrGF</i> III 29–108
Thg.	<i>Theogonia</i> (Hesiod)
WD	<i>Works and days</i> (Hesiod)

Metrical Symbols¹

—	a long (heavy) syllable ²
∪	a short (light) syllable
×	<i>anceps</i> (a syllable that may be of either kind)
o o	aeolic base (two syllables, at least one of which must be long)
	pause
	end of strophe

<i>an</i>	anapaest (∪∪ — ∪∪ —)
<i>an</i> _Λ	catalectic anapaests (last <i>metron</i> shortened to ∪∪ —)
<i>anacr</i>	anacreontic (∪∪ — × — ∪ —)
<i>ar</i>	aristophanean (— ∪∪ — ∪ —)
<i>ba</i>	bacchius (∪ — —)
<i>ch</i>	choriamb (— ∪∪ —)
<i>cr</i>	cretic (— ∪ —)
D	— ∪∪ — ∪∪ —
d	— ∪∪ — (cf. <i>ch</i>)
D ²	— ∪∪ — ∪∪ — ∪∪ —
<i>da</i>	dactyl (— ∪∪)
<i>doch</i>	dochmiac (× ∪∪ ∪∪ × ∪∪)
<i>doch</i> _Λ	syncopated dochmiac (∪ — — —)
<i>dod</i>	dodrans (— ∪∪ — ∪ —)
E	— ∪ — × — ∪ — (cf. <i>lek</i>)
<i>enn</i>	enneasyllable (× — ∪ — ∪∪ — ∪ —)
<i>gl</i>	glyconic (o o — ∪∪ — ∪ —)
<i>hag</i>	hagesichorean (× — ∪∪ — ∪ —)
<i>hipp</i>	hipponactean (o o — ∪∪ — ∪ —)
<i>ia</i>	iambus (× ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪)
<i>ia</i> _Λ , _Λ <i>ia</i>	syncopated iambus (∪ — —, — ∪ —)
_Λ <i>ia</i> _Λ	doubly syncopated iambus (— —)
<i>io</i>	ionic (∪∪ — —)
<i>io</i> _Λ	catalectic ionic (∪∪ —)
<i>ith</i>	ithyphallic (— ∪ — ∪ —)
<i>kaib</i>	dochmius kaibelianus (× ∪∪ × ∪∪ ∪ —)
<i>lek</i>	lekythion (— ∪ — × — ∪ —)

¹ When, in the analysis of a particular passage of strophic lyrics, metrical symbols are placed one above another, the upper symbol or symbols relate to the strophe and the lower to the antistrophe. In the abstract description of a metrical pattern, on the other hand, a notation such as ∪∪ merely indicates the existence of alternatives.

² Before a pause, a short syllable may take the place of a long one; this phenomenon, known as *brevis in longo*, often helps to determine the position of pauses.

<i>pher</i>	pherecratean (o o – ∞ – –)
<i>sp</i>	spondee (– –)
..	modified by anaclassis ³
<i>c</i>	expanded by insertion of <i>ch</i>
<i>d</i>	expanded by insertion of <i>da</i>

³ The term ‘anaclassis’ is applied to various kinds of ‘redistribution of long and short positions within a colon or metron’ (M. L. West 1982: 191). In the two instances recognized in this edition (the second and third cola in the strophic pair 58–62 = 63–7), it refers to the replacement of the sequence – ∞ – ∞ – by – ∞ – ∞ – or vice versa. The marker .. is placed before the abbreviated name of the colon if the double-short comes earlier than in the normal form of the colon, after it if the double-short comes later.

INTRODUCTION

1 AESCHYLUS

Aeschylus was born, probably at Eleusis, in or about 525/4 BC;¹ his father Euphorion is said to have been a member of Athens' ancient aristocracy, the Eupatridae (A. T 1.2 *TrGF*). He made his debut as a tragic dramatist between 499 and 496 (T 52), but he did not win first prize until 484 (T 54a); in 490 he had taken part in the battle of Marathon (T 1.10; 2.2–3; 11–13; 54; 162.3–4), where his brother Cynegeirus met a heroic end (Hdt. 6.114 = T 16), and a decade later he fought at Salamis and Plataea (T 1.11–12, partly confirmed by his younger contemporary Ion of Chios, *FGrH* 392 F7 = T 14).

From 484 to the end of his career A. won first prize 13 times in all; particularly after the death of his great rival Phrynichus about 473,² he must have been victorious almost every time he competed, though he is said to have been defeated by the young Sophocles in 468.³ Probably in 470⁴ he was invited to visit Sicily by Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse; on this visit he restaged *Persians* (T 56) and produced a specially composed play, *Aitnaiai*

¹ This was clearly the preponderant ancient tradition, as evidenced by statements that he put on his first production at the age of 25 (A. T 2.4 *TrGF*) in the 70th Olympiad (500/499–497/6) (T 52), that he was 35 when he fought at Marathon in 490 (T 11), and that he died in 456/5 at the age of 69 (T 3) – though some sources (T 1.50, 2.9, 5.3) imply various later birth dates. The date 525/4 may be based on family tradition (A.'s family remained important in the Athenian theatrical world for two centuries) or may have been derived, via a common rule of thumb, by counting back 40 years from an important event in his life, in this case his first victory in 485/4; it cannot in any case be more than a few years out.

² The first line of *Persians*, produced in 472, is a near-quotation of the first line of Phrynichus' play on the same subject (Phrynichus fr. 8), and this is generally regarded as an honorific acknowledgement such as would not have been made to a living rival.

³ T 1.28; Plut. *Cim.* 8.8–9 = T 57. Sophocles did win his first victory in 468 (*FGrH* 239 A 56), but the participation of A. in this contest may be later embroidery of the story (see Scullion 2002: 87–90). A. defeated Sophocles with the production of which *Supp.* was part (see §11).

⁴ The date is inferred from the fact that A. wrote *Aitnaiai* for this occasion, combined with the fact that in 470 Hieron entered and won the chariot-race at the Pythian Games (a victory celebrated in Pindar's *First Pythian*) as a citizen of Aetna rather than of Syracuse. A.'s ancient biographer (T 1.33) links the production of *Aitnaiai* with an earlier visit to Sicily in 476/5, the year of the actual foundation of Aetna; but it is unlikely that Hieron would have chosen to invite A. at that time, when Phrynichus was still living and at the height of his fame.

(*The Women of Aetna*, or perhaps *The Nymphs of Mount Etna*⁵), in honour of the new city of Aetna recently founded by Hieron.⁶

About 80 plays attributed to A. were known to ancient scholars.⁷ From almost all of them some textual material (though often very scanty) has survived in the form of ancient quotations, and from several we have fragments of actual ancient copies of the script ('papyri'); but after about AD 300 it appears that only seven of them were still being read, and it is these seven that survived through the Middle Ages and can be read and performed today. In the headnotes (ὑποθέσεις) prefixed to the texts in some ancient and medieval manuscripts, and sometimes in other sources, we are given some information about the original productions. The surviving plays, in their probable chronological order, are as follows:

- 1 *Persians* (Πέρσαι), which won first prize in 472 as the second play of a production which also included *Phineus*, *Glaucus of Potniae* and a satyr-drama about Prometheus (T 55); the χορηγός, who financed the production and shared the prestige of its success, was the young Pericles.
- 2 *Seven against Thebes* (Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας), which won first prize in 467 as the third play of a production which also included *Laius*, *Oedipus* and the satyr-drama *Sphinx* (T 58).
- 3 *Suppliants*: on its date see §11; on the accompanying plays see §3.
- 4–6 *Agamemnon* (Ἀγαμέμνων), *Choephoroi* (Χοηφόροι, 'Women bringing drink-offerings to a tomb')⁸ and *Eumenides* (Εὐμενίδες), which together with the satyr-drama *Proteus* constituted the *Oresteia*⁹ and won first prize in 458 (T 62–5); this was probably A.'s last production in Athens.
- 7 *Prometheus Bound* (Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης). No statement about its production survives, and on linguistic, metrical and other grounds this play is thought by many to have been composed and produced after A.'s death and falsely attributed to him.¹⁰ It is generally supposed to have been produced together with *Prometheus Unbound* (Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος); it has been suggested that both plays were actually the work of A.'s son Euphorion, who is known to have successfully produced a

⁵ See Grassi 1956: 209; Poli-Palladini 2001: 304, 308, 311–13; Sommerstein 2010d: 193.

⁶ He may also have produced one or more other plays, in particular *Glaucus of Potniae* which seems to have included at least one reference, and perhaps several, to Sicily and adjacent territory; see Sommerstein 2008: 17–10, 2012: 99–105.

⁷ Details in Sommerstein 2008: 1 xxii–xxviii.

⁸ This title is often rendered into English as *Libation-bearers*.

⁹ Already known by that name in 405 (Ar. *Frogs* 1124).

¹⁰ See Griffith 1977; M. L. West 1979, 1990b: 51–72; Sommerstein 2010a: 228–32; Ruffell 2012: 13–19. The authenticity of the play has been defended by (among others) Lloyd-Jones 2003 and Podlecki 2005: 195–200.

number of plays which he said were works of his father's not previously performed (T 71).

Five of these seven plays formed part of productions which – contrary to the usual practice of later tragic dramatists¹¹ – consisted of a series of three tragedies presenting successive episodes of a single story so as virtually to constitute one drama in three long acts, followed by a satyr-drama presenting another episode of the same or a closely related story. One other such Aeschylean 'tetralogy' is attested, the *Λυκούργεια* (T 68),¹² and there are so many other plays that can be plausibly grouped into tetralogies or at least 'trilogies' (connected sequences of three tragedies) as to make it likely that A. used this format more often than not.¹³ It apparently enabled him, *inter alia*, to convert the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into dramatic form.¹⁴

A. is credited by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449a15–18 = T 100) with increasing the number of individual actors in tragedy from one to two (before the end of his career, as in the *Oresteia*, the number had risen to three, an innovation which Aristotle credits to Sophocles); Aristotle also says that A. 'reduced the choral part and gave primacy to speech' (a generalization that does not apply very well to *Supp.*).

Some time after the production of the *Oresteia* A. made another visit to Sicily, and there, at Gela, he died in 456/5 (T 1.35–44; T 3). His epitaph (T 162)¹⁵ made no reference to his art but only to the prowess he had shown on the field of Marathon. Two sons of his, Euphorion and Euaeon, became tragic poets, as did his nephew Philocles and several of Philocles' descendants, one of whom, Astydamas II, was the leading tragic dramatist of the mid fourth century.

¹¹ Though Euripides did in 415 stage a production in which the three tragedies (*Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, *Trojan Women*) presented in chronological order three episodes from the story of the Trojan War, with a key feature of the first play (the preservation of the life of Alexandros/Paris, which proved disastrous for his city) being recalled in the last (*Tro.* 919–22). An inscription of the early fourth century (*IG* ii² 3091) refers to a *Telepheia* by Sophocles, evidently a suite of plays about Telephus.

¹² A contemporary, Polyphrasmon (son of Phrynichus), also produced a *Λυκούργεια* (T 58).

¹³ See Gantz 1979, 1980; Sommerstein 2010a: 32–44. A corrupt and garbled sentence in the *Suda*'s entry for Sophocles (σ815) may confirm this if, as seems to be the case, the writer (or his source) was trying to say that Sophocles was the first tragedian who preferred sets of separate plays to connected tetralogies.

¹⁴ See Sommerstein 2010a: 241–53 and (for the Iliadic plays) Michelakis 2002: 22–57.

¹⁵ The epitaph has been suspected of being a later composition (Page 1981: 131–2), but its language points strongly to a fifth-century date (Sommerstein 1996a = 2010c: 195–201; see also 508n.).

2 THE DANAID MYTH

The story of Danaus¹⁶ and his daughters, with its antecedents, goes back to early archaic times;¹⁷ it was already told, at least in part, in the earliest known text to attempt a complete account of the corpus of Greek myth, the *Catalogue of Women* ascribed to Hesiod,¹⁸ and it had an entire epic of 6,500 lines, the *Danais*, devoted to it.¹⁹ Like all Greek myths, this one was told in a variety of versions, but its core was stable, and almost every account known to us²⁰ is consistent with the following outline.

Zeus was attracted to the Argive maiden Io, who thereby incurred the jealousy of Hera; the outcome was that Io was wholly or partly transformed into a cow, and Hera set the ‘all-seeing’ Argus to watch over her until he was slain by Hermes.²¹ Io was then harassed by a persistent gadfly which drove her through many lands until she reached Egypt, where Zeus restored her to human form and, by the touch (ἐπαφή) of his hand, made her pregnant with a son who was accordingly named Ἐπαφος.

The brothers Danaus and Aegyptus were great-grandsons of Epaphus. Aegyptus had 50 sons, Danaus 50 daughters. As a result of some kind of quarrel or suspicion between the two families, Danaus and his daughters fled from Egypt and made for their ancestral homeland of Argos; the sons of Aegyptus, in some versions accompanied by their father, followed after them, and in the end Danaus either agreed to a demand

¹⁶ In the name Δαναός and all its derivatives, the suffix or ending that follows the stem Δανα- constitutes a separate syllable or syllables; thus Δαναή has three syllables and Δαναΐδες four.

¹⁷ Beriotto 2016 provides a valuable study of the history of the myth, especially in archaic and classical times.

¹⁸ [Hes.] fr. 124–9 M–W = 72–7 Most. Io and the Danaids also figured in the pseudo-Hesiodic poem *Aegimius* (fr. 294, 296–7 M–W = 230–2, 234 Most); and in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (327) Heracles is addressed as ‘descendant of far-famed Lynceus’.

¹⁹ See M. L. West 2003: 34, 266–9. Only one quotation survives (*Danais* fr. 1 West); it speaks of the Danaids arming themselves, apparently for battle, beside the Nile. The Danaids likewise have masculine traits in a dithyramb (?) by A.’s contemporary Melanippides, in which they are described as hunting and driving chariots (*PMG* 757). These may be early evidence of the Greek belief that in Egypt gender roles were inverted (Hdt. 2.35.2–3, Soph. *OC* 337–41). The sources are discussed by Garvie 1969: 163–71, FJW 44–50, Gantz 1993: 199–208 and Beriotto 2016.

²⁰ One or two are eccentric, such as Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886, which places the quarrel between Danaus and Aegyptus in Argos, with Aegyptus being driven out, settling in Egypt, and later returning to Argos with his sons – an account incompatible with the well-established story of Io’s flight to Egypt.

²¹ Hermes’ epithet Ἀργεῖφόντης was believed in antiquity to be derived from this exploit; see 305n.

for,²² or himself proposed,²³ a multiple marriage between his daughters and Aegyptus' sons. On the wedding-night all but one of the Danaids murdered their bridegrooms;²⁴ the one who did not, Hypermestra, and her husband Lynceus became the founders of a famous heroic lineage (their grandson Acrisius was the father of Danae the mother of Perseus, and Perseus' son Electryon was in turn the father of Alcmene the mother of Heracles).

In the latter part of the story²⁵ this outline leaves a number of questions open, to which different authors supplied different answers.

(1) Why did Danaus and his daughters flee from Egypt? In *Supp.* the only motive mentioned is the desire to avoid an unwanted, indeed detested, marriage between the Danaids and the sons of Aegyptus.²⁶ Only one other source gives such prominence to this motive – and significantly, this source is another play of the Aeschylean corpus, *Prometheus Bound* (853–69), in which the role of Danaus is not mentioned at all. Whether or not *Prometheus* is A.'s work, it was at any rate composed within a generation of his death and quite likely by a member of his family,²⁷ and it is not surprising that it should keep closer than any other source to A.'s version of the Danaid story.²⁸ Elsewhere, several sources speak of a dynastic conflict between Danaus and Aegyptus;²⁹ but this could have caused Danaus' flight only if it had led to a war in which he was defeated or threatened with imminent defeat, or if he

²² [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5; Hyginus *Fab.* 168.3; Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 10.497; Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2.222. In some accounts the demand had already been made in Egypt, in others it is made for the first time at Argos.

²³ Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886; Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 6.290–1.

²⁴ Σ *Il.* 1.42 locates the marriages and the murders in Egypt; afterwards Danaus and his daughters flee to Argos, where Danaus becomes king. 'One or two' of Aegyptus' sons have survived (it is not explained how), but there is no mention of any attempt by them to avenge the death of their brothers.

²⁵ A.'s treatment of the Io story is considered in §8 below.

²⁶ *Supp.* 8–10, 328–41, 1006–7 (many other passages testify to the aversion, but these are the ones that specify it as the cause of the flight). The question whether Danaus has other motives, not openly avowed in *Supp.*, will be considered in §3 below.

²⁷ The likeliest candidate is his son Euphorion, who according to the *Suda* (ε3800) won four victories with previously unperformed plays which he presented as his father's work.

²⁸ Nothing in the *Prometheus* passage is inconsistent with what is known of the Danaid trilogy, and *Prom.* 857 blatantly echoes the hawk/dove image of *Supp.* 223–4.

²⁹ [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Hyginus *Fab.* 168.1 (who says Aegyptus wanted to kill Danaus, and his daughters too, in order to obtain sole power); Σ *Il.* 1.42; Σ *Prom.* 853; Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886 (setting the quarrel in Argos, as noted above); Servius on *Aen.* 10.497.

was in fear for his life. The idea of a war is found in at least one early source, the epic *Danaïs* (fr. 1 West), which moreover implies that the daughters of Danaus themselves took part in the fighting (it speaks of them 'arming themselves' beside the Nile);³⁰ but no subsequent source mentions or implies a war in Egypt. Several, on the other hand, speak of Danaus being afraid of the Aegyptiads ([Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4) or afraid of being killed by them.³¹ When a specific reason for this fear is given, it is always the same: a warning given to Danaus by an oracle, which is reported in three forms:

- (a) That the sons of Aegyptus, or one of them, would kill him (Σ *Prom.* 853, Σ *Iliad* 1.42, Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 6.290–1; cf. Σ Eur. *Or.* 872).
- (b) That he would be killed by his son-in-law (Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2.222).
- (c) That he would be killed by the bedfellow of his daughter (implied by Σ *Il.* 4.171 which says he had told his daughters to kill whoever attempted to take away their virginity).

The question whether such an oracle figured in A.'s version of the story is bound up with the question whether *Supp.* was the first or the second play of its trilogy, and will therefore be discussed in §3 below. We can, however, note immediately that version (a) of the oracle, though reported by the majority of the relevant sources, cannot have been used by A.: an oracle in those terms might well cause Danaus to put as much distance as possible between himself and his brother's family, but it would not explain the more limited decision to reject a *marriage* alliance. Aegyptiads as rejected suitors, other things being equal, might well be even more dangerous than Aegyptiads as sons-in-law. An oracle in the form (b) or (c), on the other hand, would motivate Danaus to keep his daughters permanently unmarried (or, as the case might be, permanently virgin),

³⁰ This is probably the earliest evidence for the Greek belief that in Egypt the norms of male and female behaviour and activities were wholly or partly inverted (cf. Hdt. 2.35, Soph. *OC* 337–41). The Danaids' masculine temperament is likewise stressed by the lyric poet Melanippides, a contemporary of A., who speaks (*PMG* 757) of their fondness for hunting and chariot-driving. In two later Latin versions of the story of Amydone (see §3 below), which is set at Lerna near Argos, she is hunting (Hyginus *Fab.* 169) or practising with a javelin (Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2.433) when she attracts the unwanted attentions of a satyr. There is little that can be called masculine, and nothing that is martial, about the Danaids in *Supp.*; on the contrary, they are terrified by the violence of the Aegyptiads and their agents (*Supp.* 734–63, 776–824).

³¹ Σ *Il.* 1.42, Σ *Prom.* 853, Hyginus *Fab.* 168.1.

as his great-grandson Acrisius was motivated by a rather similar oracle to imprison Danaë.³²

- (2) Did Aegyptus come to Argos together with his sons? In A. he apparently does not; at any rate the Herald represents himself as the spokesman of the sons, not of their father (*Supp.* 928), and this is effectively confirmed by Σ Eur. *Or.* 872, which says that 'the majority opinion' (ἡ πολλή δόξα) is that Aegyptus did not come to Argos (citing [Hes.] fr. 127 M–W = 75 Most and Hecataeus fr. 19 Fowler) even though the text on which the scholiast is commenting, and the two other known tragic references (Phryn. trag. fr. 1, Eur. fr. 846), say he did.³³ A. clearly had a choice in this matter; we cannot tell whether he made the choice he did because he felt the presence of Aegyptus at Argos would be an unnecessary complication, or merely in order to vary from Phrynichus' treatment of the story.
- (3) How did it come about that the marriages which Danaus, or his daughters, or both, were so determined to avoid, in the end took place after all? When the initiative for the marriages comes from Danaus (Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886; Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 6.290–1) it is as a ruse to destroy the Aegyptiads. More usually, however, Aegyptus or his sons make the demand, and Danaus accedes to it. In A. this is evidently the result of a war, which is anticipated through much of *Supp.* (first by Pelasgus at 342) and in effect declared by the Egyptian Herald at 950. The nearest approach to this in our other sources is in the account by Hyginus (*Fab.* 168.1–3),³⁴ according to whom Aegyptus' sons besieged Danaus in Argos and forced him to agree to the marriages, which had originally been proposed by Aegyptus as a ploy to facilitate the murder of Danaus. A similar motivation on the part of Aegyptus or his sons may be implied by some other accounts. In Servius (on *Aen.* 10.497) Aegyptus is afraid that Danaus may acquire new allies by making appropriate marriages for his daughters and so, 'devising a deception' (*fraude concepta*), proposes that they be married to their cousins; in pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2.1.5) the Aegyptiads profess to desire a reconciliation, and Danaus agrees, though 'not believing their promises and bearing a grudge against them because of his exile' (the last phrase is echoed by Hyginus, who speaks of Danaus as *dolorem exilii retinens*). We can thus say that while Danaus' enemies may

³² He was told that he would be killed by his daughter's *son* (our first surviving source is Pherecydes fr. 10 Fowler).

³³ Eur. fr. 846 even says that this is the 'most widespread' version (ὡς ὁ πλεῖστος ἔσπαρται λόγος).

³⁴ Cf. Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2.222, who however does not state any motive for Aegyptus' proposal.

try to coerce him (with success) or to deceive him (without success), Danaus' eventual acceptance of the marriages is always insincere (but, in view of the force or fraud being practised on him, excusably so).

- (4) Why did Hypermestra spare Lynceus? Prometheus (*Prom.* 865–6) is made to predict that *μίαν ... παίδων ἥμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ οὐ | κτεῖναι ξύνευνον*. This is formally ambiguous³⁵ (should *παίδων* be construed with *μίαν* or with *ἥμερος*?), but in view of the use of *ἥμερος* and *θέλγειν* in erotic contexts towards the end of *Supp.* (1005, 1040) it is overwhelmingly likely that the meaning is that Hypermestra fell in love with Lynceus³⁶ and spared him for that reason, and this is how the passage was understood by a scholiast (on *Prom.* 853). Some other late sources agree (Σ *Pind. Pyth.* 9.112 [195], Σ *Eur. Hec.* 886), and the same idea probably underlies *Hor. Carm.* 3.11.50–2, where Hypermestra urges Lynceus to make his escape *dum favet nox et Venus*. Others say that Lynceus was spared because he had respected Hypermestra's virginity (*Eur. fr.* 228a.1 (?), [*Apoll.*] *Bibl.* 2.1.5, Σ *Il.* 4.171, Σ *Pind. Nem.* 10.6 [10]).³⁷ Of these two explanations the first would be much more appropriate for A. to use, since the couple Hypermestra–Lynceus would serve as a living example of the mutual desire on whose importance Aphrodite was made to insist so eloquently in *Danaids* (A. fr. 44.1–2).

- (5) Did Danaus attempt to punish Hypermestra for her disobedience, and/or to find and kill Lynceus? (Any such attempts must necessarily in the end have been unsuccessful.) In [*Apoll.*] *Bibl.* 2.1.5, and in Ovid (*Her.* 14.3–4, 131–2), Hypermestra is imprisoned; according to Pausanias (2.19.6, 2.20.7, 2.21.1), doubtless reporting an Argive tradition, she is prosecuted by Danaus before an Argive court but acquitted. Lynceus has meanwhile fled to Mount Lyrceia, north-west of Argos (*Paus.* 2.25.4), and apparently remains there until Hypermestra lights a beacon on the Larisa (the acropolis of Argos) to signal to him that she is 'no longer in any danger'. In a fourth-century tragedy (Theodectas' *Lynceus*; see *Arist. Poet.* 1452a27–9, 1455b29–32) Lynceus' escape appears to have remained undetected until Hypermestra gave birth to a son, after which Lynceus was discovered and condemned to death – but in the end, by what Aristotle regards as a classic *περιπέτεια*, it was Danaus who perished.

³⁵ At least to a reader; in performance it would be disambiguated by pause and intonation.

³⁶ See Winnington-Ingram 1983: 65–6.

³⁷ Ovid in *Heroides* 14 carefully avoids both these explanations, attributing Hypermestra's disobedience to *pietas* (4, 49, 64, 84, 129), which seems to mean that she shrank from incurring the guilt and pollution of murder, particularly the murder of one to whom she had pledged fidelity in the marriage rite (cf. 7–10).

(6) What becomes of Danaus and his other daughters? If Danaus has been told by an oracle that he will perish at the hands of his son-in-law or of a son of Aegyptus, that oracle must somehow have been fulfilled, and Servius (on *Aen.* 10.497) and Lactantius (on Stat. *Theb.* 6.290–1) duly state that Lynceus killed Danaus (cf. also above on Theodectas);³⁸ Σ Eur. *Hec.* 886 says he killed all Danaus' other daughters too. In Ovid (*Her.* 14.117, 121) the sisters have perished, in some unspecified way, while Hypermestra is still imprisoned and Lynceus a fugitive.³⁹ There were other accounts, however, in which Danaus and his daughters survived, with the latter being found new husbands, and at least one of these predated A.'s tetralogy. Pindar's ninth Pythian ode, according to its scholiastic headnote, celebrates a victory gained at the 28th Pythian games, which were held in 474 BC. Pindar tells how one of the victor's ancestors had been a suitor for the hand of the daughter of Antaeus of Irasa. Antaeus, he says,

had heard of Danaus, how once in Argos he found a way to secure a swift marriage, before midday, for forty-eight maidens:⁴⁰ he forthwith had the whole band of them stand at the finish of a race-track, and ordered that the choice be made by a contest in fleetness of foot, whichever of them was taken as his own by one of the heroes who had come as their suitors. (*Pyth.* 9.112–16)

This account is followed by [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5 and elaborated by Paus. 3.12.2: the winner of the race took whichever of the Danaids he wished, the second to finish had his choice of the remaining 47, and so on.⁴¹ A version of the remarriage story was known to Herodotus (2.98), who speaks of a son-in-law of Danaus named Archandros as if the name would be familiar to his readers.⁴² In one account (Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.9–11) the

³⁸ The death of Danaus at the hands of Lynceus probably featured already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*: fr. 129 M–W = 77 Most can be restored to speak of Lynceus avenging a 'great outrage' and then becoming the father of Abas (see Beriotto 2016: 20–2).

³⁹ Yet earlier in the same poem (15) Hypermestra expresses the hope that 'Danaus and my cruel sisters' may repent of their crime.

⁴⁰ That is, all except Hypermestra and Amymone (on the latter, see §3 below).

⁴¹ In contrast with Pindar, however, Pausanias says that there were not enough contenders to take all the Danaids, so that 'those left over had to wait for another concourse of suitors and another race'!

⁴² Cf. Paus. 7.1.6 who gives Archandros a brother Architeles, also a successful suitor, and says they came from Achaia Phthiotis and became powerful at Argos. There has probably been some confusion with the story of the expulsion of Peleus from Phthia (many generations later, at the time of the Trojan War), which in some accounts was perpetrated by Archandros and Architeles, sons of Acastus (Σ Eur. *Tro.* 1128), but the Herodotean reference still shows that an Archandros, son-in-law of Danaus, was known of in the fifth century BC.

remarriages (to Argives) follow Danaus' death, which is *not* caused by Lynceus and seems to have taken place long after the murder of Lynceus' brothers (for the news of the death is brought to Lynceus by his son Abas).

The most famous story about the ultimate fate of the Danaids (largely because of its adoption by Roman poets)⁴³ is that they were condemned to eternal punishment in the underworld by endlessly and futilely carrying water in leaky vessels. In classical times this was said to be the fate of the uninitiated (ἀμύητοι) (Polygnotus' painting in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, Paus. 10.31.8 and 11; Pl. *Gorg.* 493a–c) or of 'the impious and unjust' (Pl. *Rep.* 2.363d); it is first associated with the Danaids in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (371e), a work of the Hellenistic period.⁴⁴ Even if the story is actually of earlier origin (which cannot be disproved, though there is no positive evidence in its favour), it is virtually incompatible with any version of the myth except those in which the Danaids die unmarried and unrepentant.⁴⁵

We can thus see that there is wide variation in several crucial features of the myth. In the next section we shall consider, among other things, what evidence we have of how it was handled by A., particularly in the lost parts of his trilogy.

3 THE DANAID TETRALOGY

Suppliants dramatizes one short episode in the Danaid story: the arrival of Danaus and his daughters at Argos, their successful appeal to the Argive king and people for protection, and the unsuccessful attempt made by representatives of the Aegyptiads (a herald and a band of Egyptians) to seize them. It ends under the shadow of impending war between Argos and Egypt. Unusually, though not uniquely (consider *Eumenides*), the chorus (the Danaids) have a highly active and indeed leading role in the drama; unusually also (and in this case there is no known tragic parallel) there appear to be *two* subsidiary choruses, one of Egyptians and the other probably of Argive soldiers (825–910, 1034–51nn.); this high degree of

⁴³ Lucr. 3.1008–10; Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.25–32; Ov. *Met.* 4.462–3.

⁴⁴ Unless the young women who, in several South Italian vase-paintings datable to the mid/late fourth century (notably Policoro 38462 = *LIMC* Danaides 7) are seen pouring water into a large jar, are to be identified as Danaids *and* located in the underworld; in most recent discussions this is for various reasons regarded as unlikely (see e.g. Gantz 1993: 207; Papadopoulou 2011: 33–4; Beriotto 2016: 107–9).

⁴⁵ Unless, as was suggested by Keuls 1974: 56–7, 72–4 (cf. Papadopoulou 2011: 30–4), the task was imposed on them for a limited time as a purification rite (for the purification of the Danaids, preceding their remarriage, cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5).

chorality, which carries with it a high ratio of sung to spoken verse, is one of the features that formerly persuaded most scholars to regard *Supp.* as A.'s earliest surviving play (see §11 below).

This episode – the reception of the fugitive family at Argos – is one that is at most implicit in other tellings of the myth, and one that places great emphasis on the role of the Argive king and people, whose acceptance of a supplication involved them in a dangerous war, a war in which they were certainly not victorious – for the marriages between the Danaids and the Aegyptiads, which the war was fought to prevent, in the end took place after all. Some of the main issues highlighted in the play will be discussed in §§4–8 below.

From the time when scholars first appreciated A.'s tendency to present his plays in connected tetralogies, it was regarded as obvious that *Supp.* must have been part of such a suite, and not the final tragedy, since its lack of 'closure' was blatant. As early as 1809⁴⁶ Δαναΐδες was identified as the third play of the suite: one ancient quotation (now A. fr. 43) showed that its action was set on the morning after the fatal wedding-night, and in another (now fr. 44) Aphrodite described the universality of her power over nature, implying – contrary to what the Danaids had assumed throughout *Supp.* – that they (except for Hypermestra) and their father had been acting in defiance of the divinely mandated natural order. In 1832 J. G. Droysen identified the associated satyr-drama as Ἀμυμώνη. Amymone was one of the Danaids, of whom pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2.1.4) tells the following tale:⁴⁷

Since the land [of Argos] was waterless, because Poseidon had dried up the springs in anger with Inachus because he had testified that the land belonged to Hera, [Danaus] sent out his daughters to fetch water. One of them, Amymone, while searching for water, threw a javelin at a deer and hit a sleeping satyr,⁴⁸ and the satyr rose and was eager to have intercourse with her. <She appealed for the help of Poseidon>,⁴⁹ and when Poseidon appeared the satyr took to flight and Amymone lay with

⁴⁶ By A. W. Schlegel. The various proposals regarding the structure of the trilogy/tetralogy, and their makers, are conveniently set out in *TrGF* III 112.

⁴⁷ Accounts similar in most essentials (but see next three footnotes) are given by Hyginus (*Fab.* 169, 169a) and Lactantius (on Stat. *Theb.* 2.433).

⁴⁸ This improbable tale (what was Amymone doing with a javelin when she had been sent to fetch water?) appears to be a blend of two versions preserved by Hyginus: that Amymone fell asleep from fatigue while searching for water (*Fab.* 169a) and that she had gone out to hunt (*Fab.* 169). Lactantius offers yet another variant, saying she was practising with the javelin (cf. §2 above on the Danaids as warriors).

⁴⁹ This clause, which is essential to the story, is omitted in (or lost from) the text of pseudo-Apollodorus, but is found in all the Latin sources.

(συνευνάζεται) Poseidon;⁵⁰ and Poseidon revealed to her the springs at Lerna.⁵¹

This reads like the outline of a satyr-drama plot, and one very well suited to be produced together with a Danaid trilogy. The remaining play of the four-play production was usually supposed to be Αἰγύπτιοι, though a minority supported Θαλαμοποιοί (assumed to be the second play of the four, and to be concerned with preparations for the multiple marriage);⁵² no Aeschylean play outside the Danaid tetralogy, except the satyric *Proteus*, is known to have had any connection with Egypt.

The discovery of the papyrus Hypothesis (see §11) threw little new light on the structure of the tetralogy. It gratifyingly confirmed (line 3) that *Danaids* and *Amydone* were the third and fourth plays, but the titles of the first and second had been lost. Nor can anything be inferred from the one surviving fragment⁵³ of *Egyptians* (henceforth so called) (A. fr. 5), which merely reports that the lord of the underworld, Pluto, was called Ζαγρεύς in that play.⁵⁴

We are thus left with the overwhelming probability that *Egyptians* was part of the tetralogy, and must ask whether it preceded or followed *Supp.* The majority of scholars have held, and continue to hold,⁵⁵ that *Supp.* was the first play and *Egyptians* the second. The strongest arguments for this order are the following:

⁵⁰ By making Amydone the subject, pseudo-Apollodorus implies that this union was consensual; two of the three Latin sources, however, say it was rape. In due course Amydone bore a son, Nauplius.

⁵¹ Which bore her name (Callimachus fr. 66.7 Pfeiffer).

⁵² In fact Θαλαμοποιοί was probably a satyr-drama. Several satyr-play titles refer to a servile or menial occupation being practised (often unwillingly) by the satyrs, here that of building-workers; cf. A.'s Δικτυουλκοί, Sophocles' (Πανδώρα ἢ) Σφυροκόποι, and Euripides' Θερισταί. In Euripides' *Cyclops* the satyrs have been forced to tend Polyphemus' flocks. See Seaford 1984: 33–6, O'Sullivan 2013: 31–3. A papyrus fragment (fr. 4511 Radt = 78a Sommerstein) which refers to Priam and the Trojans (lines 12, 25) and to a θάλαμος (line 22) was assigned to Θαλαμοποιοί by Di Marco 1993 and independently by Sommerstein 1996b: 346 (= 2010a: 249).

⁵³ There is nothing to support the attribution of A. fr. 451h to *Egyptians* by Cunningham 1953; see Sommerstein 2010d: 211–12, who suggests it comes from Κρήσσαι and refers to the supposed death of Glaucus and the misery of his father Minos.

⁵⁴ And even this is doubtful, since though the quotation appears in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* entry for Ζαγρεύς (p. 578.7–12 de Stefani) it does not, as transmitted, actually include the name Ζαγρεύς, and if it were not attributed explicitly to Αἰγύπτιοι it would be taken for a slightly corrupt version of *Supp.* 156–7 (five of its seven words are identical with those of the *Supp.* passage). See further 156n.

⁵⁵ See for example Garvie 1969: 185–6, 2006: xviii–xix; Sandin 2005: 9–12; Bowen 2013: 8–10, 27–31.

- 1 The elaborate *parodos* of *Supp.*, with its self-presentation of the Danaids, their situation and their feelings, is more appropriate to the first play of a trilogy than to the second (compare the *parodos* of *Agamemnon* with that of *Choephoroi*).
- 2 *Supp.* contains no less than three accounts of the story of Io and Epaphus (40–67, 291–324, 538–89), which between them cover the subject in such detail that it is hard to suppose that anything substantial could have been said about it in a preceding play.
- 3 ‘At the end of the *Supplices* we are still in the early stages of the action. It is impossible to see how the situation could be resolved in a single following play’ (Garvie 1969: 186).

These are powerful arguments, though not wholly decisive (see below). If they are to be accepted, and *Egyptians* was the second play, it will most likely have been concerned with negotiations in the aftermath of the war which is about to break out at the end of *Supp.* If, as is widely supposed, Pelasgus had been killed in the fighting, Danaus might well have assumed power (whether by popular consent, or by force with the aid of the bodyguard which had been granted to him⁵⁶) and made, on behalf of Argos, a peace which fulfilled the demand that had precipitated hostilities by accepting (of course treacherously) marriage between the daughters of Danaus and the sons of Aegyptus. The title given to the play strongly suggests that its chorus was Egyptian, whether composed of the sons of Aegyptus themselves⁵⁷ or of soldiers in their army (like the Egyptians who appear in *Supp.* 825–953). The action could have been set in or just outside Argos (with an Egyptian delegation coming to negotiate with Danaus) or, perhaps more likely, in the Egyptian camp (with Danaus coming there as the representative of the weaker party suing for peace).

This may not seem much material out of which to make a drama. In *Supp.* tension is created by the fact that the Danaids are asking the Argives to do something that is likely, and seen by Pelasgus as likely, to expose Argos to great danger, and later by the violent irruption of the Egyptian forces from whom the Danaids are saved in the nick of time. There would be nothing like this in *Egyptians*, where Danaus would be offering the Aegyptiads precisely what they had demanded all along, give or take, perhaps, a few stipulations about dowries and the like. Some

⁵⁶ *Supp.* 985–8.

⁵⁷ One might have expected that in that case the play would have been called Αἰγυπτιάδαι, but the titles of Aeschylean plays that formed part of connected trilogies are probably not original (Sommerstein 2002b: 4–5 = 2010c: 15–16) and sometimes do not match their content (e.g. the name Εὐμενίδες appears nowhere in *Eum.*).

tension, however, would be created by the ever-present possibility that the Aegyptiads⁵⁸ might see through Danaus' deceptions: the tragic dramatists love to play with the unrealizable possibility that a myth may fail to reach its known conclusion.⁵⁹ There might also have been other incidents to which we now have no clue, and Danaus' daughters could have appeared as a secondary chorus, perhaps before the arrival of the main chorus⁶⁰ (when Danaus could have concerted his murder-plot with them), perhaps in the final scene⁶¹ (after which the play could have ended with a multiple wedding procession).⁶²

But there are some features of *Supp.* which do suggest that it may *not* be the opening play of the trilogy but may have been preceded by another play, which had a chorus of Egyptians because it was set in Egypt.⁶³

Danaus' last speech in the play (in particular its second half, 996–1013) betrays an almost desperate anxiety that his daughters shall at all costs preserve their virginity and value it 'more than life itself' (1013). This, to be sure, would be an anxiety that every Greek father would feel, to some degree, until he had got his daughters safely married; but no other father, in a surviving text, makes such a song and dance about the matter, and Danaus' tirade is all the more remarkable because his daughters have not given the slightest indication of any tendency to go astray. What is more, Danaus says in effect (1006–7) that if they do go astray, they and he will suffer precisely what they have endured much hardship, and a long sea-voyage, to avoid. We learn here, in other words, that when Danaus fled with his daughters from Egypt, it was not, or not solely, because he or they objected to a marriage alliance with Aegyptus' family in particular; it was because he, or they, or both, were determined that they should remain

⁵⁸ If they were not the chorus (see above), one of their number would have appeared as an individual character, to conduct the negotiations with Danaus; this might be Lynceus, the only one of the 50 who in our other sources is more than a name, or it might (perhaps preferably) be one of those who are unknowingly signing their own death-warrants. All 50 are named by [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5 and by Hyginus *Fab.* 170.

⁵⁹ See Sommerstein 2010c: 209–23. In two surviving plays from the last decade of the fifth century, Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Euripides' *Orestes*, a myth actually does fail to reach its known conclusion until it is put back on the rails by a *deus ex machina*.

⁶⁰ Like the chorus of huntsmen in Eur. *Hipp.* 58–71, or the Frogs in Ar. *Frogs* 209–68.

⁶¹ Like the secondary chorus who sing in *Supp.* 1034–61, or the προπομποί who sing at the end of *Eumenides*.

⁶² In four of A.'s six undisputed surviving plays the final *exeunt omnes* takes the form of a procession (*Pers.*, mournful return of Xerxes to his capital; *Seven*, funerals of Eteocles and Polyneices; *Supp.*, the Danaids escorted into Argos; *Eumenides*, installation of the Erinyes – now *Semnai Theai* – in their new Athenian sanctuary).

⁶³ The following four paragraphs are adapted from Sommerstein 2010a: 102–3.

permanently virgin. Revealingly, too, Danaus seems more concerned with his own interests than with those of his daughters: he begs them not to put *him* to shame (996) and not to give pleasure to *his* enemies (1008–9).

The Danaids' own utterances, long before the reassuring reply they give their father (1014–17), suggest that they fully share his attitude.⁶⁴ They do, of course, frequently express their loathing of their cousins, but there is also ample evidence of a general detestation of men, sex and marriage. They equate marriage with slavery (335–7) and pray that they may never be 'subject to the power of males' (392–3). The very phrase 'the beds of men' prompts them to a cry of horror (142, 152),⁶⁵ they wish for death 'before an abominated man touches my flesh' (788–90, cf. 796–9, 804–7) and they frequently dwell on the miraculous conception of Epaphus (15–18n.). Such attitudes were not thought normal in women (cf. 1003–5, Eur. *Hipp.* 966–7): Danaus must have brought up his daughters to think and feel thus. In *Supp.* 996–1013 he is giving them, so to speak, a booster dose of the same medicine.

His attitude is at least as abnormal as theirs. For the father or guardian of a young woman deliberately to keep her unmarried was considered one of the most grievous wrongs that could be committed against her.⁶⁶ Even in myth, there are few who do this,⁶⁷ and they must have some very powerful motivation, normally fear for their own lives. And we know that in some versions of the myth, Danaus did have such a motivation (see §2), having received an oracle that he would be killed by his son-in-law or by the bedfellow of his daughter. But in *Supp.* itself there is no reference, direct or indirect, to any such oracle; nor can we assume that A. was able to take knowledge of it for granted as a regular part of the myth, for we know that in one quite recent poetic version of the story (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.112–16) Danaus not only survived but himself arranged new marriages for his daughters. Either, then, A. has deliberately left his audience mystified on this important issue, to be enlightened only much later in the trilogy (a common

⁶⁴ This has long been a controversial issue in scholarship on *Supp.*; the position taken here is similar to that of C. Turner 2001: 28–32, who gives many references to earlier studies, and of Citti–Miralles.

⁶⁵ And they pray that they may ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν, which – to judge by the usage of ἄγαμος elsewhere in archaic and classical poetry – should imply that they envisage remaining *permanently* unmarried (141–3n.).

⁶⁶ In Lysias 12.21 the four crimes of the Thirty 'Tyrants' singled out as particularly heinous are the expulsion of citizens from Attica, unjust executions (with denial of burial), deprivation of citizen rights and *preventing the marriage of many men's daughters*.

⁶⁷ The best known are Acrisius (see §2 above) and Aegisthus and Clytaemestra, who keep Electra unmarried (or, in Euripides' *Electra*, marry her off to a poor peasant) for fear that she might bear a son who would avenge the murder of Agamemnon.

technique of modern drama and fiction, but hard to parallel in anything we know of classical tragedy)⁶⁸ – or else they had been informed about the oracle in a *preceding* play. If so, that play can only have been *Egyptians*.⁶⁹ On this hypothesis, the first play would have been set in Egypt, with a chorus no doubt of Egyptian nobles or elders, and would have dealt with the earlier stages of the dispute between Aegyptus and Danaus. The oracle would be known only to Danaus himself, and he would not be able to mention it in public, so he would have had to do so in a prologue.

The hypothesis may be supported by certain allusions in *Supp.* to earlier events, allusions which are decidedly cryptic if we suppose that no play preceded *Supp.* The Danaids say to their father that the sons of Aegyptus are ‘insatiate of battle’ and add ‘I speak to one who knows’ (741–2). This implies that Danaus has waged war against them in Egypt – and this is the only reference in *Supp.* to this war. Why was it not mentioned at the beginning of the play? Because – it may be argued – the audience already knew, from the preceding play, that there had been such a war, and further reference to it at that stage was unnecessary. Again, two passages in *Supp.* imply that under Egyptian law the sons of Aegyptus have the right to claim possession of their cousins regardless of the latter’s own wishes or of their father’s – but this emerges in a strangely indirect way. First Pelasgus asks whether such a law exists (387–91) and receives an evasive answer; later the Egyptian Herald speaks of the Danaids as items of his (meaning his masters’) lost property (916–20), and asks (932–3) ‘who shall I say took away from me this group of cousin women?’ as if, again, they belonged to him by right. Such a right

⁶⁸ Hose 2006 points out that there are several occasions in epic and tragedy when an oracle is mentioned for the first time after it has been fulfilled, citing for example *Pers.* 739–41, *Soph. Trach.* 1159–61 and *Od.* 9.507–9. In none of these cases, however, does the delay in revealing the oracle leave the audience mystified for a long period as to the explanation of actions or attitudes crucial to the plot, as would be the case in the Danaid trilogy.

⁶⁹ The originator of this hypothesis in recent times, Rösler 1993 (who was modifying a proposal by Sicherl 1986), based it mainly on a scholium on *Supp.* 37 which he, like Sicherl, took to mean that the Danaids were determined to resist marriage ‘for fear of their father being killed’ (διὰ τὸ μὴ θανατωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα), and in this he was followed by Sommerstein 1994. Garvie 2006: xviii–xix has shown that this was wrong. The scholiast is trying to explain why, according to the Danaids, ‘Right forbids’ their cousins to force them into marriage; and his explanation is that to do so is improper ‘because their father has not <yet> been killed’. If Danaus were dead, his daughters, under Athenian law (see e.g. MacDowell 1978: 95–8, Schaps 1979: 25–47), would automatically be married to the nearest kinsmen who claimed them (in this case the sons of Aegyptus – Aegyptus himself, it may be presumed, would waive his own claim); as he is alive, he and he alone has the right to give them in marriage when, and to whom, he wishes. But the case for placing *Egyptians* first in the trilogy does not by any means depend solely on the evidence of this scholium. (What the scholium *does* tell us is that later in the trilogy Danaus *will* meet a violent end.)

was utterly alien to Greek society (in which no free woman whose father was alive and *compos mentis* could ever be taken in marriage without his consent) and requires far clearer explanation than it ever receives in this play; again, such explanation could have featured in *Egyptians*.

The main considerations telling against placing *Egyptians* before *Supp.* are the three arguments listed above in support of placing *Supp.* first.⁷⁰ Of these the third – that one play would not be enough to cover the events that follow the end of *Supp.* – is the weakest. Between the end of *Supp.* and the beginning of *Danaids* would come a brief war, the death of Pelasgus, the assumption of power by Danaus, a peace agreement, and the marriage of the Danaids to the Aegyptiads. This sequence of events is broadly comparable in extent to that which must have intervened between *Oedipus* and *Seven*, even if we assume that *Oedipus* included the original dispute between Eteocles and Polyneices and the latter's departure from Thebes: the main events passed over are the arrival of Polyneices at Argos, his marriage to the daughter of Adrastus, the persuasion of Adrastus by his two sons-in-law to attack Thebes (cf. *Seven* 572–5, 585), the mustering and march of the Seven and a siege of significant duration (cf. *Seven* 22–3). And it is as nothing to the gap that must have existed between the first and second plays of the Odyssean trilogy, namely *Psychagogoi* (based on *Od.* 11) and *Penelope* (set in the palace on Ithaca and based on *Od.* 17–23), which included events that in the *Odyssey* fill nine books (in chronological sequence, books 12, 5–8, and 13–16).

It is certainly true, on the other hand, that the Danaids, and the story of Io and Epaphus, are introduced in the *parodos* of *Supp.* in a manner that suggests that the audience have not had any significant previous acquaintance with them. Either, then, there was no play preceding *Supp.*, or if there was, the Danaids did not appear in it, and very little or nothing was said about them (except as the potential objects of a marriage transaction about which, as was usual, they themselves would have no say) or about Io. This may seem surprising, but is quite possible. In *Agamemnon*, for example, there is no mention of any daughter of Agamemnon except the dead Iphigeneia, though in the first half of the next play *Electra* will be a major focus of interest (and Iphigeneia will be faded out almost completely);⁷¹ and the butchery of the children of Thyestes, which in *Ag.* 1090–7, 1217–22, 1583–1602 and *Cho.* 1068–9 is the beginning of the evils that beset the family of Agamemnon, is completely

⁷⁰ See further Kyriakou 2011: 65–76, a vehement rejection of the contention that an oracle given to Danaus featured in any way in the trilogy. The argument on which she lays most stress is that the Danaids never mention any such oracle; but this proves, at most, only that *they* know nothing of it. Beriotto 2016: 52 holds that the oracle story existed before A.'s time and was deliberately discarded by him – but her discussion of the subject (pp. 28–52) completely ignores *Supp.* 996–1013.

⁷¹ After *Ag.* 1559 she is mentioned only once (*Cho.* 242).

absent from the first two-thirds of the opening play, where the ἀρχαὶ κακῶν are, rather, the abduction of Helen and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Again, Athena, who will dominate *Eumenides*, is not mentioned at all in *Ag.* or *Cho.*, not even in connection with the capture of Troy, for which according to tradition (and indeed according to *Eum.* 457–8) she was largely responsible.

So much for the first and second plays of the trilogy. The third play was certainly *Danaids*. I have elsewhere offered a speculative reconstruction of this play,⁷² and will confine myself here to cataloguing the elements of which we can be reasonably certain.⁷³

- 1 The action took place on the day after the marriages and the murders (cf. A. fr. 43).
- 2 The Danaids again formed the chorus.
- 3 Danaus was killed (Σ *Supp.* 37; see above, p. 16 n. 69).
- 4 Aphrodite appeared and delivered a speech in which she described her universal power, of which A. fr. 44 was part:

ἔρᾱι μὲν ἄγνός οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
 ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
 ὄμβρος δ' ἅπ' εὐνάνεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
 ἔκυσε γαῖαν, ἥ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
 μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον
 δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν⁷⁴ ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
 τέλειός ἐστι· τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

‘The holy Heaven passionately desires to penetrate the Earth, and passionate desire takes hold of Earth for union with Heaven. Rain falls from the brimming fountains of Heaven and makes Earth conceive, and she brings forth for mortals grazing for their flocks, cereals to sustain their life, and the fruit of trees: by the wedlock of the rain she comes to her fulfilment. Of this, I am in part the cause.’

We may add a few other points which, while not provable, are highly probable:

- 5 Lynceus, the surviving Aegyptiad, and Hypermestra, who spared him, are likely to have had individual roles.

⁷² Sommerstein 1994: 123–30 = 2010c: 104–13.

⁷³ In addition to frs. 43 and 44 we now have in *POxy* 5160 II 37–40 (see Luppe 2013) a further fragment of *Danaids* which, however, throws virtually no light on the drama: a line beginning στυγῇ δὲ τοιούτο.[.]. (τοιούτοις tent. Luppe), in the lost portion of which αὐτοῦ was used as a second (rather than third) person reflexive pronoun (cf. *Ag.* 1141, 1297, *Cho.* 111). Someone is being told that (s)he is hated, but we cannot tell who this was (Danaus? Hypermestra?).

⁷⁴ τ' ὀπώραν Diels: τις ὥρα δ' codd. Athenaei (13.600b).

- 6 If the story of an oracle given to Danaus featured in the trilogy (see above), Lynceus was responsible for Danaus' death, whether by direct violence or by other means.
- 7 After Aphrodite's speech, one would surely expect that new and more suitable marriages would be made for the Danaids (other than Hypermestra, who already has one). We cannot tell how it was done, but in view of the emphasis she places on *mutual* sexual desire (fr. 44.1–2, cf. *Supp.* 1003–5, 1038–42) the foot-race of Pind. *Pyth.* 9.112–16, in which the women are treated as mere objects, would be inappropriate (Keuls 1974: 70 n. 24).

And that is about all we can say with any degree of confidence.⁷⁵

Two distinct traditions, one of which at least goes back to the fifth century BC, speak of a judicial proceeding of some kind following the murder of the sons of Aegyptus. In Euripides' *Orestes* (871–3) reference is made to a prosecution of Danaus by Aegyptus himself; a scholium states that Aegyptus came to Argos to avenge the death of his sons, but armed conflict was avoided by the intercession of Lynceus, and a trial held before a joint tribunal of noble Egyptians and Argives at the place called the Spur (Πρῶν) where assemblies of the Argive people were later held; the outcome of the trial is not stated. According to the Argive tradition reported by Pausanias (see §2 above), on the other hand, it was Hypermestra who was put on trial, at the instance of Danaus, but acquitted. We cannot tell whether or not A. staged a trial (as he staged a trial of Orestes in *Eumenides*), and if he did, who the defendant was;

⁷⁵ Bachvarova 2009 (cf. also Papadopoulou 2011: 22–3, 34) suggests that the trilogy foreshadowed a future (posthumous) destiny of the Danaids as water-nymphs, a myth and cult known to Callimachus (*Hymn* 5.45–8; fr. 66; cf. already Hes. fr. 128 M–W = 76 Most Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὼν Δανααὶ θέσαν Ἄργος ἔνυδρον). It should, however, be noted that whatever may have been the case in *Amydone* (see above), in *Supp.* Argos is assumed to be already well-watered when the Danaids arrive (23, 497, 1020, 1026–9). The plot of an Aeschylean satyr-drama, even in a 'connected' tetralogy, need not be mythically compatible with that of the preceding tragic trilogy; in the Lycurgus tetralogy the first and fourth plays appear to have presented alternative and inconsistent versions of the story of Dionysus' arrival in Lycurgus' kingdom (Sommerstein 2008: III 126–7). Another suggestion that has often been made (see especially Zeitlin 1996: 163–9) is that the trilogy ended with the institution of the Thesmophoria, whose rites, according to Herodotus (2.171.3), were brought from Egypt to Greece by the Danaids and taught by them to 'the Pelasgian women'; but Herodotus was here merely indulging his penchant for claiming an Egyptian origin for all kinds of Greek religious institutions (cf. Hdt. 2.48–64). The Danaids, who had left Egypt as virgins, could not have brought with them knowledge of the secret rites of the Thesmophoria, which was a festival for married (or formerly married) women only (Callim. fr. 63.9–12 Pfeiffer; see R. Parker 2005: 270–1 with n. 4); the rituals would have had to be taught not *by* the Danaids but *to* them, and their instructor would have had to be not Aphrodite (who had no role in the Thesmophoria) but Demeter.

some may feel that it is unlikely that he would create *two* onstage trials, both with divine involvement, within a few years (on the date of *Supp.* see §11). The intervention of Aphrodite does not require us to posit a trial, since it could easily have been motivated in other ways.⁷⁶

But Aphrodite's speech does help us to identify a major theme (if not *the* major theme) of the trilogy, and indeed of the tetralogy:⁷⁷ that while the union of the sexes is an essential part of the divinely mandated order of nature, its proper basis, also divinely mandated, is mutual desire (like that of Heaven and Earth in A. fr. 44.1–2), not unilateral seizure and possession (see further §5). The sons of Aegyptus, all but one, tried to seize the Danaids as if they were items of lost property (918), and probably intended to carry them back to Egypt in chains like the cargo of a slave-ship (873n.); they paid for it with their lives. Danaus, on the other hand, may have tried to keep his daughters permanently virgin; if he did, it cost him his life too. The one significant male who survives to the end of the trilogy, Lynceus, is the only one to have created a marriage in which ἔρως is reciprocal. The same pattern appears to have been grotesquely mirrored in the satyr-play *Amymone*, where the attempted rape of Amymone by a satyr was followed by a fruitful union with Poseidon; our knowledge of the play is too limited for us to be able to say that Poseidon inspired ἔρως in Amymone, but he must at least have inspired ample gratitude, having both rescued her from the satyrs and revealed to her the springs of Lerna.

4 SUPPLICATION⁷⁸

Supplication (ἱκέτεια) was an important ritual feature of ancient Greek life, protected by strong religious sanctions, whereby persons in need or distress threw themselves on the mercy of a person or community that had power to assist them. It features, in one form or another, in a majority of surviving tragic dramas,⁷⁹ and is central to several of them, of which *Supp.* is the earliest.

One could make oneself a suppliant by performing one or more of a number of conventional acts, such as clasping, or at least touching, the knees of the person being approached (now often termed the

⁷⁶ For example, Danaus might have been about to inflict punishment on Hypermestra on his own authority as her father and/or as ruler of Argos; or Lynceus might have been about to take full revenge on the killers of his brothers.

⁷⁷ For other possible themes of the trilogy/tetralogy see Sommerstein 1994: 131 = 2010C: 114–15.

⁷⁸ On the matters discussed in this section, see Naiden 2006, which supersedes all previous studies; on supplication in tragedy, Grethlein 2003 and Tzanetou 2012.

⁷⁹ See the tables in Naiden 2006: 302, 315–16, 335.

supplicandus). Danaus and his daughters do so by sitting in a sacred place while bearing the classic emblem of suppliant status, the ἱκετηρία, an olive branch wreathed with wool. As the sanctuary is a public one, the *supplicandus* is not an individual but the *polis* of Argos, and Pelasgus rightly insists (365–9) that the people, not he, must make the final decision on how to respond to the supplication – though as that decision will be strongly influenced, if not absolutely determined, by the terms in which Pelasgus puts the family’s appeal before the Argive assembly, his own view of its merits will be crucial.

For it is important that a *supplicandus* always has the choice of granting or rejecting the suppliant’s plea (Naiden 2006: 129–65), of ‘raising up’ the suppliant (324n.) or refusing to do so. It had to be so, since otherwise no criminal who had the presence of mind to make himself a suppliant could ever have been punished. In general, a supplication will be rejected if the *supplicandus* believes it to be unjust, and rejection in itself normally carries no evil consequences for the *supplicandus* (Naiden 2006: 146). However, in fourth-century Athens, where supplications to the community were frequent and formed the main agenda item at 10 of the 40 scheduled assembly meetings in the year ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.6), it appears that any supplication thought to be ‘lawful’ would be approved,⁸⁰ and Pelasgus clearly thinks (346–7, 354–8, 378, 413–16, 439–40, 478–9) that rejection of a justified plea may very well have evil consequences for him and Argos. Accordingly, almost as soon as he learns the objective of the Danaids’ supplication, he raises the issue of whether their cause is just (344). The Danaids assert that it is, because they are fleeing from persecution (350–3, 391–6, 422–37), but they conspicuously fail to meet Pelasgus’ challenge (387–91) to show that their cousins do not have the legal right to insist on marrying them, and he long remains reluctant to recommend to his people a decision that is likely to involve them in a dangerous war (342, 379–80, 398–401, 412, 439–40, 449, 474–7). He agrees to do so only after the Danaids threaten to hang themselves in the sanctuary and thus pollute it (455–67).⁸¹ Pelasgus’ speech in response to this threat

⁸⁰ *IG ii²* 218.24–5, 276.5, 337.34–5, 502.14, all using the formula ἔδοξεν ὁ δεῖνα ἔννομα ἱκετεύειν: see Naiden 2006: 173–83.

⁸¹ I cannot understand Naiden’s contention (2006: 84–5) that the Danaids’ threat is ineffective and that Pelasgus sends Danaus, rather than his daughters, to Argos because his supplication, unlike theirs, has been ‘mannerly’. For one thing, Danaus can hardly be said to have made a supplication at all: in the presence of Pelasgus, up to 479, he has said and done precisely nothing. For another, this argument does not explain why Pelasgus turns to Danaus *at this moment* and not earlier. The parallel (parody?) in Eur. *Hel.* 980–90 tells us little, since Menelaus’ threat to kill Helen and himself is there unnecessary: Theonoe’s response (998–1029) shows that she regards the supplication of Menelaus and Helen as justified and would have accepted it in any case.

(468–79) shows that he still sees himself as faced with a choice between two great evils, but that the threat has tipped the scales. It will still be for the Argive people to make the final decision, but Pelasgus ensures that the decision will go the way he wants. In advance of the assembly meeting he has Danaus place some of the wreathed olive-branches on altars in the city (482–5) so that ‘all the citizens may see’ that a formal supplication is being made to them, and in the assembly itself he makes a powerful speech (615–20) stressing the dangerous consequences of rejecting the appeal and saying nothing about the dangerous consequences of accepting it. The assembly duly votes to do the latter.

Once a supplication has been accepted, the *supplicandus* – here the Argive state – becomes absolutely bound to fulfil the obligation thereby incurred, and is liable to incur divine punishment for any breach; and breaches are notably infrequent (Naiden 2006: 122–8). In surviving tragedy, indeed, there are none at all, although one breach is prevented by a third-party intervention and another by a revulsion in the offender’s own feelings.⁸²

In at least a quarter of all surviving tragedies an onstage supplication, invariably at an altar or other sacred place, is a major feature of the action (many others have briefer supplications within particular scenes⁸³). The motif is an especial favourite with Euripides, who makes it central to at least 5 of his 17 genuine extant tragedies (*Heracleidae*, *Andromache*,

⁸² In Euripides’ *Andromache*, Andromache leaves her suppliant position at the altar of Thetis after Menelaus has seized her son as a hostage, on Menelaus’ promise (380–3) that if she sacrifices her own life, her son will be spared; as soon as she has done so, Menelaus announces (431–2) that his daughter Hermione, Andromache’s greatest enemy, will decide the boy’s fate. As mother and son are being taken to their death, however, Peleus arrives and rescues them. In Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*, Neoptolemus accedes (524–9) to Philoctetes’ suppliant plea (468–506) to be taken home; but he does so in treacherously equivocal language, not specifying the destination of his ship, and later, having gained possession of Philoctetes’ bow, reveals that he intends to take him to Troy (915–26) – for which Philoctetes very reasonably curses him (961–2). Neoptolemus is extremely uneasy about what he is doing, and eventually returns the bow to Philoctetes, tries and fails to persuade him to go to Troy voluntarily, and finally agrees to take him home (1402–8); and home they would have gone, but for the *ex machina* intervention of the deified Heracles.

⁸³ To mention one play by each of the three major tragedians: the unsuccessful appeal by Clytaemestra to Orestes to spare her life, displaying to him the breast that once suckled him (*Cho.* 895–7; cf. *Il.* 22.79–91); the supplication by Ajax’ son Eurysaces, with one hand resting on his father’s corpse and the other holding locks of his own hair, of Teucer’s and of Tecmessa’s (*Soph. Aj.* 1171–81); and the two successful supplications of Medea, to Creon for permission to stay one day longer in Corinth, and to Aegeus for asylum at Athens – neither of which would have been granted if the *supplicandi* had realized that their purpose was to facilitate murder (*Eur. Med.* 324–56, 709–30).

Suppliants, *Heracles* and *Helen*). Sophocles has major supplication episodes in both his *Oedipus* plays: in one, representatives of the Theban people seek Oedipus' assistance in the crisis created by the plague (to find that their request had been fulfilled before it was made), while in the other the old, blind Oedipus begs Theseus, successfully, to allow him to remain, and die, at Colonus, and not to hand him over to the Thebans.

In A., outside *Supp.*, there are two important onstage supplications, both in *Eumenides*, both by Orestes, both effected by contact with sacred objects (the 'navel-stone' at Delphi, and the image of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis), and both successful. Apollo instructs Orestes to supplicate Athena at Athens, and asks Hermes (*Eum.* 89–93) to 'shepherd' him on his way there; Athena, like Pelasgus, refers the decision to (the representatives of) her people, and at Orestes' trial gives the crucial vote that secures his acquittal.

It will be seen that four of the eight plays described above include a supplication, always successful, located in Athens or Attica: Athens in tragedy is the place above all others where suppliants are respected (three times at the price of war, once at the risk of the deadly hostility of the Erinyes), and her beneficence to the Heracleidae (ill rewarded by their descendants, the rulers of Sparta) and to the families of the Seven against Thebes were staples of Athenian patriotic oratory.⁸⁴ *Supp.* is the only play of the eight in which, in a city other than Athens, the decision on the fate of the suppliants rests with a democratic assembly such as classical Athens had; the city follows the Athenian pattern and accepts the supplication at the price of war.

5 MARRIAGE

In classical Athens, a marriage was essentially the transfer of a woman (or rather, in many cases, of a girl in her early teens⁸⁵) from the guardianship (κυρία) of the head of her natal family (normally her father or, if he was dead, an adult brother) to that of another man who became her husband;

⁸⁴ Lys. 2.7–16; Pl. *Menex.* 239b; Dem. 60.8. The succouring of the families of the Seven was the subject of A.'s lost *Eleusinians* (in which, however, Theseus secured the release of the Seven's bodies by diplomacy, without bloodshed); the succouring of the children of Heracles may or may not have been the subject of his *Heracleidae*.

⁸⁵ What was the normal expectation may be seen from the will of the father and namesake of the orator Demosthenes. At his death, his son was 7 years old and his daughter 5 (Dem. 27.5), and the will provided that the girl was to be married to her cousin and joint guardian Demophon 'when she is of appropriate age' (Dem. 29.43); Demosthenes says (probably glossing rather than quoting the will) that this would be 'in the tenth year', i.e. when she was 14 or 15.

it was a transaction between the two men, for which the woman's consent was not required.⁸⁶ It was considered noteworthy, and a sign of the exceptional character of A.'s contemporary Elpinice (sister of Cimon), when, probably in the 470s, the very rich aristocrat Callias secured her agreement to marry him *before* asking her brother for her hand (Plut. *Cim.* 4.8).⁸⁷ It is thus striking when we find that both the principal male characters in *Supp.* use language implying that there is something improper about a marriage that is made without the bride's consent. Danaus asks rhetorically (227–8) how someone could be pure (ἄγνός) who 'married an unwilling woman <taken> from an unwilling <father>', and adds that such a person cannot escape punishment even after death. Pelasgus (940–1) goes even further: he tells the Egyptian Herald that he may take the Danaids if and only if they are willing to be taken, 'should pious words persuade them', making no mention of the willingness or unwillingness of their father. The same way of thinking is evident in other passages of *Supp.* (1038–42) and *Danaids* (fr. 44.1–2) in which Aphrodite is associated, or associates herself, with the ideas of persuasion (which implies willing consent) and of *mutual* (not unilateral) desire (ἔρως).

In this trilogy, then, the ideal marriage is one which is made by the willing agreement of all the parties concerned – very much including the bride – and in which the passionate desires of the male awake in the female a corresponding desire directed towards him. This is still, of course, a long way from the modern expectation that such mutual desire and love should be well established before marriage is even contemplated, but it is certainly also a long way from the norms of A.'s time – though not out of character for the creator of the *Oresteia*, in which Clytaemestra is much the most powerful personality (easily dominating every other character in *Agamemnon* with the significant exception of Cassandra), in which

⁸⁶ In New Comedy, a binding betrothal may be effected without the prospective bride even knowing of it, and it is never suggested that her κύριος has done anything wrong by so acting. Thus in Menander's *Dyskolos* (791–847) young Sostratos decides that Gorgias, whose sister he is about to marry, would make a fine husband for his own sister; he broaches the idea to his father, Kallippides, whose objections (on the ground of Gorgias' poverty) he eventually overcomes. Gorgias himself then raises objections (not wishing to 'luxuriate in the fruits of others' labour', 830), which Kallippides in turn overcomes, and Kallippides proceeds to betroth his daughter to Gorgias. Of all this she herself knows nothing; she will meet Gorgias, for the first time, at the feast which is forthwith held to celebrate the two betrothals.

⁸⁷ This attitude may have been to some extent traditional in Callias' family. His grandfather, also named Callias, had given his three daughters the 'most magnificent present' (Hdt. 6.122.2) of allowing each of them to marry any Athenian she might choose. It may or may not be significant that this family, the Kerykes, held an important hereditary priesthood (the position of δαιδούχος) in the Mysteries of A.'s home town of Eleusis.

Apollo's argument for male supremacy, though backed by the authority of Zeus, fails to win a majority vote of the (male) Athenian jury, and in whose last 270 lines no male says a word.

This ideal model of marriage was doubtless represented, in *Danaids*, by Hypermetra and Lynceus, whether or not they ever appeared together on stage, and quite likely also by new marriages made (perhaps by direction of Aphrodite) for the other daughters of Danaus. In contrast with it stand a range of flawed models of relations between the sexes, of which three can be identified.⁸⁸

- (1) *Polygamy*. That Danaus and Aegyptus have 50 children each implies that, like Priam of Troy (*Il.* 24.493–7), they had multiple wives and/or concubines. In [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5 there is a catalogue of all the children and their mothers, perhaps derived ultimately from the *Danaids*: the Danaids are said to have been born of ten mothers, the Aegyptiads of nine.⁸⁹ In *Supp.* this all lies in the past and is not mentioned; it may or may not have been mentioned in *Egyptians* if that was the first play. In the younger generation, as in the younger generation at Troy (*Il.* 6.244–50), it is taken for granted that marriage will be monogamous.
- (2) *Marriage as ownership*. When Pelasgus asks the Danaids why they are making supplication, they reply (335) 'That I may not become a slave (δμῶϊς) to the sons of Aegyptus', and immediately afterwards (337) speak of their prospective husbands as 'owners' (τοὺς κεκτημένους). When the Egyptians arrive on the scene, it becomes clear that this was no exaggeration. They threaten the Danaids with all kinds of bodily violence (837–40, 847, 884, 904, 909), and there is reason to believe that they have brought with them fetters to chain the abductees during

⁸⁸ The fact that the Danaid–Aegyptiad marriages would be *between first cousins* would not in itself have been thought objectionable. Such marriages were common in classical Athens, and an Athenian could also lawfully marry his niece, or even his half-sister (if born of a different mother). The successful marriage of Hypermetra and Lynceus is a marriage of first cousins; the divine patrons of marriage, Zeus and Hera (cf. 1035), were full siblings; while Heaven and Earth, whose union is treated by Aphrodite (A. fr. 44) as fundamental to the whole order of nature, are son and mother (Hes. *Thg.* 126–8). Seaford (2012: 149–57, 318–21) argues that the Danaids object to marriage with close kin (endogamy) because it gave the wife no adequate safeguard against abuse (cf. 339), and notes that in classical Athens *epikleroi* married to their next of kin enjoyed very strong legal protection. But this protection did not extend to the many women married to close kinsmen who were not *epikleroi*. It is in any case very improbable that a law of this kind was promulgated by Aphrodite at the end of the Danaid trilogy (Seaford 2012: 320): it would be inappropriate to throw a dark cloud over the marriage of Hypermetra and Lynceus by implying that it risked becoming abusive, while any new marriages for the other Danaids would not be endogamous in any case.

⁸⁹ The corresponding (but quite different) listing in Hyginus *Fab.* 170 does not name the mothers.

the voyage back to Egypt (873n.). The Herald, when challenged by Pelasgus, says he has found, and is taking, 'my own lost property' (918) unless someone prevents this by asserting that the women are free (924n.) – making it plain that he, as agent of the Aegyptiads, is claiming them as slaves. This claim is apparently based (933n.) on their blood relationship: Pelasgus was right to suspect (387–91) that by Egyptian law a woman's closest kinsman was entitled to take her in marriage regardless of her or her father's wishes. Such a law would have analogues closer to home: under Athenian law, a woman whose father was dead, and who had no living brother (such a woman was known as an *ἐπίκληρος*), was required to marry the closest relative who chose to claim her.⁹⁰ But this Athenian practice was very different from the supposed Egyptian practice. At Athens it was impossible to claim a woman in marriage as of right if she had a father living, as the Danaids do; even after the father's death, she could be taken only in pursuance of a court order (*ἐπιδικασία*); and if after her marriage she was maltreated in any way, her husband (or anyone else who wronged her) could be prosecuted either by the *archon* or by any qualified citizen, and the penalty on conviction was unlimited.⁹¹ None of these safeguards is available to the Danaids: if their cousins succeed in forcing them into marriage, they will be able to do with their wives as they please, and the wives will have no redress – unless they use force themselves.

- (3) *Permanent virginity*. We have seen (in §§2 and 3) that certain utterances of Danaus and his daughters definitely imply, and others strongly suggest, that both desire that the girls shall remain permanently virgin. This was not only contrary to the norms of Greek society but might well be seen as contrary to the will of the gods. To be sure, three of the six major goddesses were virgins – Artemis (*Supp.* 144–53, 1030), Athena and Hestia; but none of them expected permanent virginity even of their own priestesses, and at least two of them had functions related to marriage and motherhood – Artemis, as the Danaids themselves mention, was a protector of women in childbirth (676–7), and at Athens the priestess of Athena Polias visited new brides wearing the aegis of the goddess (*Suda* α160). To Aphrodite (1001, 1032–42), on the other hand, permanent virginity is anathema – and even Io could not escape her influence, passing through 'the land of Aphrodite, rich in wheat' (554–5) on her way to Egypt; while Io's enemy Hera, and her benefactor Zeus, are at one in their patronage of matrimony (cf.

⁹⁰ See MacDowell 1978: 95–8; Schaps 1979: 25–47; Todd 1993: 226–31; Ireland 2010: 6–11.

⁹¹ Cf. Isaeus 3.62, Dem. 37.46. The penalty ('what he is to suffer or pay') would be fixed by the jury making a forced choice between prosecution and defence proposals; the prosecutor could propose any penalty up to and including death.

1035, *Eum.* 214–15, A. fr. 55.1–2). The secondary chorus are right to suggest (1034–61) that the Danaids may be setting themselves against a divinely sanctioned natural order.

Thus the contention between the Danaids and the Aegyptiads is in large measure a contest of two wrongs. But the scales of morality are not evenly balanced. The Danaids are wrong to reject marriage altogether, but they have every right to reject a marriage that is being brutally forced on them and their father. Against the hybriatic aggression of the Aegyptiads, on the other hand, there is nothing to be set to their credit except an Egyptian law which, as we have seen, would be found abhorrent by most Greeks and certainly by Athenians. It is thus appropriate that the Danaids should win the support of the Argives, and appropriate that the Aegyptiads should perish (all but the one who chose the path of loving persuasion in preference to force) while the Danaids apparently live to make new and better marriages.

6 GREEK AND BARBARIAN

The opposition between Greeks and 'barbarians' (i.e. non-Greeks) was a frequent motif of fifth-century Athenian tragedy (see E. M. Hall 1989) from our earliest surviving play, A.'s *Persians*, to almost our latest, Euripides' *Bacchae*.⁹² In *Supp.* the opposition is from one point of view particularly stark, and yet from another it may be thought to be decidedly blurred.

The stark contrast is that between the Argives on one side and on the other, not the Aegyptiads themselves, but the native Egyptians who represent them in this play (cf. 914 κάρβανος ὧν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγχλῖεις ἄγαν). The Argos of *Supp.* is not only Greek, it is in effect Greece, for King Pelasgus controls the whole of the Greek mainland (254–9); it honours the Greek gods, it respects Greek customs in matters such as supplication (§4) and hospitality (e.g. 957–63), and it is valiant in war (746–7, 750–1, 952–3) – though it will fail to defeat the Egyptians in battle. They for their part display brutal violence in word and deed, and the Herald who latterly serves as their spokesman is as contemptuous of the Greek gods (893–4, 922) as he is of the Danaids whom, as we have seen, he regards as chattels.

But what of the Danaids themselves? Their appearance and dress is thoroughly un-Greek (234–7, 277–89); their dark complexions (70–2,

⁹² Though it should not be assumed that barbarians are automatically stigmatized as inferior. Consider the *Oresteia*: in *Agamemnon* the character who wins the greatest sympathy from the chorus, and doubtless from the audience too, is a barbarian slave, Cassandra, while in *Choephoroi*, according to Electra, it is the Asian palace slaves (the chorus) who have 'kept the house in good order' during the usurping rule of Aegisthus and Clytaemestra (*Cho.* 84) and who later (in conjunction with Orestes' nurse, herself an Asian slave: *Cho.* 732) play a vital role in setting the trap into which Aegisthus walks (*Cho.* 766–73).

154nn.) make Pelasgus think that they are likely to be African (279–80), their clothing is of linen rather than wool (120–1n.), and at times of stress they rend their garments like other barbarian choruses in A. (*ibid.*). We are apparently meant to imagine that when not speaking to Greeks they use the Egyptian language (117–19, 220nn.). Like the Herald and his men, they are prepared to desecrate an Argive sanctuary, or at least threaten to do so, if that is necessary for the achievement of their aims.

And yet they are of Argive descent, as they prove to Pelasgus' satisfaction (274–326), and (as he had already noted, 241–3) they know how to supplicate in the Greek fashion. They may be invited to remain in Argos as resident aliens (μέτοικοι 609, 994), but Pelasgus can speak of them as ἀστόξενοι (356) and warn his people that they risk incurring a ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἄμα ... μίασμα (618–20n.). In several versions of the myth (see §2) their un-Greekness was emphasized by reference to their masculine, and sometimes to their martial, activities; in *Supp.*, as we have seen, this aspect of their nature is almost completely suppressed, but it will come violently to the fore when they murder their bridegrooms. If, however, they are later united in new marriages with Argives, that will effectively re-Hellenize them, and they will become the mothers of full Argive citizens.⁹³

The fact that the sons of Aegyptus do not themselves appear in *Supp.*, being instead represented by their wholly Egyptian subordinates, helps to play down a feature of the situation which is embarrassing to the Danaids' cause (and about which they themselves remain silent throughout), namely that their cousins are no less Argive than they are (one thirty-second, to be precise, as great-great-great-grandchildren of Io). They may have appeared in *Egyptians*, if that was the second play of the trilogy (probably not if it was the first); by the time *Danaids* begins most of them are already dead, but we can safely assume that Lynceus was presented favourably. In *Supp.* much is heard of their *hybris* (of which, of course, Greeks as well as barbarians are capable), but we are only given, at most, one indirect glimpse of them in person, when Danaus sees 'the men' on board the leading enemy ship, their 'black limbs' standing out conspicuously against their white garments (719–20)⁹⁴ – which suggests that we are to imagine them as significantly more African-looking than Danaus

⁹³ At Athens in the 460s it was still the law that the children of an Athenian father and a foreign mother were entitled to citizenship (provided the mother was not a slave); Cimon, one of the most distinguished Athenians of his day, was the son of a Thracian princess (Hdt. 6.39.2, Plut. *Cim.* 4.1). This must have been the general rule in archaic Greece, when interstate marriages were common among the elite. Pericles' law restricting citizenship to children of two citizen parents was passed only in 451/0 ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 26.4).

⁹⁴ Danaus does not actually say that the men he sees are the sons of Aegyptus, but the audience will certainly assume they are (719–20n.).

and his daughters. Given also that they can be held responsible for the behaviour of those who act on their behalf, and that they are trying to enforce an Egyptian law which Greeks would find repugnant, they are likely, despite their equal share of Argive blood, to have come across as much the more 'barbarian' of the two sides. The presentation of Lynceus in *Danaids* will then have come as a considerable surprise.⁹⁵

7 KING, PEOPLE AND TYRANT

In the ancient Greek imagination, the political communities of the heroic age were ruled by monarchs: this assumption is ubiquitous in the Homeric epics and remains predominant in classical tragedy.⁹⁶ Even in Homer, though, the most important issues (e.g. what to do about the plague, in *Iliad* 1; whether to abandon the war, in *Iliad* 2) are put before an assembly of the whole community, and it will not necessarily be the monarch who convenes this assembly: the assembly of *Iliad* 1 and that of *Iliad* 19 are both summoned by Achilles and not by the supreme leader of the Greek army, Agamemnon. In the *Odyssey* (2.26–7) it is a mark of the unhealthy state of Ithaca in the absence of Odysseus that no assembly has met since his departure for Troy until today, when one has been summoned by Telemachus.

In fifth-century Athens, of course, the assembly (ἐκκλησία) was the most important decision-making organ in the state, and the dramatists sometimes imagine similar democratic assemblies coexisting with monarchies in cities of the heroic age. In Euripides' *Suppliants* (399–455) Theseus, traditionally the greatest of Athenian kings, when asked by a Theban herald 'who is the τύραννος of this land?', replies that 'the city is not ruled by one man but is free' and that the δῆμος is king, before expounding the merits of a democratic constitution.⁹⁷ In his *Orestes* – admittedly set at a time when there is no generally accepted claimant to the Argive throne – an assembly is held⁹⁸ to decide the fate of Orestes and Electra. And in A.'s

⁹⁵ On the Greek–barbarian opposition in *Supp.* see further Mitchell 2006.

⁹⁶ In *Eumenides*, however, Athens appears to have no ruler except Athena herself. In the spurious ending of *Seven against Thebes*, after the death of Eteocles and Polyneices, state power is in the hands of a body of δήμου πρόβουλοι (*Seven* 1006).

⁹⁷ For all that, however, he gives orders for a military expedition against Thebes on his own authority, without reference to the assembly (585–97). The Aeschylean Agamemnon too (see below) apparently decided on his own authority to attack Troy: the only representatives of the Argive people whose views we know (the elders who form the chorus) were strongly against the expedition (*Ag.* 799–804).

⁹⁸ Apparently at the initiative of Oeax (brother of Palamedes) and the family or friends of Aegisthus (*Or.* 431–6).

own *Agamemnon* the (joint) king of Argos, on his return from the war,⁹⁹ announces that ‘matters concerning the community and the gods’ will be deliberated upon in public assemblies (Ag. 844–50).

In *Supp.* we find what is perhaps the best-thought-out presentation in surviving tragedy of the idea of a democratic monarchy.¹⁰⁰ Pelasgus is king of Argos, and as such he has the formal power to act as he pleases;¹⁰¹ in that sense the Danaids are right to tell him that he is the sole ruler (‘you are the city, you are the people’; 370–5). But he himself is also right to say (365–9) that on a matter so seriously affecting the public interest he cannot make any definitive decision or promise without public approval – because if he did, and things turned out badly, he would be blamed for the resulting disaster (399–401).¹⁰² Accordingly, when his hand is forced by the Danaids’ threat of a suicide that will pollute the sanctuary of the ‘assembled gods’, he still does not promise that Argos will give them full support, but only that he will do everything possible to ensure that the people vote to do so. And this he does – arranging for Danaus to go to the city (with an armed escort) and deposit suppliant-branches at its principal altars, instructing him how best to address the assembly (519; as it turns out, Danaus is not required to speak), moving an extremely forthright resolution welcoming the family as μέτοικοι and committing every Argive to aid them against any attempt at seizure (609–14), and then making what must have been a masterly speech himself, stressing the danger of divine wrath if the Danaids’ plea is rejected and apparently saying nothing about the danger of war if it is accepted, with the result that before he had even finished speaking (621n.) the people spontaneously and unanimously voted to pass his decree. With this decision, as it were, in his pocket, he can safely accept the Egyptian declaration of war (950); his response to any criticism by the citizenry will be ‘well, you voted for it’.¹⁰³ His position is in some ways comparable to that which Pericles would occupy in the Athens of the late 430s:¹⁰⁴ effectively ruler of the state (in Pelasgus’ case *de iure*, in Pericles’

⁹⁹ His co-ruler Menelaus is missing at sea, and no one knows whether he is alive or dead (Ag. 617–80).

¹⁰⁰ See now Pattoni 2017 and Saïd 2017: 34–7 on A.’s portrayal of Argos as a democratic *polis*.

¹⁰¹ This is proved by his statement (398–401) that he will not promise to support the Danaids without the consent of the people ‘even though I have the power’ (οὐδέ περ κρατῶν).

¹⁰² He reiterates his fear of hostile public comment at 483–5, remarking ‘the people are fond of blaming their rulers’. See Podlecki 1993.

¹⁰³ Cf. Thuc. 8.1.1, on Athenian public reaction to the catastrophic failure of the Sicilian expedition of 415–413: ‘they were angry with those politicians who had joined in enthusiastic support for the expedition, as if they themselves had not voted for it’.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Thuc. 2.65.1–9.

only *de facto*), yet still liable to censure and even dethronement if his policy failed. Whatever the Danaids think, he is not a πρῦτανις ἄκριτος (371).

Of course his policy does fail in the end. As we have seen (§3), it is likely that he fell in the fighting and that in one way or another Danaus became ruler of Argos; the granting to Danaus of a personal bodyguard of spearmen (985, 987–8nn.) was a classic step on the road to an elective or usurped autocracy or τυραννίς. Danaus would presumably have no difficulty in securing the agreement of the Argive people to a peace treaty which safeguarded Argive independence in exchange for acceptance of the marriage of his daughters to the Aegyptiads;¹⁰⁵ but the plot to murder the bridegrooms must have been his and his daughters' work alone – the Argives would hardly have consented to a plan that ran a grave risk of bringing blood-pollution on the entire city.¹⁰⁶

We do not know precisely how the situation was resolved in *Danaids* (see §3), but it is reasonably safe to suppose that, in keeping with A.'s general political orientation as evidenced elsewhere,¹⁰⁷ the regime finally established under Lynceus and Hypermestra was at least as democratic as that of Pelasgus had been. The defeat of Danaus is a defeat not only for a planner of mass murder and a contemnor of Aphrodite, but also for a τύραννος who recklessly pursued his own interests at the expense of those of the citizens he ruled – in sharp contrast to Pelasgus who, if he deceived his people (and arguably he did), did so for what he honestly saw as their own good, and who seems in the end to have sacrificed his own life in their and the suppliants' cause.

8 ZEUS AND IO

The Danaids¹⁰⁸ are obsessed with Io. They refer to her in three of their five main choral songs, one of which is almost entirely devoted to her, and their descent from Io forms the main basis on which they claim both divine and human support.

¹⁰⁵ If *Egyptians* was the second play of the trilogy, the negotiation of this peace treaty, and its (offstage) ratification by the people, may well have been part of the action of the play. If it was the first, these events could only have been reported retrospectively (in *Danaids*).

¹⁰⁶ Pelasgus had used the danger of pollution to help persuade them to grant asylum to the Danaids (*Supp.* 618–20).

¹⁰⁷ See Sommerstein 2010a: 281–301.

¹⁰⁸ No one else even mentions Io in *Supp.* except Pelasgus in the dialogue 291–315, and even there it is the Danaids who introduce the subject. Kyriakou 2011: 76–87 has a valuable discussion of the exploitation of the Io theme in *Supp.*; the Danaids, she says, see themselves as 'virtual reincarnations of Io' (p. 83).

Their first allusion to Io comes in their opening anapaests (15–18), when in a single sentence (indeed in a single subordinate clause) they introduce five important themes connected with her – her Argive origin, Hera's persecution of her (cf. 16 οἰστροδόγου), her metamorphosis, the benevolence of Zeus towards her and the conception of Epaphus miraculously effected without sexual contact.¹⁰⁹ This last theme is heavily emphasized in their first lyric strophe (40–7nn.), while in the antistrophe (48–57) the stress is laid on their connection through Io with Argos.

Towards the end of the *parodos* Io is three or four times invoked in appeals to the gods. In 141–3 Zeus, and in 151–3 Artemis, are asked to ensure that 'the seed of an august mother escape the beds of men ... unwed and unsubdued', heavy emphasis having been laid on Artemis' virginity in the prayer to her (144–5 ἀγνά ... κόρα, 149 ἀδμήτος ἀδμήτα). The passage that concludes the *parodos* (154–75) is in effect, though not formally, addressed to Zeus; among other things, he is reminded of 'the wrath [of Hera] that hunted Io' (162–3)¹¹⁰ and warned that he will be 'justly censured' if he dishonours the memory of 'the child of the cow' whom he himself begot (168–73).

Asked by Pelasgus where they come from, the Danaids reply (275–6) that they are Argive by race, 'the seed of the cow that bore a fine child'; Pelasgus is incredulous, and the Danaids thereupon give him, in stichomythia, the whole story of Io and her descendants, including the miraculous conception of Epaphus (313–15).

The Io theme culminates in the first *stasimon* (524–99), which stands at the midpoint of the play and just before the crucial meeting of the Argive assembly. This ode is almost entirely devoted to Io. Formally it is a prayer or hymn to Zeus, and the Io story is told to justify the plea that Zeus should be gracious to Io's descendants as he was gracious to Io. Half-way through the ode (562–70) Io, 'made a madwoman by Hera' (564), is an agonized monstrosity, 'part cow, part woman', to whom the Egyptians react with amazement and terror; but soon, thanks to Zeus, she is weeping human tears (578–9) and becoming the mother of a 'perfect child' (581) whom the Egyptians with one voice acclaim as the true son of Zeus (583–5). The Danaids believe they are entitled to similar favour from Zeus, and presently they seem to have received it, as Zeus (according to Danaus,

¹⁰⁹ The Danaids do elsewhere half-admit (295, 301) that there *had* been sexual contact between Zeus and Io before her flight to Egypt, but they present this as rumour rather than fact (295 λόγος τις, 301 φασίν) and never mention it when appealing for the aid of Zeus.

¹¹⁰ Though the word-order would lead a listener to suppose at first that ἰοῦς ... μῆνις should be taken together as referring to the posthumous wrath of Io against Zeus himself if he betrayed her descendants (162–3n.).

624) has caused the Argives to vote unanimously in their support. They pray to him with confidence to shower blessings on the Argives.¹¹¹ They will soon learn that things are not quite so simple – as later the Argives will too.

Their next ode (776–824) makes no mention of Io, and for most of its length its tone is despairing. Only in the last strophic pair (814–24) do the Danaids appeal to Zeus for protection, and they do so not as descendants of Io but as suppliants (815) threatened by hybristic pursuers (817–21). And this time they get it, as Pelasgus with Argive troops arrives in the nick of time.

After this the Danaids recover their confidence, and they speak truly when they tell their father that their mind is back on its previous track and will not leave it (1017). The secondary chorus may wonder why Zeus let the Aegyptiads reach Argos swiftly and safely (1045–6); the Danaids speak as if this had never happened, and in language that might almost have come straight from the *parodos* or the first *stasimon* they pray to Zeus to avert the hated marriages – to Zeus ‘who released Io from her sorrows, restraining her with his healing hand’ (1064–7). Zeus, we know, will not grant this prayer either, and the Danaids will escape from marriage with their cousins, not by grace of the Father of Gods and Men, but by the contrivance of their own father, in a manner grossly offensive to Zeus in his role as patron of hospitality (ξένιος).¹¹² He will punish the Aegyptiads’ *hybris*, but he will not support the Danaids purely because they are descended from Io (after all, the Aegyptiads are descended from her as well), nor will he allow them to reject all sexuality on the supposed model of Io (who in fact, as the Danaids do not deny, had lost her virginity twice over – in human and in bovine form – long before Zeus engendered Epaphus by touch and breath).

9 CHARACTERS AND CHORUSES

A. – and the same is largely true of the other tragic dramatists – does not in general draw character for the sake of drawing character; rather, the *dramatis personae* are given such qualities as are necessary to account for what they do or fail to do in the action of the play (and in antecedent events if relevant). A person whose actions are completely, or almost completely, determined by the situation in which he finds himself may be given virtually no distinctive character traits even if, like Orestes, he is one of the most important figures in the play(s) in which he appears. We

¹¹¹ Cf. 627, 641, 646, 653, 689.

¹¹² Since the Danaids, living ‘rent-free’ (1011), have the status of guests (ξένοι) in Argos (1009–11n.).

must bear this principle in mind when considering the presentation of the characters and choruses of *Supp.*

By far the most important *dramatis persona* in *Supp.* is the chorus of **Danaids**, who play a more prominent role than any other chorus in surviving Greek tragedy. They exemplify perfectly, though in a paradoxical manner, the stereotype idea of the feminine mind that was later put into the mouth of the Euripidean Medea:

In most respects a woman is full of fear, and unfit to look on battle or weapons; but when she is wronged in regard to sex, there is no mind more bloodthirsty than hers.¹¹³

The normal expectation was that a woman would consider herself 'wronged in regard to sex' if a partner deserted or was unfaithful (as in Medea's case) or if she was deliberately denied the opportunity of marriage.¹¹⁴ For the Danaids, however, the sexual wrong that overpowers feminine fears is the prospect of a forced marriage and perhaps, more broadly, any threat to their continuing virginity (see §§2, 3, 5). Much of the time they are timid and need to be urged to show less fear,¹¹⁵ especially when they learn that the enemy fleet has arrived safely. But there are moments when they show plainly that they are justified in assuring their father that they will be true to his injunction to 'value chastity more than life' (1013). Repeatedly they express their readiness to die rather than surrender it. Both to Zeus (154–75) and to Pelasgus (455–67) they threaten to hang themselves if their demand for protection is not met; when an attack seems imminent, they think again of suicide (788–99) and are even prepared to be left unburied (800–1); and their enemies apparently fear that they may drown themselves while en route for Egypt (873n.). But as most of A.'s audience knew, the Danaids were not only prepared to die for their virginity; they were also prepared to kill for it. They value it not only above their own lives but also above the lives of others, and above the reverence due to the gods, whom they are willing to blackmail (154–75) and whose sanctuary they are willing to pollute (463–5). We cannot tell from *Supp.* alone whether these traits are part of

¹¹³ Eur. *Med.* 263–6.

¹¹⁴ As in the case of Hippodameia, daughter of Oenomaus, whose suitors were forced to race against Oenomaus' wind-swift chariot and killed if they lost the race, and who eventually (in some versions of her story, probably including that of Sophocles in *Oenomaus*) bribed the charioteer Myrtilus to murder her father by sabotaging his chariot; see Talbot and Sommerstein 2012: 75–93. In Sophocles' play she had fallen deeply in love with her latest suitor, Pelops (Soph. fr. 474).

¹¹⁵ Timidity: 74, 350–3, 505, 509–13, 734–8, 741–2, 748–9, 762–3, 776–824, 884–902. Urged to be less fearful: 516, 600, 711, 724–5, 729, 772–3, 955.

their innate personalities or have been implanted in them by Danaus in pursuit of his own ends.

Danaus himself is introduced (11–13) as the guide and master of his family, deciding their moves as if playing a board-game, and when alone with them he has much advice and instruction to offer (176–233, 710–75, 991–1013).¹¹⁶ But when Argives are present, he for a long time cuts a remarkably passive figure. For 246 lines after the entrance of Pelasgus (234–479) he says and does nothing, and is not even mentioned except as a necessary link in his daughters' genealogy (319–21). He is then sent into Argos, with detailed instructions from Pelasgus as to what he is to do; all he does at this point of his own initiative is to ask for an escort to guide and protect him (492–9). He is to deliver a speech at the assembly meeting, but Pelasgus will tell him what to say (519), and in the end he apparently does not speak at all, so enthusiastic are the people in their support of Pelasgus' proposal (621–2). If Danaus is indeed a master tactician, his tactic vis-à-vis the Argives appears to be one that was adopted in many an Athenian lawcourt,¹¹⁷ and by Messrs Dodson & Fogg, and Serjeant Buzfuz, in the case of *Bardell v. Pickwick*:¹¹⁸ to draw attention away from the person making the claim and towards his innocent, distressed children. They, not he, will be presented as the suppliants seeking succour; he will merely serve as their adult male representative when the services of such a representative are necessary.

And then, at his last entry (980), Danaus arrives with an armed escort which the Argives have given him for his personal honour (986) and protection (987–8). There is no mention of Pelasgus in this connection, and this time Danaus addressed the meeting himself (983–4 μου ... ἤκουσαν). For one who is not the ruler nor even a citizen, he appears now to be exercising a remarkable degree of influence; and, as we have seen (§§3, 7), the award of a personal guard to an individual is traditionally a step on the road to τυραννίς. We probably know that Danaus will indeed soon become the ruler of Argos. We certainly know that he will prove himself the master-organizer whom his daughters described at the start of the play, when he engineers the murder of their bridegrooms. His successful persuasion of the Argives near the end of *Supp.* is either the first stage of the revelation of his true character, or else (if *Egyptians* was the first play) a reactivation of traits which had been seen before but

¹¹⁶ It is not always followed (176–233, 194–203, 710–75nn.).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Ar. *Wasps* 568–74, 976–8; [Lys.] 20.34; Andoc. 1.148; Pl. *Apol.* 34c–d; Dem. 21.99, 186–8.

¹¹⁸ Dickens [1837] 1972: 556, 559–63. 'Very good notion that, indeed,' comments Mr Pickwick's attorney, Perker. 'Capital fellows those Dodson and Fogg; excellent ideas of effect, my dear sir, excellent.'

which he had suppressed in order to win the backing of Pelasgus and the Argives.

Pelasgus probably appeared only in *Supp.*¹¹⁹ He is presented as an excellent ruler, devoted to the well-being of his community and its citizens; he may mislead them (by arguing for acceptance of the Danaids' supplication while saying nothing about the danger of war thereby incurred), but he does so for their own good, because he believes the course he is pursuing is the *least* perilous of the available options. Later he faces down the Egyptian Herald, forcing him to go away without having achieved anything, and showing himself unperturbed by the prospect of war. But his departure with an armed escort, followed after a short interval by the arrival of Danaus with a similar escort, may prefigure his coming disappearance from the Argive scene and Danaus' rise to power.

The Egyptian **Herald** is almost a personification of *hybris*, claiming (and treating) the Danaids as slaves, proclaiming his contempt for the gods of Greece, and generally behaving as if he were entitled to do as he pleased in someone else's country (cf. 917). Since he is presumably carrying out the orders of his principals, the sons of Aegyptus, his behaviour tends to confirm what we have heard about their character from Danaus and his daughters; they themselves have yet to appear on stage (and with the exception of Lynceus, perhaps they never will; see §6).

Supp. is unique among surviving Greek tragedies in having two singing subsidiary choruses (825–910, 1034–51nn.). Each of them is heard only in a single scene, though one has been intermittently on stage for much longer.

The chorus of **Egyptians**, who sing in alternation with the Danaids from 825 (see 825–826b n.) until 865, and who are thus the first active onstage representatives in *Supp.* of the sons of Aegyptus, are fit assistants for the Herald who thereafter acts as spokesman; their Greek is as crude as their threats are extreme (see further §6). Very different is the chorus of **Argive soldiers** who most probably sing the strophic pair 1034–51 (see 1034–51n.) and then engage in a lyric dialogue with the Danaids (1052–61): in both passages they raise important and troubling questions which the Danaids have ignored and, as 1062–73 shows, are determined to continue ignoring. They have been in and out of the performing

¹¹⁹ If *Egyptians* was the second play of the trilogy, and if the final battle against the Egyptians was part of its action (offstage) rather than having taken place before the action commenced, it is *possible* that Pelasgus appeared in the opening scene(s) before exiting towards a battlefield from which he would not return.

space, sometimes divided into two detachments, ever since they arrived with Pelasgus at 234;¹²⁰ spectators will have assumed them to be silent 'spear-carriers' (δορυφορήματα, as writers of the Roman period would say)¹²¹ and will have been surprised when, after so long, they were given a voice.¹²² It is possible that these young men eventually became new husbands for the Danaids (see §3).

10 PERFORMANCE

Supp., like *Persians* and *Seven*, was produced before the creation of the stage-building (σκηνή) which in the *Oresteia*, and in most later tragedies, represented a palace, temple, etc., relevant to the action, out of which characters might come on stage and into which they might exit.¹²³ Its performing space, so far as we can infer its nature from the text, comprises three elements.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Some of them depart with Danaus at 503/4, the rest with Pelasgus at 523. They return with Pelasgus at 911; at or about 954–5 he detaches some of them to guard the Danaids, and presently he departs with the remainder. Danaus, on his entry at 980, is accompanied by a personal guard assigned to him by the Argives, doubtless represented by the same performers who had exited with Pelasgus shortly before, so that the full complement of the squad is restored.

¹²¹ E.g. Plut. *Alex.* 77.7, *Mor.* 337e, 709c; Luc. *How to Write History* 4, *Icaromenippus* 9; Jul. *Symp.* 6. As some of these passages show, the same term was used for silent extras even in comedy, in which they would not often be carrying weapons.

¹²² A. does something similar with Cassandra in the first play of the *Oresteia*, with Pylades in the second, and with Athena's temple-staff (who sing the concluding lyrics) in the third; in *Eumenides* he also brings on what looks like another subsidiary chorus (the judges of the Areopagus council), keeps them on stage for nearly half the play (from 566 to the end) – and leaves them silent to the last. On A.'s use of silence as a dramatic device, see Taplin 1972. It is noteworthy that *Supp.* appears to have used no completely silent 'walk-ons' whatsoever, with the possible exception of a man to drive Pelasgus' chariot (see §10 below; the maidservants of 977–9 probably did not feature in the original production, see 977–9n.).

¹²³ In the pre-σκηνή theatre it was possible to present indoor scenes simply by setting out appropriate furniture, the building itself being left to the imagination (aided by the words of the script). Thus in *Myrmidons* Achilles was seen sitting silent (Ar. *Frogs* 911–15) 'within his hut' (A. fr. 131.3–4), and in one of Phrynichus' plays about the Persian War a eunuch delivered the prologue while 'spreading [i.e. spreading cloths or fleeces over] chairs' for the councillors of state (Hypothesis to *Persians*). Chairs may also have been set out at the start of *Persians*, ready for when the chorus decide to 'sit in this ancient building' (*Pers.* 140–1) to deliberate over the uncertain fortunes of Xerxes' expedition (Taplin 1972: 67–8, 1977: 454; Sommerstein 2010a: 18).

¹²⁴ The same three elements are evident in *Seven* (where there is again a sanctuary with images of all or most of the major gods: *Seven* 93–181) and probably in *Persians* (where the elevated place may represent the tomb of Darius).

- 1 A central area (the ὀρχήστρα or ‘dance-floor’) which was the normal place of the chorus and of the action generally. In A.’s time the orchestra in the Theatre of Dionysus was probably trapezoidal in shape (Goette 2007, 2011; Isler 2015: 24–5), with the long side to the south (furthest from the audience) and spectator seating rising from the other three sides;¹²⁵ it must have been large enough to accommodate comfortably a circular dithyrambic chorus of 50 members. In *Supp.* the orchestra is only intermittently occupied by the chorus (1–233, 524–832, 976/980 [?]-end); at other times it is filled by Pelasgus and his troops (apparently, at their first entrance, including some chariots, cf. 181), or by the Egyptians bent on seizing the Danaids, or (in 911–53) by both. However, the movements of the chorus are so arranged that whenever they sing a full-scale ode (40–176, 524–99, 625–709, 776–824) they are in the orchestra and able to dance freely.¹²⁶
- 2 Two side passages (εἰσοδοί)¹²⁷ to right and left, for the entrance and exit of chorus and characters. In *Supp.* one of these is used by those coming from or returning to the seashore, the other by those coming from or going to the city of Argos; in this edition they are referred to as Eisodos S (for sea) and Eisodos T (for town) respectively.
- 3 An elevated place (called a ‘crag’ [πάγος] at 189), with a sanctuary of the ‘assembled gods’ (189n.) containing larger-than-lifesize images of them,¹²⁸ which is used by Danaus as a lookout post (180–3, 713–23) and where his daughters sit as suppliants (233–523) and take refuge from their pursuers (832–951). It must have been of considerable size to accommodate the seated Danaids (cf. 208n. θρόνους ἔχειν), their father, the images, and an altar (190). It was probably situated at the rear of the orchestra (1–175n.; see Sandin 2005: 15–19), in approximately the position (relative to the audience) that was later occupied by the central door of the σκηνή.

¹²⁵ The redesign of the theatre with a circular orchestra and semicircular seating area, familiar from Epidauros and other fourth-century theatres, appears to have been planned and begun in the time of Pericles but shelved (perhaps owing to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War) before much progress had been made; it was completed only in the period 350–320. See Papastamati-von Moock 2014, 2015.

¹²⁶ If a choral ode has been lost before 980 (see 966–79n.), that too was doubtless sung and danced in the orchestra.

¹²⁷ This is the fifth-century term for these passages, used by Aristophanes (*Clouds* 326, *Birds* 296, Ar. fr. 403). The term πάροδος, once much favoured in modern handbooks, is not found before early Hellenistic times (*IG* xii[9] 207.55–6 [Eretria, 294–288 BC]).

¹²⁸ The images must be tall enough to make credible the Danaids’ threat to hang themselves from them (465). There were probably images of all the Twelve Gods (1–175, 189nn.), matching the number of the chorus.

The performers were two actors¹²⁹ and (probably) three choruses (Danaids, Egyptians and Argives). Of the actors, one will have played the role of Pelasgus, the other Danaus and the Herald. The choruses must all have been distinct groups, since all three are present together from 911 to 953. The main chorus almost certainly consisted of 12 members,¹³⁰ and they were probably matched in number by the Egyptians who came to seize them and by the Argives who confronted the Egyptians.

The Danaids have dusky masks and wear clothes and veils of fine linen (see §6). The Egyptians' masks are several shades darker (cf. 719–20, 888), according to the regular Greek convention whereby males were represented as darker-skinned than females, but also suggesting a greater degree of 'barbarian' alienness; of their clothing we learn only that it is white (720). The Argive soldiers, at least those who march on foot (the majority in 234–523, probably all in 911–end), will be accoutred as Greek hoplites (cf. 182), perhaps with the Argive emblem of the wolf (760n.) on their shields; Pelasgus, on the other hand, is dressed in civilian style and with no obvious royal trappings (save for a sceptre, 248n.), so that the Danaids can profess themselves uncertain (247–8) whether he is ruler, priest or private citizen. Danaus must also be dressed fairly plainly, since he is to be presented to the Argive assembly as a suppliant in distress.

The principal stage-properties referred to directly or indirectly in the text are:

- 1 *Wool-wreathed olive branches* (1–175n.), the emblem of the suppliant, carried by the Danaids in their left hands (191–3). Some of them must have been laid on the altar of the Twelve Gods when the Danaids took their station in the sanctuary, since they are available for Danaus to pick up at 482 and take into the city; the rest remain in the Danaids' hands (and are said to be 'shading' them at 354–5, cf. 346) until 507 when

¹²⁹ One of whom was probably A. himself. Sophocles is reported to have been the first dramatist who did not act in his own plays (*Life of Sophocles* 4).

¹³⁰ According to the *Life of Sophocles* (4), it was Sophocles who increased the size of the tragic chorus from 12 to 15 (though Sansone 2016 has argued persuasively that this statement is the result of an ancient misunderstanding and that the chorus numbered 12 throughout the fifth century). In *Agamemnon* (1348–71) the chorus hold a debate in which each of its 12 members speaks separately. Podlecki (2013: 132) has revived the hypothesis that the Danaid chorus had 50 members; but it is extremely hard to envisage a *παῖς* that would be large enough to accommodate 51 persons, and it would be impossible for 50 Danaids to hang themselves from the statues of 12 gods. A chorus represents a group, not a group of a specific size: in Euripides' *Suppliants* the seven mothers of the Seven against Thebes will have been represented by a chorus of normal size (Collard 1975: 18, Morwood 2007: 143–4), and the Erinyes, whose canonical number was probably already three (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 457, *Or.* 408, 1650, [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.1.4), were represented in *Eumenides* by a chorus of 12 (Papadopoulou 2011: 143 n.10).

they in turn are laid on the altar, to stay there for the rest of the play as a 'symbol of distress' (σημείον πόνου) (506).

- 2 *Chariot(s) and horses*. The double announcement of their approach at 182–4 would be pointless unless at least one chariot actually appears. It would be appropriate for King Pelasgus to arrive in a vehicle, like the Persian Queen at *Pers.* 150–8 (cf. 607–8) and Agamemnon at *Ag.* 783; most probably his was the only one.
- 3 *Sceptre* carried by Pelasgus (see above).
- 4 *Arms* (sword, spear, shield) carried by the Argive soldiers (see above).
- 5 *Chains or ropes* to bind their prisoners, possibly carried by (some of) the Egyptians (873n.).
- 6 The Herald's *staff of office* (220 and 'after 871' nn.).

11 PLACE IN AESCHYLUS' WORK

Until 1952 it was generally, though not universally, believed that *Supp.* was, probably by a considerable margin, the earliest of A.'s extant works. This judgement was based on a number of factors which, taken together, appeared to have great weight.

- 1 The proportion of lyric, and of choral utterance, is far higher in *Supp.* than in any other surviving tragedy. Since, according to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449a17–18), it was A. who 'reduced the choral parts and caused speech to play the leading role', a play in which song predominated over speech was likely to be early. This was also the only tragedy with three separate choruses, and the only one in which two distinct choruses (as opposed to sections of a single chorus) engaged in lyric dialogue with each other.
- 2 Very little use is made of the second actor. In the 270 lines when Pelasgus and Danaus are both on stage, the latter speaks only once (490–9), and the play contains only one true dialogue between individual characters (911–53). By contrast, A.'s earliest datable play (*Persians* of 472) has two long two-actor scenes (Queen–Messenger and Queen–Darius), in neither of which is one of the characters ever virtually forgotten, as Danaus is during nearly a quarter of *Supp.*
- 3 The play was thought of as being full of elaborate and often exotic spectacle,¹³¹ it being assumed that tragedy evolved away from such extravagance and towards the classical restraint of Sophocles.

¹³¹ Sometimes considerably exaggerated, especially by those who assumed a chorus of 50.

4 The plot seemed simple and slight, containing no decisive change of fortune; even in *Persians*, while the defeat at Salamis has happened before the action of the play begins, its impact on the Persian empire can be appreciated only when it is known about in the empire's capital, and the play also includes a prophecy of the further disaster at Plataea.

Then in 1952 *POxy* 2256 was published, and its fragment 3 contained a production notice (διδασκαλία) for one of the plays of the Danaid tetralogy.¹³²

ἐπι ἀρ[
ενικά [Αι]σχυλο[ς		
Δαν[αι]σι Αμυ[μωνη]		
δευτ[ε]ρ[ο]ς Σοφοκλή[ς]		
Μέσατος [[Ν. []]	5
[[Βάκχαις, Κωφοί[]]	
Ποι]μεσιν, Κυκ.		
σατυ[ρ		

The bracketing in lines 5 and 6 is susceptible of various explanations, but the likeliest (Garvie 1969: 7–9) is that the scribe, after writing [τρίτος] Μέσατος, realized he had omitted the titles of Sophocles' plays, inserted them in brackets, and followed them with the titles of Mesatus' plays unbracketed.¹³³

Thus we now know that the Danaid tetralogy won first prize in a competition in which Sophocles came second. Sophocles won his first victory in 468;¹³⁴ according to Plutarch this was the first time he had competed, but another source¹³⁵ places his debut in 470, and Plutarch, or the author on whom he is relying, is under considerable suspicion of having improved the story. By this reckoning the Danaid plays could belong to any year

¹³² For a full analysis of this fragment see Garvie 1969: 1–28. Doubled square brackets enclose text that was bracketed by the original scribe or a corrector (in this case the former).

¹³³ The unusual title Κωφοί, which appears from its position to be that of Sophocles' fourth play, is attested as the title of a Sophoclean satyr-drama. Nothing is known of a Sophoclean Βάκχαι: this play may have been lost at an early date, or it may be an alternative title for a play known to us under some other name. There are several possibilities for the first play of Sophocles' production (of whose title there survive only the first letter and traces of the second and fourth), among which Ναυσικάα is attractive because this is likely to have been an early play (cf. Athen. 1.20f).

¹³⁴ *Marm. Par.* (FGrH 239 A 56); Plut. *Cim.* 8.8–9.

¹³⁵ Two versions of the chronicle of Eusebius (that of Jerome and the Armenian text) say that Sophocles brought his work before the public (*ingenii sui opera publicavit*, as Jerome puts it) in the second year of the 77th Olympiad (471/0).

between 470 and 459 inclusive,¹³⁶ except for 468 (when Sophocles was victorious) and 467 (which is occupied by the Theban tetralogy), though the last few years of this period are somewhat less likely because there is evidence that the σκηνή was already in use before 458.¹³⁷

The first line of the papyrus fragment gave the date of the production. Maddeningly, all that is left of it is ἐπὶ αἰρ[, and we cannot tell for certain whether the last two letters are the beginning of the word ἄρχοντος or of the name of the archon holding office in the year the plays were produced.¹³⁸ If it is a name, the only possible candidate is Archedemides, archon in 464/3;¹³⁹ the year 463 is thus slightly more likely as the date of *Supp.* than any other, but it is very far from certain.

The evidence of the papyrus, implying that *Supp.* was later than *Persians* and probably later than *Seven*, came as a great shock to many scholars, and various implausible attempts were made to evade it.¹⁴⁰ It can now be seen, however, that the arguments previously adduced for an early date were less compelling than they had seemed,¹⁴¹ and that in important respects *Supp.* stylistically resembles the *Oresteia* more than it does *Persians* or *Seven*.

¹³⁶ Scullion 2002: 87–101, after arguing on structural and stylistic grounds for a date for *Supp.* in the mid 470s, is forced to admit (p. 101) that there is no evidence whatever that Sophocles' debut was as early as that.

¹³⁷ There was certainly a visible building in A.'s satyr-drama *Θεωροί* (A. fr. 78a.18–22 Radt = 78c.18–22 Sommerstein), and there is *prima facie* evidence for one also in *Ἡδωνοί* (fr. 58) and *Ἑρείαι* (fr. 87). If this evidence is accepted, there must have been at least two Aeschylean productions with a σκηνή before the *Oresteia*. See Taplin 1977: 455–6.

¹³⁸ Both possibilities must be regarded as open; see Garvie 1969: 1–2, 2006: ix.

¹³⁹ This holds true even though the second letter of this word might be something other than ρ: the only other archon in the relevant period whose name begins with alpha is Apsephion, in whose year of office (469/8) Sophocles won the tragic competition.

¹⁴⁰ Gilbert Murray, for example, in the second edition of his Oxford Classical Text (Murray 1955), retained (p. 2) the statement that *Supp.* was to be dated not long after A.'s debut in the early 490s and 'certainly' before *Persians*, and listed its *dramatis personae* as three choruses (Danaids, Argives, Egyptians) with Danaus, Pelasgus and the Herald as their respective ἐξάρχοντες (an idea inspired by the statement of Arist. *Poet.* 1449a10–11 that tragedy arose ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξάρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον); he suggested (pp. vi, 2) that the papyrus referred to a posthumous restaging, though it is not clear why a later producer would choose to revive a suite of plays in a style which *ex hypothesi* had become obsolete well before A.'s death. Other early attempts to explain away the evidence of the papyrus are listed and discussed by Garvie 1969: 11–28. A comment made much later by Taplin (1977: 195) has often been quoted since: 'Were it not for the papyrus *didaskalia* a sober man [*sic*] might well put the play in the 470s rather than the 490s, but he could not in all fairness be expected to plump for the 460s.'

¹⁴¹ See especially Garvie 1969: 29–140, also now Garvie 2013 (especially 166–71 on the role of the chorus).

The prominence of the chorus and of lyric, and the slight use made of the second actor, can all be accounted for as the consequences of a deliberate decision to make the Danaids, collectively, in effect the principal characters of this play. Almost uniquely in the corpus of Greek myth, they were a large group of persons whose actions, culminating in the killing of their husbands, were eminently suited for tragedy, but who could appear in tragedy only as a chorus, since the only individual Danaids who had distinct personalities, Hypermestra and Amymone, were untypical of the group and could not act as its representatives.¹⁴² At the same time, it was impossible to exclude Danaus from the story; in every known version of it he comes to Argos with his daughters, and it is either stated or assumed that he arranges the marriages and supplies the weapons with which the murders are committed. In *Supp.*, therefore, he had to be present, but he could not be allowed to eclipse his daughters; and therefore they, not he, are made to take the lead in supplicating Pelasgus – which, as we have seen (§9), was a tactically astute move from the family's own point of view.

The other arguments previously used to support an early date were always less strong. The spectacular element in *Supp.* is not substantially greater than in, say, *Eumenides*. For example, the greatest number of persons on stage at any one moment of *Supp.* is 38 (911–53n.), which is probably *less* than the number taking part in the final procession of *Eumenides*. And the judgement that *Supp.* contains 'no decisive change of fortune' ignores the fact that by its end Argos is committed to a dangerous war against a powerful enemy, a war in which (as the audience could readily infer from their general knowledge of the myth) it will certainly not be victorious, and after which (as the grant of a bodyguard to Danaus would strongly suggest) it might well find itself subjected to a τύραννος.

There is, moreover, considerable stylistic evidence tending to place *Supp.* after *Persians* and *Seven*. Bowen (2013: 18–19) traces several fairly steady developmental trends in A.'s linguistic usage, all of which represent a movement towards a style less remote from (though still very different from) that of everyday speech: increasing use of the definite article, of εἰμί,¹⁴³ of ἔχω, of prepositions, and of crasis with the definite article.¹⁴⁴ On

¹⁴² In this respect the Danaids differ markedly from another group of husband-killers, the Lemnian women, among whom the only prominent individual, Hypsipyle, is the leader and inspirer of the group.

¹⁴³ Bowen includes in his count passages in which a form of εἰμί 'appears to be understood'; as this is a somewhat subjective figure, I use here only the total of actual occurrences.

¹⁴⁴ Bowen actually gives figures for all types of crasis, but it is crasis with the article that shows a clear upward trend.

two of these five measures *Supp.* comes between *Persians* and *Seven*, on two it comes between that pair and the *Oresteia*, and on crasis with the article – which shows the strongest trend of all – *Supp.* actually comes out slightly ahead of the *Oresteia*, both having the phenomenon with more than eight times the frequency found in *Persians*.¹⁴⁵

There are a wide variety of other features of linguistic and metrical usage, and of thought, that *Supp.* shares with the *Oresteia* alone among the undisputedly genuine extant plays.¹⁴⁶ To some extent this may merely reflect the fact that the *Oresteia* is nearly twice as long as *Persians* and *Seven* combined, but the sheer bulk of evidence cannot all be thus explained away.

All in all, the internal evidence tends to confirm that of the papyrus, pointing to a date between 470 and 459 inclusive, and more likely towards the middle of this period (466–462 approximately) than in its first or last few years.¹⁴⁷ The evidence of art points the same way: we know of at least 11 vase-paintings datable between 460 and 440 depicting a subject of which there are no earlier images, the encounter of Amymone and Poseidon (often with satyrs present too), a fashion surely inspired by the fourth play of the Danaid tetralogy.¹⁴⁸ In the unlikely event of another copy of the Hypothesis turning up, no eyebrows would be raised if it proved that the tetralogy was indeed produced in the archonship of Archedemides.

¹⁴⁵ However, in *Supp.* all the instances involve the neuter forms τό and τά, whereas in the *Oresteia* every singular form of the article that ends in a vowel (in addition to the plural form τὰ) is represented at least once.

¹⁴⁶ In the first 100 lines alone, see the notes on 1 (*bis*), 4–5, 11–12, 24–5, 26, 37–9, 40–55, 43–7 (*bis*), 48, 52–5 (*bis*), 56–7, 58–9, 70–2, 79–80 (*bis*), 83–5, 86–7 (*bis*), 88–90, 96–103. See also Pattoni 2011: 136–47, 2017: 260–71, who finds far-reaching parallels in structure, thought and language between *Supp.* and *Eumenides*.

¹⁴⁷ Many attempts have been made to link *Supp.* to episodes in Athenian politics, or in Athenian–Argive relations, in the relevant period; see e.g. Podlecki 1966: 50–62, and Parara 2010, esp. 327–38. The play certainly has some political implications, centring as it does on a decision by a democratic assembly, described in language appropriate to the Athenian ἐκκλησία (600–24nn.), which is taken on the basis of imperfect and slanted information but is nevertheless probably the least bad option available; but the evidence is not sufficient to claim, as I once tried to do (Sommerstein 1996a: 403–9), that it reflects any particular political incident or issue. And ‘if A. had had contemporary Athenian–Argive relations at the front of his mind, he would never have given King Pelasgus the speech (254–9) in which he claims to be ruler of all Greece ... by implication including Athens itself’ (Sommerstein 2010a: 289; cf. Kitto 1961: 7–8).

¹⁴⁸ Simon 1981, nos. 1–2, 17–22, 40–2; Carpenter 1991: 41.

12 TRANSMISSION AND TEXT¹⁴⁹

It is rather surprising that *Supp.* found a place among the seven plays attributed to A. which later in antiquity became a standard selection for school use and thereby survived into the Middle Ages and so into modern times. Probably it took the fancy of an unknown scholar who created a commentary (from which the medieval scholia are doubtless largely descended) that made the seven plays suitable for educational purposes. It seems to have been little read in antiquity,¹⁵⁰ though there is one papyrus fragment (*PVindob* G40458, containing parts of lines 586–90).

In Byzantine times the selection was generally narrowed down further, usually to three plays (*Prometheus*, *Seven* and *Persians*, the so-called Byzantine triad), sometimes to five (adding *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*). For *Supp.*, as for *Choephoroi*, our text is solely dependent (apart from ancient quotations and the tiny papyrus fragment) on a single manuscript, the tenth-century Mediceus (Laurentianus 32.9, known as M) now in the Laurentian library in Florence.¹⁵¹ In these two plays its text is very corrupt, as though successive copyists had had little opportunity to correct errors by comparing copies other than the one they were transcribing; quite often the scribe must have known he was copying nonsense, but he seems generally to have tried to be faithful to his exemplar (an even harder task since it was apparently very difficult to read), thus giving later generations the best (even if often not a very good) chance of recovering the truth. His work was afterwards checked against the exemplar by a careful reader who also copied the scholia, inserted a few variant readings (which may already have been in the exemplar) and a few attempted corrections of his own, and marked as corrupt many passages for which no solution presented itself.

The scholia not infrequently contain, or point the way to, a reading superior to that in M's text,¹⁵² and so occasionally do the ancient quotations.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ See FJW 1.55–77 and M. L. West 1990a: iv–vi, xvi–xxiv, 1990b: 321–3, 356–7.

¹⁵⁰ Almost the only ancient author, other than lexicographers and grammarians, who quotes *Supp.* is Plutarch, who cites lines 214, 226, 681–3, 770 and 937 (whereas he cites only one passage each from *Persians* and *Seven*, and none at all from the *Oresteia*; after *Supp.* his favourite plays in the Aeschylean corpus are *Niobe* and *Prometheus Unbound* – neither of them among the select seven – from which he cites three passages each).

¹⁵¹ This manuscript also contains the seven plays of Sophocles and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius; editors of these authors refer to it as L.

¹⁵² 44, 56, 80, 83, 103, 107, 119, 124, 154, 156, 193, 255, 435, 457, 466, 672, 683, 764, 772, 827, 882, 885, 892, 915, 1070.

¹⁵³ 14, 226, 882.

Five other manuscripts, of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, contain the text of *Supp.*; they are all direct or indirect copies of M and of no independent authority,¹⁵⁴ but in a fair number of passages one or another of them has successfully corrected an error of M's. One of these manuscripts, Guelferbytanus Gudianus graecus 4^o 88, now at Wolfenbüttel, was the source of the first printed edition of A. (Venice, 1518).¹⁵⁵

The critical apparatus of this edition records all passages in which I have printed a text different from M's (or printed M's text with the *obeli* that signify an unremedied corruption), together with a limited number of other proposed emendations which I judge to have a good chance of being right.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ The attempt by Friis Johansen 1968 (see also FJW 1 70–6) to argue that the latest of the five (Scurialensis T.1.15, written about 1540) is descended not from M but from a 'twin' of M (written about the same time as M, and corrected by the same hand), has gained virtually no support; see especially Griffith 1986: 326–9.

¹⁵⁵ That is, it was the text from which the editor, Franciscus Asulanus, made a copy (which has not survived) to be given to the printer; see McCall 1985. Asulanus was of no account as a scholar, and appears to have been chosen for this task mainly because he was the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius, founder of the publishing house. Marcus Musurus, who had prepared so many fine editions for Aldus (including the first printed editions of Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes), had died in 1517; Aldus himself had died in 1515.

¹⁵⁶ For fuller listings of proposed emendations see Wecklein 1885 (apparatus and Appendix), 1893; Dawe 1965; M. L. West 1990a (apparatus), 1990b: 385–8. A consolidated and updated repertory of conjectures is being prepared by V. Citti and M. Tauber.

SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

M	Laurentianus 32 9 (tenth century)
M ⁱ	the original scribe of M
M ^s	the reviser of M, who also copied the scholia
<i>Copies of M</i>	
Bonon.	Bononiensis [Bologna] Bibl. Univ. 2271 (fifteenth century)
Guelf.	Guelferbytanus [Wolfenbüttel] Gudianus gr. 4° 88 (c. 1495)
Laur.	Laurentianus San Marco 222 (early fourteenth century)
Par. 2886	Parisinus gr. 2886 (c. 1520)
Scurial.	Scurialensis [El Escorial, Spain] T.1.15 (c. 1540)
Σ	scholia (in M, unless otherwise stated or unless the scholium is on another work)
ⁱ Σ	reading implied by scholium (but not explicitly presented there)
^Λ Σ	lemma, i.e. word(s) from text written as heading to a scholium
Ald.	the first printed edition (ed. Franciscus Asulanus, Venice, 1518)
ac	<i>ante correctionem</i> (before correction)
add.	addidit (added)
coni.	<i>coniecit</i> (conjectured)
del.	<i>deleuit, deleuerunt</i> (deleted)
fort.	<i>fortasse</i> (perhaps)
γρ	reading cited in MS as variant (often introduced by γρ(ἀφεται))
in ras.	<i>in rasura</i> (over an erasure)
om.	<i>omittit uel omisit</i> (omits or omitted)
pc	<i>post correctionem</i> (after correction)
sscr.	<i>superscripsit uel superscriptum</i> (wrote/written above the line)
suppl.	<i>suppleuit</i> (proposed as a supplement)
tent.	<i>tentaui</i> (proposed tentatively)
transp.	<i>transposuit</i> (transposed)

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΔΑΝΑΙΔΩΝ

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ, βασιλεύς Ἀργείων

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως
 στόλον ἡμέτερον νάϊον ἀρθέντ'
 ἀπὸ προστομίων λεπτοψαμάθων
 Νείλου· Δίαν δὲ λιποῦσαι
 χθόνα σύγχορτον Συρίαι φεύγομεν 5
 οὔτιν' ἐφ' αἵματι δημηλασίαν
 ψήφωι πόλεως γνωσθεῖσαι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτογενῇ φυξανορίαν,
 γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῇ τ'
 ὀνοταζόμεναι < ~ ~ ~ >. 10
 Δαναὸς δὲ πατήρ καὶ βούλαρχος
 καὶ στασίαρχος τάδε πεσσονομῶν
 κύδιστ' ἀχέων ἐπέκρανεν,
 φεύγειν ἀνέδην διὰ κῦμ' ἄλιον,
 κέλσαι δ' Ἄργους γαῖαν, ὅθεν δὴ 15
 γένος ἡμέτερον, τῆς οἰστροδόου
 βοὸς ἐξ ἐπαφῆς κάξ ἐπιπνοίας
 Διὸς εὐχόμενον, τετέλεσται.
 τίν' ἄν οὖν χώραν εὐφρονα μᾶλλον
 τῆσδ' ἀφικοίμεθα 20
 σὺν τοῖσδ' ἰκετῶν ἐγχειριδίοις,
 ἐριοστέπτοισι κλάδοισιν;
 < >
 ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ,
 ὕπατοί τε θεοὶ καὶ βαθυτίμους
 χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες 25

2 ἀρθέντ' Turnebus: ἀρόεντ' M (-τα M^{ac}) 3 λεπτοψαμάθων Pauw: λεπτομαθῶν
 M 4 λιποῦσαι Turnebus: λειποῦσαι (sic) M 6 δημηλασίαν Aura-
 tus: δημηλασῖαι M, et ita ut uidetur (ψήφωι ... δημοσίαι) Σ 7 γνωσθεῖσαι
 M: γνωσθεῖσαν Moritz Schmidt 8 αὐτογενῇ Turnebus: αὐτογέννητον
 M φυξανορίαν H. L. Ahrens: φυξάνοραν M^{yp}: φυλαξάνοραν (λα in ras. M^s:
 -ανοράν M^{ac}) M 10 <διάνοιαν> Weil: <καὶ ἄτιμον> Sandin 14 κῦμ'
 ἄλιον Hesych. α4800: κυμβάλεον M (β in ras.) 16 -δόου Turnebus: -δόμου
 M 17 ἐπιπνοίας M^{ac}: ἐπινοίας M^{pc} 18 τετέλεσται M: τετελέσθαι Pauw,
 Schütz 22 ἐριο- anon., Scaliger: ἱερο- M 22/23 lacunam statuit West, qui
 supplet e.g. <ἀλλ', ὦ πάτριοι δαίμονες Ἄργους> 23 ὦν ... ὦν M: ὦ ... ὦ Robor-
 tello 24 βαθυτίμους Musgrave: βαρύτιμοι M 25 χθόνιοι M: χθονίους Portus

καὶ Ζεὺς σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ
 ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, δέξασθ' ἰκέτην
 τὸν θηλυγενῆ στόλον αἰδοίωι
 πνεύματι χώρας· ἄρσενοπληθῆ δ'
 ἔσμον ὕβριστήν Αἰγυπτογενῆ, 30
 πρὶν πόδα χέρσωι τῇιδ' ἐν ἄσώδει
 θεῖναι, ξὺν ὄχῳι ταχυήρει
 πέμψατε πόντονδ'· ἔνθα δὲ λαίλαπι
 χειμωνοτύπῳι βροντῇι στεροπῇι τ'
 ὀμβροφόροισιν τ' ἀνέμοις ἀγρίας 35
 ἄλὸς ἀντήσαντες ὄλοιντο,
 πρὶν ποτε λέκτρων ὦν θέμις εἶργει,
 σφετεριζάμενοι πατραδελφεῖαν
 τήνδ', ἀεκόντων ἐπιβῆναι.

νῦν δ' ἐπικεκλομένα στρ. α
 Δῖον πόρτιν, ὑπερπόντιον τιμάορ', ἱνὶν ἀνθονομού- 41
 σας προγόνου βοὸς ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας
 Ζηνός· ἔφαψιν ἐπωνυμίαν δ' ἐπεκραίνετο μόρσιμος αἰὼν 45
 εὐλόγως, Ἐπαφον δ' ἐγέννασεν·

ὄντ' ἐπιλεξαμένα ἀντ. α
 νῦν ἐν ποιονόμοις ματρὸς ἀρχαίας τόποις, τῶν πρόσθε πόνων 50
 μνασάμενα τά τε νῦν ἐπιδείξω
 πιστὰ τεκμήρια, γαιονόμοισι δ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανεῖται· 55
 γνῶσεται δὲ λόγου τις ἐν μάκει.

εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων στρ. β
 ἐγγάϊος οἴκτον αἴων,

27 δέξασθ' Heath: δέξαιθ' M 38 σφετεριζάμενοι Portus, πατραδελφεῖαν
 Pauw: -ξάμενον -φίαν M 40 ἐπικεκλομένα Turnebus: ἐπικεκλόμεναι
 M 42 ἱνὶν Hermann: ἱνὶν τ' M: ἱνὶν γ' Page 43 ἀνθονομούσας Porson:
 ἀνθονόμουστας M^{ac}: ἀνθονόμου τᾶς M^{pc}: ἀνθονόμον τᾶς Tucker 44 ἐπιπνοίας
 Σ: ἐπιπνοίαις M 45 ἐπωνυμίαν Auratus: ἐπωνυμίαι M 53 τά τε suscep-
 tum: τάδε Page 54 γαιονόμοισι δ' Hermann: τά τ' ἀνόμοια οἶδ' M (τά τ' in
 ras.) 56 λόγου Σ: λόγους M 59 οἴκτον Bothe: οἴκτον οἰκτρὸν M

δοξάσει τιν' ἀκούειν ὅπα τᾶς Τηρεΐας 60
μήτιδας οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,
κιρκηλάτου γ' Ἀηδονᾶς,

ἄτ' ἀπὸ χλωρῶν ποταμῶν ἐργομένα 60
πενθεῖ νέον οἶκτον ἠθέων,
ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον, ὥς αὐτοφόνως 65
ῶλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἔθεν
δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών.

τὼς καὶ ἐγὼ φιλόδυρτος Ἰαονίοισι νόμοισι 66
δάπτω τὰν ἀπαλὰν εἰλοθερῇ παρειάν 70
ἀπειρόδακρύν τε καρδιάν·
γοεδνὰ δ' ἀνθεμίζομαι
δειμαίνουσ', ἀφίλου τᾶσδε φυγᾶς
Ἀερίας ἀπὸ γᾶς 75
εἴ τίς ἐστι κηδεμών.

ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γενέται κλύετ' εὖ τὸ δίκαιον ἰδόντες· 76
ἦβαν μὴ τέλεον δόντες ἔχειν παρ' αἴσαν, 80
ὔβριν δ' ἐτύμως στυγόντες,
πέλοιτ' ἄν ἔνδικοι †γάμοις†.
ἔστι δὲ κακ πολέμου τειρομένοις
βωμὸς ἀρῆς φυγάσιν
ῥῦμα, δαιμόνων σέβας. 85

εἴθ' εἴη 'κ Διὸς εὖ παναλη- 86
θῶς· Διὸς ἥμερος οὐκ
εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη· 87

60 τιν' Auratus, ἀκούειν Portus: τις ἀκούων M 61 μήτιδας Pauw: μήτιδος M 62 γ' anon.: τ' M Ἀηδονᾶς tent. Sandin (-όνας Wilamowitz): ἀηδονῆς M: ἀηδόνας Turnebus 63 χλωρῶν ποταμῶν Scheer: χώρων ποταμῶν τ' M 64 νέον M: μὲν Haecker 66 ἔθεν Porson: ἔο ἐν M 68 φιλόδυρτος Heath: φιλοδύρτοις M 71 εἰλοθερῇ Musgrave: νειλοθερῇ M 74 δειμαίνουσ' ἀφίλου Musgrave: δειμαίνουσα φίλους (φίλ- ex φόλ- M^a) M: δειμαίνουσ' ἀφόνου Headlam 80 ἦβαν 'Σ: ηβαι M 81 ἐτύμως (έτ-) Suliardus: ἐτοίμως M 82 ἔνδικοι γάμοις M: ἔνδικοι γένει Menzel 83 πολέμου 'Σ: πτολέμου M 86 εἴθ' εἴη 'κ Διὸς Heath: εἰ θεΐη Διὸς M

δαῦλοι γὰρ πραπίδων	93
δάσκιοί τε τείνου-	
σιν πόροι κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι.	95
πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλές οὐδ' ἐπὶ νώ-	91 ἀντ. δ
τωι, κορυφαῖ Διὸς εἰ	
κρανθῇι πράγμα τέλειον.	92
πάνται τοι φλεγέθει	88
κάν σκότῳ μελαίνει	
ξύν τύχαι μερόπεσσι λαοῖς.	90
ἰάπτει δ' ἐλπίδων	96 στρ. ε
ἄφ' ὑσιπύργων πανώλεις βροτούς,	
βίαν δ' οὔτιν' ἐξοπλίζει	
πᾶν ἄπονον δαιμονίων	100
ἥμενος ὃν φρόνημά πως	
αὐτόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμ-	
πας ἐδράνων ἄφ' ἀγνῶν.	
ἰδέσθω δ' εἰς ὕβριν	ἀντ. ε
βρότειον, οἷος νεάζει πυθμὴν	105
δι' ἀμὸν γάμον τεθαλῶς	
δυσπαραβούλοισι φρεσὶν	
καὶ διάνοιαν μαινόλιν	
κέντρον ἔχων ἄφυκτον, †ἄ-	110
ται δ' ἀπάται† μεταγνούς.	
τοιαῦτα πάθεα μέλεα θρεομένα λέγω,	στρ. ζ
λιγέα βαρέα δακρυοπετῇ,	
ἰὴ ἰή, ἰηλέμοισιν ἐμπρεπῇ	115

88-90 et 93-5 inter se transp. Westphal 95 κατιδεῖν Par. 2886: κατειδεῖν M 96 δ' ἐλπίδων Musgrave: δὲ ἀπιδῶν M 100 πᾶν Labbaeus, ἄπονον Pauw: τὰν ἄποινον M 101 ἥμενος Paley, ὃν Haupt: ἥμενον ἄνω M 103 ἄφ' Σ 102: ἐφ' M Σ 101 105 οἷος Whittle: οἷα M: οἷαι Schütz 107 τεθαλῶς Bothe (praeunte Musgrave), cf. Σ: τὸ θάλως M^{ac}: τὸ θάλος M^{pc} 110-11 ἄται δ' ἀπάται M (1 utrumque M^s in ras.): ἄταν (Guelf.^{ac}) δ' ἀγαπᾶν West. 112 λέγω Canter: λέγων M 115 ἐμπρεπῇ Porson: ἐμπρέπη θρεομένη μέλη (cf. 112) M

ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ.
 ἰλεῶμαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν –
 καρβᾶνα δ' αὐδὰν εὖ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς –
 πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ
 Σιδονίαί καλύπτραι. 120

θεοῖς δ' ἐναγέα τέλεα πελομένων καλῶς
 ἐπίδρομ', ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῆι. ἀντ. ζ
 ἰὼ ἰὼ, ἰὼ δυσάγκριτοι πόνοι· 125
 ποῖ τόδε κῦμ' ἀπάξει;
 ἰλεῶμαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν –
 καρβᾶνα δ' αὐδὰν εὖ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς – 130
 πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ
 Σιδονίαί καλύπτραι.

πλάτα μὲν οὖν λινορραφής
 τε δόμος, ἄλλα στέγον δόρυ, στρ. η
 ἀχείματόν μ' ἔπεμπε σὺν 135
 πνοαῖς, οὐδὲ μέμφομαι·
 τελευτὰς δ' ἐν χρόνῳ
 πατήρ ὁ παντόπτας
 πρευμενεῖς κτίσειεν, 140
 σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρός εὐνᾶς
 ἀνδρῶν, ἔ ἔ,
 ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν.

θέλουσα δ' αὖ θέλουσαν ἀγ- ἀντ. η
 νά μ' ἐπιδέτω Διὸς κόρα, 145
 ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπι' ἄ-
 σφαλῇ, παντὶ δὲ σθένει
 διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ'
 ἀδμῆτος ἀδμήτα

119, 130 εὖ, γᾶ Boissonade, κοννεῖς Burges: cf. Σ ὦ γῆ, νοεῖς: εὐακοννεῖς (119),
 εὐγακόννης (130) M 121, 132 λινοσινεῖ Bücheler: λίνοισινῆι (121), αἰνοισινῆ
 (132) M 124 ἀπῆι Σ: ὀπηι M 135 στέγον δόρυ Friis Johansen: στέγων
 δορός M 136–7 σὺν πνοαῖς Porson: συμπνοιαῖς M 141, 151 μέγα M: με Wil-
 amowitz 143, 153 ἀδάματον Bothe: ἀδάμαντον M 146–7 ἀσφαλῇ Sidg-
 wick (-έα Headlam): ἀσφαλές M: ἀσφαλῆς Young 147 σθένει Canter: σθένος
 M: σθενουσι M^s 148 διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ' Hermann: διωγμοῖσι δ' ἀσφαλέας
 M 149 ἀδμῆτος Pauw: ἀδμήτας M

ρύσιος γενέσθω· 150
 σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρός εὐνᾶς
 ἀνδρῶν, ἔ ἔ,
 ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν.

εἰ δέ μή, μελανθές στρ. θ
 ἡλιόκτυπον γένος 155
 τὸν γαῖον, τὸν πολυξενώτατον
 Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων
 ἰξόμεσθα σὺν κλάδοις
 ἀρτάναις θανοῦσαι, 160
 μή τυχοῦσαι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

ᾧ Ζήν, Ἰοῦς – ἰώ – μεσωιδ.
 μῆνις μάστειρ' ἐκ θεῶν.
 κοννῶ δ' ἄγαν
 γαμετᾶς οὐρανόνικον· 165
 χαλεποῦ γὰρ ἐκ πνεύματος εἴσι χειμῶν.

καὶ τότε οὐ δικάοις ἀντ. θ
 Ζεὺς ἐνέξεται ψόγοις,
 τὸν τᾶς βοὸς παῖδ' ἀτιμάσας, τὸν αὐ- 170
 τὸς ποτ' ἔκτισεν γόνωι,
 νῦν ἔχων παλίντροπον
 ὄψιν ἐν λιταῖσιν;
 ὑπόθεν δ' εὖ κλύοι καλούμενος. 175

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

παῖδες, φρονεῖν χρή· ξὺν φρονοῦντι δ' ἦκετε
 πιστῶι γέροντι τῶιδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί·
 καὶ τὰπὶ χέρσου νῦν προμηθίαν λαβὼν
 αἰνῶ φυλάξαι τᾶμ' ἔπη δελτουμένας.

154 δέ Σ: δὴ M 155 ἡλιό- Wellauer: ἡδιό- M 156 γαῖον Wellauer, cf. Σ
 καταχθόνιον: ταιον M: ἀγραῖον *El. Gud.* 578.11 de Stefani = *Anecd. Ox.* ii 443 (s.v.
 Ζαγρεύς), unde Ζαγρέα Blomfield 162 ᾧ Ζήν distinxit Salvini, Ἰοῦς ἰώ Rob-
 ortello: αζηνιουσιω M 164 κοννῶ δ' Turnebus, ἄγαν Bamberger: κοννωδάταν
 M 165 γαμετᾶς οὐρανό- Turnebus, -νικον Victorius : γαμετουρανόνεικον
 M 169 ἐνέξεται Porson, ψόγοις Headlam: ἐνεύξεται λόγοις M 176 ἦκετε
 Porson: ἴκετε M 178 λαβὼν Wordsworth: λαβεῖν M

- ὀρῶ κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ· 180
 σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἄξονήλατοι·
 ὄχλον δ' ὑπασπιστῆρα καὶ δορυσσόον
 λεύσσω ξὺν ἵπποις καμπύλοις τ' ὀχήμασιν.
 τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης
 < >
 ὀπτῆρες εἶεν, ἀγγέλων πεπυσμένοι· 185
 ἄλλ' εἴτ' ἀπήμων εἴτε καὶ τεθηγμένος
 ὦμῃ ξὺν ὀργῇ τόνδ' ἐπόρνυται στόλον,
 ἄμεινόν ἐστι παντὸς οὔνεκ', ὦ κόραι,
 πάγον προσίζειν τόνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν·
 κρεῖσσον δὲ πύργου βωμός, ἄρρηκτον σάκος. 190
 ἄλλ' ὥς τάχιστα βᾶτε, καὶ λευκοστεφεῖς
 ἰκετηρίας, ἀγάλαματ' αἰδοίου Διός,
 σεμνῶς ἔχουσai διὰ χερῶν εὐωνύμων
 αἰδοῖα καὶ γοεδνὰ καὶ ζαχρεῖ' ἔπη
 ξένους ἀμείβεσθ', ὥς ἐπήλυδας πρέπει, 195
 τορῶς λέγουσαι τάσδ' ἀναιμάκτους φυγᾶς.
 φθογγῇ δ' ἐπέστω πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ θρασύ,
 τὸ μὴ μάταιον δ' ἐκ †μετώπῳ σωφρονῶν†
 ἴτω προσώπων ὄμματος παρ' ἡσύχου.
 καὶ μὴ πρόλεσχος μηδ' ἐφολκὸς ἐν λόγῳ 200
 γένῃ· τὸ τῇδε κάρτ' ἐπίφθονον γένος.
 μέμνησο δ' εἴκειν· χρεῖος εἶ, ξένη, φυγᾶς·
 θρασυστομεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τοὺς ἥσσονας.
 Χο. πάτερ, φρονούντως πρὸς φρονοῦντας ἐννέπεις·
 φυλάξομαι δὲ τάσδε μεμνησθαι σέθεν 205
 κεδνὰς ἐφετμάς· Ζεὺς δὲ γεννήτῳ ἴδοι. 206
 Δα. ἴδοιτο δῆτα πρευμενοῦς ἀπ' ὄμματος. 210
 Χο. θέλοιμ' ἂν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν. 208
 Δα. μή νυν σχόλαζε, μηχανῇ δ' ἔστω κράτος. 207

184 ἀρχηγέτης Friis Johansen: ἀρχηγέται M 184/5 lacunam statu-
 it Foss: possis e.g. <ὀπάονές θ' ἤκοιεν, ὥς τῶν ἐνθάδε> 185 πεπυσμένοι M:
 πεπυσμένος Bowen 186 τεθηγμένος Portus: τεθειμένος M 188 οὔνεκ'
 Heath: εἵνεκ' M 189 τόνδ' Turnebus: τῶνδ' M 190 κρεῖσσον M^{pc}:
 κρεῖσσω M^{ac} 193 εὐωνύμων Ξ (τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τοὺς κλάδους κατέχουσai):
 συνωνύμων M 194 γοεδνὰ Robortello, Turnebus: γοεῖδη M ζαχρεῖ'
 Geel: τὰ χρέα M 197 ἐπέστω Bothe: ἐπέσθω M 198 μετώπῳ σωφρονῶν
 M: σεσωφρονισμένων Dindorf 202 εἰ ξένη Sophianus, Turnebus: εἶξεν ἡ
 M 210 post 206 transp. Burges, 208 ante 207 Hermann 207 μηχανῇ
 Sommerstein (-ναῖς Bothe): μηχανῆς M

- Χο. ὦ Ζεῦ, σκοπῶν οἴκτιρε μὴ ἴπολωλότας. 209
 Δα. κείνου θέλοντος εὖ τελευτήσῃ τάδε. 211
 καὶ Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκετε.
 Χο. καλοῦμεν αὐγὰς Ἡλίου σωτηρίους.
 Δα. ἀγνόν τ' Ἀπόλλω, φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεόν.
 Χο. εἰδὼς ἄν αἴσαν τήνδε συγγνοίῃ βροτοῖς. 215
 Δα. συγγνοῖτο δῆτα καὶ παρασταίῃ πρόφρων.
 Χο. τίν' οὔν κικλήσκω τῶνδε δαιμόνων ἔτι;
 Δα. ὁρῶ τρίαῖναν τήνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ.
 Χο. ἄλλ' εὖ τ' ἔπεμψεν εὖ τε δεξάσθω χθονί.
 Δα. Ἑρμῆς ὅδ' ἄλλος τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις. 220
 Χο. ἔλευθέροις νυν ἔσθλ' ἀκηρυκεύετω.
 Δα. πάντων δ' ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν
 σέβουσθ'· ἐν ἀγνώϊ δ' ἐσμὸς ὥς πελειάδων
 ἴζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβωι,
 ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίμων καὶ μαινόντων γένος. 225
 ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἄν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;
 πῶς δ' ἄν γαμῶν ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος πάρα
 ἀγνὸς γένοιτ' ἄν; οὐδὲ μὴ ἴν' Αἰδοῦ θανῶν
 φύγηι ματαίων αἰτίας πράξας τάδε·
 κακεῖ δικάζει τὰμπλακήμαθ', ὥς λόγος, 230
 Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας.
 σκοπεῖτε καμείβεσθε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον,
 ὅπως ἄν ὑμῖν πρᾶγος εὖ νικᾷ τόδε.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

- ποδαπὸν ὄμιλον τόνδ' ἀνελληνόστολον
 πέπλοισι βαρβάροισι κάμπυκώμασιν 235

209 ὦ Turnebus: ἰὼ M Ζεῦ σκοπῶν Friis Johansen: Ζεὺς κόπων M: Ζεῦ κόπων M^s 212 ὄρνιν M (litteris os ornin το maioribus interuallis in rasura scriptis): ἰνιν Kiehl κικλήσκετε Scurial.^s: κικλήσκειται M^s: κικλίσκειται M 215 συγγνοίῃ Lobeck (συγγνώῃ iam Robortello, Turnebus): εὐγνώῃ M 217 κικλήσκω Par. 2886: κικλίσκω M 223 δ' ἐσμὸς Portus: δεσμὸς M 224 ἴζεσθε Scurial.: ἴζεσθαι M: ἰξεσθε M^s κίρκων Robortello, Turnebus: κέρκω M^s: κρέκω M 226 ἄν ἀγνεύοι Plut. *Rom.* 9.6, *Mor.* 286c: ἀνεινεύοι M 229 ματαίων Musgrave: μάταιον M 230 τὰμπλακήμαθ' ὥς Stephanus (partim praeuuntibus Turnebo et Victorio): ταπλα ἐν μαβῶς M 232 τρόπον anon.: τόπον M 234 ἀνελληνόστολον Bothe: ἀνέλληνα στόλον M 235 κάμπυκώμασιν Bergk: καὶ πυκνώμασιν M

- χλίωντα προσφωνοῦμεν; οὐ γὰρ Ἀργολὶς
 ἐσθῆς γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος τόπων.
 ὅπως δὲ χώραν οὔτε κηρύκων ὕπο
 ἀπρόξενοί τε νόσφι θ' ἡγητῶν μολεῖν
 ἔτλητ' ἀτρέστως, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν πέλει. 240
 κλάδοι γε μὲν δὴ κατὰ νόμους ἀφικτόρων
 κεῖνται παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸς θεοῖς ἀγωνίοις·
 μόνον τόδ' Ἑλλὰς χθὼν ξυνοίσεται στόχῳ.
 καὶ τᾶλλα πόλλ' ἔτ' εἰκάσαι δίκαιον ἦν,
 εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν. 245
- Χο. εἴρηκας ἀμφὶ κόσμον ἀψευδῆ λόγον·
 ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ πότερον ὥς ἔτην λέγω
 ἢ τηρὸν ἱερόρραβδον ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν;
- Πε. †πρὸς ταῦτ'† ἀμείβου καὶ λέγ' εὐθαρσῆς ἐμοί.
 τοῦ γηγενοῦς γὰρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος 250
 ἱνὶς Πελασγός, τῇσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης·
 ἐμοῦ δ' ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον
 γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.
 καὶ πᾶσαν αἴαν, ἥς δι' ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται
 Στρυμών, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ· 255
 ὀρίζομαι δὲ τήν τε Περραιβῶν χθόνα
 Πίνδου τε τᾶπέκεῖνα Χαόνων πέλας
 ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα· συντέμνει δ' ὄρος
 ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης· τῶνδε τὰπὶ τάδε κρατῶ.
 αὐτῆς δὲ χώρας Ἀπίας πέδον τόδε 260
 πάλαι κέκληται φωτὸς ἱατροῦ χάριν·
 Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας
 ἱατρόμαντις παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος χθόνα
 τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων,

239 νόσφι θ' Portus: νόσφιν M 240 ἀτρέστως Sophianus, Turnebus: ἀκρέστως
 M 243 ξυνοίσεται Porson: συνοίσεται M 244 ἔτ' εἰκάσαι Martin: ἐπεικάσαι
 M 248 ἱερόρραβδον Headlam (similia antea complures): ἡερου ῥάβδον M:
 ἐρμου ῥάβδον coni. M^s 249 lacunam unius versus ante ἀμείβου statuit Sandin:
 dixit fortasse Pelasgus 'ad haec respondens (πρὸς ταῦτα) <declarabo quid sim:
 tu autem (σὺ δ' αὐτ' Sandin)> responde ...' λέγ' εὐθαρσῆς Turnebus: λέγετ'
 εὐθαρσεῖς M 251 Πελασγός Canter: πελασγοῦ M 254 αἴαν ἥς Turnebus
 (αἴαν legebat Σ, idemque superscriptum exhibet Guelf.): αἴδνης M δι' ἀγνὸς
 Wordsworth: διάλογος M 256 τήν τε Portus: τήνδε M 257 Χαόνων Tucker:
 Παιόνων M: hoc cum Περραιβῶν (256) commutavit Friis Johansen 259 τὰπὶ
 τάδε Canter: τᾶπειτα δὲ M

- τὰ δὴ παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν 265
 χρανθεῖς' ἀνῆκε γαῖα †μηνεῖται ἄκη†
 δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῇ ξυνοικίαν.
 τούτων ἄκη τομαῖα καὶ λυτήρια
 πράξας ἀμέμπτως Ἄπις Ἀργεῖαι χθονὶ
 μνήμην τότε' ἀντίμισθον ἡῦρετ' ἐν λιταῖς. 270
 ἔχουσα δ' ἤδη τὰπ' ἐμοῦ τεκμήρια
 γένος τ' ἂν ἐξεύχοιο καὶ λέγοις πρόσω·
 μακρὰν γε μὲν δὴ ῥῆσιν οὐ στέργει πόλις.
 Χο. βραχὺς τορός θ' ὁ μῦθος· Ἀργεῖαι γένος
 ἐξευχόμεσθα, σπέρματ' εὐτέκνου βοός· 275
 χῶς ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, πιστὰ προσφύσω λόγῳ.
 Πε. ἄπιστα μυθεῖσθ', ὦ ξέναι, κλυεῖν ἐμοί,
 ὅπως τόδ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖον γένος.
 Λιβυστικάῃς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμφερέστεραι
 γυναιξὶν ἐστε, κοῦδαμῶς ἐγχωρίαις· 280
 καὶ Νεῖλος ἂν θρέψειε τοιοῦτον φυτόν·
 {Κύπριος χαρακτήρ τ' ἐν γυναικείοις τύποις
 εἰκῶς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων}
 Ἰνδὰς τ' ἀκούω νομάδας ἵπποβάμοσιν
 εἶναι καμήλοις ἀστραβιζούσας χθόνα 285
 παρ' Αἰθίοψιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας·
 καὶ τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβότους τ' Ἀμαζόνας,
 εἰ τοξοτευχεῖς ἦστε, κάρτ' ἂν ἦικασα
 ὑμᾶς. διδαχθεῖς δ' ἂν τόδ' εἰδείην πλεόν,
 ὅπως γένεθλον σπέρμα τ' Ἀργεῖον τὸ σόν. 290
 Χο. κληιδουῆχον Ἦρας φασὶ δωμάτων ποτὲ

265 δὴ Turnebus: δὲ M 266 μηνεῖται ἄκη M: μηνίσας' ἄχη Martin 267 δρακονθόμιλον Bothe: δράκονθ' ὄμιλον M^s: δράκων θ' ὀμιλῶν M 269 ἀμέμπτως Robotello, Turnebus, Ἄπις Guelf.^{pc}: μεμπτῶς ἄπεισ' M 270 τότε Kirchhoff, ἀντίμισθον Turnebus: πονταντινείσθον M 271 ἔχουσα δ' Heimsoeth: ἔχουσιν ^{yp}M^s: ἔχον δ' ἂν M 272 γένος τ' ... λέγοις Robortello, πρόσω Par. 2886: γένοιτ' ... λέγοι πρόσως M 273 μὲν Robortello, δὴ ῥῆσιν Sophianus, Turnebus: μιν δηρίσιν M 276 χῶς Sommerstein: καὶ M πιστὰ Zakas: πάντα M λόγῳ M^s: λόγων M: λόγον Whittle 277 ἄπιστα Ald.: ἄπειστα M 280 γυναιξὶν Turnebus: γυναιξὶ δ' M 282-3 del. Friis Johansen et Whittle Κύπριος (M^s, Κύπρις M^{ac}) ... εἰκῶς M: εἰκῶς ... Κυπρίοις Sommerstein 284 Ἰνδὰς anon.: Ἰνδοῦς M ἀκούω Robortello, Turnebus: ἀκούων M 285 ἀστραβιζούσας M^{pc}: ἀστραβιζούσαις M^{ac} Σ^M 287 κρεοβότους Scaliger, τ' Porson: κρεοβρότους δ' M 289 δ' Abresch: om. M

- ἴω γενέσθαι τῇιδ' ἐν Ἀργεΐαι χθονί.
 Πε. ἦν ὡς μάλιστα, καὶ φάτις πολλή κρατεῖ. 293
 Χο. μὴ καὶ λόγος τις Ζῆνα μειχθῆναι βροτῶι; 295
 Πε. κᾶκρυπτά γ' Ἦρας ταῦτα τὰμπαλάγματ' ἦν.
 Χο. < -μάτων.>
 Πε. πῶς οὖν τελευτᾷ βασιλέωιν νείκη τάδε;
 Χο. βοῦν τὴν γυναικ' ἔθηκεν Ἀργεΐα θεός.
 Πε. οὐκοῦν πελάζει Ζεὺς ἔτ' εὐκραίρωι βοῖ; 300
 Χο. φασίν, πρέποντα βουθόρωι ταύρωι δέμας.
 Πε. τί δῆτα πρὸς ταῦτ' ἄλοχος ἰσχυρὰ Διός;
 Χο. τὸν πάνθ' ὀρῶντα φύλακ' ἐπέστησεν βοῖ.
 Πε. ποῖον πανόπτην οἰοβούκολον λέγεις;
 Χο. Ἄργον, τὸν Ἑρμῆς παῖδα Γῆς κατέκτανεν. 305
 Πε. τί οὖν ἔτευξ' ἔτ' ἄλλο δυσπότημι βοῖ; 306
 Χο. βοηλάτην <ἔπεμψεν ἐπτερωμένον. 306a
 Πε. βοῶν λέγεις> μύωπα κινητήριον; 307
 Χο. οἷστρον καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Νείλου πέλας. 308
 Πε. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεξας πάντα συγκόλλως ἐμοί. 310
 Χο. καὶ μὴν Κάνωβον κᾶπὶ Μέμφιν ἴκετο. 311
 Πε. τοῖ γάρ νιν ἐκ γῆς ἤλασεν μακρῶι δρόμωι; 309
 Χο. καὶ Ζεὺς γ' ἐφάπτωρ χειρὶ φιτύει γόνον. 313
 Πε. τίς οὖν ὁ Δῖος πόρτις εὔχεται βοός;
 Χο. Ἐπαφος, ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπώνυμος. 315
 Πε. <Ἐπάφου δὲ ;>
 Χο. Λιβύη, μέγιστον γῆς <~ -> καρπουμένη.
 Πε. τίν' οὖν ἔτ' ἄλλον τῆσδε βλαστημὸν λέγεις;
 Χο. Βῆλον δίπαιδα, πατέρα τοῦδ' ἐμοῦ πατρός.

292 τῇιδ' ἐν Sophianus, Turnebus: τῇ ἰδεῖν M 295 μειχ- Wilamowitz, -θῆναι Guelf.: μιχθῆναι M 296 κᾶκρυπτα Hermann: καὶ κρυπτά M: κοῦ κρυπτά Por-tus τὰμπαλάγματ' ἦν Wilamowitz (τὰμπαλάγματα iam Hermann), cf. Hesych. ε2412: παλλαγμάτων M 297 lacunam statuit Porson: <κυρεῖ δὴ ἤδη τῶν ἐμῶν τοξευμάτων> e.g. West 298 βασιλέωιν Schulze: βασιλέων M 299 βοῦν τὴν Canter: βούτην M^{pc}: βουνίτην M^{ac} 300 ἔτ' Schütz: ἐπ' M 301 πρέποντα Turnebus: πρέποντας M 302 δῆτα Victorius: δὴ M ταῦτ' ἄλοχος Turne-bus, Robertello, ἰσχυρὰ Pauw: ταῦταλόχοισχυρα M 306 ἔτευξ' ἔτ' Rob-ertson: ἔτευξε δ' M 306a-7 lacunam statuit et exempli gratia suppleuit West 308 πέλας Turnebus: πέδας M: παῖδες coni. M^c 309 post 311 transp. Rose (lacunam post 311 posuerat Hermann) τοῖ γάρ M: τοίγαρ ἴΣ ἐκ γῆς Portus: ἐκ τῆς M 313 φιτύει Scaliger: φυτεύει M 314 τίς Par. 2886: τί M 316 lacunam statuit Stanley; <Ἐπάφου δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐξεγεννήθη πατρός;> e.g. Bothe 317 <λάχος> suppl. Zakas, <θέρος> Dawe

- Πε. τὸ πάνσοφόν νυν ὄνομα τούτου μοι φράσον. 320
 Χο. Δαναός· ἀδελφὸς δ' ἔστι πεντηκοντόπαις.
 Πε. καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνοιγε τοῦνομ' ἀφθόνωι λόγωι.
 Χο. Αἴγυπτος. εἰδὼς δ' ἄμὸν ἀρχαῖον γένος
 πρᾶσσοις ἄν, ὥς Ἀργεῖον ἀνστήσαι στόλον.
 Πε. δοκεῖτε μέν μοι τῇσδε κοινωνεῖν χθονὸς 325
 τὰρχαῖον· ἀλλὰ πῶς πατρῷα δώματα
 λιπεῖν ἔτλητε; τίς κατέσκηψεν τύχη;
 Χο. ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, αἰόλ' ἀνθρώπων κακά,
 πόνου δ' ἴδοις ἄν οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτόν πτερόν·
 ἐπεὶ τίς ἤχρει τήνδ' ἀνέλπιστον φυγὴν 330
 κέλσειν ἐς Ἄργος κῆδος ἐγγενὲς ἢ τὸ πρὶν
 ἔχει μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν† εὐναίων γάμων;
 Πε. τί φῆς ἰκνεῖσθαι τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν
 λευκοστεφεῖς ἔχουσα νεοδρέπτους κλάδους;
 Χο. ὥς μὴ γένωμαι δμῶϊς Αἰγύπτου γένει. 335
 Πε. πότερα κατ' ἔχθραν, ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις;
 Χο. τίς δ' ἄν †φίλους ὦνοιτο† τοὺς κεκτημένους;
 Πε. σθένος μέν οὕτω μεῖζον αὖξεται βροτοῖς.
 Χο. καὶ δυστυχούντων γ' εὐμαρὴς ἀπαλλαγή.
 Πε. πῶς οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐσεβὴς ἐγὼ πέλω; 340
 Χο. αἰτοῦσι μὴ ἔκδους παισὶν Αἰγύπτου πάλιν.
 Πε. βαρέα σύ γ' εἶπας, πόλεμον ἄρασθαι νέον.
 Χο. ἀλλ' ἢ Δίκη γε ξυμμάχων ὑπερστατεῖ.
 Πε. εἴπερ γ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων κοινωνὸς ἦν.
 Χο. αἰδοῦ σὺ πρύμναν πόλεος ᾧδ' ἐστεμμένην. 345

320 τούτου Portus: τοῦτό M 321 ἀδελφὸςδ' Scaliger: δ' ἀδελφός M πεντηκοντό-
 Pag. 2886: πεντηκοστό- M: πεντηκοντά- Heath 322 τοῦδ' ἀνοιγε Porson: τοῦ
 δαναοίγε M 323 εἰδὼς Turnebus: δ' εἰδὼς M 324 ἀνστήσαι Marckscheffel:
 ἀνστήσας M: ἀντήσας M^s in margine 325 μέν Zakas: om. M 327 λιπεῖν M²:
 λειπεῖν (sic) M 329 πτερόν Turnebus: πότερον M 331 κέλσειν Robortello,
 Turnebus: κέλσειεν M 331-2 τὸ πρὶν ... πτοιοῦσαν M: τὸ πᾶν ἔχθει (Turne-
 bus) μ' ἀποπτύουσιν Friis Johansen et Whittle 333 ἰκνεῖσθαι M: μ' ἰκνεῖσθαι
 Abresch 337 φίλους M: φιλοῦσ' Bamberger ὦνοιτο M: ὠνοῖτο Turnebus:
 ὄνοιτο Robortello: οἰοῖτο Portus post hunc uersum lacunam statuit Wila-
 mowitz 338 οὕτω Turnebus: οὕτως M 339 δυστυχούντων Sanmarc., γ'
 Turnebus: δυστυχόντων τ' M^s: δυστυχόντων M 341 μὴ ἔκδους Schütz: μὴκδῶις
 M 342 ἄρασθαι Guelf.: αἶρασθαι M 344 κοινωνὸς ἦν Sophianus, Turnebus:
 κοινὸς ἦν M^{pc}: κοιν[. .']ν M^{ac}: κοινωνὸς ἦι West 345 πόλεος Turnebus: πόλεως
 M ἐστεμμένην Robortello, Turnebus: ἐστεμμένη M

Πε. πέφρικα λεύσσω τὰσδ' ἔδρας κατασκίους·
βαρύς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότος.

Χο. Παλαίχθονος τέκος, κλυθὶ μου στρ. α
πρόφρονι καρδίαι, Πελασγῶν ἄναξ·
ἴδε με τὰν ἱκέτιν φυγάδα περίδρομον, 350
λυκοδίωκτον ὡς δάμαλιν ἄμ πέτραις
ἡλιβάτοις, ἴν' ἄλ-
καὶ πίσυνος μέμυκε φρά-
ζουσα βοτῆρι μόχθους.

Πε. ὀρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον 355
ναύονθ' ὄμιλον τόνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν·
εἴη δ' ἄνατον πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἀστοξένων,
μηδ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων κάπρομηθήτων πόλει
νεῖκος γένηται· τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις.

Χο. ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγὰν ἀντ. α
ἱκεσία Θέμις Διὸς κλαρίου. 360
σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψιγόνου μάθε γεραιόφρων·
ποτιτρόπαιον αἰδόμενος τοῦν περ†
<— υ υ — υ —>
†ιεροδόκα θεῶν†
λήματ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνοῦ.

Πε. οὔτοι κάθησθε δωμάτων ἐφέστιοι 365
ἐμῶν· τὸ κοινὸν δ' εἰ μιαίνεται πόλις,
ξυνῆι μελέσθω λαὸς ἐκπνεῖν ἄκη.
ἐγὼ δ' ἂν οὐ κραίνοιμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος,
ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι.

346 πέφρικα et τὰσδ' ἔδρας Robortello: πέφυκα et τὰσδέδρα (-δρας Bonon.)
M 350 με τὰν Stephanus: μέγαν M 351 λυκοδίωκτον Hermann:
λευκόδικτον M 352 ἡλιβάτοις ἴν' Valckenaer: ἡλιβάτοισιν M 355 ναύονθ'
Wecklein: νέον θ' M τόνδ' Hermann: τῶνδ' M 359 δῆτ' Pauw: δῆτα τὰν M
361 γεραιόφρων Burges: γεραφρόνων M 362-3 οὔν περ M: οὐ λιπερ<νῆς>
uel sim. (e.g. οὐ λιπερ<νῆτα βίον ποθ' ἔ-|ξεις>) Headlam lacunam statuit
Heath ἱεροδόκα M: ἱεραδοκεῖ uel ἱεραδόκ' <ἐστὶ> West 366 μιαίνεται M:
μιαίνηται Bowen 367 ἐκπνεῖν Turnebus: ἐκπνοεῖν M 368 πάρος Sophianus,
Turnebus: παρακρος M 369 ἀστοῖς Bourdelot: ἀστῶν M τῶνδε Portus, Scal-
iger: τοῖσδε M

- Χο. σύ τοι πόλις, σύ δὲ τὸ δάμιον· στρ. β
 πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὦν 371
 κρατύνεις βωμόν, ἐστίαν χθονός,
 μονοπήφοισι νεύμασιν σέθεν,
 μονοσκήπτροισι δ' ἐν θρόνοις χρέος
 πᾶν ἐπικραίνεις· ἄγος φυλάσσου. 375
- Πε. ἄγος μὲν εἶη τοῖς ἐμοῖς παλιγκότοις,
 ὑμῖν δ' ἀρήγειν οὐκ ἔχω βλάβης ἄτερ·
 οὐδ' αὖ τόδ' εὖφρον, τάσδ' ἀτιμάσαι λιτάς.
 ἀμηχανῶ δὲ καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας
 δρᾶσαί τε μὴ δρᾶσαί τε καὶ τύχην ἐλεῖν. 380
- Χο. τὸν ὑψόθεν σκοπὸν ἐπισκόπει, ἀντ. β
 φύλακα πολυπόνων
 βροτῶν οἳ τοῖς πέλας προσήμενοι
 δίκας οὐ τυγχάνουσιν ἐννόμου.
 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἱκταίου κότος, 385
 δυσπαράθελκτος παθόντος οἴκτοις.
- Πε. εἴ τοι κρατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
 νόμωι πόλεως, φάσκοντες ἐγγύτατα γένους
 εἶναι, τίς ἂν τοῖς ἀντιωθῆναι θέλοι;
 δεῖ τοί σε φεύγειν κατὰ νόμους τοὺς οἴκοθεν 390
 ὥς οὐκ ἔχουσιν κῦρος οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ σοῦ.
- Χο. μή τί ποτ' οὖν γενοίμαν ὑποχείριος στρ. γ
 κράτεσιν ἀρσένων· ὕπαστρον δέ τοι
 μῆχαρ ὀρίζομαι γάμου δύσφρονος
 φυγάν. ξύμμαχον δ' ἐλόμενος Δίκαν 395
 κρῖνε σέβας τὸ πρὸς θεῶν.
- Πε. οὐκ εὖκριτον τὸ κρῖμα· μὴ 'μ' αἰροῦ κριτήν.
 εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρίν· οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τόδε
 πράξαιμ' ἄν, οὐδέ περ κρατῶν, μὴ καὶ ποτε

370 δάμιον Dindorf: δῆμιον M 374 θρόνοις Pauw (θρόνοισι Stephanus):
 χρόνοισι M 375 ἄγος Par. 2886: ἄλγος M 380 -σαί τε Scurial.: -σητε
 M 381 ἐπισκόπει Robortello, Turnebus: ἐπισκοπεῖ M 386 δυσπαράθελκτος
 Schütz: ὦ δυσπαραθέλκτοις M: δυσπαρθενήτοις M^s in marg. 389 τίς Turnebus:
 τίς δ' M τοῖς M: τοῖσδ' M^s θέλοι M^{pc}: θέλει M^{ac} 392 ὑποχείριος Robor-
 tello, Turnebus: ὑποχέριος M 395 φυγάν Heath: φυγαί M 397 κρῖμα M^{pc}:
 κρίμα M^{ac}: χρῆμα anon.: πρᾶγμα Maas 399 μὴ καὶ Canter: καὶ μὴ M

εἴπηι λεώς, εἴ ποῦ τι μὴ λῶιον τύχοι,
 “ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν”. 400

Χο. ἀμφοτέρωσ’ ὁμαίμων τάδ’ ἐπισκοπεῖ 400
 Ζεὺς ἑτερορρεπής, νέμων εἰκότως
 ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς, ὅσια δ’ ἐννόμοις
 τί τῶνδ’ ἐξ ἴσου ῥεπομένων †μεταλ- 405
 γεῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξαι†;

Πε. δεῖ τοι βαθείας φροντίδος σωτηρίου,
 δίκην κολυμβητῆρος εἰς βύθον μολεῖν
 δεδορκὸς ὄμμα μηδ’ ἄγαν ὠινωμένον,
 ὅπως ἄνατα ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν πόλει, 410
 αὐτοῖσί θ’ ἡμῖν ἐκτελευτήσει καλῶς,
 καὶ μήτε Δῆρις ῥυσίων ἐφάψεται
 μηδ’ ἐν θεῶν ἔδραισιν ὧδ’ ἰδρυμένας
 ἐκδόντες ὑμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν
 βαρὺν ξύνοικον θησόμεσθ’ Ἀλάστορα, 415
 ὃς οὐδ’ ἐν “Αἰδου τὸν θανόντ’ ἐλευθεροῖ.
 μῶν οὐ δοκεῖ δεῖν φροντίδος σωτηρίου;

Χο. φρόντισον καὶ γενοῦ πανδίκως 420
 εὐσεβῆς πρόξενος·
 τὰν φυγάδα μὴ προδῶις
 τὰν ἐκάθεν ἐκβολαῖς
 δυσθέοις ὀρομέναν·

μηδ’ ἴδης μ’ ἐξ ἐδρᾶν πολυθέων 425
 ῥυσιασθεῖσαν, ὧ
 πᾶν κράτος ἔχων χθονός·
 γνῶθι δ’ ὕβριν ἀνέρων
 καὶ φύλαξαι κότον.

400 μὴ Turnebus: καὶ μὴ M λῶιον Schneidewin: τοῖον M τύχοι Porson:
 τυχθῇ M 401 ἐπήλ- Robortello, Turnebus: εἰπήλ- M 402 ἀμφοτέρωσ’
 Burges: ἀμφοτέρους M: ἀμφοτέροις Schütz 405 τῶνδ’ ἐξ ἴσου distinxit Victori-
 us: τῶν δεξις οὐ M 405-6 μεταλγεῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξαι M (ἀπορεῖς συμμαχεῖσαι τῷ
 Διί Σ^Μ): fort. μεταλγοῖς (Friis Johansen) τὰ δίκαι’ ἂν (Sommerstein) ἔρξας (Head-
 lam). 409 ὠινωμένον (ὠν-) Turnebus: ὠνωμένων M 416 ὃς Stephanus,
 οὐδ’ ἐν Ald.: ὡς οὐδέν M 417 δοκεῖ δεῖν Turnebus: δοκεῖν δεῖ M

- μή τι τλαῖς τὰν ἰκέτιν εἰσιδεῖν στρ. ε
 ἀπὸ βρετέων βίαι δίκας ἀγομέναν 430
 ἵππαδὸν ἀμπύκων,
 πολυμίτων πέπλων τ' ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν.
- ἴσθι γάρ· παισὶ τάδε καὶ δόμοις, ἀντ. ε
 ὁπότερ' ἄν κτίσης, μένει· δεῖ ἔκτινεν 435
 ὁμοίαν θέμιν.
 τάδε φράσαι. δίκαια Διόθεν κρατεῖ.
- Πε. καὶ δὴ πέφρασμαι, δεῦρο δ' ἐξοκέλλεται·
 ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς πόλεμον αἶρεσθαι μέγαν
 πᾶσ' ἔστ' ἀνάγκη· καὶ γεγόμενται σκάφος, 440
 στρέβλαισι ναυτικάϊσιν ὥς †προσηγμένον†
 ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδαμοῦ καταστροφή.
 καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων 443
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 γένοιτ' ἄν ἄλλα, κτησίου Διὸς χάριν, 445
 ἄτης γε μείζω, καὶ μετεμπλήσαι γόμον· 444
 καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, 446
 ἀλγεινά, θυμοῦ κάρτα κινητήρια, 448
 γένοιτο μύθου μῦθος ἄν θελκτήριος· 447
 ὅπως δ' ὁμαιμον αἷμα μὴ γενήσεται, 449
 δεῖ κάρτα θύειν καὶ πεσεῖν χρηστήρια 450
 θεοῖσι πολλοῖς πολλά, πημονῆς ἄκη.
 ἢ κάρτα νείκους τοῦδ' ἐγὼ παροίχομαι·
 θέλω δ' αἰδρις μᾶλλον ἢ σοφὸς κακῶν
 εἶναι· γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν.
- Χο. πολλῶν ἄκουσον τέρματ' αἰδοίων λόγων. 455

428 τλαῖς (τλῆις) τὰν Turnebus: τλαίης τὰν M^s (τλαίης Σ): τ' ἀαῖσταν M
 431 ἵππαδὸν H. Voss: ἱππηδὸν M^{pc}: ἱππηδῶν M^{ac} 432 πολυμίτων Turnebus: πολυμήτων M πέπλων τ' ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν M: τ' ἐμῶν ἐπιλαβὰς πέπλων Friis Johansen
 435 δεῖ ἔκτινεν Whittle (cf. Σ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι): δρεικτίνειν Guelf.: δρεικτείνειν M 437 κρατεῖ Whittle: κράτη M 441 προσηγμένον M: πρὸς γῆι μένον Friis Johansen: πεπηγμένον Whittle 443 χρήμασιν M: χρημάτων M^s in margine post 443 lacunam statuit Friis Johansen 445 ante 444 transp. anon. (ca. 1600) 444 ἄτης... γόμον Σ: ἄτην... γόμου M μετεμπλήσαι Korais (fort. potius μετεκπλήσαι): μέγ' ἐμπλήσας M 448 ante 447 transp. idem anon. κάρτα M: κέντρα Hartung 447 θελκτήριος Guelf.: θελκτηρίοις M 449 ὁμαιμον Victorius (ὁμαῖμον M^s): ὁμαίων M

- Πε. ἤκουσα, καὶ λέγοις ἄν· οὐ με φεύζεται.
 Χο. ἔχω στρόφους ζώνας τε, συλλαβάς πέπλων.
 Πε. τάχ' ἄν γυναικῶν ταῦτα συμπρεπῇ πέλοι.
 Χο. ἐκ τῶνδε τοίνυν, ἴσθι, μηχανὴ καλή –
 Πε. λέξον τίν' αὐδὴν τήνδε γηρυθεῖς ἔσθι. 460
 Χο. εἰ μή τι πιστὸν τῶιδ' ὑποστήσῃ στόλῳ –
 Πε. τί σοι περαίνει μηχανὴ ξυζωμάτων;
 Χο. νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμήσαι τάδε.
 Πε. αἰνιγματῶδες τοῦπος· ἄλλ' ἀπλῶς φράσον.
 Χο. ἐκ τῶνδ' ὅπως τάχιστ' ἀπάγξασθαι θεῶν. 465
 Πε. ἤκουσα μαστικτῆρα καρδίας λόγον.
 Χο. ξυνῆκας· ὠμμάτωσα γὰρ σαφέστερον.
 Πε. †καὶ μὴν† πολλαχῇ γε δυσπάλαιστα πράγματα,
 κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος ποταμὸς ὥς ἐπέρχεται·
 ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὐπορον 470
 τόδ' εἰσβέβηκα, κοῦδαμοῦ λιμὴν κακῶν.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν μὴ τόδ' ἐκπράξω χρέος,
 μίασμ' ἔλεξας οὐχ ὑπερτοξεύσιμον·
 εἰ δ' αὖθ' ὁμαίμοις παισὶν Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
 σταθεὶς πρὸ τειχέων διὰ μάχης ἦξω τέλους, 475
 πῶς οὐχὶ τάνάλωμα γίγνεται πικρόν,
 ἄνδρας γυναικῶν οὖνεχ' αἰμάξαι πέδον;
 ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον
 ἰκτῆρος· ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος.
 σὺ μὲν, πάτερ γεραιὲ τῶνδε παρθένων, 480
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 κλάδους τε τούτους αἰψ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις λαβὼν
 βωμοὺς ἐπ' ἄλλους δαιμόνων ἐγχωρίων
 θές, ὥς ἴδωσι τῆσδ' ἀφίξεως τέκμαρ
 πάντες πολῖται, μηδ' ἀπορριφθῇ λόγος
 ἐμοῦ κάτ'· ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λεῶς. 485

457 στρόφους Portus, Scaliger (cf. Σ στροφάς): στρόβους M 458 τάχ' ἄν
 Marckscheffel: τύχαν M 459 καλή Bonon.^{ac}: καλεῖ M 464 ἄλλ' ἀπλῶς
 Abresch: ἀλλὰ πῶς M 466 μαστικτῆρα anon., cf. Σ δηκτικόν: μακιστῆρα
 M 468 καὶ μὴν M: ἢ Paley: καὶ Sulzberger, uersum ante 467 excidisse ra-
 tus a <καὶ μὴν ...> incipientem 471 εἰσβέβηκα (ἐσβ-) Spanheim: ἐσέβηκα
 M 474 ὁμαίμοις Turnebus: ὁμαίμους M 480/1 lacunam statuit But-
 ler 485 ἐμοῦ κάτ'· ἀρχῆς Headlam: ἐμοῦ· καταρχῆς (κατ' ἀρχῆς Guelf.) M

- καὶ γὰρ τάχ' ἂν τις οἰκτίσας ἰδὼν τάδε
 ὕβριν μὲν ἐχθήρειεν ἄρσενος στόλου,
 ὑμῖν δ' ἂν εἴη δῆμος εὐμενέστερος·
 τοῖς ἥσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει.
- Δα. πολλῶν τάδ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡξιωμένα, 490
 αἰδοῖον †εὖ ρέοντα† πρόξενον λαβεῖν·
 ὁπάοντας δὲ φράστοράς τ' ἐγχωρίων
 ξύμπεμψον, ὥς ἂν τῶν πολισσούχων θεῶν
 βωμοὺς προνάους καὶ †πολισσούχων† ἔδρας
 εὖρωμεν, ἀσφάλεια δ' ἦι δι' ἄστεως 495
 στείχουσι. μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις·
 Νεῖλος γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοιον ἰνάχῳ γένος
 τρέφει. φύλαξαι μὴ θράσος τέκνη φόβον·
 καὶ δὴ φίλον τις ἔκταν' ἀγνοίας ὕπο.
- Πε. στείχοιτ' ἂν, ἄνδρες· εὖ γὰρ ὁ ξένος λέγει. 500
 ἡγεῖσθε βωμοὺς ἀστικούς θεῶν θ' ἔδρας·
 καὶ συμβολοῦσιν οὐ πολυστομεῖν χρεῶν
 ναυστῆρ' ἄγοντας τόνδ' ἐφέστιον θεῶν.
- Χο. τούτῳ μὲν εἶπας, καὶ τεταγμένος κίει·
 ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς δρῶ; ποῦ θράσος νεμεῖς ἐμοί; 505
- Πε. κλάδους μὲν αὐτοῦ λεῖπε, σημεῖον πόνου.
- Χο. καὶ δὴ σφε λείπω, χειρία λόγοις σέθεν.
- Πε. λευρὸν κατ' ἄλσος νῦν ἐπιστρέφου τόδε.
- Χο. καὶ πῶς βέβηλον ἄλσος ἂν ρύοιτό με;
- Πε. οὗτοι πτερωτῶν ἀρπαγαῖς σ' ἐκδώσομεν. 510
- Χο. ἀλλ' εἰ δρακόντων δυσφρόνων ἐχθίοσιν;
- Πε. εὐφημον εἴη τοῦπος εὐφημουμένη.
- Χο. οὗτοι τι θαῦμα δυσφορεῖν φόβῳ φρένας.
- Πε. †ἀεὶ δ' ἀνάκτων† ἐστὶ δεῖμ' ἐξαίσιον.

486 οἰκτίσας ἰδὼν Linwood: οἶκτος εἰσιδὼν M 491 εὖρ' ἐόντα M: εὖ ρέοντα
 M^s: εὖ ρέζοντα Abresch: εὐρεθέντα Porson πρόσξενον Canter: προσξένον
 M 494 πολισσούχων M^{pc}: πολισσούχους M^{ac}: περιστύλους Paley: alia
 alii 495 ἀσφάλεια δ' ἦι Turnebus: ἀσφαλείας δὲ M 501 ἀστικούς Turnebus:
 ἀστίκτους M θ' Abresch: om. M 502 συμβολοῦσιν Valckenaer, cf. Σ τοῖς
 συντυγχάνουσι: συμβόλοισιν M 503 ναυστῆρ' Wecklein: ναύτην M 504 κίει
 Portus: κίοι M 505 νεμεῖς Porson: νέμεις M 507 χειρία Valckenaer: χειρὶ
 καὶ M 508 ἐπιστρέφου Robortello: ἐπιστρέφω M 509 ἄλσος ἂν M^s: ἂν
 ἄλσος M 510 ἀρπαγαῖς Turnebus, σ' add. Porson: ἀρπαγες M 513 φρένας
 Bothe: φρενός M 514 ἀεὶ δ' M: ἀεὶ γ' Dindorf: λύειν Garvie ἀνάκτων M:
 ἀνάλκτων West: γυναικῶν Linwood: ἀνάτων Ludwig

- Χο. σὺ καὶ λέγων μ' εὐφραине καὶ πράσσω φρένα. 515
- Πε. ἀλλ' οὔτι δαρὸν χρόνον ἐρημώσει πατρός.
 ἐγὼ δὲ λαοὺς συγκαλῶν ἐγχωρίους
 †πιετω†, τὸ κοινὸν ὡς ἂν εὐμενὲς τιθῶ
 καὶ σὸν διδάξω πατέρα ποῖα χρὴ λέγειν.
 πρὸς ταῦτα μίμνε καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους 520
 λιταῖς παραιτοῦ τῶν σ' ἔρως ἔχει τυχεῖν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα πορσυνῶν ἐλεύσομαι
 πειθῶ δ' ἔποιτο καὶ τύχη πρακτήριος.
- Χο. ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων στρ. α
 μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων 525
 τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ,
 πιθοῦ τε καὶ γένει σῶι
 ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας
 λίμναι δ' ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ
 τὰν μελανόζυγ' ἄταν. 530
- τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν δ' ἐπιδῶν ἀντ. α
 παλαίφατον ἀμετέρου
 γένους φιλίας προγόνου γυναικὸς
 νέωσον εὐφρον' αἶνον
 γενοῦ πολυμνήστῳ, ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς. 535
 Δῖαί τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι
 γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἐνοίκου.
- παλαιὸν δ' εἰς ἵχνος μετέσταν, στρ. β
 ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπάς,
 λειμῶνα βούχιλον, ἔνθεν ἰὼ 540
 οἷστρωι ἐρεσσομένα
 φεύγει ἀμαρτίνοος,

515 μ' Friis Johansen: om. M φρένα Heath: φρενί M 516 ἐρημώσει (-σει) πατρός Paley: ἐρημώσει πατήρ M 518 πιετω M^s (518-20 omiserat M): πείσω Turnebus: στείχω Weil: κίω Zakas 519 ποῖα Par. 2886: τοῖα M^s 522 πορσυνῶν Auratus: πορσύνων M 527 πιθοῦ Stanley, γένει σῶι Lobeck: πείθου ... γενέσθω M 529 λίμναι ... πορφυροειδεῖ M^{pc}: λίμναν ... πορφυροειδῇ M^{ac} 531 δ' Wecklein, Tucker: om. M 532-3 ἀμετέρου γένους Weil: ἀμέτερον γένος M 535 ἔφαπτορ Askew: ἐφάπτωρ M 536 Δῖαί Pauw: δίας M 537 ἐνοίκου Headlam: ἐνοικοι M

πολλὰ βροτῶν διαμειβομένα
 φῦλα· †διχῆι† δ' ἀντίπορον
 γαῖαν ἐν αἴσαι, διατέμνουσα πόρον
 κυματίαν, ὀρίζει. 545

ἰάπτει δ' Ἀσίδος δι' αἴας ἀντ. β
 μηλοβότου Φρυγίας διαμπάξ,
 περᾶι δὲ Τεύθραντος ἄστῃ Μουσῶν
 Λύδιά τ' ἄγ γύαλα 550
 καὶ δι' ὀρῶν Κιλικῶν,
 Παμφύλων τε διορнуμένα
 γᾶν, ποταμούς τ' ἀενάους
 καὶ βαθύπλουτον χθόνα, καὶ τὰν Ἀφροδί-
 τας πολύπυρον αἴαν. 555

ἰκνεῖται δ', εἰσικνουμένου βέλει στρ. γ
 βουκόλου πτερόεντος,
 Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος,
 λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον, ὄντ' ἐπέρχεται
 Νείλου μένος 560
 ὕδωρ τε Τυφῶ νόσοις ἄθικτον,
 μαινομένα πόνοις ἀτί-
 μοις ὀδύναις τε κεντροδα-
 λήτισι, θυιάς Ἥρας.

βροτοὶ δ' οἱ γᾶς τότε ἦσαν ἔννομοι ἀντ. γ
 χλωρῶι δείματι θυμὸν 566
 πάλλοντ' ὄψιν ἀηθῇ,
 βοτὸν †ἔσορῶντες† δυσχερὲς μειξόμβροτον,
 τὰ μὲν βοός,
 τὰ δ' αὖ γυναικός, τέρας δ' ἐθάμβουν. 570

547 δ' Ἀσίδος Turnebus: βασιδός M 549 Μουσῶν Scurial.: μουσῶν M: Μυσοῦ Newman 550 Λύδιά Turnebus, τ' ἄγ Hermann: λύγια τε M 552 τε Heath: τε γενῇ M 553 γᾶν Wecklein: τὰν M: γᾶς Burges τ' Portus: δ' M 554 τὰν Hermann: τᾶς M 556 εἰσικνουμένου M (ᾗ super κ scripto, -ου in ras.), quod legebat etiam Σ (διατρυνῶντος) 560-1 Νείλου ... Τυφῶ Friis Johansen: τυφῶ ... νείλου M 561 τε Pauw: τὸ M 563 κεντροδαλήτισι Erfurdt: κεντροδαλήτοις M 566 δείματι Pag. 2886: δειμακτι M 568 ἔσορῶντες M (ὀρῶντες Σ 567): βλέποντες Paley: θεομανὲς Whittle μειξ- Wilamowitz: μιξ- M 569 τὰ Paley: τὰν M 570 τὰ Guelf.^{ac}, Hermann: τὰν M

καὶ τότε δὴ τίς ἦν ὁ θέλ-
ξας πολὺπλαγκτον ἀθλίαν
οἰστροδόνητον ἰώ;

δι' αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου

στρ. δ

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575

βίαι δ' ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ

καὶ θεῖαις ἐπιπνοίαις

παύεται, δακρύων δ' ἀπο-

στάζει πένθιμον αἰδῶ.

λαβοῦσα δ' ἔρμα Δῖον ἀψευδεῖ λόγῳ

580

γείνατο παῖδ' ἀμεμφῇ,

δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ πάνολβον·

ἀντ. δ

ἔνθεν πᾶσα βοᾷ χθών,

“φυσιζόου γένος τόδε

Ζηνός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς”.

585

τίς γὰρ ἂν κατέπαυσεν Ἡ-

ρας νόσους ἐπιβούλους;

Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον. καὶ τόδ' ἂν γένος λέγων

ἔξ Ἑπάφου κυρήσαις.

τίν' ἂν θεῶν ἐνδικωτέροισιν

στρ. ε

κεκλοίμαν εὐλόγως ἐπ' ἔργοις;

591

<αὐτός> πατήρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ,

γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας

τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεὺς.

ὑπ' ἀρχᾶς δ' οὔτινος θαάζων

ἀντ. ε

τὸ μεῖον κρεισσόνων κρατύνει·

596

οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κράτος.

571 τότε Stephanus: τόδε M 574 δι' Burges: ζεὺς M 575 lacunam
indicaui Canter: <Ζεὺς νιν χειρὶ κατέσχευ> Murray: <Ζεὺς κακῶν νιν ἔλυσεν> Ma-
zon 576 βίαι (βία) M: Διὸς Pearson ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ Headlam: ἀπημάντω
σθένει M 584 φυσιζόου Schütz: φυσίζοον M 584 τόδε Porson: τὸ δὴ
M 592 <αὐτός> ante πατήρ Sidgwick (αὐτός ὁ πατήρ Σ), post φυτουργὸς H.
Voss: om. M 595 ἀρχᾶς M: ἀρχαῖ Blaydes 597 οὔτινος Laur.: οὔτινος M^{ac}:
ὄστινος M^{pc} κράτος Heath: κάτω M: κράτη H. Voss

πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος
σπεῦσαι. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν;

- Δα. θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες· εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων· 600
δήμου δέδοκται παντελῇ ψηφίσματα.
- Χο. ὦ χαῖρε, πρέσβυ, φίλτατ' ἀγγέλλων ἐμοί·
ἔνισπε δ' ἡμῖν ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος,
δήμου κρατοῦσα χεὶρ ὅπῃ πληθύνεται.
- Δα. ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν, οὐ διχορρόπως, 605
ἄλλ' ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαί με γηραῖαι φρενί –
πανδημῖαι γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις
ἔφριξεν αἰθήρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον –
ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους
κάρρυσιάστους ξύν τ' ἄσυλῖαι βροτῶν, 610
καὶ μήτ' ἐνοίκων μήτ' ἐπηλύδων τινὰ
ἄγειν· ἐὰν δὲ προστιθῇ τὸ καρτερόν,
τὸν μὴ βοηθήσαντα τῶνδε γαμόρων
ἄτιμον εἶναι ξύν φυγῇ δημηλάτῳ.
τοιαῦτ' ἔπειθε ῥῆσιν ἄμφ' ἡμῶν λέγων 615
ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότον
μέγαν προφωνῶν, μήποτ' εἰσόπιν χρόνου
πόλει παχύναι, ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἅμα
λέγων διπλοῦν μῖασμα πρὸς πόλεως φανέν
ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς πέλειν. 620
τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων χερσὶν Ἀργεῖος λεῶς
ἔκραν' ἄνευ κλητῆρος ὥς εἶναι τάδε·
δημηγόρους δ' ἤκουσεν εὐπειθῆς στροφᾶς
δῆμος Πελασγῶν, Ζεὺς δ' ἐπέκρανεν τέλος.

599 σπεῦσαι. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς ... ; Keck: σπεῦσαί τι τῶν δούλιος M 603 ἔνισπε δ' Robortello: ἐνόσπερ M κεκύρωται Paq. 2886: κεκύρτωται M 604 ὅπῃ Portus, πληθύνεται Blomfield: σπληθύεται M 606 ἀνηβῆσαί με Musgrave, Tyrwhitt: ἂν ἠβῆσαιμι M 610 κάρρυσ- Turnebus: καρυσ- M 615 τοιαῦτ' Friis Johansen: τοιάνδ' M 616 Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου Burges: ἱκεσίου ζηνὸς M 617 προφωνῶν Canter: πρόφρων ὦν M 618 πόλει Bothe, παχύναι Robortello duce Σ^Μ (μήπως αὐξήσῃ κότον ὁ Ζεὺς): πόλιν παχύναι M 619 πρὸς Bothe: πρὸ M 622 ἔκραν' ἄνευ κλητῆρος Turnebus, cf. Σ ἐπέκρανεν πρὶν εἰπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα: ἔκλαναν εὐκλήτορος M 623 εὐπειθῆς Bothe: εὐπειθεῖς M^{pc}: εὐπειθεῖς M^{ac}

Χο. ἄγε δὴ, λέξωμεν ἐπ' Ἀργείοις	625
εὐχὰς ἀγαθὰς, ἀγαθῶν ποινάς·	
Ζεὺς δ' ἐφορεύοι ξένιος ξενίου	
στόματος τιμὰς ἐπ' ἀλητείας	
τέρμονι τ' ἀμέμπτων πρὸς ἅπαντα†.	
νῦν τ' ὅτε καὶ†, θεοὶ	στρ. α
διογενεῖς, κλύοιτ' εὐκ-	631
ταῖα γένει χεούσας·	
μήποτε πυρίφατον τάνδε Πελασγίαν	
τὸν ἄκορον βοᾶς κτίσαι μάχλον Ἄρη,	635
τὸν ἄρότοις θερίζοντα βροτούς ἐν ἄλλοις,	
οὔνεκ' ὤικτισαν ἡμᾶς,	
ψῆφον δ' εὖφρον' ἔθεντο,	640
αἰδοῦνται δ' ἰκέτας Διός,	
ποιμναν τάνδ' ἀμέγαρτον.	
οὐδὲ μετ' ἀρσένων	ἀντ. α
ψῆφον ἔθεντ' ἀτιμώ-	
σαντες ἔριν γυναικῶν,	645
Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορ' αἰέσκοπον	
δυσπολέμητον, ὃν τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχων	
ἐπ' ὀρόφων ἰαίνοιτο; βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει.	650
ἄζονται γὰρ ὁμαίμους,	
Ζηνὸς ἱκτορας ἀγνοῦ·	
τοιγάρτοι καθαροῖσι βω-	
μοῖς θεοὺς ἀρέσσονται.	655
τοιγὰρ ὑποσκίων	στρ. β
ἐκ στομάτων ποτάσ-	
θω φιλότιμος εὐχά·	
μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν	

625 λέξωμεν Turnebus: λέξομεν M 628-9 ἐπ' ἀλητείας τέρμονι West: ἐπ' ἀληθείαι τέρμον' M 629 ἀμέμπτων (ἀμέμπτως Guelf.) πρὸς ἅπαντα M: πρὸς πάντας ἀμέμπτως (fort. potius ἀμέμπτους uel ἀμέμπτου) West 630 ὅτε καὶ M: ἄγε καὶ West: ὅπ' ἐμὰν Badham 634 τάνδε Lachmann: τὰν M Πελασγίαν Klausen: Πελασγίαν πόλιν M 635 ἄκορον Schwerdt, βοᾶς Kruse: ἀχόρον βοᾶν M 641 ἰκέτας M: ἰκετᾶν West 647 πράκτορ' αἰέσκοπον Kruse (π. αἰέσκοπὸν Martin): πράκτοράτε σκοπὸν M 649 τίς Burges: οὔτις M 649-50 ἔχων ... ἰαίνοιτο Weil: ἔχοι ... μιαίνοντα M

τάνδε πόλιν κενώσαι, 660
 μηδ' ἐπιχωρίοις < υ – >
 πτώμασιν αίματίσαι πέδον γᾶς
 ἦβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον
 ἔστω, μηδ' Ἀφροδίτας
 εὐνάτωρ βροτολοιγὸς Ἄ- 665
 ρης κέρσειεν ἄωτον.

 καὶ γεραροῖσι πρεσ- 670
 βυτοδόκοι †γεμόν-
 των† θυμέλαι φλεόντων
 τὼς πόλις εὖ νέμοιτο,
 Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων,
 τὸν ξένιον δ' ὑπερτάτως,
 ὅς πολιῶι νόμωι αἴσαν ὀρθοῖ.
 τίκτεσθαι δ' ἐφόρους γᾶς
 ἄλλους εὐχόμεθ' αἰεὶ, 675
 Ἄρτεμιν δ' Ἑκάταν γυναι-
 κῶν λόχους ἐφορεύειν.

 μηδέ τις ἀνδροκμῆς λοιγὸς ἐπελθέτω 680
 τάνδε πόλιν δαΐζων,
 ἄχορον ἀκίθαριν δακρυογόνον Ἄρη
 βίαν τ' ἔνδημον ἐξοπλίζων.
 νούσων δ' ἐσμὸς ἀπ' ἀστῶν
 ἴζοι κρατὸς ἀτερπῆς 685
 εὐμενῆς δ' ὁ Λύκειος ἔσ-
 τω πάσαι νεολαίαι.

660 τάνδε Faehse: τῶνδε M κενώσαι Turnebus: κενῶσαι M 661 <δόρυ>
 suppl. Mazon, <ἔρις> Heath 662 γᾶς Porson: τᾶς M 668 γεμόντων M:
 <θυηλαῖς> Schwerdt: γέμουσαι Kruse, retento infra φλεγόντων 669 φλεόντων Her-
 mann: φλεγόντων M 670 πόλις Robortello, Turnebus: πόλεις M 671 Ζῆνα
 Bonon., μέγαν Ald.: ζῆν ἀμέγα M 672 ὑπερτάτως Σ: ὑπέρτατον M 673 ὅς
 Turnebus: ὡς M 677 λόχους Sophianus: λόγους M 681 ἄχορον Auratus:
 ἄχορος M: ἄχαριν Plut. *Mor.* 758f ἀκίθαριν Plut.: κίθαρις M 683 βίαν Her-
 mann, τ' ἔνδημον (cf. Σ ἐμφύλιον) Pauw, ἐξοπλίζων Stanley: βοάν (βοήν Σ, βοᾶν M^{ac})
 τε δῆμον ἔξω παίζων M: [, , , (. .)] τᾶ τε δῆμον ἐξοπλίζουσιν Plut. 684 δ' ἐσμὸς
 Turnebus: δεσμὸς M 686 Λύκειος Stanley: λύκιος M

καρποτελῇ δέ τοι Ζεὺς ἐπικραινέτω
 φέρματι γᾶν πανώρῳι·
 πρόνομα δὲ βοτὰ τοῖς πολύγωνα τελέθῃ,
 τὸ πᾶν τ' ἐκ δαιμόνων θάλοισιν.
 εὖφημον δ' ἐπὶ βωμοῖς
 μοῦσαν θείατ' αἰδοί,
 ἀγνῶν τ' ἐκ στομάτων φερέσ-
 θω φῆμα φιλοφόρμιγξ.

ἀντ. γ
 690

695

φυλάσσοι τ' εὖ τὰ τίμι' ἀστοῖς
 τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει,
 προμαθὶς εὐκοινόμητις ἀρχά·
 ξένοισί τ' εὐξυμβόλους,
 πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη,
 δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων διδοῖεν.

στρ. δ

700

θεοὺς δ' οἱ γᾶν ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ
 τίοισιν ἐγχώριοι πατρώϊαις
 δαφνηφόροις βουθύτοισι τιμαῖς·
 τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας,
 τρίτον τόδ' ἐν θεσμίῳις
 Δίκας γέγραπται μεγιστοτίμου.

ἀντ. δ
 705

Δα. εὐχὰς μὲν αἰνῶ τάσδε σώφρονας, φίλαι·
 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ τρέσητ' ἀκούσασαι πατρὸς
 ἀπροσδοκήτους τούσδε καὶ νέους λόγους.
 ἵκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὄρῳ
 τὸ πλοῖον· εὖσημον γάρ· οὐ με λανθάνει
 στολμός τε λαίφους καὶ παραρρύσεις νεῶς
 καὶ πρῶϊρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσ' ὁδόν,
 οἶακος εὐθυντῆρος ὑστάτου νεῶς
 ἄγαν καλῶς κλύουσα, τῶς ἂν οὐ φίλη·

710

715

688 καρποτελῇ Portus: καρποτελεῖ M 691 βοτὰ Turnebus, τοῖς Wecklein:
 βρότατος M 693 θάλοισιν Hermann: λάθοισιν M 694 εὖφημον Turnebus:
 εὐφήμοις M 695 μοῦσαν θείατ' Hermann: μοῦσαι θεαί τ' M 698 τ' εὖ τὰ τίμι'
 ἀστοῖς Headlam: τ' αἰτιμίας (sscr. ἀσφαλίας) τιμὰς M: ἀμετακίνητοι εἶεν αὐτοῖς αἰ τιμαί
 Σ 700 προμαθὶς Hermann: προμηθεὺς (α supra η scripto) M 705 ἐγχώριοι
 Blaydes: ἐγχωρίους M^{pc}: ἐγχωρίοις M^{ac} 706 δαφνη- Par. 2886, -φόροις Schütz:
 δαφνοφόροις (-σιν M^{ac}) M 711 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ τρέσητ' Turnebus: ἡμεῖς δὲ μῆτρεις αἰεὶ
 M 715 στολμός Weil: στολμοί M 717 εὐθυντῆρος Turnebus: συνουτῆρος M

- πρέπουσι δ' ἄνδρες νάϊοι μελαγχίμοις
 γυίοισι λευκῶν ἐκ πεπλωμάτων ἰδεῖν. 720
 καὶ τᾶλλα πλοῖα πᾶσά θ' ἡ 'πικουρία
 εὐπρεπτος· αὐτὴ δ' ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ χθόνα
 στείλασα λαῖφος παγκρότως ἐρέσσεται.
 ἄλλ' ἡσύχως χρή καὶ σεσωφρονισμένως
 πρὸς πρᾶγμ' ὀρώσας τῶνδε μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν. 725
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄρωγούς ξυνδίκους θ' ἥξω λαβών·
 ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κῆρύξ τις ἢ πρέσβη μόλοι,
 ἄγειν θέλοντες, ῥυσίων ἐφάπτορες.
 ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶνδε· μὴ τρέσητέ νιν.
 ὅμως δ' ἄμεινον, εἰ βραδυνοίμην βοῇ, 730
 ἀλκῆς λαθέσθαι τῆσδε μηδαμῶς ποτε.
 θάρσει· χρόνῳ τοι κυρίῳ τ' ἐν ἡμέραι
 θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην.
- Χο. πάτερ, φοβοῦμαι, νῆες ὥς ὠκύπτεροι 8τρ. α
 ἦκουσι· μῆκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνου. 735
 περίφοβόν μ' ἔχει τάρβος, ἐτητύμως
 πολυδρόμου φυγᾶς ὄφελος εἴ τί μοι·
 παροίχομαι, πάτερ, δείματι.
- Δα. ἐπεὶ τελεία ψῆφος Ἀργείων, τέκνα,
 θάρσει· μαχοῦνται περὶ σέθεν, σάφ' οἶδ' ἐγώ. 740
- Χο. ἐξῶλές ἐστι μάργον Αἰγύπτου γένος 8ντ. α
 μάχης τ' ἄπληστον· καὶ λέγω πρὸς εἰδότα.
 δορυπαγεῖς δ' ἔχοντες κυανώπιδας
 νῆας ἔπλευσαν ὧδ' ἐπικότῳ τάχει
 πολεῖ μελαγχίμῳ ξὺν στρατῷ. 745
- Δα. πολλοὺς δέ γ' εὐρήσουσιν ἐν μεσημβρινῷ
 θάλπει βραχίον' εὖ κατερρινωμένους.

719 νάϊοι Dindorf: νήϊοι M 720 γυίοισι Scurial.: γύοισι M 726 θ' ἥξω
 Turnebus: θήξω M 727 γὰρ ἂν Burges: γὰρ ἢ M: γὰρ εἰ (sermone post 728
 interrupto) Friis Johansen 729 τρέσητέ M^s: τρέσαιτέ M 730 δ' Geel: om.
 M βραδυνοίμην Bowen: βραδύνοιμεν M 732 θάρσει Turnebus: θαρσεῖτε
 M κυρίῳ in M dispexerunt plerique (idemque praebeant apographa), κυρίαι
 autem West 740 ἐγὼ Scurial.: ἐγὼν M 744 ἐπικότῳ τάχει Weil: ἐπεὶ (ἐπὶ
 Laur.) τάχει κότῳ M 745 μελαγχίμῳ Turnebus: μελαχείμῳ M ξὺν Porson:
 σὺν M 746 μεσημβρινῷ Bothe: μεσημβρίαί M 747 θάλπει βραχίον' Scuri-
 al.: θάλπτει βραχεῖον M κατερρινωμένους H. Voss: κατερρινημένους M

- Χο. μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι, πάτερ· στρ. β
 γυνὴ μονωθεῖς· οὐδέν· οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἄρης.
 οὐλόφρονες δὲ καὶ δολιομήτιδες, 750
 δυσάγνοις φρεσίν, κόρακες ὥστε, βω-
 μῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν.
- Δα. καλῶς ἂν ἡμῖν συμφέροι ταῦτ', ὦ τέκνα,
 εἰ σοί τε καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθαιροίατο.
- Χο. οὐ μὴ τριαίνας τάσδε καὶ θεῶν σέβη ἀντ. β
 δείσαντες ἡμῶν χεῖρ' ἀπόσχονται, πάτερ. 756
 περίφρονες δ' ἄγαν, ἀνιέρωι μένει
 μεμαργωμένοι, κυνοθρασεῖς, θεῶν
 οὐδέν ἐπαῖοντες.
- Δα. ἄλλ' ἔστι φήμη τοὺς λύκους κρείσσους κυνῶν 760
 εἶναι· βύβλου δὲ καρπὸς οὐ κρατεῖ στάχυν.
- Χο. ὥς καὶ ματαίων ἀνοσίων τε κνωδάλων
 ὀργὰς ἐχόντων χρή φυλάσσεσθαι κράτος.
- Δα. οὗτοι ταχεῖα ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στολή
 οὗθ' ὄρμος, οὐδὲ πεισμάτων σωτηρίαν 765
 εἰς γῆν ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἀγκυρουχίαις
 θαρσοῦσι ναῶν ποιμένες παραυτίκα,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ μολόντες ἀλίμενον χθόνα
 εἰς νύκτ' ἀποστείχοντος ἡλίου· φιλεῖ
 ὦδῖνα τίκτειν νύξ κυβερνήτηι σοφῶι. 770
 οὕτω γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἔκβασις στρατοῦ
 καλὴ πρὶν ὄρμωι ναῦς θρασυνθῆναι. σὺ δὲ
 φρόνει μὲν ὥς ταρβοῦσα μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν·
 <ἐγὼ δὲ >

748 πρόλειπε Scurial.: πρόλιπε M 750 οὐλόφρονες Valckenaer: δουλόφρονες
 M δολιομήτιδες Askew: δολομήτιδες M 751 φρεσίν Laur.: φρεσσίν
 M 760 κρείσσους M^{pc}: κρείσσων M^{ac} 763 ὀργὰς ἐχόντων Dindorf:
 ἔχοντες ὀργὰς M 764 ταχεῖα Σ Guelf., στολή Turnebus: ταχεῖαι ... στολῇ
 M 765 οὗθ' West: οὐδ' M πεισμάτων Par. 2886, σωτηρίαν Guelf.^{ac}: cf. Σ
 ἀντὶ π(ε)ίσματα σωτήρια: πισμάτων σωτηρίου M 768 ἄλλως τε Par. 2886: ἄλλ'
 ὥστε M 770 τίκτειν Turnebus: τίκτει M, Plut. *Mor.* 619e, 1090a 772 ναῦς
 Σ: ναῦν M 773/4 lacunam statuit Hartung

πράξας ἄρωγὴν· ἄγγελον δ' οὐ μέμψεται
πόλις γέρονθ', ἡβῶντα δ' εὐγλώσσωι φρενί. 775

Χο. ἰὼ γὰρ βοῦνι, πάνδικον σέβας, στρ. α
τί πεισόμεσθα; ποῖ φύγωμεν Ἀπίας
χθονός, κελαινὸν εἴ τι κεῦθός ἐστί που;
μέλας γενοίμαν καπνὸς
νέφεσσι γειτονῶν Διός, 780
τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφαντος ἀμπετῆς αἰδνός ὥς
κόνις ἄτερθεν πτερύγων ὀλοίμαν.

ἀλυκτὸν δ' οὐκέτ' ἄν πέλοι κακόν· ἀντ. α
κελαινόχρων δὲ πάλλεται φίλον κέαρ. 785
πατρὸς σκοπαὶ δέ μ' εἶλον· οἴχομαι φόβωι
θέλοιμι δ' ἄν μορσίμων
βρόχου τυχεῖν ἐν σαργάναις
πρὶν ἄνδρ' ἀπευκτὸν τῶιδε χριμφθῆναι χροῖ· 790
πρόπαρ θανούσας δ' Ἀΐδας ἀνάσσοι.

πόθεν δέ μοι γένοιτ' ἄν αἰθέρος θρόνος, στρ. β
πρὸς ὧι χιῶν ὑδρηλὰ γίγνεται νέφη,
ἧ λισσὰς αἰγίλιψ ἀπρόσ-
δεικτος οἰόφρων κρεμάς 795
γυπιάς πέτρα, βαθὺ
πτῶμα μαρτυροῦσά μοι,
πρὶν δαΐκτορος βίαι
καρδιᾶς γάμου κυρῆσαι;

κυσὶν δ' ἔπειθ' ἔλωρα κάπιχωρίοις ἀντ. β
ὄρνισι δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι πέλειν· 801

776 βοῦνι Dindorf, πάνδικον Paley (cf. Σ ἦν δικαίως πάντες τιμῶσιν): βουνῖτι ἔνδικον M 780 νέφεσσι Arnaldus: νέφεσι M 782 ἀμπετῆς Hermann, αἰδνός ὥς Kirchhoff (ἄιστος ὥς Haupt): ἀμπετῆσαισδόσσω M 784 ἀλυκτὸν Hermann: ἄφυκτον M 784 κακόν Schütz: κέαρ M (cf. 785) 785 κελαινό- Lachmann, -χρων Schwerdt: μελανόχρως M φίλον κέαρ Schwerdt; μου καρδία M 786 πατρὸς σκοπαὶ Victorius: πατροσκοπαὶ M 787 μορσίμων Schütz: μορσίμου M 788 σαργάναις M^{pc}: ἀργάναις M^{ac}: ἀρτάναις Par. 2886 790 τῶιδε (τῶδε) Arsenius, χριμφθῆναι Guelf., χροῖ Scurial.: τῶδ' ἐχριμφθῆν χροῖν M 793 ὧι Portus: ὄν M χιῶν ὑδρ. γίγνεται νέφη Porson: νέφη δ' ὑδρ. γείνεται χιῶν M 800 κυσὶν Par. 2886: κύσειν M 801 δεῖπνον Guelf.: δείπναν M

ὁ γὰρ θανῶν ἐλευθεροῦ-
ται φιλαιάκτων κακῶν.
ἐλθέτω μόρος πρὸ κοι-
τας γαμηλίου τυχῶν. 805
ἄμφυγᾶς τίν' ἔτι πόρον
τέμνω γάμου λυτῆρα;

ἰύζετ' ὀμφάν, οὐράνια στρ. γ
λιτανὰ θεοῖσι καὶ <θεαῖς> –
τέλεα δὲ πῶς πελόμενά μοι; 810
†λύσιμα μάχιμα δ'† ἔπιδε, πάτερ,
βίαια μὴ φίλοις ὀρῶν
ὄμμασιν, ἐνδίκως· σεβί-
ζου δ' ἰκέτας σέθεν, γαι- 815
άοχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ.

γένος γὰρ Αἰγύπτιον ὕβρει 820
δύσφορον < υ – > ἄρσενογενεῖ·
μετά με δρόμοισι διόμενοι
φυγάδα μάταισι πολυθρόοις
βίαια δίζηνται λαβεῖν.
σὸν δ' ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν ταλάν-
του· τί δ' ἄνευ σέθεν θνα-
τοῖσι τέλειόν ἐστιν;

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ

ὄ ὄ ὄ, ἄ ἄ ἄ· 825
ὄδε μάρπτις [826

802 ὁ ... θανῶν Hartung: τὸ ... θανεῖν M 804 ἐλθέτω Pauw: ἐλθέτω
ἐλθέτω M 806 ἄμφυγᾶς Weil, τίν' huc transp. Headlam: τίν' ἀμφ'αυτᾶς
M 807 λυτῆρα Pauw: καὶ λυτήρια M 808 ἰύζετ' Page: ἰυζευ δ'
M οὐράνια Friis Johansen: οὐράνια μέλη M 809 θεαῖς add. Bamberg-
er 810 πῶς (πως) Burney: μοι πῶς M 811 λύσιμα μάχιμα δ' M (λύσιμα
τῶν κακῶν et ἀτάραχα interpr. Σ): λύσιμά μ' ἄχιμά τ' Friis Johansen (partim
praeceunte Wilamowitz): λύσιμά μ' (λυσίγαμ' Headlam, λυσίκακ' West) ἄχειμ'
Weil 812 φίλοις Lachmann: φιλεῖς M 813 ἐνδίκως Peiper: ἐνδίκους
M 817 ὕβρει Bothe: ὕβριν M 818 lacunam statuit Page: <ἄγαν> suppl.
idem, <ἔπεισ'> Friis Johansen ἄρσενογενεῖ Page: ἄρσενογενὲς M 823 τί
δ' ἄνευ Robortello, Turnebus: πιδανευ M 823-4 θνατοῖσι Bothe: θνατοῖς
M 826 μάρπτις Turnebus: μάρπτυσ Hesychius μ316: μάρπις M

	νάϊος [826a
	γάϊος [826b
Χο.	τῶν πρό, μάρπτι, †κάμνοις†.	827
	ἰόφ[827a
	ομ[828
Αι.	αὔθι καββασ[828a
Χο.	νυ[ν	829
	εἰ]δυῖ' ἰὰν ἀμφαίνω·	829
	ὀρῶ †τάδε φροίμια πράξαν† πόνων βιαίων †έμῶν†.	830
	ἦέ· ἦέ·	
	βαῖνε φυγαῖ πρὸς ἀλκάν.	
	<	> βλοσυρόφρονα χλιδαῖ,
	δύσφορα ναῖ κὰν γαῖ.	
	γάϊ' ἄναξ, προτάσσου.	835
Αι.	σοῦσθε σοῦσθ' ἐπὶ βᾶριν ὅπως ποδῶν.	
	οὔκουν οὔκουν τιλμοὶ τιλμοὶ καὶ στιγμοί,	
	πολυαίμων φόνιος ἀποκοπὰ κρατός;	840
	σοῦσθε σοῦσθ' †ὀλύμεναι ὀλόμεν'† ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα.	
Χο.	εἴθ' ἀνὰ πολύρυτον	στρ. α
	ἀλμάεντα πόρον	
	δεσποσίωι ξὺν ὕβρει	845
	γομφοδέτῳ τε δόρει διώλου.	

826–826b spatium maius solito ante νάϊος et γάϊος reliquit M: initia trium uersuum mutilorum agnouit West (similiter, mutatis mutandis, in 827–827a, 828–9, 830, 831–2, 833–4) 827 πρό, μάρπτι Victorius, cf. Σ πρότερον θάνοις, ὦ μάρπτι, πρὶν ἡμᾶς συλλαβεῖν: πρόμαρπτι M κάμνοις M (per θάνοις interpretatur Σ): κάμοις Italie, per incuriam ut uidetur: fort. e.g. κάμοις <σύ> 827a ἰόφ M, interiectio (ἀποπτυσμοῦ μίμημα) secundum Σ: ἰοφ[όρος] (uel aliam formam eius uocabuli) tent. Friis Johansen et Whittle 828 discerni non potest utrum Danaidibus continuandum sit an Aegyptiis tribuendum 828a καββᾶς Stanley, καββᾶσ[α] Friis Johansen: κάκκας M 829 νῦ[ν] suppl. Paley [εἰ]δυῖ' ἰὰν West:]δυῖαν βοᾶν M: οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσασα, ἀλλ' αὐτόπτης γενομένη βοῶ Σ 830 sic M: tacet Σ: fort. e.g. ὀρῶ φροίμιον πράξαντας πόνων βιαίων ἐμοί 833 lacunam statuit Wilamowitz: <κνώδαλα γὰρ τάδε> e.g. West 835 γαῖ' Ellis: γαῖ M: γᾶς Peiper 842 ὀλύμεναι M: ὀλόμεναι Turnebus ὀλόμεν' M: del. Robortello 842, 847 ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα West (ἐπ' ἀμάδα Schütz): ἐπαμίδα M 843 πολύρυτον Wellauer: πολύρρυτον M 844 ἀλμάεντα West: ἀλμήεντα M 846 δόρει Hermann: δορί M

- Αι. δίαιμον ἔσω σ' ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα.
 †ησυδουπια τὰπιτα†
 κελεύω βοᾶς μεθέσθαι· <~ —>
 ἶχαρ φρενί †τ' ἄταν†. 850
 †ἰὼ ἰὸν† < >
 λεῖφ' ἔδρανα, κί' εἰς δόρυ,
 ἀτίετ' ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐσεβῶν.
- Χο. μήποτε πάλιν ἴδοις 855
 ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ,
 ἔνθεν ἀεζόμενον
 ζώφυτον αἶμα βροτοῖσι θάλλει.
- Αι. †ἄγειος ἐγὼ βαθυχαῖος
 βαθρείας βαθρείας γέρον†. 860
 σὺ δ' ἐν ναῖ ναῖ βάσῃ τάχα,
 θέλεος ἀθέλεος.
 βίαι βιᾶται πολλά· φροῦδα < — ~ — >.
 βᾶτε †βαθυμιτροκακὰ παθῶν
 ὀλόμεναι παλάμαις†. 865
- Χο. αἰαῖ, αἰαῖ 870
 εἰ γὰρ δυσπαλάμωσ ὄλοιο
 δι' ἀλίρρυτον ἄλσος
 κατὰ Σαρπηδόνιον χῶμα πολύψαμμον ἀλαθεῖς 871
 Συρίαισιν αὖραις.

847 δίαιμον Weil, ἔσω σ' Paley (ἡμαγμένον σε καθίζω Σ): αἶμονεσῶσ M ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα: uide ad 842 848 sic M (ἀπιόντα κατὰ συγκοπήν Σ): fort. ἦ (Donaldson) σὺ δουπιᾶις; (H. Voss) ἀπιτέα (Weil) 849 βοᾶς Rogers: βία M <σβέσον> suppl. West 850 τ' ἄταν M: γ' ἄσαν West 852 ἔδρανα Robortello: ἴδρανα M 854 ἴδοις Maas (εἴδοις Scaliger): εἶδοι M 856 ἀεζόμενον Portus, Scaliger: δεζόμενον M 859 sic M: ἄρειος ἐγὼ βαθύχας West 860 sic M: ἀρχέτας (possis etiam δεσπότης) βαρειᾶν χερῶν West 861 δ' ἐν Burges: δὲ M 863 βιᾶται πολλά West: βίαι τε πολλᾶι M <δὴ τὰ σά> e.g. suppl. West 864 βᾶτε Stanley: βάτεαι M 864–5 sic M: βαθυμίτρων κακὰ | ὀλόμεν' ἀπάλαμα παρθένων e.g. West 867 εἰ Heath: καὶ M: αἶ Weil 870 πολύψαμμον Burges: πολυψάμαθον M 871 Συρίαισιν Badham: εὐρείαις εἰν M

ΚΗΡΥΞ

- βαίνειν κελεύω βᾶριν εἰς ἀμφίστροφον 882
 ὅσον τάχιστα· μηδέ τις σχολαζέτω.
 ὀλκή γὰρ οὔτι πλόκαμον οὐδὰμ' ἄζεται. 884
- Χο. οἰοῖ οἰοῖ 876 ἀντ. β
 λύμας εἴθ' ὑπὸ γαῖι σὺ λάσκοις.
 †περιχαμπτὰ βρυάζεις
 ὅς ἐρωτᾷς† ὁ μέγας Πότμος ὑβρίζοντ' ἐπιτρίψει- 880
 εν ἄητον ὕβριν. 881
- Κη. ἴυζε καὶ λάκαζε καὶ κάλει θεούς· 872
 Αἰγυπτίαν γὰρ βᾶριν οὐχ ὑπερθορῇι. 873
 †πικρότερ' ἀχέων οἰζύος ὄνομ' ἔχων†. 875
- Χο. οἰοῖ, πάτερ, βρέτεος ἄρος 885 στρ. γ
 ματᾶι <βίαι δέ> μ' ἄλαδ' ἄγει
 ἄραχνος ὥς βάδην,
 ὄναρ ὄναρ μέλαν.
 ὀτοτοτοτοῖ
 μᾶ Γᾶ, μᾶ Γᾶ, †βοᾶν† 890
 φοβερὸν ἀπότρεπε·
 ὦ πᾶ, Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ.
- Κη. οὔτοι φοβοῦμαι δαίμονας τοὺς ἐνθάδε·
 οὐ γάρ μ' ἔθρεψαν, οὐδὲ γηράσω τροφῇι.
- Χο. μαιμᾶι πέλας δίπους ὄφεις· 895 ἀντ. γ
 ἔχιδνα δ' ὥς με [

882-4 et 872-5 inter se transp. Oberdick 882 ἀμφίστροφον ἸΣ^Μ, *Etym. Gud.* 261.23-4 de Stefani: ἀντίστροφον M 883 ὅσον Scurial.: ὅρον M μηδέ τις Turnebus: μηδέτι M 884 οὔτι Par. 2886: οὔτοι M 876 οἰοῖ οἰοῖ Hermann: οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ M 877 εἴθ' ὑπὸ γαῖι σὺ λάσκοις Friis Johansen: ισὺπρογασυλάσκει (sscr. οι) M 878-9 sic M: locus desperatus 880 Πότμος ὑβρίζοντ' West: νεῖλος ὑβρίζοντα σε M 880-1 ἐπιτρίψειεν Portus, ἄητον (ἄατον) Friis Johansen: ἀπὸ τρέψει ἐναιστον M {874} ἴυζε καὶ βόα M: del. Hermann 875 sic M: fort. e.g. πικρότερον (Emperius) ἀχήσεις (West) <τάχ'> (addidi) οἰζύος νόμον (Burgess) 885 βρέτεος ἄρος Abresch, cf. Σ ἡ τῶν βρετέων ἐπικουρία: βρότεος ἄρος Eustathius ad *Od.* 1.346: βροτiosσaros M 886 ματᾶι Bamberger, <βίαι δέ> West, μ' ἄλαδ' ἄγει Musgrave: αταιμαλδαάγει M (ἄτα Eustathius: ἀτᾶι legebat Σ (βλάπτει)) 890, 900 βοᾶν M: βοᾶν Pauw: βίαν Rogers 892, 902 πᾶ H. Voss (noluerat Pauw), cf. Σ ὦ πάτερ: βᾶ M 894 γηράσω West: γήρασαν M 896-8 spatia uacua post singula frustula reliquit M: ἔχιδνα δ' ὥς με [προσβλέπει.] τί ποτ' ἐν[ανθ' ὀρῶ] δάκος; ἄχ[ος μ' ἔχει] e.g. West

- τί ποτ' ἐν[
 δάκος ἀχ[
 ὀτοτοτοτοῖ·
 μᾶ Γᾶ, μᾶ Γᾶ, †βοᾶν† 900
 φοβερὸν ἀπότηρεπε·
 ὦ πᾶ, Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ.
- Κη. εἰ μή τις εἰς ναῦν εἴσιν αἰνέσας τάδε,
 λακίς χιτῶνος ἔργον οὐ κατοικτιεῖ.
- Χο. διωλόμεσθ' ἄεπτ', ἄναξ, πάσχομεν. 908 στρ. δ
 Κη. πολλοὺς ἄνακτας, παῖδας Αἰγύπτου, τάχα 906
 ὄψεσθε· θαρσεῖτ', οὐκ ἐρεῖτ' ἀναρχίαν. 907
- Χο. ἰὼ πόλεως ἄγοι πρόμοι, δάμναμαι. 905 ἀντ. δ
 Κη. ἔλξειν ἔοιχ' ὑμᾶς ἐπισπάσας κόμης, 909
 ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ὅξυ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. 910
- Πε. οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; ἐκ ποίου φρονήματος
 ἀνδρῶν Πελασγῶν τήνδ' ἀτιμάζεις χθόνα;
 ἄλλ' ἢ γυναικῶν εἰς πόλιν δοκεῖς μολεῖν;
 κάρβανος ὦν Ἑλλησιν ἐγχλῖεις ἄγαν
 καὶ πόλλ' ἀμαρτῶν οὐδὲν ὥρθωσαι φρενί. 915
- Κη. τί δ' ἡμπλάκηται τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ δίκης ἄτερ;
 Πε. ξένος μὲν εἶναι πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστασαι.
 Κη. πῶς δ' οὐχί; τᾶμ' ὀλωλόθ' εὐρίσκων ἄγω.
 Πε. ποίοισιν εἰπὼν προξένοις ἐγχωρίοις;
 Κη. Ἑρμῇι, μεγίστῳι προξένων, μαστηρίῳι. 920
 Πε. θεοῖσιν εἰπὼν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδὲν σέβηι.
 Κη. τοὺς ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον δαίμονας σεβίζομαι.
 Πε. οἱ δ' ἐνθάδ' οὐδέν, ὥς ἐγὼ σέθεν κλύω.

900–2 uide ad 890–2 905 et 908 interse transp. Wilamowitz (906–7 et 909–10
 autem transposuerat Heath) 908 -μεσθ' ἄεπτ', ἄναξ Ahrens: -μεσθα ἐπτάναξ M
 907 θαρσεῖτ', οὐκ ἐρεῖτ' ἀν- Robortello: θάρσει τοῦ χερεῖ ταν- M 905 πρόμοι Por-
 tus: πρόμνοι M 909 ἐπισπάσας Pierson: ἀπο σπάσας M 910 οὐκ ἀκούετ' ὅξυ
 Porson: οὐ κακοῦ ἔξυ M 914 ὦν Turnebus: δ' ὦν M 915 ὥρθωσαι Whit-
 tle (cf. Σ εἰς ορθὴν ἦλθες), φρενί Guelf.: ὥρθωσα φρενεῖ M 918 τᾶμ' ὀλωλόθ' ...
 ἄγω Porson: τ' ἀπολωλόθ' ... ἐγὼ M 919 προξένοις Victorius: προσξένοις M
 920 προξένων Wilamowitz: προξένω M 923 κλύω Scurial. in margine: κάτω M

- Κη. ἄγοιμ' ἄν, εἴ τις τάσδε μὴ ῥαιρήσεται.
 Πε. κλαίοις ἄν, εἰ ψάύσειας, οὐ μάλ' εἰς μακράν. 925
 Κη. ἤκουσα· τοῦτος δ' οὐδαμῶς φιλόξενον.
 Πε. οὐ γὰρ ξενοῦμαι τοὺς θεῶν συλήτορας.
 Κη. λέγοιμ' ἄν ἐλθὼν παισὶν Αἰγύπτου τάδε.
 Πε. ἀβουκόλητον τοῦτ' ἐμῶι φρονήματι.
 Κη. ἄλλ' ὥς ἄν εἰδὼς ἐννέπω σαφέστερον – 930
 καὶ γὰρ πρέπει κήρυκ' ἀπαγγέλλειν τορῶς
 ἕκαστα – πῶς φῶ πρὸς τίνας τ' ἀφαιρεθεῖς
 ἦκειν γυναικῶν αὐτανέψιον στόλον;
 οὗτοι δικάζει ταῦτα μαρτύρων ὕπο
 Ἄρης, τὸ νεῖκος δ' οὐκ ἐν ἀργύρου λαβῇ 935
 ἔλυσεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ γίγνεται πάρος
 πεσήματ' ἀνδρῶν κάπολακτισμοὶ βίου.
 Πε. τί σοι λέγειν χρή τοῦνομ'; ἐν χρόνῳ μαθὼν
 εἴσῃ σύ τ' αὐτὸς χοῖ ξυνέμποροι σέθεν.
 ταύτας δ' ἐκούσας μὲν κατ' εὐνοίαν φρενῶν 940
 ἄγοις ἄν, εἴπερ εὐσεβῆς πίθοι λόγος·
 < >
 τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία
 ψῆφος κέκρानται, μήποτ' ἐκδοῦναι βίαι
 στόλον γυναικῶν. τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς
 γόμφος διαμπάξ, ὥς μένειν ἀραρότως. 945
 ταῦτ' οὐ πίναξίν ἐστιν ἐγγεγραμμένα
 οὐδ' ἐν πτυχαῖς βύβλων κατεσφραγισμένα,
 σαφῇ δ' ἀκούεις ἐξ ἐλευθεροστόμου
 γλώσσης. κομίζου δ' ὥς τάχιστ' ἐξ ὀμμάτων.
 Κη. σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἡδύ, πόλεμον αἶρεσθαι νέον· 950
 εἴη δὲ νίκη καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν.
 Πε. ἄλλ' ἄρσενάς τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας
 εὐρήσεται, οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν φίλοις ὀπάοσιν

925 κλαίοις ... οὐ Robortello: κλάεις (sscr. οι) ... οὐδὲ M 926 δ' Headlam: om. M 928 λέγοιμ' Heath: λέγοις M 931 ἀπαγγέλλειν Guelf.: ἀπαγγελεῖν M 937 βίου M: βίων Plut. *Mor.* 517f, 937f 939 εἴσῃ σύ τ' αὐτὸς χοῖ Bothe: εἰσθιγαυτοσχοῖ M (γ' αὐτόσ χ' οἱ ^{yp}M^s) 941 λόγος Turnebus: λόγοις M post 941 lacunam statuit Hartung: <ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλωσιν, οὐκ ἐκδώσομεν> e.g. Bowen 944 τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς Turnebus: τῶνδε φιλῶται τορῶ M 947 βύβλων Scurial.: βίβλων M 950 σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἡδύ Hermann: ἴσθι μὲν τὰδ' ἡδὴ M αἶρεσθαι Porson: ἐρεῖσθε (ei ex i correctum) M 951 κράτος Nauck, Weil: κράτη M 954 ξὺν Porson: σὺν M

θράσος λαβοῦσαι στείχετ' εὐερκῇ πόλιν	955
πύργων βαθείαι μηχανῇι κεκλημένην.	
καὶ δώματ' ἔστι πολλά μὲν τὰ δῆμια,	957
ἔνθ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν εὐτύκους ναίειν δόμους	959
πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων. εἰ δέ τις μείζων χάρις,	960
πάρεστιν οἰκεῖν καὶ μονορρύθμους δόμους,	961
δεδωμάτωμαι δ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ σμικρᾷ χερὶ.	958
τούτων τὰ λῶιστα καὶ τὰ θυμηδέστατα –	962
πάρεστι – λωτίσασθε. προστάτης δ' ἐγὼ	
ἄστοί τε πάντες, ὧν περ ἦδε κραίνεται	
ψῆφος. τί τῶνδε κυριωτέρους μένεις;	965

Χο. ἄλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις,	
διε Πελασγῶν.	
πέμψον δὲ πρόφρων δεῦρ' ἡμέτερον	
πατέρ' εὐθαρσῇ Δαναόν, πρόνοον	
καὶ βούλαρχον· τοῦ γὰρ προτέρα	970
μῆτις, ὅπου χρή δώματα ναίειν	971
ξύν τ' εὐκλείαι καὶ ἀμηνίτῳ	975
βάξει λαῶν ἐγχώρων·	976
< >	
καὶ τόπος εὐφρων, πᾶς τις ἐπειπεῖν	972
ψόγον ἄλλοθρόοις	973
εὐτυκος. εἴη δὲ τὰ λῶιστα.	974
{τάσσεσθε, φίλαι δμῳῖδες, οὕτως	977
ὥς ἐφ' ἐκάστη διεκλήρωσεν	
Δαναὸς θεραποντίδα φερνήν.}	

<excidit (uel potius excisum est) canticum chori cum prooemio, ut uidetur, anapaestico>

958 post 961 transp. Burges 959 ἔνθ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν Weil, εὐτύκους Porson: εὐθυμεῖν ἔστιν ἐντυχούση M δόμους Turnebus: δόμοις M 961 μονορρύθμους Scurial.: μονορύθμους M 963 λωτίσασθε Canter: λωτίσασθαι M 966 ἀγαθοῖσι Porson: ἀγαθοῖς M 975–6 post 971 transponi posse monuit West 976 ἐγχώρων Par. 2886, Zakas: ἐν χώρῳ M: <τῶν> ἐγχώρων Hermann ante 972 lacunam statuendam esse, etsi transponerentur 975–6, monuit West (lacunam inter 971 et 972 statuerat Page) 972 καὶ M: καὶ Schwerdt 974 εὐτυκος Spanheim: εὐτυκτοσ M: εὐ τύκτος M 977–9 del. Reinkens: uersus ex *Aegyptiis* uel *Danaidibus* huc tralatos esse coni. Taplin

- Δα. ὦ παῖδες, Ἀργείοισιν εὖχεσθαι χρεῶν 980
 θύειν τε λείβειν θ', ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις,
 σπονδάς, ἐπεὶ σωτῆρες οὐ διχορρόπως.
 καί μου τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
 φίλως, πικρῶς δ' ἤκουσαν αὐτανεψίοις·
 ἐμοὶ δ' ὀπαδοὺς τούσδε καὶ δορυσσόους 985
 ἔταξαν, ὡς ἔχοιμι τίμιον γέρας,
 καὶ μήτ' ἀέλπτως δορικανεῖ μόρωι θανῶν
 λάθοιμι, χώραι δ' ἄχθος αἰείζων πέλοι,
 <μήτ'
 τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ.>
 τοιῶνδε τυγχάνοντας ἐκ πρυμνῆς φρενὸς
 χάριν σέβεσθαι †τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ†. 990
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν γράψασθε πρὸς γεγραμμένοις
 πολλοῖσιν ἄλλοις σωφρονίσμασιν πατρός,
 ἀγνῶθ' ὅμιλον ὡς ἐλέγχεται χρόνῳ·
 πᾶς δ' ἐν μετοίκῳ γλῶσσαν εὖτυκον φέρει
 κακὴν, τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετέες μύσαγμά πως. 995
 ὑμᾶς δ' ἐπαινῶ μὴ καταισχύνειν ἐμέ,
 ὦραν ἐχούσας τήνδ' ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς.
 τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς·
 θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί· τί μήν;
 καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ 1000
 καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις
 †κάλωρα κωλύουσανθ† ὡς μαίνειν ἔρωι,
 καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἐπὶ
 πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτῆριον

ante 980 multa excidisse uel excisa esse censuit Taplin 983 ἐγγενεῖς Heath:
 ἐκτενεῖς M 984 φίλως M' sscr.: φίλου M δ' Rogers: om. M αὐτ- Par.
 2886, -ανεψίοις Scaliger: ἀτανεψίους M 985 ἐμοὶ δ' Par. 2886: ἐμοῦδ' (δ ex σ
 factum) M 987 δορικανεῖ μόρωι Porson: δόρυκ' ἀνημέρωι M 988/9 lacu-
 nam statuit et <μήτ'> suppleuit Paley: <... τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ> huc ex 990 traduxit
 West 989 ἐκ πρυμνῆς Portus: εὐπρυμνῆ M 990 τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ M: τιμίαν
 ἡμᾶς (ἡμας) χρεῶν e.g. West (possis etiam τιμίαν αὐτοῖς χρεῶν) 991 τοῦτο
 Sommerstein: ταῦτα M γράψασθε Auratus, πρὸς γεγ- Victorius, -μένοις Rob-
 ortello: γράψεσθε προσγεγραμμένους M 993 ὅμιλον M^s: ὅμιλος M ἐλέγχεται
 Musgrave: ἐλέγχεσθαι M 994 εὖτυκον Spanheim: εὖτυχον M 999 θῆρες δὲ
 M: θῆρες σφε Martin τί μήν; Guelf.: τιμήν M 1000 πεδοστιβῆ Robortello:
 παιδοστιβῆ M 1002 κάλωρα κωλύουσιν θωσμένην (sscr. -ειν) ἐρῶ M: ὡς μαίνειν
 ἔρωι West, qui pro initio uersus κάλωρα μωλύουσ' ἄμ' coniecit (desiderauerim
 egomet 'mares stimulans')

- τόξευμ' ἔπεμψεν, ἡμέρου νικώμενος. 1005
 πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ πάθωμεν ὦν πολὺς πόνος,
 πολὺς δὲ πόντος οὔνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί,
 μηδ' αἴσχος ἡμῖν, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐχθροῖς ἐμοῖς
 πράξωμεν. οἴκησις δὲ καὶ διπλῇ πάρα·
 τὴν μὲν Πελασγός, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοῖ, 1010
 οἰκεῖν λάτρων ἄτερθεν· εὐπετῇ τάδε.
 μόνον φυλάξαι τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς πατρός,
 τὸ σωφρονεῖν τιμῶσα τοῦ βίου πλέον.
 Χο. τᾶλλ' εὐτυχοῖμεν πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων·
 ἐμῆς δ' ὁπώρας οὔνεκ' εὐθάρσει, πάτερ. 1015
 εἰ γάρ τι μὴ θεοῖς βεβούλευται νέον,
 ἵχνος τὸ πρόσθεν οὐ διαστρέψω φρενός.
 ἴτε μὰν ἄστυδ', ἄνακτας στρ. α
 μάκαρας θεοὺς γανόωντες,
 πολιούχους τε καὶ οἱ χεῦμ' Ἑρασίνου 1020
 περιναίουσιν παλαιόν.
 ὑποδέξασθε δ', ὁπαδοί,
 μέλος· αἶνος δὲ πόλιν τάνδε Πελασγῶν
 ἐχέτω, μηδ' ἔτι Νείλου
 προχοὰς σέβωμεν ὕμνοις, 1025
 ποταμοὺς δ' οἱ διὰ χώρας ἀντ. α
 θελεμὸν πῶμα χέουσιν,
 πολύτεκνοι, λιπαροῖς χεύμασι γαίας
 τόδε μειλίσσοντες οὔδας.
 ἐπίδοι δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ 1030
 στόλον οἰκτιζομένα, μηδ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκας
 τέλος ἔλθοι Κυθερείας·
 Στύγιον πέλοι τόδ' ἄθλον.

1007 οὔνεκ' ἠρόθη Heath: οὔνέκληρώθη M 1009 οἴκησις Robortello, Turnebus:
 οἰκήσεις M 1012 φυλάξαι M: φύλαξαι Victorius 1015 εὐθάρσει Valckenaer:
 εὐ θάρσει M 1018 ἄστυδ', ἄνακτας Tucker: ἀστυάνακτας M 1019 μάκαρας
 ὕῤῥScurial.: μακρας M γανόωντες Pauw: γανάνεντες M 1021 περιναίουσιν
 Marckscheffel (-ουσι Pauw): περιναίετε M 1022 ὑποδέξασθε δ' Pauw:
 ὑποδέξασθ' M 1023 μέλος Legrand: μένος M 1025 προχοὰς Robortello,
 Turnebus: πρόσχοας M 1029 μειλίσσοντες Pauw: μελίσσοντες M 1032 τέλος
 Weil: γάμος M ἔλθοι Par. 2886, Ald.: ἔλθει M 1033 Στύγιον Stephanus:
 στύγειον M

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

- Κύπριδος δ' οὐκ ἀμελεῖν, θεσμός ὅδ' εὖφρων· στρ. β
 δύναται γὰρ Διὸς ἄγχιστα σὺν Ἥρῃ,
 τίεται δ' αἰολόμητις
 θεὸς ἔργοις ἐπὶ σεμνοῖς.
 μετάκοινοι δὲ φίλοι ματρὶ πάρεσιν
 Πόθος ἅι τ' οὐδὲν ἄπαρνον
 τελέθει θέλκτορι Πειθοῖ, 1040
 δέδοταί θ' Ἀρμονία μοῖρ' Ἀφροδίται
 ψευδαὶ τρίβοι τ' ἐρώτων.
- φυγάδεσσιν δ' ἔτι ποινὰς κακά τ' ἄλγη στρ. β
 πολέμους θ' αἱματόεντας προφοβοῦμαι
 τί ποτ' εὖπλοισιν ἔπραξαν 1045
 ταχυπομποῖσι διωγμοῖς;
 ὅ τι τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἂν –
 Διὸς οὐ παρβατός ἐστιν
 μεγάλα φρήν ἀπέρατος –
 μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ γάμων ἅδε τελευτὰ 1050
 προτερᾶν πέλοι γυναικῶν.
- Χο. ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς ἀπαλέξαι στρ. γ
 γάμον Αἰγυπτογενῇ μοι.
- Αρ. τὸ μὲν ἂν βέλτατον εἶη –
- Χο. σὺ δὲ θέλγοις ἂν ἄθελκτον. 1055
- Αρ. σὺ δέ γ' οὐκ οἶσθα τὸ μέλλον.
- Χο. τί δὲ μέλλω φρένα Δίαν στρ. γ
 καθορᾶν, ὅψιν ἄβυσσον;
- Αρ. μέτριόν νυν ἔπος εὖχου.

1034 δ' Pauw: om. M ἀμελεῖν Nauck: ἀμελεῖ M 1038 δὲ Par. 2886: δ' αἰ
 M 1039 ἅι Wellauer: om. M 1040 θέλκτορι Musgrave, Πειθοῖ Par. 2886:
 θεακτορι πιθοῖ M 1041 θ' West, Ἀρμονία Hermann, Ἀφροδίται Hartung: δ'
 ἄρμονίαν (-ίας M^s) ... ἀφροδίτας M 1042 ψευδαὶ Scaliger: ψευδα (sscr. θ)
 M: ψευδῆς Σ 1043 φυγάδεσσιν ... ἔτι ποινὰς Burges: φυγάδες ... ἐπιπνοῖαι
 M 1048 παρβατός Askew: παραβάτας M 1050 πολλῶν Wilamowitz:
 πολλῶν M 1055 θέλγοις ἂν ἄθελκτον Stephanus: θέλγεις ἀνάθελκτον M

Χο. τίνα καιρόν με διδάσκεις; 1060
 Αρ. τὰ θεῶν μηδέν ἀγάζειν.

Χο. Ζεὺς ἄναξ ἀποστεροί- στρ. δ
 η γάμον δυσάνορα
 δάϊον, ὅσπερ Ἴω
 πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' εὖ 1065
 χειρὶ παιωνίαι κατασχεθών,
 εὐμενῇ βίαν κτίσας,

καὶ κράτος νέμοι γυναι- ἀντ. δ
 ξίν. τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ
 καὶ τὸ δίμοιρον αἰνῶ, 1070
 καὶ δίκαι †δίκας† ἔπες-
 θαι ξὺν εὐχαῖς ἑμαῖς, λυτηρίοις
 μαχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα.

1063 γάμον Robortello, Turnebus: γάμου M 1067 εὐμενῇ βίαν Valckenaer:
 εὐμενεῖ βία M 1070 τὸ Σ: τε M 1071 δίκαι Heath: δικά M δίκας M:
 δίκαν Haupt: τύχας Burges 1073 μαχαναῖς Dindorf: μηχαναῖς M

COMMENTARY

1-175

The performing area represents a place near the seashore, not far from Argos (as we soon learn, 15). No building is visible (or at least none that is given any dramatic significance), but there is an elevated place (πάγος 189) which is a sanctuary of all the major gods (222, cf. ἑδρᾶν πολυθέων 423); enough to make credible the Danaids' threat to turn their statues into gibbets (463-5). There are probably 12 statues – the traditional number of the major Olympians (the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens dates from 522/1: Thuc. 6.54.6) and also at this time the number of members of a tragic chorus; the only images explicitly mentioned are those of Zeus (209), Apollo (214), Poseidon (218) and Hermes (220), but invocations of, or favourable references to, Artemis (144-53, 677, 1030), Aphrodite (1034-42) and Hera (1035) may have been accompanied by gestures towards their statues. The πάγος was probably located at the rear of the *orchestra* (Scullion 1994: 70 n. 9; Sandin 2005: 15-19; Sommerstein 2010a: 19-21). Entrances and exits are made via passages (εἰσοδοί) leading into the east and west sides of the *orchestra*. One of these (called in this commentary Eisodos S) is imagined as leading to and from the sea; in this play it is used only by characters arriving by ship. The Danaids and their father enter by this passage, ultimately to depart by the other after being accepted as μέτοικοι (609, 994) by the people of Argos; on the other hand the Herald, with his Egyptian attendants, departs at 953 by the way he came after his demand for the surrender of the Danaids has been rejected. The opposite passage (Eisodos T) leads, via a crossing of the river Erasinus (1020), to Argos town.

The chorus enter by Eisodos S. Their faces (masks) are dark (71, 154) – suggesting their southern origin, but also perhaps suggesting that they may have a masculine side to their nature, as they did in some other versions of the myth (Intr. §2). Their garments and head-coverings (121, 235) are of linen (120; cf. Bacch. 19.43, Hdt. 2.37.2), not wool, and of a type that no Greek would wear (234-7). In their left hands (193), however, they carry the familiar Greek emblem of the suppliant, an olive branch wreathed with wool (21-2, 191-2). We learn in their first long sentence (1-10) whence they have come (Egypt, 3-4) and, by implication, who they are – for if they are fleeing marriage with the sons of Aegyptus (9-10) they can only be the daughters of Danaus, as they confirm immediately afterwards. On the question whether they are accompanied by maidservants, see 977-9n.

The text reveals nothing about Danaus' entrance until 176, when he is standing at the sanctuary keeping a look-out (cf. 713) and has evidently been there for some time. If he entered by Eisodos S, whether together with his daughters, immediately after them, or at some later point, one would expect them to make some reference to his arrival or his presence, and they do not (even in their elaborate description of Danaus at 11–12 there is not so much as a ὅδε – contrast 319). Possibly then, like the ghost of Darius in *Pers.* 681, he was not seen until he appeared on top of the πᾶγος at 176, having climbed up by a ladder placed behind it (Sommerstein 2010a: 21).

Suppliants, like *Persians*, has no prologue and instead begins with its *parodos*. When *Suppliants* was thought to be the earliest surviving Aeschylean play, this was thought to be an early feature, even though it was known (from the Hypothesis of *Persians*) that at least one play of Phrynichus did have a prologue. In fact it must have been an option of which Aeschylus, and presumably his contemporaries, could avail themselves at any time. In the Danaid trilogy itself, fr. 43 (which implies that the 'awakening' of the bridal couples has not yet taken place, and therefore that the chorus of Danaids are not yet on stage) shows that the third play, *Danaids*, had a prologue. In the probably earlier Achilles trilogy, the choral anapaests of fr. 131 constituted the opening of *Myrmidons* (Σ Ar. *Frogs* 992), but *Phrygians* began with dialogue between Achilles and Hermes (*Life of Aeschylus* 6), presumably before the arrival of Priam and the chorus of his attendants. See generally Taplin 1977: 61–4. After Aeschylus the spoken prologue appears to have become the invariable rule for tragedy, at least until the fourth century when *Rhesus* opens with its *parodos* (in which, according to a practice already common in the late fifth century, one of the principals, Hector, takes part); in comedy, however, there is good reason to believe that in the early 420s Cratinus was still writing plays without a prologue (Bakola 2010: 43, 49–53, 234–42).

The decision to have no prologue in *Supp.* will have been a corollary of the decision to make the chorus the effective protagonist of the play. The alternative would have been a prologue by Danaus spoken in the absence of his daughters, which might have focused audience attention unduly on him at their expense. As it is, Danaus' arrival on stage goes completely unmarked in the text. Taplin 1977: 194 compares the entrance of Electra in *Cho.*, but Electra's presence and appearance are at least noticed by Orestes (*Cho.* 16–18). Danaus' directing role in the family's flight to Argos is strongly emphasized in 11–13, but in the remainder of the *parodos* he is referred to only once, indirectly, by the word πατραδελφείαν (38).

The *parodos*, like those of *Pers.* and *Ag.* (contrast *Eum.*), is very long; it consists of an anapaestic prelude and eight strophic pairs of lyrics, more than any other purely choral song in surviving tragedy. As the parallel

with *Ag.* suggests, this may tell in favour of the view that *Supp.* was the first play of the trilogy; on the other hand it could be argued that even if it is the second, this *parodos* is unusually important because it introduces us to a chorus who, very exceptionally, will be the virtual protagonist of the play, and who, just as exceptionally, will reappear later in the trilogy as the chorus of *Danaids*.

In two strophic pairs (possibly three, 162–7n.) the strophe and antistrophe end with a repeated refrain (ἐφύμνιον) (117–21 = 128–32, 141–3 = 151–3) – a feature also found in a later song (889–92 = 899–902) and in *Seven* 975–7 = 986–8, *Ag.* 1489–96 = 1513–20, *Eum.* 328–33 = 341–6 (later in *Eum.* the Erinyes twice repeat an entire strophe, at 778–93 = 808–23 and 837–47 = 870–80).

We learn much in this *parodos* about the Danaids: their utter determination never to accept marriage with their cousins (with certain expressions, particularly 142–53, suggesting a broader aversion to men and sexuality; see Intr. §§3, 5); their reliance on Zeus as their ancestor to show them the same favour that he once showed Io (but also, tempering their confidence, their awareness of his inscrutability, 86–102); their skill in presenting themselves as pathetic victims (57–76, 113–32); their readiness to reinforce their demands by threats of suicide (154–75). There are also ironic pointers to the murders to come – when the Danaids unnecessarily insist that they have *not* been expelled from Egypt for homicide (5–6), when they refer to their suppliants' boughs as ἐγχειρίδια (21n.), when they compare themselves to the wife of Tereus who killed her own son (58–67), when they say that Zeus can achieve his will without the application of armed force (99n.). But as in the rest of the play, there is virtually nothing about the immediate past. If *Supp.* was the first play of the trilogy (see Intr. §3), we are left in almost complete ignorance of events in Egypt before the family fled; we are told that the sons of Aegyptus are madly hybristic (30, 81, 104–10), but we are given not the least indication of what they may have done or said to merit this characterization. If *Supp.* was the second play, the audience might have been able to supply this information from what they had already seen and heard – and to decide for themselves to what extent the Danaids' loathing of their cousins was justified.

To a certain extent the opening of *Supp.* finds an echo in its conclusion (Miralles 2007: 31–3). The play begins with a long musical passage by the chorus, followed by a speech of advice from Danaus (176–233), followed by the arrival of Pelasgus with armed men; it ends with the departure of Pelasgus with armed men (after 976), followed by a speech of advice from Danaus (980–1013), followed by a musical finale involving the chorus and ending, as this *parodos* begins, with an appeal to Zeus. But by the end the Danaids are under the protection of the Argive state, a protection

embodied in the soldiers whom Pelasgus has detached to guard them (and in other soldiers whom the Argive people have instructed to guard Danaus, 985–8); and while their attitude to the prospect of marriage with their cousins has not changed in the least, there is now a second voice in the musical finale (1034–51n.) which takes a somewhat different view, noting, as the Danaids do not, that their prayer for their pursuers to be destroyed at sea (29–39) has not been answered.

1–39 Like the *parodoi* of *Pers.* and *Ag.* (and of Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Alcestis*), this one begins with a passage in anapaests. Verse in this metre, with its extremely regular beat, was delivered to musical accompaniment (cf. *Ar. Birds* 682–4, instructing the piper to accompany a speech in anapaestic tetrameters), but is usually supposed to have been chanted rather than sung. The language of anapaestic passages tends to be intermediate in register between that of spoken iambs and that of full-blown lyrics; it does not exhibit the 'Doric' vocalism ($\bar{\alpha}$ for Attic-Ionic η) characteristic of the latter (so e.g. $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ 2, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\phi\eta\varsigma$ 17). The metre is sometimes referred to as 'marching' anapaests, and its association with choral entries gives this designation some plausibility; but even in Aeschylus only three of the six or seven surviving choruses use this metre on their first entrance, and anapaestic passages are also found at the beginning of a *stasimon* (e.g. 625–9, *Pers.* 532–47, *Ag.* 355–66) or taking the place of one (e.g. 966–79, *Ag.* 1331–42, *Cho.* 719–29, 855–68).

1 Ζεύς: an appropriate opening word for a play in which Zeus, as $\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and as ancestor, will dominate the thoughts of the protagonist-chorus; his name (or its derivative adjective $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$) appears 13 times in the *parodos* and 48 times in the whole play. It was also the opening word of Euripides' *Melanippe the Wise* (Eur. fr. 481) and probably of Aeschylus' *Palamedes* (fr. 451k Radt = 180a Sommerstein; see Sommerstein 2000, but for another view Sampson 2013).

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is also the second word of *Pers.*, *Ag.*, *Eum.* and *Prom.*, of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*, and of Euripides' *Hippolytus* and *Helen*; it often serves less to introduce an antithesis than to mark a beginning ('inceptive' $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, Denniston 1954: 382–4). If there is an antithesis here, the answering limb is probably 11–18, so that the antithesis is between the Danaids' ancestor (and 'father of gods and men') Zeus and their actual father Danaus.

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ clearly cannot here mean 'suppliant' (as in 241); ancient scholarship (Σ and Hesychius $\alpha 8689$) unhesitatingly took it to mean 'the god of supplication' (= $\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, which is metrically impossible in anapaests), and Eustathius (on *Od.* 3.92 (vol. 1 p. 115 Stallbaum)) says that 'the ancients' used $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ in this sense. This is confirmed by the parallel $\text{Ζηνὸς} \dots \text{κότον} \text{ἰκτῆρος}$ (478–9: $\iota\kappa\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ in the same phrase 347, 616); cf.

also Διοηικετα (= Διὸς ἱκέτου) in *IG* v.1.700 (Sparta). A. has introduced two of the key themes of the play – Zeus and supplication – within its opening anapaestic *metron*.

ἐπίδοι is echoed at 531, 811 (also of Zeus) and 145, 1030–1 (of Artemis); cf. also *Cho.* 1 Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη, 583, 728, 1063.

προφρόνως ‘with favour’ is a word of which A. is particularly fond – but almost exclusively in *Supp.* and the *Oresteia*. Together with the adjective πρόφρων, it occurs three times more in *Supp.* (216, 349, 968), five times in the *Oresteia*, once in the rest of the Aeschylean corpus (fr. 78a.3 Radt = 78c.3 Sommerstein, from *Theoroi*, probably also a late play: Sommerstein 2008: III 83–5), twice in Sophocles and once in Euripides.

2 στόλον ‘travelling band’ (so again of the Danaids 28, 324, 461, 933, 944, 1031); but στόλον ... νάϊον would more usually suggest a warlike overseas expedition, and its application to the Danaids may be in part ironic, for a hostile overseas expedition (called a ‘male στόλος’ at 487) is in fact on its way to Argos. On which of the two στόλοι *will* Zeus be looking with favour?

νάϊον ἀρθέντ’ ‘which set out (LSJ ἀείρω I 5) on board ship’ (the adjective is predicative). This sense of the verb ἀ(ε)ίρω usually (e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 111) refers to naval or military expeditions (cf. previous note).

3 προστομίων: probably ‘mouths’, i.e. the Delta; the word is otherwise found in a geographical sense only at Hesychius π4093, where it is used to define προχοή (which itself at 1025 refers to the mouths of the Nile). FJW take the meaning to be ‘parts in front of the mouths’, referring to the extension of the shore of the Delta by silt deposited by the Nile (the πρόσχωμα of *Prom.* 847), but the Danaids could not have taken ship from a point *in front of* one of the mouths of the river.

λεπτοψαμάθων ‘with their fine sand’: the fineness of Nile sand was later remarked by the elder Pliny (*HN* 35.167). Elsewhere (870, *Ag.* 985) A.’s word for ‘sand’ is ψάμμος, but in those passages ψαμαθ- would not have been metrically admissible.

4–5 Νείλου: in this play the country of Egypt is always referred to as the land of the Nile (281, 308, 497, 560, 922). However, the Herald is allowed to speak of an ‘Egyptian ship’ (873 Αἰγυπτίαν ... βᾶριν): may we be meant to suppose that Aegyptus, now (at least *de facto*) king of the land, has renamed it after himself? Obviously Danaus and his family would not recognize such a change even if they knew about it.

Δίαν ... χθόνα ‘the land of Zeus’ (cf. 558), probably with reference to the famous oracle of the Egyptian god Amun (called Zeus Ammon by Greeks) at the oasis of Siwa near the present Egyptian–Libyan border; this was a long way from the Nile, but Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.53–7), referring to the foundation of Cyrene which lies even further west, speaks of ships

being taken ‘to the rich precinct of the Nile, belonging to the son of Cronus’.

λιποῦσαι |: here, and again at 32, an anapaestic period ends at a point where syntactic connections preclude any pause. The only near-parallel in Aeschylus, though less extreme, is *Ag.* 66 πολλά παλαίσματα ... θήσων Δανάοισιν | Τρωσί θ’ ὁμοίως (see Fraenkel 1950 ad loc.)

σύγχορτον ‘adjacent, conterminous’, lit. ‘with common pasture-lands’. In the territory of a Greek city-state, the border regions would often be hilly and unsuitable for arable farming; indeed neighbouring states sometimes came to an agreement that citizens of either state might pasture their flocks in border areas (cf. e.g. *Thuc.* 5.42.1; see Hodkinson 1988: 51–5). As a result, σύγχορτος came to mean ‘with common borders’ (*Eur. Andr.* 17, *Heracles* 371, fr. 179). In its literal sense the word is quite inappropriate to describe the border between Egypt and ‘Syria’ (the latter was then reckoned to extend as far south as Sinai): this border was marked by the Serbonian marsh (Lake Bardawil) and Mount Casius (Ras Kasroun) (Lane Fox 2008: 267–70), in a region which fifth-century Greeks rightly thought of as ‘fearsomely waterless’ (*Hdt.* 3.5.2–3, cf. 2.6.1). In this play, however, Egypt is the land that welcomed the bovine Io, ‘the plain of Zeus where all can graze’ (558), and the birthplace of ‘Zeus’s calf’ Epaphus (41, 314), and the choice of σύγχορτον rather than (e.g.) ὁμορον may well be the first step in creating this image of Egypt (so FJW).

6 ἐφ’ αἵματι: it would not normally occur to any Greek to assume that a band of women refugees had been exiled for homicide – but we have probably already guessed (if we did not already know from a preceding play) who these women are (1–175n.), and if so we shall understand the irony.

δημηλασίαν: we do not need to choose between the renderings ‘banishment by the people’ and ‘banishment from the community’, since the imagined scenario involves both; so too at 614 where any Argive not coming to the aid of the Danaids against an attack is to be sentenced to φυγή δημήλατος. In the world of Homer, the normal expectation is that anyone who had perpetrated a killing, even unintentionally, would flee the country (e.g. *Il.* 23.85–8, 24.480–2) to escape blood-revenge; in classical Athens, exile was the legal penalty for unintentional but culpable homicide (*Dem.* 23.72). The accusative is an internal one (Weir Smyth 1956: 354–7): in the case envisaged, the flight in which the Danaids were fleeing would be (not a voluntary emigration but) a public expulsion. M’s reading δημηλασίαι is due to assimilation to the preceding and following datives; the corruption is a fairly early one, since the scholium presupposes it.

7 ψήφωι πόλεως: they are made to speak as though Egypt were a democratic Greek city-state (contrast 370–5). In such a state, the whole

assembled people might function as a judicial tribunal; at Athens, Miltiades was tried before the people in 489 (Hdt. 6.136) and the people continued to exercise jurisdiction almost throughout the classical period in cases using the procedure called εἰσαγγελία (Hansen 1991: 212–18). The reference to a vote of the citizenry foreshadows the asylum decree (ψήφισμα, 601; cf. 942–3 ἐκ πόλεως ... ψῆφος) passed later by the Argive assembly, and may also foreshadow events to follow in *Danaids* (see Intr. §3).

γνωσθεῖσαι ‘having been condemned’ (= καταγνωσθεῖσαι): cf. Anaximenes, *Ars Rhet.* 15.3 (= [Arist.] *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1431b30) (on why it does not pay to give false evidence) γνωσθέντα δ’ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἀργύριον οἱ νόμοι ζημιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς δόξαν καὶ εἰς ἀπιστίαν. There is something to be said for Moritz Schmidt’s emendation γνωσθεῖσαν, giving the sense ‘public banishment decided by vote of the community’; but in this use of γινώσκω in its judicial sense the passive subject is not, as it would be here, a word denoting the penalty, but a word denoting the fact of the tribunal’s coming to a decision, e.g. δίαίτα ‘arbitration award’ (Dem. 33.33), κρίσις (Isoc. 6.30), βούλευμα (Thuc. 3.36.4).

8 αὐτογενῇ φυξανορίαν ‘in a flight from men taken of our own accord’, again an internal accusative governed by φεύγομεν (6n.).

αὐτογενῇ: i.e. not under compulsion; the word does not imply that the flight was *solely* the doing of the Danaids themselves (*pace* Papadopoulou 2011: 62), and indeed we shall shortly hear from them that it was their father who advised it. The choice of word may also draw attention to the fact that the men from whom the Danaids are fleeing are ‘of the same stock’ as themselves; there is no warrant for the view once widely held that the Danaids have rejected these suitors *because* they are cousins (see Intr. §5, n. 88), but we shall learn later (by implication from 387–96), if we have not learned it in a preceding play, that by Egyptian law the blood relationship gives the Aegyptiads the right to demand their cousins in marriage regardless of their or their father’s wishes (see Intr. §5).

φυξανορίαν occurs (or rather, has been restored) only here; its formation is parallel to that of the Homeric ῥηξηνορίη (*Od.* 14.217) ‘the ability to break men’ (i.e. martial prowess), and in A. to that of φυξίμηλος (fr. 447, of a tree) ‘big enough not to be injured by browsing animals’. Like many other expressions used by the Danaids (Intr. §3), it does not by itself provide decisive evidence as to whether their aversion is to the Aegyptiads alone or to men and marriage generally.

10 ὀνοταζόμεναι: the middle of this verb occurs only here; the active is glossed by lexicographers as ἐκφασκίζειν or ὑβρίζειν, both of which can mean ‘treat with contempt’, a sense which suits the verb’s appearances at *h.Herm.* 30 and Hes. *WD* 258 – and which would be appropriate here also.

After this, a word or two has been lost, since (a) if ἀσεβῆ τ' agrees with γάμον, it would have to be followed by a second conjoined adjective, and (b) if it does not, it must have agreed with another noun which is not in the transmitted text. Sandin opts for (a), proposing <καὶ ἄτιμον> on the basis of the scholia (ὅν οὐ σέβομεν ἡμεῖς οὐδε τιμῶμεν); the ancient commentator's interpretation is wrong (the Danaids would certainly not call themselves ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἄτιμοι: rather, they would be accusing the Aegyptiads of impious and dishonouring behaviour towards *them*), but Sandin's text could nevertheless be right; with γάμος ... ἄτιμος one might compare 562–3 μαινομένα πόνοις ἀτίμοις or *Cho.* 443 πατρώιους δύας ἀτίμους. Most other editors have preferred option (b) and a restoration like <διάνοιαν> (Weil); at 109 the Aegyptiads are said to have a διάνοιαν μαινόλιν, and the phrase ἀσεβεῖ διανοίαι appears at *Seven* 831 (though that passage is probably spurious).

11–12 πατήρ ... βούλαρχος ... στασίαρχος ... πεισσονομῶν: the Danaids strongly emphasize the leading and directing role of their father in the decision to sail to Argos and (21–2) to supplicate its people for their support. For the dramatist it is important to make this clear, because in the actual supplication scene (234–479) he means to keep Danaus completely silent and inactive. In addition, some of the words used here are capable of an alternative, ironic interpretation (see below).

βούλαρχος 'originator of our plan', a word found only here and at 970 in all ancient Greek literature. To those who know the myth, it looks forward to the marital murder-plot. It could also be understood as meaning 'one who desires rulership' (cf. βουλόμαχος 'eager to fight', *Ar. Peace* 1293), with ironical allusion either to a dispute with Aegyptus over the throne of Egypt or to Danaus' later role as τύραννος of Argos (see *Intr.* §§2, 3) – or indeed to both.

στασίαρχος 'leader of our band'; for this sense of στάσις cf. *Cho.* 458, *Eum.* 311 (both, as here, self-references by a chorus; see Kavoulaki 2011: 378–9). But στάσις more commonly means 'strife', especially within a political community (so *Pers.* 188, 715, *Eum.* 977), so there may well again be an ironic reference to earlier and/or later events.

τάδε is probably to be taken as object of ἐπέκρανεν, with φεύγειν ... τετέλεσται (14–18) in apposition to it: 'ordained this as the most advantageous of pains (i.e. of painful options), <namely> to flee ...' The plural number of κύδιστ' tells in favour of this construal (which makes it agree with τάδε) and against the alternative, which would be to take τάδε as object of πεισσονομῶν (giving the approximate sense 'managing this situation like a game-player') and φεύγειν ... τετέλεσται as the subject of κύδιστ' ἄχέων (εἶναι).

παισσονομῶν ‘like a board-game player’ (lit. ‘managing παισσοί’): παισσοί or παισσεῖα was the generic name for a family of games of mixed skill and chance, based on the moving of pieces on a board according to the fall of dice (Austin 1940, Kurke 1999): cf. *Ag.* 32–3 where the Watchman says that he has metaphorically thrown a triple-six and will now make the appropriate move (by dancing for joy). The word paints Danaus as a skilful strategist and tactician; but if he is the player of the game, are his daughters the pawns on his board?

13 κύδιστ’ ἀχέων: the oxymoron is echoed at the end of the play (1069) when the Danaids declare their preference for τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ. It is of a type favoured by the strong tendency in Greek to say ‘more x’ in preference to ‘less un-x’: when in *Ar. Frogs* 1445 Dionysus, baffled by Euripides’ recipe for the salvation of Athens, asks him to speak ‘less cleverly and more clearly’, he actually says ἀμαθέστερον (lit. ‘more stupidly’) ... καὶ σαφέστερον.

κύδιστ’ ‘most likely to bring an honourable outcome’ (or least likely to bring a dishonourable one – see previous note), hence ‘most likely to be successful’. This superlative is found in tragedy only here and at *A. fr.* 238 (in the vocative, addressing Agamemnon; cf. *Il.* 1.122 etc.), but the comparative κύδιον appears at *Eur. Alc.* 960, *Andr.* 639, and in both places the context favours the meaning ‘preferable, advantageous’ – which is how the word is glossed by the scholia here and by Hesychius (κ4417). (In both places, too, as here, it has been proposed to emend κυδ- to κερδ-.) In Aeschylus κῦδος is the glory of victory (*Pers.* 455, *Seven* 317), and passages like this may have served as a bridge between the older meaning of the adjective, ‘glorious’, and its Euripidean sense.

ἐπέκρανεν ‘ordained’. This verb, and the simplex κραίνω, are typically applied in *A.* to the decrees of gods (92, 624, 688; *Ag.* 369, 1255, 1424, 1488; *Cho.* 612; *Eum.* 348, 392, 950, 969) or of a sovereign people (608, 622, 943, 964; *Ag.* 458) with the implication that these decrees carry ‘the guarantee of fulfilment in the future’ (Fraenkel 1950: II 193). It denotes a decision by an individual human being only here, at 368 (where Pelasgus says that he *cannot* κραίνειν a promise to the Danaids without consulting his people) and at 375 (where the Danaids, contrariwise, assert that as ruler of Argos, Pelasgus πᾶν ἐπικραίνει by his sole will). It may not be irrelevant that in several later sources, and probably already in the epic *Danaïs* (Beriotto 2016: 7–8), it was said that the building of the ship and the flight from Egypt were inspired by Athena (Σ *Il.* 1.42; [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Hyginus *Fab.* 168.2); there is no trace of such an idea in *Supp.* – indeed Athena is never mentioned in the play. Danaus has taken over her role, and his decision is described using a verb which implies that for his daughters, his will is, or should be, law; in this play they do not in fact

always obey him – but subsequently all except one of them will do so when instructed to commit murder.

14 ἀνέδην (from ἀνίημι ‘let loose’: ἀνα- + ἐ- the root of ἵημι + adverbial suffix -δην) ‘headlong, at full speed’ (like horses not reined in). This is the earliest known occurrence of this adverb; in later use it means ‘freely, without restraint’ (Soph. *Phil.* 1153; Pl. *Prot.* 342c4, *Gorg.* 494e10).

15 κέλσαι ‘to put in to land’.

Ἄργους γαῖαν: directional accusative, equivalent to ἐς Ἄργος (331).

15–18 ὅθεν δὴ ... τετέλεσται: in this relative clause the Danaids wrap together their claim on the Argives (based on their descent from the Argive Io) and their claim on Zeus (based on Io’s miraculous impregnation by him – which, as we shall learn later (313, 571–82), took place in Egypt, not Argos). In the rest of this *parodos* both claims will be alternately highlighted (Argos, 19–25, 50–6, 117–21 = 127–31; Zeus, 40–8, 86–111, 138–40, 168–75).

If the text is sound (apart from M’s trivial error οἰστροδόμου), γένος ἡμέτερον must be the subject of the clause and τετέλεσται its verb (meaning ‘has come to birth’, i.e. ‘traces its descent’; cf. τελέσαι ‘bring to birth’ Pind. *Isthm.* 6.46), with the intervening words being an expansion of the subject detailing the Io–Zeus connection. The alternative is to accept the emendation τετελέσθαι (governed by εὐχόμενον), in which case the relative clause will have no expressed verb (ὅθεν δὴ γένος ἡμέτερον ‘whence <is/comes> our race’). Both options have their drawbacks. The transmitted text leaves a one-word predicate isolated at the end of the sentence following an eleven-word subject; on the other hand it makes possible a relatively straightforward construal of the participial phrase (see below), whereas τετελέσθαι would have to have ἐξ ἐπαφῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας directly depend on it, with both βοός (as objective genitive) and Διός (as subjective genitive) in turn depending on that phrase. On balance it seems best to retain τετέλεσται.

τῆς οἰστροδόμου ... εὐχόμενον ‘which boasts <that it is the offspring> of the gadfly-stung heifer, from the touch and breath of Zeus’. Io is not here named, but will have been easily identified, since her story was already well established (see Intr. §2), though this is the earliest surviving mention of the gadfly.

οἰστροδόμου: this adjective occurs only here, though Io is οἰστροδόνητος at 573 and οἰστροδίνητος at *Prom.* 589; it may have been suggested by a simile at *Od.* 22.299–301 where the routed suitors are compared to cattle who stampede when αἰόλος οἶστρος ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐδόνησεν.

ἐξ ἐπαφῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας: see Intr. §2. The touch and/or breath of Zeus upon Io is mentioned or alluded to again, always by the Danaids, at 45–8, 313, 535, 571–9, 592 (αὐτόχειρ) and 1066.

εὐχόμενον: sc. εἶναι: cf. 314 and *trag. adesp.* 392 Ἀργεῖος ἢ Θηβαῖος, οὐ γὰρ εὐχομαι μιᾶς (sc. πόλεως εἶναι).

21 **ἐγχειρίδιαις** here bears its etymological meaning ‘hand-held objects’; everywhere else in classical Attic, however, the word means only ‘daggers’, and there is thus a powerful ironic allusion to the wedding-night murders (carried out with daggers according to [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5). It is quite possible (though it cannot be proved) that in the final play of the trilogy, set on the morning after the murders, the Danaids came on stage not, as now, with suppliants’ boughs in their left hands, but with real, blood-stained daggers in their right hands, just as in the *Oresteia* Clytaemestra is seen with the sword that killed Agamemnon and later Orestes is seen twice (cf. *Eum.* 42–3) with the sword that killed Clytaemestra. But the suppliant’s bough can itself be seen as a kind of weapon: certainly it will be used to put pressure on the Argives to risk a dangerous war in a dubious cause.

22 **ἐριοστέπτοισι κλάδοισιν** ‘<olive> branches wreathed with wool’, the universal Greek emblem of the suppliant (Blech 1982: 288–92, Naiden 2006: 56–7).

23–39 The Danaids appeal to the gods of Argos, among whom their ancestor Zeus is especially singled out, to welcome them (28–9) and to destroy the sons of Aegyptus at sea (30–6) – for we now learn for the first time that the fugitives are being pursued. The latter prayer will be repeated at 529–30 (addressed to Zeus alone); but it will not be granted, and in due course (1045–6) the Argive secondary chorus will wonder aloud why not.

23 ‘<You gods of Argos> to whom belongs the city, to whom belong the land and the clear water’. The relatives ὧν ... ὧν *prima facie* lack an antecedent, and we must either emend or assume that a line has been lost (FJW attempt to avoid both alternatives but can cite no parallel for an invocation that *begins* with a relative clause without an antecedent). The scholia say that line 24 makes a ‘fresh start’ (ἀπὸ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς), meaning probably that τε is to be treated as marking the start, not the continuation, of a listing of the gods addressed; thus the scholiast clearly did not have a text with ὧ ... ὧ (Robortello). It is thus best to posit a lacuna (M. L. West 1990b: 126); West’s suggested supplement (see apparatus) cannot be far wrong in sense. At the end of the play (1018–29) the Danaids will sing the praises of the city-gods and river-gods of Argos; the special mention of the water-gods in both passages may look forward to the satyr-play *Amymone*, in which Poseidon probably revealed to Amymone the site of the springs of Lerna (Intr. §3).

λευκὸν ὕδωρ ‘clear [and therefore pure] water’ (cf. ὕδωρ λαμπρόν *Eum.* 695–6, which the Athenians are warned against polluting with

metaphorical ‘mud’); typically associated with springs (e.g. *Od.* 5.70, *Eur. Hel.* 1336) but also with rivers (e.g. *Hes. WD* 739). The divinities addressed here are evidently the river-gods of Argos (cf. 1026–9), namely Inachus (497) and Erasinus (1020–1).

24–5 ὕπατοι ... χθόνιοι: likewise paired (also at Argos!) in *Ag.* 89.

βαθυτίμους ‘richly honoured’; cf. 554 βαθύπλουτον. M’s βαρύτιμοι ‘heavy in vengeance’ would be ‘wholly inappropriate in an invocation which ... immediately continues with a plea for a compassionate reception’ (FJW); and θήκας needs an epithet more than χθόνιοι does.

χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες: are these gods or heroes? The epithet χθόνιοι is normally reserved for chthonic *gods*, and the parallel with *Ag.* 89, where the χθόνιοι are a subcategory of the θεοὶ ἀστυνόμοι, strongly supports this interpretation; nor would we expect heroes, who are ‘always confined to a specific locality [and act] in the vicinity of [their] grave’ (Burkert 1985: 206), to take part in wrecking a hostile ship on the high seas (29–36). On the other hand, θήκη normally means ‘tomb’, and θήκην κατέχειν is semi-formulaic for the occupation of a tomb by a person who is, or will become, a recipient of hero-cult (*Ag.* 453–4, *Soph. OC* 1763); it may be relevant, too, that in the sequence of libations after a meal, the first libation goes to the Olympian gods (*Σ Pl. Phileb.* 66d, *Hesychius* τ1450; cf. ὕπατοι here) or to Zeus and Hera (*A. fr.* 55), the third to Zeus Soter (26n.), and the second to the heroes. Portus’ emendation χθονίους will not solve the problem, since the phrase βαθυτίμους χθονίους θήκας κατέχοντες would lack a head noun, and the only one available in the context is θεοί. Nor can one posit another lacuna and suppose that chthonic gods and heroes were invoked separately, since in that case Zeus Soter would not be ‘third’ in the listing but fourth. The only remaining possibility seems to be that Aeschylus has made the Danaids, abnormally, elide the distinction between heroes and chthonic gods (both of whom reside beneath the earth, and both of whom receive cult).

26 Ζεὺς σωτὴρ τρίτος: it is not clear whether there was an official cult of Zeus Soter in Athens in A.’s time (R. Parker 1996: 238–41); it is striking that he is not mentioned in comedy before 411 (*Ar. Thesm.* 1009) whereas thereafter references become frequent. In A. almost all references to Zeus Soter (*Seven* 520 is an exception) relate, or allude, to the third libation (see previous note) (*Ag.* 1386–7, *Cho.* 1073, *Eum.* 759–60, *A. fr.* 55; cf. *Ag.* 246–7 τριτοσπόνδου, *Cho.* 244–5 τῷ τρίτῳ ... Ζηνί, even *Ag.* 284–5 where the *third* station of the beacon-chain is on a mountain sacred to Zeus). It is of course appropriate that the Danaids, desperately seeking σωτηρία from their pursuers, should appeal to him.

οἰκοφύλαξ ‘guardian of the houses’ (meaning both ‘homes’ and ‘families’). The word occurs only here before Hellenistic times, and thereafter is mainly applied to dogs (e.g. *Nossis AP* 9.604.3 = *HE* 2817).

27 **όσίων ἀνδρῶν**: there may be a double dose of irony here. The Danaids may well, by ἀνδρῶν, mean merely ‘human beings’, as when in Homer Zeus is called πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε: but when θηλυγενῇ ... ἀρσενοπληθῇ concentrate our minds on the conflict of the genders, we may reflect that those who are now invoking Zeus are not, strictly speaking, ἄνδρες – and we know that there will come a time when they show themselves, to say the least, deficient in *όσιότης*. Moreover, it is notorious that Zeus, and the gods generally, often do not protect pious men when they associate with the impious (e.g. Ampharaus, *Seven* 597–614) – as Pelasgus probably found (see Intr. §3).

δέξασθ’ and **πέμψατε** (33) are addressed to all the gods invoked in lines 23–7, though especially to Zeus.

ικέτην, singular because agreeing with **στόλον**, is predicative (‘as suppliants’).

28–9 **θηλυγενῇ** ‘of the female race’, ‘of us who were born female’, contrasted both with **ἀρσενοπληθῇ** (29) and with **Αἰγυπτογενῇ** (30). The Danaids cast the conflict between themselves and their cousins as one between the male and female sexes (cf. 527–34, 1069), as does the Egyptian Herald (951).

στόλον: 2n.

αἰδοίωι πνεύματι χώρας: lit. ‘with respectful breath of the land’, i.e. ‘so that the land breathes [English might say ‘exudes’] respect towards us’. Metaphorical ‘breath’ is usually of a hostile nature: in the *Oresteia* various persons and beings are said to breathe ‘wrath’ (*Cho.* 33, 952; *Eum.* 840) and even ‘truceless war’ (*Ag.* 1235–6) against their enemies or victims. Here, however, the ‘breath’ is a breeze of favour blowing on the Danaids from Argos, designed to contrast with the storm-winds which they hope will wreck and drown the Aegyptiads (33–6).

ἀρσενοπληθῇ ‘of numerous males’; cf. **γυναικοπληθῆς** ‘of many women’ (*Pers.* 122), **ἀνδροπλήθεια** ‘great number of men’ (*ibid.* 235).

30 **ἰσμόν** ‘swarm, flock’. In all extant tragedies, this word appears in this sense only in *Supp.*, where it is later applied to the Danaids as ‘doves’ cowering from ‘hawks’ (223) and to diseases (684). Very possibly, if we had the rest of the trilogy, we might find it had some thematic significance.

ὑβριστήν: ὕβρις is wilful, contemptuous disregard for the rights or dignity of another – whether a superior, an equal or an inferior, and whether a god or a mortal (Fisher 1992) – and it may be significant that rape was regarded as a paradigm case of ὕβρις (*ibid.* 41; the Athenian law on the subject, cited in *Dem.* 21.47 (cf. Aeschines 1.15), listed the potential victims as **παῖδα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα**, implying that the crime was most likely to be committed against a boy or a woman). This is the first of ten

occurrences of ὕβρις and its derivatives in *Supp.*, all of them referring to the Aegyptiads (Pòrtulas Ambrós 2009: 280).

Αἰγυπτογενῇ ‘of the sons of Aegyptus’ (again 1053); cf. *Pers.* 6 Δαρειογενῆς, *Seven* 303 Καδμογενῇ.

31 ἄσώδει ‘muddy, marshy’ (from ἄσις ‘mud, silt’). A. may well be thinking of the marsh of Lerna on the western shore of the Argolic Gulf, famous as the home of the Hydra slain by Heracles in the second of his Labours ([Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.5.2; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 574, 1094, Eur. *Heracles* 430–1), where there was a spring said to be that which Poseidon had revealed to the Danaid Amymone (Strabo 8.6.8) and where, centuries later, at a spot called Apobathmoi, Pausanias was shown the place where the Danaids disembarked after their voyage from Egypt (Paus. 2.38.4). But A. never specifically identifies the place in this play, though his predecessor Phrynichus may have done so in his *Danaids*. There is in any case a contrast between this muddy landing-place and the ‘fine sand’ of the Egyptian Delta where the voyage began (3–4).

32–3 ξύν ὄχῳ ταχυήρει is probably to be taken with πέμψατε rather than with θείναι: the Aegyptiads would not be ‘setting foot’ on the Argive shore ‘with’ their ship. The winds that sweep their ship out to sea will also sweep the men, helpless within it, to their deaths.

ὄχῳ ταχυήρει ‘swift-oared vehicle’, a riddling periphrasis (‘kenning’) for ‘ship’; cf. Eur. *Med.* 1122–3 ναῖαν ... ἀπήνην, *PMG* 1027(f) πλωταῖς ἀπήναισι χαλκεμβόλοις, Catullus 64.9 *leui ... uolitantem flamine currum*. Later in the play (764–72) Danaus will (wrongly) reassure his daughters that landing an army from ships is not a speedy (ταχεῖα) business, and later still (1045–6) their Argive escort will wonder why the Aegyptiads had such good sailing in their ταχυπόμποισι διωγμοῖς.

πέμψατε: 27n.

πόντονδ’ ‘out to sea’ (cf. *Od.* 9.495, 10.48) appears only here in tragedy.

33–6 λαίλαπι ... ἀντήσαντες: it is best to take all four datives (λαίλαπι, βροντῇ, στεροπῇ, ἀνέμοις) as coordinate and depending on ἀντήσαντες (‘meeting with’), with ἀγρίας ἁλός in turn depending on ἀνέμοις (‘the rain-bearing winds of the savage sea’). It is not uncommon in tragedy for an enumeration to begin with asyndeton but for the third and any subsequent items to be linked to the first two by connectives, e.g. *Pers.* 404–5 παῖδας γυναικας θεῶν τε πατρώων ἔδη | θήκας τε προγόνων, *Ag.* 1432–3 Δίκην Ἄτην Ἐρινύν τ’, Soph. *Aj.* 297 ταύρους, κύνας βοτῆρας, εὐερόν τ’ ἄγραν. See Denniston 1954: 501. Any alternative construal (e.g. taking ἁλός as governed by ἀντήσαντες (cf. Soph. *OC* 1445); or taking βροντῇ ... ἁλός as being in apposition to λαίλαπι) involves breaking up the long phrase accumulating all the god-sent forces of nature which, so the Danaids hope, will overwhelm their pursuers. In the rather similar passage *Ag.* 654–7, where

A. wishes to avoid identifying any particular god or gods as the cause of the storm, one of the forces (the 'Thracian winds') is made subject of the sentence.

λαίλαπι χειμωνοτύπῳ 'a fierce gale striking tempestuously'. This is the only occurrence in tragedy of the epic noun **λαῖλαψ**, and some may recall Homer's most vivid description of a storm at sea, the **λαῖλαψ** (*Od.* 12.408, cf. 426) that wrecked Odysseus' ship and drowned all his companions.

ὅλοιντο climaxes and sums up the prayer in one word, and would naturally be expected to close it; but it is then reopened with a second **πρίν** clause (cf. 31–2) describing what the Danaids fear and loathe most of all.

37–9 At the end of their prayer the Danaids return to the theme of the hated marriage (8–10), and in particular of its physical consummation evoked by **λέκτρων ... ἐπιβῆναι**.

λέκτρων ... ἐπιβῆναι: a slight modification of the epic phrase **εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι** *vel sim.* (*Il.* 9.133, 275, 19.176, all relating to Agamemnon's oath that he has not slept with Briseis; *Od.* 10.334, 340, 342, 347, 480, all relating to Odysseus and Circe).

ὧν θέμις εἶργει 'from which Right bars them', a claim which the Danaids (attempt to) justify in the next four words: the Aegyptiads are seeking to take their cousins as wives (1) in disregard of their father's sole right to give them in marriage and (2) in disregard of their own refusal. The Danaids themselves, in turn, disregard the Aegyptiads' claim that they have the right under Egyptian law to insist on the marriage (see *Intr.* §5).

σφετεριζόμενοι 'appropriating', 'treating as their own property' – as the Herald will indeed do, speaking of the Danaids as if they were slaves (873n., 918, 924n.). The 'Doric' aorist in -ξ- of verbs in -ζω (cf. *Ag.* 785, *Cho.* 955) is probably to be regarded as an epicism (Chantraine 1948: 1340–1, 444–5).

πατραδελφείαν τήνδ' 'their uncle's rights as represented by us' (FJW). The noun **πατραδελφεία** (lit. 'unclehood'), found only here, is probably modelled on **ἀγχιστεία** 'kinsmanship, the rights (esp. of inheritance) belonging to a kinsman'; the use A. makes of it is a little illogical, since Danaus' right to give his daughters in marriage is his right as a father, not an uncle, but it helps to emphasize that the right the Aegyptiads are claiming is one that does not belong to them or even to their father. The point of **τήνδ'** is that the Danaids are a part of the domain over which Danaus rightfully exercises power: it is not merely their father's abstract property right, but *they themselves*, that are the target of the Aegyptiads' attempted usurpation.

ἀκόντων: another epicism, found also in *Soph. Trach.* 1263 (normal Attic would be **ἀκόντων**, cf. 227). The adjective agrees with **λέκτρων**: the attribution of volition to 'beds' is facilitated by the fact that **λέκτρον** and its synonyms can sometimes in tragedy virtually mean 'spouse, bedfellow'

(e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 835 ὤλεσας κεδνὸν λέχος, *Andr.* 907 ἄλλην τιν' εὐνήν ἀντὶ σοῦ στέργει πόσις;). The implication that it is wrong to take a woman in marriage against her will is abnormal from a classical Athenian point of view (see Intr. §5); however, Pelasgus takes a similar view to the Danaids' at 940–1, though Danaus, as one might expect, is nearer the orthodox position (227–8), mentioning *both* his *and* his daughters' rejection of the marriages. These attitudes fit well with the emphasis that Aphrodite (A. fr. 44), at the end of the trilogy, will place on mutual desire as the basis of sexuality in the natural, and by implication also in the human, world. They are unlikely to have caused great offence to conventionally-minded Athenian males, who already know (8–14) that in rejecting the Aegyptiads as suitors the Danaids and their father are in full accord. See further on this issue Zeitlin 1986: 137–44 and Sommerstein 2006, esp. 233, 243–4.

40–175 It has been observed (FJW, Sandin) that the lyric *parodos* has at times strongly forensic tones, as the Danaids endeavour to show Zeus, the Olympians and the land of Argos (54–9, 117–21) why it is in accordance both with justice and with their interests that their plea for protection should be granted: note e.g. ἐπιδείξω πιστὰ τεκμήρια (53), the appeal to τὸ δίκαιον (79, cf. 82), characterization of the opponents as hybriistic (81, 104), the warning that an unfavourable verdict will have unwelcome consequences for those who give it (154–75). The Danaids' approach to the gods is, in fact, not very dissimilar in spirit to their later approach to Pelasgus, right down to the threat of suicide by hanging (159–60); their appeal to Zeus as their ancestor (40–7, 77, 141 = 151, 170–1) matches their later appeal to Argos as the city of their ancestors, and their insistence that Zeus has absolute power to fulfil their prayers if he wishes (91–2, 96–103) corresponds to their similar assertion about Pelasgus (370–5). On some crucial issues, however, they are stronger on affirmation than on confirmation; nothing in the whole song indicates *why* they find their cousins unacceptable as suitors.

40–7 = 48–57: metre

1 – ∞ – ∞ –	D
2 – – – ∞ – – ∞ – – – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ –	D E × d
3 – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – –	4da
4 – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – –	7da
5 – ∞ – ∞ – ∞ – – –	gl – –

The dactylo-epitrite metre of the first two cola appears nowhere else in the genuine work of A.; it is common in Sophocles and Euripides, and dominates two stasima of *Prom.* – namely those which precede and follow the Io scene (*Prom.* 526–60, 887–900). Here it leads into two cola of pure dactyls, a favourite Aeschylean rhythm (parodied by 'Euripides' in *Ar. Frogs* 1264–95) which will recur at the beginning of the third strophic

pair (68–70 = 77–9) but never again in the play. To the final colon there is no exact Aeschylean parallel at all, but Sophocles uses it at *Ajax* 598, 604 = 610, 615.

40–55 is a sentence that loses its way in syntactic confusion before eventually reaching its destination (see Novelli 2012: 74–6). It begins with an elaborate participial phrase (40–4) meaning essentially ‘now, invoking Epaphus ...’, but breaks off for a parenthetical remark about Epaphus’ birth and naming (45–7). At line 48 a fresh start (or restart) is made with a connecting relative pronoun (ὅν τε), the first three words once again meaning ‘now, invoking Epaphus ...’, and this time the sentence continues fairly directly to the main verb ἐπιδείξω (53). Compare *Ag.* 184–227, where it is arguable that the destined main verb, of which Agamemnon is to be the subject, is not reached until 224–5 (ἔτλα ... θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός).

40 ἐπικεκλομένα: this reduplicated aorist originally belonged to κέλομαι, a Homeric synonym of κελεύω (e.g. *Il.* 16.382), but already in Homer it was being attracted into the orbit of καλέω (e.g. *Il.* 18.391), and in tragedy it belongs firmly to that verb (591, *Soph. OT* 159); hence ἐπικεκλομένα = ἐπικαλέσασα ‘calling on, invoking’.

41–2 Δῖον πόρτιν ‘the calf of Zeus’ (cf. 314), so called because his mother was, or had been, in the form of a cow. We cannot tell at this stage whether we are to take the expression literally and suppose that Epaphus himself was bovine in form; certainly some Greeks must have so imagined, since Herodotus not only identifies the Egyptian bull-god Apis with Epaphus but states (2.38.1) that the Egyptians regard all bulls as Epaphus’ descendants. Only at 581, when Epaphus is described as a παῖς ἀμεμφής, do we learn definitely that he was fully human from birth.

ὑπερπόντιον: from the Argive point of view, Epaphus having lived his whole life in Egypt.

τιμάωρ ‘our vindicator’, ‘the asserter of our rights’: cf. *Ag.* 514–15 (a herald speaking) τόν τ’ ἐμὸν τιμάωρον Ἑρμῆν. The third-declension form *τιμάωρ for τιμάωρος (τιμωρός) is not found elsewhere; it is paralleled by συνάωρ for συνάωρος ‘spouse’ (Hesychius ξ126, *Suda* σ1440), and both were probably formed on the analogy of the relationship between χρυσάωρ (e.g. *h.Ap.* 123) and χρυσάωρος (e.g. *Il.* 5.509) ‘with golden sword’ (where, however, the third-declension form is by far the older; cf. ἄωρ ‘sword’).

ἱνιν: in M this is followed by τ’, but the conjunction is unacceptable. It is not uncommon for descriptions of two kinship-relations of the same person to be coupled by τ’ (e.g. *Prom.* 137–40 τῆς πολυτέκνου Τηθύος ἔκγονα τοῦ περὶ πᾶσάν θ’ εἰλίσσομένου χθόν(α) ... παῖδες πατρὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, *Soph. Trach.* 405–6 Οἰνέως κόρην δάμαρτά θ’ Ἡρακλέους), but not when, as

here, they are separated by a third description of the person which has nothing to do with kinship.

43–7 ἀνθονομούσας: cf. 50 ποιονόμοις ματρός ... τόποις, 539 ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπάς. M's original reading seems to be a blend of ἀνθονομούσας and ἀνθονόμου τᾶς (M^{pc}; impossible word order). Tucker's emendation ἀνθονόμον τᾶς has been revived by Willink (2002: 713), but (1) elsewhere in the text, as just noted, it is Io who browses on grass or flowers, and (2) to associate the epithet with Epaphus would unequivocally portray him as bovine, creating an unnecessary contradiction with 581 (see Citti 2007: 144–8). This is the first of four words in this strophic pair which contain, at least phonetically, the stem of ὄνομα (ἐπωνυμίαν 45, ποιονόμοις 50, γαιονόμοισι 54): the Danaids are half-subliminally stressing the significance of Epaphus' name.

προγόνου 'our ancestress'.

ἐπιπνοίας ... ἔφαψιν ἐπωνυμίαν ... ἐπεκραίνετο ... Ἔπαφον: massive emphasis on the prefix that constitutes the first syllable of Epaphus' name (cf. above on ἀνθονομούσας, and Miralles 2014: 35); it appears twice more in the antistrophe (ἐπιλεξαμένα 49, ἐπιδείξω 53).

ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας Ζηνός: with this punctuation, the name of Zeus is emphatically placed, isolated in an enjambment, and it makes possible the construal and understanding of the following words that is presented below. The alternative is to punctuate after ἔφαψιν and take Ζηνός ἔφαψιν as a further description of Epaphus, 'the baby which was the outcome of Zeus' [touch]' (FJW); but this leaves ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας on its own without any specification of the source of the 'breath', whereas on the punctuation adopted here, *after* the breath has been explicitly attributed to Zeus, it is easy to understand the touch as being his also.

ἔφαψιν ... εὐλόγως 'and the destined time aptly brought to fulfilment the touch from which he was named'; that is to say, over the period of Io's pregnancy (fixed by nature, as we would now say; fixed by the Moirai, as μόρσιμος implies) the promise embodied in Zeus's touch was converted into the reality of a baby named after it.

ἐπωνυμίαν: with the text here adopted, this must be taken as an adjective (= ἐπώνυμον), as in Pind. *Olymp.* 10.78, *Pyth.* 1.30. If we punctuate after ἔφαψιν (see above), ἐπωνυμίαν will be a noun (as it usually is), and the meaning will be that Epaphus' birth was the fulfilment of a promise embodied in his significant name; in that case it would be necessary to make the not too difficult assumption that at the time of Epaphus' conception Zeus told Io (as Gabriel told Mary) that she would bear a son and what name he should be given. M reads ἐπωνυμία, and Willink (2009: 29–30) retains this, punctuating after rather than before Ζηνός and taking the following sentence to mean that the passage of time 'aptly effected the fulfilment of the touching with name-giving'; that would

imply that Epaphus' name was given only at his birth, in which case it is odd that the name-giving should be narrated before the birth.

δ' here stands in third place; such postponement is quite common in Aeschylus (cf. 786, and see Denniston 1954: 187–8), and the preceding words need not form a syntactic unit as they do here (e.g. *Eum.* 620 βουλῇ πιφαύσκω δ' ὕμ' ἐπισπένθαι πατρός).

ἐπεκραίνεται 'was bringing to fulfilment' (n.b. imperfect). For the transitive use of the middle ἐπικραίνομαι cf. *Eum.* 968–70 τάδε τοι χώραι τῇμῃ προφρόνως ἐπικραينوμένων γάνυμαι: κραίνω and its compounds usually have a personal or strongly personified subject, but Eur. *Phaethon* 99–100 Diggle (= fr. 773.56–7) θεὸς ἔδωκε, χρόνος ἔκρανε λέχος ἐμοῖσιν ἀρχέταις gives as close a parallel to our passage as could be wished.

μόρσιμος αἰών 'the significant period of time decreed by the Moirai', in this case the period of Epaphus' gestation. The Moirai have power over birth (Eur. *Ba.* 99–100; Pind. *Olymp.* 6.41–4, *Nem.* 7.1) as well as death. In A. μόρσιμος means 'decreed or governed by the Moirai' (1047, fr. 13 (*Amymone*), Ag. 1048, *Cho.* 464, *Eum.* 217) more often than 'deadly' (787, Ag. 157).

εὐλόγως draws attention to the etymological appropriateness of the name; cf. 252, A. fr. 6.3.

Ἐπαφον δ' ἐγέννασεν: coming where it does, this must refer to Epaphus' gestation or birth, not his conception, so that Zeus is ruled out as the understood subject. The subject might be Io (γεννάω is not usually said of the mother, but cf. Xen. *Lac.Pol.* 1.3), but it is at least as likely (Willink 2009: 30) that the subject is the μόρσιμος αἰών, carried on from the previous sentence: if time can make a marriage (see above on ἐπεκραίνεται), an αἰών can bring a baby into the world, particularly when it has just been associated with the Moirai and been made responsible for the child's prenatal development.

48 ὄντ': in origin ὅστε is a combination of ὅς with 'epic τε', and in Homer it is used mainly to indicate that the statement made in the relative clause is being presented as a general truth (hence it is common in similes). In tragedy, however, it serves merely as a 'metrically convenient substitute for the simple relative' (Denniston 1954: 523) in non-restrictive clauses, usually in lyrics (e.g. 64) or anapaests but in A. occasionally in iambics (e.g. *Pers.* 297, *Eum.* 1024). See Ruijgh 1971: 999–1003.

ἐπιλεξαμένα echoes ἐπικεκλομένα (40) in sound and, more vaguely, in sense: the context shows that it must here mean something like 'mentioning' or 'citing as evidence'. There is no exact parallel, but A. uses the same verb in an equally unique, though different, sense in Ag. 1498.

50–1 ποιονόμοις ... τόποις 'the grazing-grounds'; see 43–7n. ἀνθονομούσας.

ματρός: both 'Epaphus' mother' and 'our ancestress' (cf. 141 = 151, 539).

52-5 The broad sense is clear, despite difficulties of detail: by recalling the past sufferings of Io, the Danaids will provide convincing proof (sc. of their Argive descent) and thus make the truth of their claim, implausible as it might at first seem, evident to the people of Argos. This plan is put into practice, successfully, in lines 274-326: Pelasgus initially finds the Danaids' claim to be of Argive race ἄπιστα (277), but when they have told the story of Io, and traced their descent from her, he accepts that they do indeed 'have a share in this land by origin' (325-6).

πρόσθε ... νῦν form a designed antithesis: the *past* history of the Danaids' ancestors will be used *now* as evidence that they are entitled to Argive support. That νῦν has just been used for another purpose (50) does not in itself make it textually suspect here: casual repetition is common in A. (see FJW on 578, and Rosenmeyer 1982: 107-8).

μνασάμενα 'recalling, making mention of'.

τά τε νῦν may well be corrupt. If it is sound, we must presume that τε ... δ' (54) are a complementary pair of particles (a blend, as it were, of τε ... τε and μέν ... δέ), as they quite often are (Denniston 1954: 513-14); we must also take τά ... νῦν together as equivalent to νῦν, an expression common in Sophocles and Euripides but not otherwise found in A. Additionally, a forward-looking τε here would obscure the backward-looking contrast of νῦν with πρόσθε (see above). Page's emendation τάδε removes these problems, but it might be confusing to the listener: does the demonstrative simply refer back to what precedes ('recalling Io's past sufferings, I shall present *them* as reliable evidence') or does it announce an intention to present further proofs forthwith? Only when the latter possibility is refuted (since no further proofs follow) will it be understood, *faute de mieux*, that the former must be what is meant.

πιστά τεκμήρια: this forensic-sounding expression recurs in Ag. 352 (though, curiously enough, never in the orators). Cf. 276 where the Danaids, having asserted that they are of Argive race and descended from the εὐτεκνος βοῦς, add χῶς ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, πιστά προσφύσω λόγῳ.

γαιονόμοισι δ' (ΓΑΙΟΝΟΜΟΙΟΙΔ) 'to the inhabitants of the land' is Hermann's brilliant emendation of M's unintelligible and unmetrical τά τ' ἀνόμοι(α) οἷδ' (ΤΑΤΑΝΟΜΟΙΟΙΔ). The word is not attested elsewhere but is of acceptable formation (Sommerstein 1977: 67-8, M. L. West 1990b: 129), and it echoes phonetically and morphologically several words used earlier in this strophic pair (43-7n. ἀνθονομούσας).

ἄελπτά περ = καίπερ ἄελπτα ὄντα (Denniston 1954: 484-6): περ alone in this sense is mainly epic, but it survives in fifth-century poetry (in A.

without a participle at *Ag.* 140, 1084, 1203, with one at 399, *Ag.* 1571, *Cho.* 504).

ὄντα φανέϊται ‘will be manifestly seen to be true’. The participle is more needed with φανέϊται (which, as Sandin shows, cannot bear this meaning without a dependent participle) than it is with ἀελπτα (cf. previous note).

56–7 Lit. ‘one will know in length of speech’, i.e. the Argives will recognize the truth when we explain the evidence in full. For λόγου ... μάκει cf. *Eum.* 201 τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου ‘say (only) this much’, *Soph. OC* 1139 εἴ τι μῆκος τῶν λόγων ἔθου πλέον.

γνώσεται ... τις: in the orators the formulaic word is γνώσεσθε (occurring 65 times), which the Danaids cannot use here because they have as yet no Argive audience. This apart, the line is almost a verse paraphrase of γνώσεσθε προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου (*Ant.* 5.10; cf. *Isoc.* 17.19).

58–76 The Danaids now turn from argument to emotion, presenting themselves as victims in need of succour, and comparing their song to that of the nightingale fleeing from a hawk (cf. 223–6 where, however, the fleeing birds are doves). To Greeks the nightingale’s song was the song of grief *par excellence* (cf. *Ar. Frogs* 684); but if the nightingale was a victim, she had also been a killer, as the Danaids will be – in her case a killer of her own son (60–1n.) – so that for those who know the myth the comparison has a sinister aspect.

58–62 = 63–7: metre

1 – ∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ –	3 <i>ch</i>
2 – – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	“ <i>enn</i>
3 – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ –	<i>dod</i> · 2 <i>ch</i>
4 – ∪ – – ∪ –	2 <i>ch</i>
5 – – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>ia</i>

This strophic pair is distinctively aeolo-choriambic, the only such pair in the *parodos*, though the next two pairs include some aeolic elements. The concentration of choriambic metra in cola 1, 3 and 4 is without parallel in the play; in the antistrophe it accompanies the mention of Aedone (62n.) as the killer of her son, in the strophe it accompanies the mention of her as the crafty wife of Tereus (whom she tricked into eating the child’s flesh, according to a version of the story that was probably known to A., 60–1n.). For colon 2, here interpreted as an aeolic enneasyllable (M. L. West 1982: 66 n. 80, 195) with the double-short element shifted forwards, cf. *Soph. Aj.* 399 = 416, *Eur. Alc.* 443 = 453.

58–9 **κυρεῖ ... αἴων** ‘happens to hear us’.

τις ... οἰωνοπόλων ‘one of those who interpret bird-signs, one skilled in augury’: οἰωνοπόλος is an epic word (*Il.* 1.69, 6.76) which appears otherwise, in archaic and classical Greek, only in *Pind.* fr. 52d.30 Snell–Maehler. Its other occurrences relate to famous seers (Calchas, Helenus, Melampus); here we are invited to think less of the person’s ability to

extract prophetic information from the behaviour of birds than of his simple familiarity with them.

ἐγγάιος 'a dweller in the land'. The syllabification of -ι- (contrast *Pers.* 922, the compound's only other occurrence in archaic or classical poetry, where -αι- is a diphthong) is necessary for strophic responsion (64n.) and is paralleled by γάιος (156, *Seven* 735).

οἶκτον 'lament', as often in tragedy (e.g. 386, *Cho.* 411, *Eum.* 515; *Soph. Trach.* 864; *Eur. Tro.* 197, 736).

60–1 ἀκούειν: verbs of thinking (holding an opinion) are very occasionally followed by a participle (ἀκούων M) instead of the usual infinitive (e.g. *Xen. Anab.* 6.6.24), but only if the opinion is being presented as a true one; here the opinion is false – the Danaids are not in fact nightingales. The corruption was probably due to the presence of the synonymous participle ἄϊων in the preceding line.

ὄπα: *ὄψ 'voice' (the nominative is not used), common in Homer (26 instances, 8 of them as object of ἀκούειν), occurs only here in Aeschylus; it is found once in Sophocles (*El.* 1068, lyric) and eight times in Euripides (all in spoken verse, e.g. *Hipp.* 602, 1321; *Ion* 1204). Aristophanes uses it at *Peace* 400 (paratragic), 804 (in reference to the tragedian Melanthius), and *Thesm.* 127 (genitive; in the mouth of the tragedian Agathon).

Τηρεΐας ... ἀλόχου: the story of how the nightingale got its song existed in many variants, associated with several localities, before it was given a more or less definitive form by Sophocles in his *Tereus*, probably in the 430s or 420s; on its earlier development, see Monella 2005: 17–78; Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 142–9; Milo 2008: 7–13. The common core is that a mother kills her son (whose name is always Itys or Itylus; henceforth he will be called Itys as in *Ag.* 1144) and is transformed into a nightingale who eternally laments her child in a song in which his name is constantly repeated. In some accounts (e.g. *Od.* 19.518–23, cf. Pherecydes fr. 124 Fowler) the mother mistakes Itys for the son of another woman of whom she is jealous, and so kills her son in error; the child's father is Zethus, the intended victim is the son of Zethus' brother Amphion and his wife Niobe, and the location is Thebes which the two brothers had founded. In other accounts, as here (cf. next note), the killing is intentional, the result of a deep grievance against Itys' father (in Sophocles because he had raped his wife's sister and cut out her tongue), and the mother causes the father unwittingly to eat his son's flesh. This latter version was almost certainly known to Aeschylus; the involvement in the story of a sister (who becomes the inarticulately twittering swallow) is attested as early as the seventh century (*LIMC* Prokne et Philomela 1, a metope from the temple of Apollo at Thermon; cf. Hes. fr. 312 M–W = 263 Most), a vase-painting almost contemporary with *Supp.* (Villa Giulia 3579 = *LIMC* *ibid.* 6) shows two women serving a meal and displaying a

child's head, and in Ag. 1144–5 Cassandra seems to describe Itys' death as ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς, lit. 'both-parented in evil' (because he was killed by one parent and eaten by the other). In these versions the father's name was Tereus (this name is first directly attested in the present passage, but cf. Thuc. 2.29.3), and the location Daulis in Phocis (*ibid.*); Sophocles transferred the story to Thrace, though he may have acknowledged the earlier tradition by placing Tereus' rape of his sister-in-law at Daulis (Scattolin 2013: 126 n. 20). Other features of the myth (the mother's name, the father's vengeful pursuit of her, and his metamorphosis into another bird) are discussed in 62n.

μήτιδας οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου 'wife pitiable for (lit. in relation to) her cunning schemes', i.e. 'wife whose cunning schemes brought her misery': the 'cunning schemes' are (1) the secret killing of Itys and (2) the serving of his flesh to his father under the pretence that it was ordinary meat. For the plural of μήτις cf. *Cho.* 626 where it refers to Clytaemestra's complex scheme against Agamemnon (the deceptive welcome, the fatal bath, the entrapping robe). The accusative of respect governed by οἰκτρᾶς is unusual (though cf. Ag. 1295 ὦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφή), but the transmitted genitive μήτιδος can hardly stand. It has been interpreted (1) as qualifying Τηρεΐας (but that would naturally be understood to mean 'cunning Tereus': cf. the Homeric βίη Ἡρακλεΐη 'powerful Heracles', and it is not Tereus' cunning that is prominent in the story); (2) as a causal genitive governed by οἰκτρᾶς; (3) as a genitive of quality, 'Tereus' wife, she of the pitiable cunning' (both these constructions would be very hard to understand, when the four surrounding genitives all refer directly to Aëdone/Procne); (4) as the actual name of Tereus' wife (but there is no evidence that she ever was so named).

62 κίρκηλάτου 'chased by the hawk'. Hawk and nightingale are already enemies in Hesiod (*WD* 203–12), though it is not clear whether he is alluding to the Itys myth. In the account given by Hyginus (*Fab.* 45), Tereus, on realizing that he had been tricked into eating his son's flesh, was pursuing his fleeing wife and sister-in-law when 'by the mercy of the gods' the women were changed into a nightingale and a swallow, and Tereus into a hawk. In Sophocles, Tereus becomes a hoopoe (so too in the later *Pandionis* of Aeschylus' nephew Philocles, and in Aristophanes' *Birds*); but once again (cf. 60–1n.) Sophocles acknowledges the older version of the story by saying (Soph. fr. 581) that for half the year the hoopoe turns into a hawk (Arist. *HA* 633a18–27 ascribes this fragment to Aeschylus, but see Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 189–91). Konstantinou 2015b: 484–7 argues that the hoopoe metamorphosis is traditional and the hawk metamorphosis an innovation by Aeschylus designed to resonate with other imagery depicting the sons of Aegyptus as birds of prey (223–5, 510, 751); but that would require us to believe that

no one before Aeschylus had ever associated the Hesiodic fable with the one and only well-known myth about the nightingale.

γ' is 'epexegetic ... [introducing] a substantive or pronoun in apposition' (Denniston 1954: 138–9; cf. e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 925–6 οὐχὶ τὴν Ἰνοῦς στάσιν ἢ τὴν Ἀγαύης ἐστάναι (sc. φαίνομαι), μητρόσ γ' ἐμῆς;). M, by an extremely common corruption, has τ', which would force us to suppose, contrary to all other Greek (and most Roman) sources, that it was not Tereus' wife who killed her son and became the mourning nightingale.

Ἀηδονᾶς: the wife of Tereus is given the name Procne by Sophocles (fr. 585, and the Hypothesis in *POxy* 3013) and subsequently until some Hellenistic poet or scholar exchanged her name with that of her sister Philomela. The renaming is first attested in Agatharchides, *On the Red Sea* fr. 7 Müller, and was adopted by all Roman authors. The name Procne, which has no obvious Greek meaning, can hardly have been invented by Sophocles, but it is not attested before him. In Pherecydes fr. 124 Fowler the woman's name is Aëdon ('Nightingale'), and she was almost certainly so named on the Thermon metope, since the second woman is there labelled as Chelidon ('Swallow'). M's ἀηδονῆς could be a corruption of Ἀηδονᾶς, itself a possible Attic contraction of *Ἀηδοναίας (cf. Ἀθηναία ~ Ἀθηνᾶ); on an Attic red-figure cup of about 500 BC (Munich 2638 = *LIMC* Prokne et Philomela 2) the killer of Itys is labelled ΑΕΔΟΝΑΙ (= Ἀηδοναί<α>?).

64–5 If the nightingale is lamenting for her 'accustomed haunts' (ἡθεα, see below), she must have been forced to leave them (for fear of the pursuing hawk, cf. 223–4): 'the Danaids imagine Procne [sic] as an exile, like themselves' (Sandin).

ἄτ': 48n.

ἀπὸ χλωρῶν ποταμῶν: the nightingale sings in thickets (cf. Ar. *Birds* 202–24), which are often found along river banks, and from the beginnings of Greek poetry she is associated both with rivers and with greenery: in *Od.* 19.518–20 she is χλωρῆς ἀηδὼν and sings δένδρεων ἐν πετάλοισι ... πυκινοῖσιν, while Alcman *PMG* 10(a) has nightingales singing beside the river Eurotas at or near Sparta. A river with lush vegetation on its banks may be called 'green', cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 659–60 ῥέεθρα χλοερά. The nightingale is not, of course, cut off from *all* verdant rivers, but she is cut off from those which had been her 'accustomed haunts', just as the Danaids are cut off from *their* home river, the Nile. M's χώρων ποταμῶν τ' 'places and rivers' is feeble, and A. never uses χῶρος (nor, in the plural, does any tragedian) without an adjective or its equivalent (cf. *Cho.* 543 τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον, *Eum.* 24 τὸν (= τόνδε) χῶρον, A. fr. 158 Βερέκυντα χῶρον, 199 πᾶς χῶρος).

ἐργομένα: in tragic MSS the spelling of this verb fluctuates between the epic ἐργ- and the Attic εἰργ-; the latter appears in lyrics only at *Pers.*

89. In A.'s time there was no orthographic distinction, so the transmitted distribution of spellings is presumably the work of Hellenistic editors; apparently they judged that in lyrics, where A. uses many other epicisms, he would have wished to use the epic form of the verb.

πενθεῖ ... οἶκτον 'laments a lament', i.e. 'utters a lament'; cf. *Eum.* 515 οἶκτον οἰκτίσαιτ'. Note that οἶκτον echoes the same word, in the same metrical position, in the strophe (59).

νέον, if sound, must be explained by the Danaids' assimilation of the nightingale's position to their own as refugees only recently forced to leave their homeland: the metamorphosis of Tereus and his wife, whenever exactly it is supposed to have taken place, must have happened long enough ago for the Danaids in Egypt to be aware of it. The emendation μέν, however, is very tempting. It gives a more regular metrical pattern (2ia as in 62 = 67); enables us to scan ἔγγαιος (59) as three syllables (as in *Pers.* 922) rather than four; and yields excellent sense, contrasting the two themes of the nightingale's lament (her own plight and the death of Itys). The only problem with the emendation – but a serious one – is the implausibility of the supposed corruption.

ἡθέων 'her accustomed haunts'; this is the regular meaning of ἡθεα in Homer (*Il.* 6.511, 15.268; *Od.* 14.411), found otherwise in tragedy only at Eur. fr. 636.7 and possibly Eur. *Hel.* 274.

65 ξυντίθησι: probably 'combines with it' (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 303, Pl. *Soph.* 262e13); possibly 'composes <the story of>, narrates' (cf. Thuc. 1.97.2).

αὐτοφόνως 'in a kindred slaying': cf. *Seven* 850, Ag. 1091, also αὐτοκτόνως *Seven* 734, αὐτοκτόνων *Seven* 805, αὐθέντης Ag. 1573, *Eum.* 212, αὐτουργία *Eum.* 336. The point of αὐτο- is probably that the killer is shedding his or her 'own' blood.

66 ἔθεν is common in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 5.56, *Od.* 19.481) as an alternative to ἔο (genitive of the third-person singular pronoun), but is absent from archaic and classical lyric and is found only here in tragedy (contrast its second-person counterpart σέθεν, which occurs ten times in *Supp.* alone).

67 δυσμάτορος 'unmotherly'. The adjective (or rather its close cognate δυσμήτηρ) is found otherwise in early poetry only at *Od.* 23.97, where, however, Telemachus is actually criticizing his mother for behaving like a bad wife. Closer in sense to our passage is Soph. *El.* 1154 where Clytaemestra is called a μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ.

κότου: Aëdone/Procne was not, of course, angry with Itys, but her anger against Tereus was the cause of Itys' death. The noun κότος is perhaps the most characteristically Aeschylean word in the tragic vocabulary; it occurs 26 times in Aeschylus, 7 times in Homer, and only 3 or 4 times in all the rest of archaic and classical literature (Pind. *Pyth.* 8.9; Ar. *Frogs* 844, addressed to A. and probably quoting him (fr. dub. 468); [Eur.] *Rhes.*

827). Of its 7 occurrences in *Supp.*, 5 (347, 385, 427, 478, 616) refer to the wrath of Zeus Hikesios against those who wrong suppliants.

68–76 = 77–85: metre

1	– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	6da
2	– – – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – –	hipp
3	∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	hag
4	∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	2ia
5	– ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ –	D d
6	– ∪ – – ∪ –	D
7	– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	lek

There is an echo of colon 2 in colon 5 (reinforced by the presence of a contracted double-short in each) and of colon 4 in colon 7. In 72 (colon 3) καρδιαν is scanned as two syllables, evidently to be pronounced [kardja:n]; the same word is similarly treated at 799 and *Seven* 288, and other words (likewise with δι preceding a vowel) at *Pers.* 1007, 1038: see M. L. West 1982: 14.

68–76 The Danaids' fear and uncertainty as to whether they will find a (human) protector (74–6) motivates the transition from the lament by which they hope to attract local attention (cf. 58–9) to their appeal to the gods, which will begin at line 77 and continue through the rest of the *parodos*. No further reference will be made to the Argive people (though their *land* is invoked at 117–19 = 128–30) until line 180 when Danaus reports the approach of a military force.

68–9 φιλόδυρτος: φιλ- indicates 'a close mutual relationship' (FJW on 803 φιλαιάκτων) between the Danaids and lamentation; it is not so much that they are 'fond of lamenting' (Sommerstein 2008) as that their life is now pervaded by it.

Ἰαονίοισι νόμοισι could be understood in two ways. (1) The peoples of western Asia, especially the Persians (cf. *Pers.* 178, 563, 950–1, 1011, 1025), called all Greeks 'Ionians', and Greeks, with their habit of lumping together all non-Greeks as 'barbarians', would assume that they were known by this name among all 'barbarians' including Egyptians (cf. Σ *Ar. Ach.* 106). (2) The Ionian musical mode (on which see M. L. West 1992: 174, 182) was associated with songs of mourning, as is shown by Σ *Pers.* 938: 'there is a kind of pipe called Mariandynian which is particularly suitable for songs of mourning; and there is a popular saying [PMG 878] αὐλεῖ Μαριανδυνοῖς καλάμοις κρούων Ἰαστί, because the Mariandynians are singers of laments'. The appropriateness in context of interpretation (2) is obvious, but (1) can find contextual support also: despite their foreign appearance (cf. 71 εἰλοθερῆ) the Danaids sing their lament in a Greek style (which tells in favour of their claim to be of Greek descent, as later will their knowledge of the Greek custom of the suppliant's bough, 241–3).

70–2 δάπτω ‘tear’ is to be understood literally of the cheeks (cf. *Cho.* 24–5 – another barbarian chorus – and e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 655–6, *Hel.* 1089) and metaphorically of the heart (cf. *Pers.* 116 φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ, 161 καί με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς). The Danaids may here make a show of gashing their cheeks (compare the rending of garments at 120–2 = 131–3); the unavoidable absence of visible bleeding would not be a problem, because of the dark colour of the masks (cf. next note). The chorus of *Cho.*, when they first appear, already have signs of bleeding on their (paler) masks.

εἰλοθερῇ ‘heated by sunshine’ (and thus darkened); cf. 154–5 μελανθὲς ἡλιόκτυπον γένος. M’s νειλοθερῇ is probably an old error, originating in a text in which words were not separated; the rare word εἶλη (Ar. *Wasps* 772, cf. A. fr. 334 ἄειλα πεδία: cognate with English *swelter*, *sultry*) would be especially liable to corruption.

ἀπειρόδακρυ ‘unused to tears’; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 927–8 σοὶ ... ἦλθεν ἀπειροκάκῳ τόδ’ ἄλγος, Ar. *Thesm.* 119 (paratragic lyric) Ἀρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῇ. The Danaids, we are given to understand, had had a happy life until their cousins demanded the right to marry them.

καρδιάν: since -ι- is here non-syllabic, it cannot bear an accent, and the accent would move to the following syllable (Scheller 1951: 93–125). No ancient source tells us whether this transferred pitch-accent would be acute (i.e. rising) or circumflex (i.e. falling), but here it has been assumed that a disyllabic καρδιαν would in speech have been accented like παιδιάν, στρατιάν, etc., there being no analogical model for a first-declension noun to end in -ιά. M. L. West 1990b: 132 takes a different view.

73–6 γοεδνὰ δ’ ἀνθεμίζομαι ‘and I adorn myself with grief’; cf. *Seven* 951–2 πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες πόνοισι γενεάν ‘you who have adorned your family with many sorrows’, Ag. 1459 τελέαν πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω ‘you [Helen] have adorned yourself with a final, memorable adornment’ [by indirectly causing the murder of Agamemnon], *Cho.* 150 κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν ‘to adorn [the offerings at Agamemnon’s tomb] with wailing’.

δειμαίνουσ’ ... **εἰ**: in effect ‘apprehensive as to whether’: cf. 736–7, Eur. *Med.* 184–5 φόβος εἰ πείσω δέσποιναν ἐμήν (where, as here, the εἰ-clause states the more favourable of the possible outcomes), and Soph. *Trach.* 176–7, 666–7, Eur. *Andr.* 61 (where it states the less favourable). See Goodwin 1912: 136.

ἀφίλου τᾶσδε φυγᾶς ‘of these friendless fugitives’ (for this sense of φυγή cf. Thuc. 8.64.4, Aeschines 2.143; the term suggests a faction exiled as the result of civil strife, cf. 11–12n.). Of alternative emendations the best is Headlam’s ἀφόνου (based on M’s original reading δειμαίνουσα φόλους), which would refer (with unconscious irony) to the fact that the Danaids’ flight is not due to a homicide (cf. 6–7).

Ἀερίας ... γᾶς ‘the Land of Mists,’ a name applied to many countries (Hesychius α1391) but especially to Egypt (Ap. Rh. 4.267; Charax *FGrH* 103 F 13 – cf. *id.* F 44 where Aëria is the mother of Aegyptus). The name doubtless refers to mist or cloud concealing the coast from the approaching seafarer (cf. *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ἡερίη).

77–8 γενέται ‘our ancestors’; cf. Eur. *Tro.* 1288 (Zeus as ancestor of the Trojan royal house). As usual they are thinking primarily of Zeus, and the four stanzas following this one are concerned with him alone, though the Danaids also have another major god for an ancestor, Poseidon the father of Belus (cf. Pherecydes fr. 21 Fowler, referring to Belus’ brother Agenor, and later [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4). As usual, too, they ignore the fact that the sons of Aegyptus have just as much divine ancestry as they have themselves.

κλύετ’ ... ἰδόντες: there may well be a designed echo of Hes. *WD* 9 (addressed to Zeus) κλῦθι ἰδὼν αἰὼν τε, δίκηι δ’ ἴθυνε θέμιστας. See Miralles 2014: 47.

εὔ is probably to be taken with κλύετ’ (‘hear us with favour’) in view of the ring-compositional echo εὔ κλύοι (175); it would make equally good sense with τὸ δίκαιον ἰδόντες (‘seeing correctly where justice lies’), but its absence hardly changes the meaning of that phrase.

τὸ δίκαιον: the first of 20 occasions on which the Danaids use the word δίκη and its derivatives, almost always to insist on the rightness of their cause, for which justice demands the support both of the gods and of the Argives; the root occurs eight times between 343 and 437 as the Danaids put pressure on Pelasgus, and probably twice in the last sentence of the play (see 1071–3n.) as they renew their appeal to the gods. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that in the confrontation between Pelasgus and the Egyptian Herald, it is only the Herald who uses δίκη-words (916, 934); he too appeals to the judgement of a god (Ares). Pelasgus himself uses δίκη-words only twice in the play (244, 408), and never in connection with the dispute between the Danaids and their cousins.

79–82 Having asked the gods to act in accordance with justice, the Danaids now tell them what, in their view, justice requires – what the gods must do if they are to be ἐνδικοί (82). As μή shows, the participles in 79–81 are conditional (‘if you do not give ... and if you loathe ...’).

79–80 ἥβαν ‘the flower of our youth’ (cf. *Pers.* 544, Eur. *Alc.* 471, Eur. fr. 24.3) is the object both of δόντες and of ἔχειν (a final–consecutive infinitive (Goodwin 1912: 306–7, 308–9)). The scholiast thought that the ἥβη referred to was that of the sons of Aegyptus, and M. L. West 1990b: 132–3 follows him; but (1) this is bound to leave ἔχειν either without an object (if ἥβαν is its subject) or without a clearly identified subject (if, as West

thinks, ἦβαν is its object), and (2) it becomes impossible to understand δόντες ἔχειν in its idiomatic sense ‘give in marriage’ (see below).

τέλειον: this adjective is here ‘of two terminations’ (with no distinct feminine forms), as at *Ag.* 1432, *Eum.* 382. It is to be taken with ἔχειν as a predicative adjective, meaning ‘completely, absolutely’ and/or ‘in wedlock’ (for marriage was called τέλος and married men τέλειοι, Pollux 3.38; Hera as goddess of marriage is Ἥρα τελεία, *Eum.* 214, and pre-nuptial sacrifices are προτέλεια, *Eur. IA* 718, *Men. Sam.* 713).

δόντες ἔχειν ‘giving to possess’, ‘giving as a possession’, with a strong connotation of giving in marriage (cf. *Eur. IT* 696, *Ar. Birds* 1536, *Men. Sam.* 726). The giver is normally the bride’s father or other male next of kin (her κύριος); in the present case Danaus is as opposed to the marriage as his daughters are, and the gods are being asked not to override his and their wishes (or not to allow the Aegyptiads to do so). Cf. *Eur. El.* 34, where Aegisthus degradingly ‘gives’ Electra in marriage to a peasant; the marriage is not consummated, because the peasant ‘thinks the giver was not κύριος’ (*El.* 259), and when Orestes, Electra’s true κύριος, has returned home, her marriage is treated as non-existent, and Orestes ‘gives’ her to Pylades (*El.* 1249, 1340–1).

παρ’ αἴσαν ‘contrary to what is proper’: cf. 544–6n., 671–3 Ζῆνα ... τὸν ξένιον ... ὃς πολιῶι νόμῳι αἴσαν ὀρθοῖ, and the uses of ἐναίσι(μ)ος and καταισίσιος in *Ag.* 775, 916, 1598, *A. fr.* 179.2.

81 ἐτύμως ‘truly, sincerely’, implying ‘if you don’t help us, your claim that you hate ὕβρις will be exposed as a mere pretence’.

στυγόντες: the epic strong aorist of στυγέω (e.g. *Il.* 17.694: the Attic aorist was ἐστύγησα, cf. 528) is found only here in tragedy. In A.’s orthography there would have been no distinction between στυγόντες and the Attic present στυγοῦντες, but an aorist participle is required here to match δόντες.

82 πέλοιτ’ (–τε) ἄν ἐνδικοὶ †γάμοις† ‘you will be behaving justly < ... >’, cf. 79–82n. The first three words are sound: to accept πέλοιτ’ (–το) ἄν ἐνδικὸς γάμος (Oberdick) is to introduce a serious anacoluthon by conjecture and, more importantly, it is to introduce an irrelevance. Nowhere else in the play (unless at 977–9, where see n.) do the Danaids show the least interest in a ‘just marriage’ to more acceptable suitors, let alone say anything to indicate, as this reading would imply, that the *object* of their flight was the positive one of achieving such a marriage (as claimed by Bees 2009: 122) rather than the negative one of avoiding a marriage they detested (see further *Intr.* §§2, 3, 5). It is γάμοις that is corrupt: if the gods show their loathing of ὕβρις by refusing to let the Aegyptiads take their cousins by force, they will be acting justly, but they will not be acting justly towards, in, by or through marriage. It is not easy, however,

to find a plausible emendation. γ' ἐμοί (Griffith 1986: 331) is fairly close to the paradosis, but there is no adequate justification for the γ' (γ' ἐμοί is not equivalent to ἐμοιγε); γένει 'to your descendants' (cf. 527) gives good sense, but the corruption is more difficult to explain. For the dative after ἔνδικοι cf. Eur. fr. 692 τοῖς μὲν δικάίοις ἔνδικος, τοῖς δ' αὖ κακοῖς ... πολέμιος.

83-5 Despite καί, this is not necessarily an *a fortiori* argument, implying that the Danaids' plight is worse, or more deserving of sympathy, than that of fugitives from war (who take sanctuary in order to escape death or enslavement at the hands of the victor); they may be saying only that their position is *analogous* to that of fugitives from war. The passage does not in itself prove either that Danaus and his daughters have already experienced war in Egypt (cf. 741-2) or that they have not; see Intr. §§2, 3.

κάκ πολέμου τειρομένοις ... φυγάσιν 'also for distressed fugitives from war'.

βωμός draws our attention for the first time to the κοινοβωμία (222) on the πάγος above and behind the chorus (1-175n.).

ἀρῆς ... ῥῦμα 'a defence against harm'.

ἀρῆς is yet another epicism (particularly frequent in the phrase ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα, e.g. *Il.* 14.485), found only here in tragedy. Its Ionic vocalism, abnormal in the genre and even more so in lyric, is necessary to avoid confusion with ἀρά 'curse'.

δαιμόνων σέβας 'an object of the gods' reverence' (i.e. δαιμόνων is subjective genitive); the gods 'revere' suppliants also at 814-15, *Eum.* 92, 151 (cf. *Eum.* 232-4), and in *Eum.* 1002 Zeus 'reveres' the Athenians. Having said that justice demands that the gods save them from forced marriage, the Danaids now add that it demands even more strongly that the gods respect their rights as suppliants.

86-7/93-5 = 91-2/88-90: metre

1	- - - ∪ - ∪ -	D ²
2	- ∪ - ∪ -	D
3	- - - ∪ - -	<i>pher</i>
4	- - - ∪ -	D
5	- ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ith</i>
6	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>hipp</i>

86-7 εἴθ' εἴη 'κ Διὸς εὖ παναληθῶς 'may Zeus cause all to be really and truly well'. The phrase ἐκ Διὸς (*Ag.* 1015, *Eum.* 797) is synonymous with Διόθεν (437, *Ag.* 43, 470, *Cho.* 306). For the prodelision of ἐκ the nearest parallel in A. is *Eum.* 830 μὴ 'κβάληις, but cf. *Soph. OT* 970 οὕτω δ' ἄν θανὼν εἴη 'ξ ἐμοῦ. The wish 'may all be well' is heard again, variously phrased, at 138-40, 206-11, 356-60, 454, 974, and most elaborately in the prayers for the Argives in 625-709; it will not be fulfilled, any more

than the many similar wishes uttered in *Agamemnon* (20, 121, 138, 159, 255, 349, 854, etc.).

Διὸς ἵμερος οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη ‘the desire of Zeus is not easy to hunt out’; the image of a hunter trying to locate his quarry is continued in 93–5 (see below). Cf. *Ag.* 368 **πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ’ ἐξιχνεῦσαι** (where **τοῦτο** = that the destruction of Troy was Zeus’s punishment of the crime of Paris). The ‘quarry’ in this case is the knowledge of what Zeus desires; the chorus are in effect admitting (as they will again at 1057–8) that they cannot be certain that the will of Zeus is in agreement with their own wishes.

ἐτύχθη: lit. ‘was made’, effectively ‘is’; cf. *Eum.* 354 **παλλεύκων δὲ πέπλων ἄκληρος ἄμοιρος ἐτύχθην**. In this sense the perfect **τέτυκται** is normal in epic (see LSJ **τεύχω** III) and is used by A. at *Ag.* 751.

93–5 The interchange of these lines from the antistrophe with the corresponding lines from the strophe (88–90) has been accepted by most modern editors. The comparison of the mind of Zeus to a dense, tangled, dark wood is as appropriate to the hunting metaphor of 86–7 as the comparison of it to a flame blazing out in darkness (88–90) is inappropriate; on the other hand 88–90 follow on well from 91–2 which emphasize the certainty that Zeus’s decisions will be carried into effect, a theme continued in 96–103. There are several other places in sung or partly sung passages in A. where there is good reason to suppose that blocks of several lines – sometimes entire stanzas – have been displaced in transmission (872–5/882–4; *Pers.* 93–100, 272–3/278–9; *Cho.* 434–8/439–44, 623–30/631–8); for discussion see Dawe 1999, Garvie 1999: 21–6, Sandin 2007, Sommerstein 2010b: 109–13.

δαῦλοι ‘dense, tangled’, a synonym of **δασύς** (Paus. 10.4.7), used by A. in *Glaukos Pontios* (fr. 27) in reference to the moustache and beard of the ‘beast in human form’ (fr. 26) who had once been the fisherman Glaucus of Anthedon.

πραπίδων ... πόροι ‘the paths of his mind’, along which his thought travels; for the metaphor cf. *Soph. OT* 67 **πολλὰς δ’ ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φροντίδος πλάνοις**. To the inquiring mortal eye, the paths of Zeus’s mind resemble forest tracks, long (**τείνουσιν**), heavily overgrown (**δαῦλοι**) and almost cut off from the light (**δάσκιοι**).

κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι ‘hard to distinguish by sight’ (lit. ‘indistinguishable to see’). When Apollo was trying to track the cattle Hermes had stolen, he found it easy to do so where the soil was sandy, but the track became ἄφραστος on rocky ground (*h.Herm.* 350–4). The infinitive **κατιδεῖν** is epexegetic, ‘serv[ing] to define the meaning of [the] adjectiv[e]’ (Weir Smyth 1956: 445).

91 πίπτει δ’ ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ’ ἐπὶ νώτῳ: the subject is for the moment left vague; it will be supplied in 92 (**πρᾶγμα**). The scholia take the metaphor to be from wrestling, and **πίπτειν ἀσφαλῶς** was indeed a wrestling

expression (Luc. *Anach.* 24); but a wrestler who falls, even ‘safely’, has suffered a setback, and the idea of Zeus suffering a setback is alien to the Danaids’ thinking and particularly so in the present context (cf. especially 100–3). The explanation of FJW is thus preferable, that the reference is to an animal such as a leopard springing from a tree and landing on its feet – appropriate to the presentation of Zeus in 88–90 + 96–9 primarily as a punisher and destroyer.

92 κορυφαῖ: i.e. by the nod of Zeus’s head; cf. *Il.* 1.524–30 (where Zeus says that any promise to which he nods assent is οὐ ... παλινάγρετον οὐδ’ ἀπατηλὸν οὐδ’ ἀτελεύτητον), also 373 below (implicitly comparing Pelasgus’ power to that of Zeus).

εἰ takes a subjunctive as in *Pers.* 791; *Ag.* 1238, 1338, 1340; *Eum.* 234.

τέλειον is predicative (2, 27, 79–80nn.), ‘so as to be fulfilled’.

88–90 The nod of Zeus causes fire to blaze up even amid darkness; fire can be a power for good or for harm, and here the emphasis is on the harm that can come to those with whom Zeus is displeased. Those spectators who were initiates of the Eleusinian Mysteries may have been reminded of one of the climactic moments of that ritual, recalled several times in the *Oresteia* (*Ag.* 22–3, 522; *Cho.* 131, 809–11; cf. too *Pers.* 300), when the Anaktoron was opened and the initiands, who had been in darkness, saw the ‘holy things’ in a blaze of light (Plut. *Mor.* 81e; see Thomson 1935: 26–7, Bowie 1993: 24). In the ritual, however, the moment was an uncomplicatedly joyful one; in tragedy the joy is normally at best evanescent.

τοι ‘you know’, ‘mark my words’, probably in origin the ‘ethic dative’ of the second-person pronoun (Weir Smyth 1956: 342–3), is the most listener-oriented of all the Greek particles, but in A.’s lyrics it is sometimes used ‘in the air, as it were, without any obvious personal reference’ (Denniston 1954: 538) to emphasize the importance of what is being said (e.g. *Seven* 362, *Ag.* 362).

μελαίναί ξὺν τύχαι after φλεγέθει makes a notable oxymoron: the fire that arises in the midst of darkness brings further darkness with it (probably from smoke; cf. 779 μέλας γενοίμαν καπνός, *Ag.* 773–4 Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν, *Od.* 10.152 αἴθοπα καπνόν). Sandin adopts M. Schmidt’s emendation κελαινῶι, mainly because the phrase σὺν τύχῃ is always elsewhere applied to *good* fortune; Bowen adds that μελαίναί ξὺν τύχαι ‘contradicts the optimism which the Danaids are trying to express about Zeus’. But (1) as Sandin himself points out, ‘the essence of τύχῃ is its inconstancy, changing good for bad and vice versa’; (2) the Danaids are seeking from Zeus not only their own safety but the destruction of their enemies; (3) the emendation requires us to posit a double corruption.

μερόπεςσι is a Homeric ‘gloss’, its meaning probably unknown to the epic poets themselves (see Kirk 1985: 79–80) except that it was

an appropriate epithet to apply to the human race as a whole (μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσιν). Here it is given its Homeric (and Aeolic) dative plural ending (*Il.* 2.285); the form μέροσι is not found before Byzantine times, except as dat. pl. of the homonymous noun meaning ‘bee-eater’ (bird). The genitive μερόπων, far commoner in Homer, is used as a noun meaning ‘humans’ in *Cho.* 1018 and Eur. *IT* 1264.

λαοῖς ‘people’ (rather than ‘peoples’); cf. the herald’s cry ἀκούετε λεῶι (e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 1000) and the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who after the Flood threw down stones (λᾶες) which turned into men and women (λαοί) ([Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.7.2, cf. [Hes.] fr. 234 M–W = 251 Most, Pind. *Olymp.* 9.43–6).

96–103 = 104–11: metre

1	υ – – – υ –	<i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
2	υ – υ – – υ – – υ –	<i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
3	υ – – υ – υ – –	<i>doch ia</i> [^]
4	– υυ – – υυ –	2 <i>ch</i>
5	– υυ – υ – υ –	<i>ch ia</i>
6	– υυ – υ – υ –	<i>ch ia</i>
7	– υυ – υ – –	<i>ar</i>

The clausular colon at 3 appears occasionally in a wide variety of metrical contexts (aeolic at *Pers.* 575 = 583; iambic at Eur. *Alc.* 877 = 894 and *Supp.* 804 = 817; dactylic at Eur. *Or.* 1012). See Dale 1968: 95, 1969: 206.

96–103 This picture of Zeus achieving what he wills merely by willing it, without effort, is derived from the philosopher-poet Xenophanes (fr. 25–6 DK: αἰεὶ δ’ ἐν ταῦτῳ μίμνει κινούμενος οὐδέν ... ἀλλ’ ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει). It recurs in 598–9, in *Eum.* 650–1 (πάντ’ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω | στρέφων τίθησιν οὐδέν ἀσθμαίνων μένει [‘by his <mere> desire’]) and in A. fr. 99.2–3.

96–8 **ιάπτει δ’ ἐλπίδων ἀφ’ ὑψιπύργων**: the expression evokes Heracles throwing Iphitus from the walls of Tiryns (Pherecydes fr. 82b Fowler, Soph. *Trach.* 269–73, D.S. 4.31.3, [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.6.2), or Capaneus being struck down by Zeus’s thunderbolt when attempting to scale the walls of Thebes (Soph. *Ant.* 127–37, Eur. *Phoen.* 1172–86; cf. *Seven* 444–5, 453, A. fr. 17). The epic verb ἰάπτω (*Il.* 1.3, etc.) is a favourite with A. (eight known occurrences); it appears in later tragedy only in Sophocles’ *Ajax* (501, 700).

πανώλεις is predicative, ‘to utter destruction’.

99 **βίαν δ’ οὔτιν’ ἐξοπλίζει** ‘but deploys no armed force’ (lit. ‘but arms no force’). The phrase will be echoed at 682 and 702 with reference to the Argives (these are the only other extant occurrences of ἐξοπλίζω in A.), praying first that they may avoid civil strife, then that they may find peaceful solutions to disputes with other states. It will prove tragically ironic: Zeus will

indeed cause the destruction of the Aegyptiads, but only after *two* applications of armed force – a war between Argos and Egypt, and a multiple murder.

100 πᾶν ἄπρονον δαιμονίων ‘everything of what gods do is done without effort’: δαιμονίων is partitive genitive.

101–3 ἤμενος ... αὐτόθεν ... ἐδράνων ἀφ’ ἄγνων stresses three times over that Zeus can achieve all he wishes without even rising from his throne; cf. Ag. 182–3 δαιμόνων ... σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων. It recalls the Homeric phrase αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης (ἐδρέων) (*Il.* 21.77, *Od.* 13.56), and the moment when Odysseus (encouraged by an omen from Zeus) shoots his arrow through the 12 axes αὐτόθεν ἐκ δίφροιο καθήμενος (*Od.* 21.413–23, cf. 425 ἤμενος).

ὄν ‘his’; this mainly epic possessive is used occasionally by all three tragedians, both in lyric and in dialogue (*Seven* 641, *Eum.* 366, Soph. *OT* 1248, Eur. *Med.* 955).

φρόνημα ‘purpose’, as in 911.

πῶς points up the mysteriousness of divine power; cf. *Cho.* 957.

ἐξέπραξεν: gnomic aorist (Goodwin 1912: 53–4) expressing what is generally or typically true; here the usual aspectual sense of the aorist is also present, implying that Zeus’s desire is fully implemented as soon as it is formed.

ἔμπας ‘all the same’, i.e. in spite of the fact that he is sitting motionless.

ἄγνων: this adjective (and its derivative ἀγνεύω) will occur ten times in the play, all but one of them (254) on the lips of the Danaids or their father, usually stressing the purity of their supplication in contrast with the impurity of their pursuers (223, 226, 228) or as an epithet of a god (Zeus Hikesios, 652; Apollo, 214; Artemis, 144 and 1030, in contexts much concerned with *sexual* purity); this insistence on purity is not only highly ironic, coming from the future perpetrators of a mass murder, but arguably hypocritical in view of their threat (455–67) to pollute an Argive sanctuary by suicide.

104–11 For the first time since the anapaestic prelude (29–39), the Danaids’ thoughts turn to their pursuers, as they appeal for Zeus to take note of their cousins’ ὕβρις, which they attribute to a disordered state of mind (this does not mitigate their culpability: ‘the disjunction “bad or mad?” does not seem to have been thought interesting by the Greeks’, Dover 1974: 129). From here to the end of the *parodos* they speak of Zeus, and other gods, in the third person.

105–6 βρότειον: in tragedy this adjective sometimes has a distinct feminine form (A. fr. 372; Eur. *Hipp.* 19, 936, *Supp.* 777) and sometimes, as here, does not (*Prom.* 116, Eur. *El.* 741, Eur. fr. 61b.2, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 928). It is of course only with one particular manifestation of human ὕβρις that the Danaids are actually concerned; but they take it for granted that this is the only instance of ὕβρις that at present deserves Zeus’s attention. It is

thus not necessary to emend βρότειον (βρότειος Schütz: Βήλειος West – but the Danaids themselves are descendants of Belus too, a fact to which they will draw attention at 319).

οἶος is equivalent to ὅτι τοιοῦτος: cf. *Prom.* 908, Eur. *Hipp.* 879, *Hel.* 74. M's οἶα is unmetrical; the simplest correction, Schütz's οἶαι (dat. sing.), would be relative with ὕβριν as antecedent, giving the sense 'the kind of ὕβρις with which this stock is youthfully sprouting' and raising the irrelevant issue of comparing the Aegyptiads' brand of ὕβρις with unspecified other brands.

νεάζει 'is doing what a young living thing does', i.e. (within the plant metaphor of πυθμήν) 'is sprouting', but also (since the reference is actually to human beings) 'is behaving with youthful excess'. The same verb appears in connection with ὕβρις in Ag. 764–6 ('old ὕβρις is wont to give birth, sooner or later, to νεάζουσιν ... ὕβριν').

πυθμήν, properly 'stem of a plant' (cf. *Cho.* 204), comes (like German *Stamm* and English 'stock') to mean 'line of genealogical descent' (cf. *Cho.* 260, *Bacch.* 5.198).

107 δι' ἅμὸν γάμον 'by reason of a <prospective> marriage with me', i.e. fired by the thought of such a marriage. The phrase would probably be felt to go with the adjacent τεθαλώς rather than with νεάζει, though this makes little difference to the sense. The possessive ἅμός was originally first person plural (Sihler 1995: 383) and remained so in Doric (Colvin 1999: 192), but already in Homer it can be used for ἐμός (e.g. *Il.* 6.414; see Chantraine 1948: 272), and in tragedy it is nearly always first person singular. It will certainly be felt as singular here. The chorus have spoken of themselves in the singular throughout the lyric section of the *parodos* (40, 48, 52, 68–73) and will shortly be doing so again (four times in 112–22); no plural form will appear until 158 (ἰξόμεσθα).

τεθαλώς: perfect participle of θάλλω. In Greek evil as well as good may metaphorically 'flower'; cf. Ag. 659 ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς.

108 δυσπαραβούλοισι: perhaps something like 'having grossly perverted desires'. In classical Greek the word is a hapax; no derivative of παραβουλ- is otherwise attested before the New Testament (*Philippians* 2.30), and there and later its meaning is 'reckless', equivalent to classical Greek παράβολος (e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 192). Most likely παραβουλ- would be understood here by analogy with terms for mental derangement like παρακοπά (Ag. 223, *Eum.* 329), παράνοια (*Seven* 756), παράνοους (Ag. 1455), παραφορά (*Eum.* 330), and δυσ- serves as an intensifier as in δυσαιανής (*Pers.* 281), δυσβάϋκτος (*Pers.* 575), δυσδάκρυτος (Ag. 442), δύστονος (*Seven* 998, *Cho.* 469). The usual rendering 'hard to persuade' (so LSJ) is a guess and not a very good one, since we know nothing of

any attempt by anyone to persuade the sons of Aegyptus to refrain from demanding their cousins in marriage.

109–10 **διάνοιαν μαινόλιν κέντρον ἔχων ἄφυκτον** ‘having an insane mindset as a goad from which they cannot escape’, i.e. being irresistibly spurred on by their deranged minds. Those who know the story of Io may think of the sting (κέντρον, cf. 563 κεντροδαλήτισι) of the gadfly which drove her from Argos to Egypt, the journey that two bands of her descendants have now taken in reverse.

110–11 **†ἄται δ’ ἀπάται† μεταγνούς**: the text offered by M (as corrected) makes no sense, but **μεταγνούς** ‘having their minds transformed’ (by the onset of the madness described in the preceding lines) is likely to be sound, since it corresponds so well to what is said of Agamemnon, about to sacrifice his daughter, in *Ag.* 218–23: he too is described as afflicted by mental derangement (παράκοπά), with the result that τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω. To say that ‘the Aegyptiads have not changed, or “altered”, their minds’ (Sandin) is, in effect, to say that they have been insane since birth, and that is not what the Danaids are saying: the Aegyptiads’ minds were taken over by an insane determination only when they resolved to marry the Danaids regardless of their or their father’s wishes (cf. Citti 2008: 30), just as Agamemnon’s mind was taken over by an insane determination only when he resolved to sacrifice Iphigeneia (cf. *Ag.* 218–20 ἐπεὶ ... τόθεν). In sound, though not in sense, **μεταγνούς** echoes **ἀγνῶν** at the end of the strophe (103), hinting that the Aegyptiads’ desires are unholy (cf. *Ag.* 220 ἄναγνον ἀνίερν). It is likely also that A. used some form of ἄτα here, though whether it meant ‘mental derangement’ (see Sommerstein 2013a: 6–7) or ‘ruin, disaster’ (the word’s more usual meaning in A.) will depend on how we emend ἀπάται. For ἀπάται must be corrupt. The Aegyptiads have not deceived, nor will they deceive, anyone; and while a secondary reference might well be possible to the scheme of deception (not yet formed) that will lure them to their deaths, this obviously cannot be the primary meaning. The word could only, therefore, refer to deception by the gods, enticing the Aegyptiads into the nets of Ate (cf. *Pers.* 93–100), and this idea would hardly be inferable from the single word ἀπάται without any indication of the source of the deception. Martin West’s emendation (1990b: 134) ἄταν δ’ ἀγαπᾶν (‘to love <what will be their> ruin’ or ‘to love a ruinous delusion’) is very attractive: ἀγαπάω is not found otherwise in A. or Sophocles, but it may be yet another reminiscence of early hexameter poetry. West compares *Hes. WD* 57–8, where Zeus resolves to harm men, in retaliation for Prometheus’ theft of fire, by giving them ‘an evil [viz. women] with whom they will all take delight in their hearts, ἔδν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες’.

112–21 = 122–33: metre

1	υ – υ υ υ υ υ υ υ – υ –	3ia
2	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ –	2ia
3	υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ –	3ia
4	– υ υ – υ – –	ar
5	– υ – – υ – υ – – –	2cr doch _Λ
6	– – υ – – – – –	ia doch
7	– υ υ – υ – – υ υ υ υ υ –	doch kaib
8	– υ υ – υ – –	ar

From this point to the end of the *parodos* iambic rhythms predominate, as they will towards the end of the next two major choral songs (590–9, 698–709), throughout the following one (776–824), and in the Danaids' last words of the play (1062–73).

The refrain (1–175n.) in 117–21 = 128–32 is semi-barbarian in language (119n.) and draws attention to the Danaids' un-Greek dress and behaviour (120–1n.); when we find that cola 5, 6 and 7 all contain dochmiacs of unusual form (indeed, but for the more normal dochmiac which forms the first *metron* of 7 we might not have wanted to regard some of them as dochmiacs at all) we may suspect that the rhythms, and perhaps the melodies, were designed to sound uncouth and un-Greek too. The dochmiac in 5 is syncopated ('tetrasyllabic' in M. L. West 1982: 111); that in 6 consists of five long syllables, a permitted but rare variety; and the second *metron* in 7 is a heavily resolved *dochmius kaibelianus* (West *ibid.*), a type of *metron* otherwise found securely in A. only at *Seven* 782 = 789 and *Eum.* 158 = 165.

112–15 'Such is the sad tale of suffering that I tell and cry out, a shrill, grievous, tear-stained tale ... made conspicuous by loud laments.'

112 **πάθεα** will be followed by three more tribrachic words in -εα out of the next five, and then by another two similar words (ἐναγέα τέλεα) correspondingly placed in the antistrophe. For the uncontracted ending of an s-stem neuter plural cf. 463 βρέτεα (the only Aeschylean instance in spoken verse), *Pers.* 269, *Cho.* 419, *Eum.* 497, 506. See Sideras 1971: 259–60.

θρεομένα: this verb (from the same root as *θρόος*, *θροῦς*) is found in extant literature only in tragedy and only with a woman or women as its subject (*Seven* 78, *Ag.* 1165; *Eur. Med.* 51, the only instance in spoken verse; *Eur. Hipp.* 363, a close echo of the present passage).

113 **λιγέα βαρέα δακρυοπετῇ:** the three adjectives all qualify **πάθεα**, as does ἐμπρεπῇ below.

λιγέα: the surprising phrase **πάθεα ... λιγέα** has a parallel in *Eur. Med.* 205 λιγυρὰ δ' ἄχεα μογερὰ βοᾷ 'shouts out shrill grievous cries of woe' (Mastronarde 2002).

βαρέα primarily means 'grievous' here, but its juxtaposition with **λιγέα** will also suggest its musical sense 'low-pitched', i.e. 'groaning'. A

compound of βαρύς is used in reference to the vocal expression of grief by females (the Erinyes) in *Eum.* 794 ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν.

δακρυοπετῇ ‘associated with falling tears’ occurs only here.

114 ἰὼ ἰὼ is answered in the antistrophe by ἰὼ ἰὼ. These two interjections are combined in cries of grief at *Pers.* 1004 (on the deaths of numerous Persian leaders) and *Ag.* 1485 (on the realization that the murder of Agamemnon must have been in accordance with the will of Zeus).

115 ἰηλέμοισιν: both ἰήλεμος (*Cho.* 424; *Eur. Supp.* 281, *Heracles* 118) and ἰάλεμος (*Eur. Tro.* 1304, *Phoen.* 1033–4, *Or.* 1390; [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 895) are found in tragedy, usually though not always on the lips of barbarians; here ἰη- is obviously chosen to echo the preceding syllables (compare the antistrophe). In *Cho.* 423–4 a chorus of Asian slave-women describe themselves as lamenting ‘after the fashion of a Cissian [= Persian] ἰηλεμίστρια’.

116 ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ: so Cassandra in *Agamemnon* (1322–3) describes her final speech as θρῆνον ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. But she is speaking in the certainty of her imminent death, and such is not the Danaids’ situation – though they will shortly (154–75) be threatening suicide if they do not receive the divine support to which they consider themselves entitled.

με: for the reflexive use of an enclitic personal pronoun the only exact tragic parallel is *Eur. Andr.* 256 οὐδ’ ... ἐκδώσω μέ σοι.

117–19 These lines contain an unusual concentration of abnormal vocabulary (see following notes), just when the chorus refer to their ‘barbarian speech’ and presently to their ‘Sidonian veils’. By an unbreakable convention of the tragic genre, the words they speak are Greek, but their Greek here is outlandish enough to create an impression of foreignness. So far as we can judge through the fog of textual corruption, the same technique will be employed on a larger scale when the pursuing Egyptians appear (825–910n.) – on a larger scale because they are presented as considerably more ‘alien’ than the Danaids.

ἰλεῶμαι ‘I seek the favour of’. Neither ἰλάομαι (*Il.* 2.550) nor ἰλάσκομαι (e.g. *Il.* 1.472) is otherwise found in tragedy, and the spelling and accentuation here are uncertain – all the more so because A. probably wrote O for the vowels we now write as ο, ου and ω alike. Plato’s ἰλεούμενοι (*Laus* 7.804b) would point to ἰλεοῦμαι here, but M’s spelling, reaccented as in the text, can be analysed as the regular Attic reflex of *ἰληφόμαι (Schulze 1934: 324–5).

Ἀπίαν: the earliest attestation of this term for the territory of Argos (260, 777, *Ag.* 256; in *Soph. OC* 1303 it apparently denotes the whole of the Peloponnese). The word also recalls the Homeric phrase ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης (e.g. *Il.* 1.270; the initial α is short in Homer but long, as here, in *Soph. OC* 1685) and, for those who know a little about Egypt, the Egyptian bull-god Apis (41–2n.).

βοῦνιν: probably ‘hilly land’. This derivative of βουνός ‘hill’ is found only here and at 776 (where again the Argive land is being addressed); βουνός itself is an un-Attic word attested at Corinth, Sicyon, Rhodes, Cyrene and Syracuse (and in an Attic comedy by the Syracusan-born Philemon, fr. 52) – that is, in a wide range of Doric dialects – and so may very well have been part of the Argive vocabulary also. Thus by using the word βοῦνις in an appeal to the Argive land the Danaids may well be trying to present linguistic evidence of their Argive descent (note their statement in the next line that the land will ‘know’, or recognize, their speech). The word also hints at the connection of Argos, and of the Danaids, with the bovine Io.

καρβᾶνα: this word for ‘barbarian’ (here third declension, but elsewhere second, κάρβανος) occurs only three times more in surviving archaic and classical texts (914, Ag. 1061, Soph. fr. 269a.54 – probably all of these have a disparaging tone, so there may be a little self-depreciation here), but entries in Hesychius (ε1243, κ779–83) show that it and its derivative καρβανίζω ‘speak like a barbarian’ were rather more widely used in poetry.

κοννεῖς ‘you know’, a verb found in surviving texts (of any period) only here and at 164 (but other occurrences are again attested by Hesychius, κ3529, 3532).

120–1 The Danaids draw attention to their veils, which they have torn in token of their distress; similarly the Asian chorus of *Cho.* have torn their clothes (*Cho.* 27–32), and Persian women are described as tearing their veils in *Pers.* 537–8.

πολλάκι, more frequent than πολλάκις in Homer, is also found in tragedy at *Seven* 227, Soph. *Phil.* 1456, Eur. fr. 901.

ἐμπίτνω ‘assail’ (cf. Ag. 1468, Soph. *Aj.* 58).

ξύν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ: lit. ‘with linen-ruining tearing’, i.e. ‘tearing the linen to rags’: Egyptians, to Greeks, were ‘the linen-wearers’ (Bacch. 19.43, Hdt. 2.37.2; see Griffiths 1970: 270–1, Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000: 269–70). The garments torn by the chorus of *Cho.* were also of linen (*Cho.* 28). More durable was the λίνον used in making the ship in which the Danaids have sailed to Argos (133–7).

Σιδονίαι καλύπτραι: Greek women also sometimes wore veils (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 530–4, Ar. fr. 332.5; see, with caution, Llewellyn-Jones 2003), so there is nothing exotic about the mere fact of the Danaids’ doing so – though in tragedy the only women actually described as wearing a καλύπτρα or κάλυμμα are barbarians (*Pers.* 537) and brides (Ag. 1178, Eur. *IT* 372). The veils spoken of here, however, are ‘Sidonian’, i.e. Phoenician. Phoenician skill in textile work is celebrated in Homer (*Il.* 6.289–91; cf. *Od.* 15.417–18), and we may have a Homeric recollection here, since the ethnonym is Σιδόνιος in Homer but elsewhere always Σιδώνιος in tragedy (Phrynichus

trag. fr. 9; Soph. fr. 909; Eur. *Hel.* 1413, 1451, 1531, *Ba.* 171, fr. 819). Thus we can take it that like the πέπλος that Hecuba offers to Athene (*Il.* 6.289–91), these veils are, or were, finely made and expensive.

123–4 A very difficult sentence. The most plausible rendering is ‘But when things are going well, when death is not present, rituals involving pollution (ἐναγέα τέλεα) are vulnerable to hostile action by the gods (θεοῖς ... ἐπίδρομα)’, i.e. we had better not sing our own funeral laments (116), because this risks bringing the pollution associated with death (on which see R. Parker 1983: 32–73) into a situation where there has been no death, and that may incur divine punishment. The phrases πελομένων καλῶς and ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῆι suggest that this sentence forms a link between 116 and 134–53, where the Danaids note that their escape has been successful thus far, and pray to Zeus and Artemis to make its success complete. The Danaids could provide such a link (1) by saying something like ‘Since we are alive, laments will not be pleasing to the gods’ or (2) by saying something like ‘Since we are alive, we can and should hope for divine support’, and attempts have been made to understand the sentence in both these ways (see FJW for (1) and M. L. West 1990b: 134–5 for (2)). A third interpretation, offered by the scholia and championed by Sandin, is ‘Since we are alive, we are in a position to offer sacrifices to the gods (sc. and therefore they should support us)’, an idea found in *Seven* 76–7 and *Cho.* 255–61; but this fits less well with the acknowledgement in 134–7 of divine favours already received.

On either interpretation (1) or (2), ἐναγέα τέλεα will mean ‘rituals involving pollution (ἄγος)’. On view (1) these rituals will be the laments. On view (2) τέλεα would probably have to refer to the forced marriages, which are described in 225–8 as μαινόντων γένος and as incapable of being ἄγνά: τέλος in appropriate contexts often refers to marriage or its consummation (79–80n.). (The reference could hardly be to suicide (so Bowen), which would contradict ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῆι.) Neither alternative can be completely ruled out, but (1) will be easier to understand: the incongruous funeral lament was mentioned in the previous strophe, whereas the threatened marriages were last mentioned in the antistrophe before that (106) and have thus far been consistently associated with ὕβρις (30, 81, 104), not with pollution.

The complexities and obscurities of this sentence are probably in part designed to enhance its ironic overtones. Most of the audience will be aware that death, and violent death at that, will be far from ‘absent’ from the Danaids’ future; they will very shortly, too, be using the threat of killing themselves in an attempt to intimidate Zeus (154–75), and will use it again to coerce Pelasgus, threatening to pollute by suicide the altar at which they are performing the ritual of supplication (455–73).

πελομένων καλῶς 'when things are going well', genitive absolute (with unexpressed subject); cf. *Seven* 274 εὖ ξυντυχούντων, *Eum.* 772. The middle voice of πέλω is much rarer in tragedy than the active, being found elsewhere only at 810, *Ag.* 255, *Eum.* 149, 199, *Soph. Aj.* 159, fr. 667.

ἐπίδρομ': in the only other pre-Hellenistic attestation of this adjective (*Il.* 6.434) it is applied to the wall of Troy and means 'vulnerable to assault'.

ὁπόθι 'where', i.e. 'in circumstances in which' (cf. ὅπου in *Cho.* 582, *Eum.* 277).

ἀπῆι: indefinite subjunctive without ἄν: cf. 92n., *Seven* 257, *Eum.* 211, 661, and see Goodwin 1912: 208.

125 δυσάγκριτοι 'hard to inquire into (ἀνακρίνειν)', i.e. hard to establish by investigation the nature and extent of.

126 ποῖ τόδε κῦμ' ἀπάξει; the Danaids are comparing themselves to a ship adrift in heavy seas, not knowing where they may be driven; eventually, under the impact of their demands and threats, Pelasgus will describe his own plight in similar terms (437, 470-1). But their choice of metaphor will remind us that they prayed for the shipwreck of their pursuers (29-36) and that they themselves, as they will shortly be saying explicitly (134-7, cf. 2-5), have just landed from a safe and speedy voyage.

134-43 = 144-53: metre

1	υ - υ - υ - υ -	2 ia
2	≡ υ υ - υ - υ -	2 ia
3	υ - υ - υ - υ -	2 ia
4	υ - - υ - υ -	ia _^ ia
5	υ - - - υ -	ia _^ ^ ia
6	≡ - υ - - -	ia _^ ia _^
7	- υ - υ - -	ith
8	- υ - - υ υ - υ - -	^ ia ar
9	- - υ -	ia
10	υ υ υ υ υ - υ -	2 ia

If Wilamowitz's emendation (με for μέγα) is accepted in 141 = 151, colon 8 will become ^ ia ith.

134-5 λινορραφής ... δόμος 'house with sewn linen' (see next note) is another kenning for 'ship' (cf. 32-3n.), this time explained by the following phrase ἄλα στέγον δόρυ: for such appositional explanations of difficult phrases cf. *Pers.* 612 τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ [i.e. the bee] στάγμα, παμφαῆς μέλι, *Ag.* 825 ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς. The ship is a 'house' because during the voyage it served as the Danaids' dwelling; they are now for the time being homeless, until Pelasgus offers them a choice of accommodation (957-63, 1009-11).

λινόρραφής: either ‘with its sewn linen’ (i.e. its sail) or, as the scholia suppose, ‘stitched together with flax’ with reference to the stitching together of hull timbers, a common practice in south-west Asia and thought by later writers (Plin. *HN* 19.25, 24.65; A. Gell. 17.3.5; Σ *Od.* 14.383) to have been referred to in certain Homeric passages (*Il.* 2.135, *Od.* 14.383); see Morrison and Williams 1968: 50. The former is more likely: compounds of λίνον used in connection with ships regularly refer to sails (*Prom.* 468; Eur. *IT* 410), and if one is going to say that a ship has made its voyage σὺν πνοαῖς one hardly expects that oars will be the *only* method of propulsion to be mentioned.

ἄλα στέγον δόρυ: Friis Johansen’s emendation (Friis Johansen and Whittle 1975: 9–10) is necessary. With ἄλα στέγων δορός (M) we would be told that the ship keeps the sea off the ship (or its timbers), which it does not do: it keeps, or should keep, the sea out of the ship’s interior space, or away from the ship’s company and any cargo. In any case there is no other known instance of στέγειν with an ablative genitive. The attempt by Sommerstein 2008 to make δορός a genitive of material governed by δόμος is flawed by the fact that δόρυ, unlike ξύλον, cannot mean ‘wood’ but only ‘a wooden object’.

136 ἀχείματον: a metrical variant of ἀχείμαντον (Alcaeus fr. 319 LP, Bacch. fr. 30 Snell–Maehler, Thphr. *CP* 2.12.4).

ἔπεμπε ‘conveyed, brought’: cf. *Od.* 8.556 ὄφρα σε τῇ πέμπωσι τιτυσκόμεναι φρεσὶ νῆες, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.203. The verb is singular because the compound subject denotes a single entity (the ship); it is imperfect (rather than present) because the sea voyage is now at an end, imperfect (rather than aorist) because the Danaids’ journey to safety is nevertheless still incomplete.

138 τελευτάς: for this poetic plural cf. Ag. 745, Soph. fr. 831, Eur. *El.* 908.

ἐν χρόνῳ ‘in due course, eventually’ is more frequent in *Supp.* and the *Oresteia* (938; Ag. 857; *Cho.* 1040; *Eum.* 498, 1000) than in all the rest of surviving tragedy (A. fr. 47a.772; Soph. *OT* 613; Eur. *Andr.* 782; and possibly Eur. fr. 727a.64).

139 πατήρ ὁ παντόπτας: cf. *Eum.* 1045 Ζεὺς παντόπτας, Soph. *OC* 1085; the more common form πανόπτης (304) was used of Zeus by the tragedian Achaëus (fr. 53).

140 πρευμενῆς ‘favourable, propitious’. This is another word of which A. is very fond (207; *Pers.* 220, 224; Ag. 840, 950, 1647; *Cho.* 970; *Eum.* 236, 922; A. fr. 43, from *Danaids*), especially in reference to superhuman powers, though it is also fairly freely used by Euripides (never by Sophocles).

κτίσειεν: the basic meaning of κτίζειν in A. is ‘cause to be’, and the present sentence can be taken to mean either ‘may Zeus bring about a favourable outcome’ (cf. 172, A. fr. 132c.10) or ‘may Zeus make the outcome a favourable one’ (cf. 1067, *Eum.* 17).

141–3 = 151–3 The accusative + infinitive construction is best taken as final–consecutive (79–80n.), specifying both the purpose and the expected outcome of Zeus’s (in the antistrophe, Artemis’) wished-for intervention, and indicating more precisely what the Danaids mean by asking Zeus for a ‘favourable outcome’ and Artemis for rescue (ρύσιος γενέσθω 150). The alternative is to take it as an independent sentence, a prayer (so FJW, who however themselves point out that ‘elsewhere this construction is always preceded by a voc[ative]’).

σεμνάς μέγα ματρός: i.e. of Io. Since adverbial μέγα modifying an adjective elsewhere always precedes it (for μέγα σεμν- cf. Ar. *Clouds* 291, *com. adesp.* 1110.8, and the spurious tailpiece of several Euripidean plays, e.g. *IT* 1497), emendation is tempting. The simplest change is με (Wilamowitz), which replaces one acceptable metrical structure (*ia ar*) with another (*ia ith*); the corruption would have originated from a scribal eye wandering to ἄγαμον below.

ἄνδρῶν, ἔ ἔ: is this a cry of horror (cf. *Seven* 148, 158, 327, 339; *Ag.* 1114; *Cho.* 869; Eur. *Phoen.* 127) at the thought of union with *these* men, or at the thought of union with *any* man? We cannot at this stage tell for certain (unless it was made clear in a preceding play; see Intr. §§3, 5); but it may well be significant that every other occurrence of ἄγαμος in archaic or classical poetry refers to a state of singleness that either is, or is expected by the speaker to be, permanent (*Il.* 3.40; Soph. *Ant.* 867; Eur. *Alc.* 862, 888, *Supp.* 786, *IT* 220, *Hel.* 689, *Or.* 206; Phryn. *com.* fr. 19; Telestes *PMG* 805a.6).

ἄγαμον: see previous note.

ἄδάματον: Greeks regularly imaged the virgin as a ‘wild’ creature who had to be ‘tamed’ by sexual ‘yoking’; already in Homer παρθένος ἄδμής was formulaic (*Od.* 6.109, 228; *h.Dem.* 145; cf. 149 below). See Sourvinou-Inwood 1987; Forbes Irving 1990: 64–8; Calame 1997: 238–44; Fletcher 2007. The adjective also provides a link between strophe and antistrophe, Artemis being the patron goddess of virginity and of wild animals.

144–5 θέλουσα ... θέλουσαν: this *polyptoton* (repetition of the same word in different inflectional forms) is particularly common with (ἐ)θέλων and ἐκών (and their opposites): cf. 227, *Prom.* 218, *Od.* 3.372, 5.155. It will be echoed by another *polyptoton* (ἄδμητος ἄδμήτα) in 149, reinforcing the Danaids’ prayer with the implication that Artemis, who shares the Danaids’ virginity, should therefore support their determination to preserve it.

ἀγνά ... Διὸς κόρα: not named, but easily identifiable as Artemis, for whom ἀγνά (1030, Ag. 134, Ar. *Thesm.* 971, *Od.* 5.123) is a regular epithet, whereas Athena, the other major Olympian who is a daughter of Zeus and a virgin, is never called ἀγνά by any Athenian poet.

ἐπιδέτω: the same request that they made to Zeus at 1, and will make again to Artemis at 1030.

146–7 σέμν' ἐνώπι': probably 'your august countenance'. In Homer (e.g. *Il.* 8.435, 13.261), ἐνώπια (always accompanied by the epithet παμφανόωντα) denotes the white-plastered façade of a building (see Lorimer 1950: 428 n. 1). In Alcaeus fr. 58.17 LP, however, in a sympotic context where buildings are hardly relevant, the word is likely to mean 'face', as in the adverbs ἐνώπῃ (*Iliad* 5.374) and ἐνώπιον (*Theoc.* 22.152), both of which mean 'to your face, openly' (cf. also LXX *Exodus* 33.11 ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν ἐνώπιος ἐνωπίω). That Artemis' countenance, rather than (the façades of) her temples, is referred to here is a view supported by (1) the fact that σεμνή is a common epithet of the goddess herself (Eur. *Hipp.* 713, *Hec.* 935; Ar. *Thesm.* 116; Bacch. 5.99) and (2) a parallel in Eur. *Hipp.* 886, where Hippolytus is condemned for having dishonoured τὸ σεμνὸν Ζηνὸς ὄμμα by his alleged rape of Phaedra. In this play, as in *Hippolytus*, σεμνός will prove to be an ambivalent term: the Argive secondary chorus (1037), like Hippolytus' servant (*Hipp.* 99), will apply it to Aphrodite.

ἀσφαλῇ 'immovable' (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 454–5 ἀσφαλῇ θεῶν νόμιμα) – and therefore sure to frown implacably on those who offend her. Possibly we should read ἀσφαλέα (Headlam, cf. 112n.); this un-Attic form would be at greater risk of corruption, and would help to explain M's ἀσφαλέας in 148.

παντὶ ... σθένει evokes the language of military alliances, e.g. Thuc. 5.23.3, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2, Dem. 3.6. Cf. *Cho.* 19 (Orestes to Zeus) γενοῦ δὲ σύμμαχος θέλων ἐμοί. In Soph. fr. 904 someone is trying to decide whether to march out with a 'picked cavalry force' or παντὶ σθένει.

148 διωγμοῖς: poetic plural, referring to the pursuit by the sons of Aegyptus. The same form appears at 1046, where the Argive secondary chorus wonders why the pursuers had such a swift and safe voyage.

ἀσχαλῶσ' 'aggrieved, indignant'. The verb ἀσχαλάω (also ἀσχάλλω) usually describes vexation or distress felt at something happening to oneself, such as that of the Greek army at being away from home for nine years (*Il.* 2.297) or that which Oedipus can be expected to feel on learning of the death of his supposed father (Soph. *OT* 937); but at Eur. *Or.* 784–5 it is applied to the indignation that Argives may feel over the murder of Agamemnon, which Orestes hopes will induce them to pity him and condone his matricide, and this is a sufficient parallel for its use here to refer to Artemis' resentment of behaviour directed against the Danaids

(which, in any case, is also an insult to herself). However, it is possible that M's ἀσφαλέας is a variant reading from 146–7 which has intruded into the text; if that is so, the transmitted letters would be no guide to the original text.

149 ἄδμητος ἄδμήτα: another *polyptoton* (144–5n.), though a slightly imperfect one inasmuch as the two forms derive from different though kindred lexical items (ἄδμης and ἄδμητος respectively). Unlike most compound adjectives in -ος, ἄδμητος regularly has a distinctive feminine form: cf. e.g. Soph. *El.* 1239 (also of Artemis), *Il.* 10.293. On the equation 'virgin = untamed' see 141–3n.

150 ῥύσιος: here 'a protector, a rescuer' (from ῥύομαι); the plural of this word will be used as a noun three times later in the play (315, 412, 728) and, in the latter two passages at least, it will bear a very different sense.

151–3 See 141–3n.

154–61 = 168–75: metre

For the intervening 'mesode' see 162–7n. below.

1	– ◡ – ◡ – –	<i>ith</i>
2	– ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –	<i>lek</i>
3	– – ◡ – – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –	<i>ia lek</i>
4	– ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –	<i>lek</i>
5	– ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –	<i>lek</i>
6	– ◡ – ◡ – –	<i>ith</i>
7	– ◡ – – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ –	<i>ia lek</i>

154–61 Now the Danaids reinforce their appeals with a threat, using a tactic similar to that with which they later coerce Pelasgus: if their prayers are rejected, they will commit suicide, thus making manifest to all the failure of Zeus to protect his own. (They make no promise of offerings to Zeus or other gods if their prayers *are* heeded.) The audience know with fair certainty that the threat will not succeed in coercing Zeus, but also that it will not be carried out – that the Danaids will escape from the hated marriages not by mass suicide but by mass murder. The threat in itself might not necessarily be hybristic, if made in a good cause: Herodotus (7.141) does not condemn the Athenians for reacting to an unfavourable response from the Delphic oracle by threatening to starve themselves to death in the sanctuary (cf. also Eur. *IT* 972–5). But is the Danaids' cause a good one?

154 εἰ δὲ μή: i.e. if Zeus and Artemis do not act as requested in 134–53. This protasis is repeated, in an expanded form, after the apodosis (161).

μελανθές: 70–2n. This adjective occurs only here in archaic and classical Greek; it presumably derives by syncope from *μελαν-ανθήs (cf. λευκανθήs Soph. *OT* 742, Pind. *Nem.* 9.23). The Danaids are hinting that their dark

complexions will make them welcome in Hades: similarly the ferry across the infernal lake has black sails (*Seven* 855–60, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1105–6) and the palace of (Pluto and) Persephone has black walls (Pind. *Olymp.* 14.20–1).

155 ἡλιόκτυπον ‘sun-beaten’: κτύπος and its compounds are quite often used without any connotation of noise (especially in relation to weather phenomena such as rain and snow); see Finglass 2011: 344 (on Soph. *Aj.* 696 χιονοκτύπου).

156–60 This apodosis is so constructed as to keep crucial information back for as long as possible. The epithets γάϊον and πολυξενώτατον do not make it clear that an underworld god is being referred to (indeed, both might even be applied to a mortal), and it is only with τῶν κεκμηκότων that we discover for sure that Hades–Pluto is meant. Even then the nature of the Danaids’ ‘supplication’ of him remains obscure until we reach the final two words: they will ‘supplicate’ the infernal god by hanging themselves.

156 γάϊον (= χθόνιον) is the simplest correction of M’s meaningless ταιον, and is supported by the scholiast’s explanation τὸν καταχθόνιον Ἄιδην. However, two late lexica quote the passage in an article on the name Ζαγρεύς, saying that in *Aigyptioi* [sic] Aeschylus had called Pluto τὸν ἀγραῖον, τὸν πολυξενώτατον, τὸν Δία τῶν κεκμηκότων. Since it seems very unlikely that he would have described the underworld god twice in different plays of the same trilogy in virtually identical terms, it is tempting to suppose that the ancient scholar responsible for the original version of the article had confused *Aigyptioi* with *Supp.*, that he was in fact quoting our passage, and that ἀγραῖον is a corruption of Ζαγρέα or the like (why otherwise should this passage have been quoted in a discussion of the name Zagreus?). But it is very hard to account for a corruption of Ζαγρέα *vel sim.* into ταιον, and more probably the common source of the two lexical entries had been garbled by abbreviation in the course of transmission and originally included a separate quotation from *Aigyptioi* (which might e.g. have been Ζαγρέα πολύξενον), with the *Supp.* passage then being quoted as a parallel to show that πολύξενος could be an epithet of Hades–Pluto.

157 πολυξενώτατον: cf. A. fr. 228 (cited in the same lexical entry discussed above, to show that Zagreus is sometimes regarded as a *son* of Pluto) Ζαγρεῖ ... καὶ πολυξένωι <πατρί>, *Seven* 860 πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον. Pluto welcomes all visitors – but never lets any of them leave. The Danaids will betake themselves to his ‘hospitality’ if Zeus ξένιος (627) fails to live up to his title.

158 Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων: cf. 231 Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν, Ag. 1386–7 τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς Διὸς (Enger: Ἄιδου codd.) νεκρῶν σωτῆρος. As early as Homer (*Il.* 9.457) Hades–Pluto could be designated Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος,

perhaps in origin a euphemistic expression. Here the phrase carries some suggestion that he and Zeus are on terms of equality, each supreme in his own sphere: cf. perhaps *Eum.* 647–51 (Zeus can do anything except raise the dead).

159 *ἰξόμεσθα* will at first be taken to mean simply ‘we will go to’, but *σὺν κλάδοις* shows that it is (also) to be understood as ‘we will supplicate’. The idea is probably that the Danaids will hang themselves while still holding their suppliant-branches, thus presenting themselves as suppliants to Pluto (who will of course grant them asylum as he does to all comers) and also advertising to the world that Zeus and the Argives have driven them to suicide by rejecting their supplication.

160 *ἄρτάναις θανοῦσαι*: now at last we are bluntly told what it is that the Danaids intend to do if their supplication is not successful. Hanging is the normal method of suicide in tragedy for women, who usually do not have access to weapons; see Loraux 1987: 7–20. The *mass* hanging envisaged here and at 455–66, however, has no tragic parallel, and there is an uncomfortable precedent in the execution by Telemachus of 12 of his father’s maidservants who had slept with some of Penelope’s suitors (*Od.* 22.457–73; the number is given at 22.424).

161 *μὴ τυχοῦσαι* ‘if we do not win <the support of>’; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 328 where σοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν means ‘not to get your confidence and compliance’ (Barrett 1964: 219).

162–7 Just before the end of the *parodos*, the chorus remember with alarm a consideration that they have not previously mentioned: if Zeus ought to be their friend because of their descent from Io, his mighty consort may be their enemy for the same reason. If so, only the supreme power of Zeus, to which they desperately appeal, can save them. Their fears about Hera may in the end have been fulfilled in an unexpected way. Hera (specifically Hera Τελεία, *Eum.* 214, A. fr. 383) was pre-eminently a goddess of marriage, and the secondary chorus, when criticizing the Danaids’ rejection of Aphrodite, say that Aphrodite exercises power close to Zeus ‘together with Hera’ (1035). The Danaids will eventually be committing the grossest possible violation of the marriage bond, and Aphrodite will tell them (A. fr. 44) that they have acted against the laws of nature and the gods; she mentions the primordial union of Heaven and Earth, and it is a reasonable guess that she also mentioned the marriage of Zeus and Hera and told the Danaids they had offended both.

Unlike the refrains (*ephymnia*) at 117–21 = 128–32 and 141–3 = 151–3, this passage is not repeated in M after the antistrophe. Since the sixteenth century a majority of editors have inserted a repetition of it after 175 (though Sandin, Sommerstein 2008, Bowen, and Citti-Miralles have recently refused to do so). Aeschylus certainly does sometimes write a

‘mesode’ after a strophe with nothing corresponding to it after the antistrophe (*Cho.* 789–93, 807–11, 826–30) while other passages, as transmitted, contain a mixture of mesodes and *ephymnia* (*Ag.* 1448–1577, *Eum.* 321–96); in *Cho.* 935–71 we have first a mesode without repetition (942–5) and then another (961–4) whose first line alone is repeated in M after the antistrophe (972), which suggests but does not prove that a repetition of the whole stanza has been partly lost. To insist that any given ode must either contain only mesodes, or else only *ephymnia*, would require us to suppose that repetitions of *ephymnia* have been accidentally and independently lost in at least five places, and we should therefore not insert a repetition unless there is positive evidence that such loss has occurred. Here there is, if anything, considerable evidence to the contrary (see Lomiento 2008: 53–5): 175 makes a highly appropriate conclusion to the *parodos*, ‘ringing’ with the appeal to Zeus that began it (1), with the opening of the lyrics (40 ἐπικεκλομένα ~ 175 καλουμενος, Garvie 1969: 77; also the reference to Epaphus in 170, the first since 40–8), and with the opening of the prayer section (77–8 κλύετ’ εὖ ~ 175 εὖ κλύοι, cf. 170–1 τὸν ... ἔκτισεν γόνωι).

162–7: metre

1	— — — — —	3sp
2	— — — — —	3sp
3	— — ∪ —	ia
4	∪ — — ∪ — —	2io
5	∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — —	anacr

For the all-spondaic first two cola, see M. L. West 1982: 55–6; they are appropriate to a solemn invocation of a god (*ibid.*) but also to a distressed outcry (cf. 892 = 902). The ionic rhythm of the last two cola will reappear in 868–71 = 878–81 and extensively in the *exodos* (1018–61); it is often thought to have had ‘barbarian’ or ‘oriental’ connotations, especially in *Pers.* (E. M. Hall 1989: 82–3). The final colon is here analysed as an anacreontic (anacastic ionic dimeter, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —) with ‘choriambic expansion’ (M. L. West 1982: 32), i.e. insertion of a choriamb (— ∪ —) in the middle.

162–3 Ζήν: a nominative/vocative form created on the analogy of the oblique cases Ζῆνα, Ζηνός, Ζηνί. Its West Greek equivalent Ζάν appears in Ar. *Birds* 570 and, according to late writers (e.g. Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 17), was inscribed on the ‘tomb of Zeus’ on Mount Ida in Crete; see Dunbar 1995: 384. Here the use of Ζήν in place of Ζεῦ may again (117–19n.) be designed to suggest that the Danaids’ Greek is somewhat ‘foreign’.

ἰοῦς ... μῆνις μάστιγ’ ‘the wrath that hunted Io’. The word-order makes the phrase hard to understand, even more so with the interjected cry ἰώ: it also creates a collocation ἰοῦς μῆνις which, until we hear the next

word, we may momentarily take to imply that Io, like her descendants, will be angry with Zeus if he betrays the Danaids.

ἰώ, placed where it is, effectively etymologizes Io's name as 'she who cried out in distress', as Sophocles' Ajax links his own name Αἴας with the cry αἰαῖ (Soph. *Aj.* 430–2). The interjection ἰώ can be scanned, in tragedy, either ∪ – or – –; the latter scansion occurs in anapaests (e.g. *Pers.* 908; *Ag.* 1489 = 1513, 1537) and in dactylic lyrics (Soph. *Trach.* 1031, *OT* 163, *El.* 149), and 162–3 can be regarded as contracted lyric anapaests.

μάστειρ: this feminine counterpart to μαστήρ (Soph. *Trach.* 733, *OC* 456; Eur. *Ba.* 985; cf. 920 Ἑρμῆι ... μαστηρίῳ) is found only here.

ἐκ θεῶν 'from the realm of the gods' – in point of fact from one specific divinity, Hera. For the monosyllabic scansion of θεῶν, less frequent in A. than in Sophocles or Euripides, cf. 396, *Pers.* 404, *Eum.* 361.

164 **κοννῶ**: 117–19n.

ἄγαν 'jealousy, resentment'; cf. *Ag.* 131, A. fr. 85, Hdt. 6.61.1.

165 **γαμετᾶς** 'of your wedded wife': Hera's jealousy of her husband's many mistresses was one of the fixed points of her mythical character, and it is a delicious piece of Homeric humour when in *Il.* 14.313–28, for the sake of seducing him and thereby putting him to sleep, she listens with equanimity as he reels off a list of seven former conquests.

οὐρανόνικον 'which wins victories in heaven': not that Hera *always* gets the better of Zeus (any more than an Ὀλυμπιονίκης necessarily wins every Olympic contest for which he enters), but she sometimes does succeed in doing so – as when she contrived to ensure that Heracles should not, as Zeus wished, become ruler of all Argos, but should be forced to serve Eurystheus (*Il.* 19.95–133). West, followed by Sommerstein 2008 and Bowen, prints Hermann's emendation γαμετᾶς <Διὸς> οὐρανονίκου: but to account for the intensity of the Danaids' fears, the emphasis here should be placed on the power of Hera rather than of Zeus.

166–7 Once again (cf. 126n.) the Danaids, despite the success of their physical voyage, fear metaphorical winds/waves/storms to come. That a stiff wind heralds a coming storm was proverbial; cf. *PMG* 1000.

γάρ has been suspected without reason. The connection of thought is 'I know about Hera's jealousy of Io <and therefore fear that she may vent it on us as Io's descendants>, for a stiff wind [here = Hera's jealousy] is sure to be followed by a storm.' For this 'pregnant' use of γάρ cf. Eur. *El.* 1066–8 'You murdered Agamemnon, and pretended that you did it to take revenge for your daughter; <and many people believed you,> because they don't know you as well as I do.' See Denniston 1954: 61–2.

169 **ἐνέξεται** 'will be liable' to punishment or, as here, accusation; cf. Dem. 51.11 ἐὰν μὲν πένης ὦν τις δι' ἔνδειαν ἀμάρτηι, τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐπιτιμίαις ἐνέξεται (LSJ ἐνέχω II 3).

ψόγοις: not just 'censorious talk' (FJW) but assertions of culpability; cf. *Eum.* 438 (the Erinyes' accusation of matricide against Orestes).

170-1 τὸν τᾶς βοὸς παῖδ': Epaphus, whose mother is spoken of in similarly bovine terms at 17, 43-4, 275, 300, 304, 306, 314; in 531-99, on the other hand, Io remains at least 'partly a woman' (569-70) even before her full restoration by Zeus.

ἀτιμάσας: approximately 'not giving due respect to the just claims of'. Later (378) Pelasgus will feel that it may be dangerous to 'disrespect' the Danaids' λιταί (cf. λιταῖσι 174); the Danaids will praise the Argive people for not doing so (645); and Pelasgus in his turn will rebuke the Egyptian Herald for 'disrespecting' the Argive community (911-12). In *Eumenides* the Erinyes repeatedly complain of, or warn against, 'disrespect' by Apollo (324) or the younger gods generally together with the Athenians (712, 780 = 810, 792 = 822).

τὸν: relative; so again 265, 305, 521, 699.

172 ἐκτισεν γόνωι 'caused to be (140n.) by generation', i.e. 'begot'.

173-4 ἔχων παλίντροπον ὄψιν 'keeping his face turned away' (the adjective being predicative), the opposite of ἐπιδεῖν (1, 145); so in *Ag.* 776-8 Dike, παλιντρόποις ὄμμασι, quits 'gold-spangled abodes where hands are not clean'. Similarly Oedipus' response to Polyneices' plea at *Soph. OC* 1254-70 is to turn his head away (1272); when Jason's bride saw that he had brought Medea's children with him to see her, 'she hid her eyes and turned away her white cheek' until Jason urged her to 'cease your anger and turn back your head' (*Eur. Med.* 1147-52, trans. Mossman 2011); and the verb ἀποστρέφομαι can itself mean 'reject' (*Soph. OT* 326; *Eur. Supp.* 159, *Or.* 720).

ἐν λιταῖσιν 'in <the time of> our prayer', 'when we pray'.

175 The *parodos* ends as it began with an appeal to Zeus; for other ring-compositional echoes see 162-7n.

176-233 Danaus speaks from the top of the πάγος (1-175n.), telling his daughters that a critical moment is at hand: an army is approaching – foot-soldiers and chariots. He tells them to come up to the sanctuary and sit at the altar, and advises them that in speaking with the local leaders they should be modest and respectful. They pray to a number of the gods whose images adorn the shrine, and then sit down at the altar, on which they lay some (not all, cf. 191-3) of their suppliant-branches (cf. 241-2, 345, 481, 506). Danaus expresses confidence that the gods will punish the sons of Aegyptus, and the group await the arrival of the Argive force.

In this scene Danaus and his daughters put themselves under the protection of the gods of Argos and, by depositing the branches at a public altar, formally make themselves suppliants of the Argive state (cf. 365-75;

see Naiden 2006: 36, 56–7). The scene prepares for the coming confrontation between the Danaids and King Pelasgus (whose arrival in person seems to be anticipated in 184–7), but A. has been careful to make some of this preparation misleading. Although Danaus instructs his daughters about how they should speak, and repeatedly returns to this theme (194–7, 200–3, 232), few of the audience are likely to have expected that for 256 lines his daughters would do *all* the talking, with Danaus remaining completely silent – indeed hardly even being mentioned – until after Pelasgus has addressed him directly (480–3); and his advice that their speech should be respectful, modest, and ‘yielding’ (194, 197, 200, 202, 203) is, to say the least, not advice that they appear to take to heart (Bernhardt 2015: 324), though it will be some time before this becomes evident.

176 φρονεῖν ... φρονοῦντι: to this injunction by Danaus to his daughters to be sensible, as their father has been, they respond immediately he finishes his speech, saying φρονούντως πρὸς φρονοῦντας ἐννέπεις.

ἦκετε ‘you have come here’: ἦκετε (M) would come from the epic (and Doric) verb ἵκω, which is not otherwise found in tragedy.

177 γέροντι: Danaus is again spoken of as an old man in 480, 602 and 775; doubtless the actor’s mask was white-haired. Pelasgus is called γεραιόφρων at 361, but this does not necessarily imply that he is actually γεραιός, and if he was eventually killed in battle (Intr. §3) it would suggest that he was at most middle-aged.

ναυκλήρωι ‘shipmaster’. Since the owner of a merchant ship would normally command it himself, the semantic focus of ναύκληρος may be either on the role of owner or on that of captain; here the latter sense is uppermost – Danaus has proved a reliable (πιστῶι) navigator who has brought his passengers safely to their destination.

178 τὰπὶ χέρσου: accusative of respect, ‘in regard to the situation on dry land’, in contrast with the successfully completed sea voyage.

προμηθίαν λαβών ‘having taken thought in advance’. Not λαβεῖν (M) – which would require us to read θ’ ἄμ’ in 179 – since Danaus is not asking his daughters to do any deep thinking but simply to obey his quite detailed instructions.

179 αἰνῶ ‘I advise, I instruct’ (approximately = παραινῶ); cf. *Cho.* 555, 715.

δελτουμένας ‘recording on the tablets of your mind’; cf. 991–2, *Cho.* 450, *Eum.* 275, *Prom.* 789. The image is of Near Eastern origin, with biblical parallels (e.g. Proverbs 3.3, 7.3); see M. L. West 1997: 560–1.

180–3 A surprise to the audience, and probably to Danaus as well. We had expected that some representative(s) of Argos would come to meet and question the new arrivals: we know that, despite the Danaids’ prayers, their pursuers will reach Argos safely (otherwise the marriages,

and the murders, could not take place), and before that happens the refugees must have at least an assurance of Argive protection. What we can hardly have expected is that Argos would send out a substantial military force, as if to confront hostile invaders – though as Bakewell 2013: 88–9 points out, this is not an entirely unreasonable reaction to ‘reports of a strange ship offshore and possible disembarkations’, and it has a further ironic point inasmuch as a hostile invasion will in fact follow very soon. Danaus realizes that a military force is on its way as soon as he sees the dust-cloud (180), and this is confirmed first by the noise of chariot-wheels (181) and then by the actual sight of men, horses and vehicles (182–3) – as yet, of course, only visible to Danaus from his look-out point, and not to the chorus or the audience. The same sequence appears in the *parodos* of *Seven* (78–91).

180 κόνιν: the ι is long, as in the only other passages in tragedy where κόνις/κόνιν precedes a vowel (783, *Prom.* 1084); in Homer it is generally short. For a dust-cloud as evidence that an army is on the march, or a battle is being fought, in the vicinity, cf. *Ar. Knights* 245, *Hdt.* 8.65.1, *Thuc.* 4.44.4.

ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ: almost identical to *Seven* 81–2 (κόνις ... ἄναυδος σαφῆς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος), where the chorus infer more specifically that the army includes cavalry and/or chariots (λεῶς ... ἵππότης 80).

181 ‘Wheel-hubs screech beneath the forward and downward pressure on their sockets of the fixed axles round which they revolve’ (FJW); in *Seven* (153, 205) this noise particularly terrifies the chorus. Except on Cyprus (*Hdt.* 5.113.1) Greeks no longer in A.’s time used chariots in war, but the Persians did (*Pers.* 46, 84; *Hdt.* 7.86), and Greeks were in any case familiar with racing chariots.

σύριγγες, properly ‘pipes, tubes’, here denotes the hollow hubs of wheels, through which the axle is slotted (the wheel is then secured by linchpins); see Crouwel 1992: 34–6. In this context, with its focus on the *sound* made by the wheels, the word carries a flavour of its other specialized sense ‘pan-pipes’.

οὐ σιγῶσιν contrasts with ἄναυδος: a moment ago Danaus could hear nothing, now he can hear a great deal.

182 ὄχλον: the infantry are more numerous than the charioteers. In *A.* (*Pers.* 42, 956; *Seven* 234) and early Sophocles (*Trach.* 424) ὄχλος simply means ‘a large number of people’ (especially soldiers) with no pejorative tone.

ὑπασπιστήρα καὶ δορυσσόον: shield and spear define the Greek hoplite (*Pers.* 240; Achaëus fr. 29, quoted by *Ar. Wasps* 1081, *Peace* 356); in Aristotle’s time they were presented by the state to youths midway through their ephebic service at a ceremony held in the Theatre of Dionysus (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 42.4). The noun ὑπασπιστήρ occurs only here;

its apparent twin ὑπασπιστής, when it first appears in Euripides (*Phoen.* 1213) and Herodotus (5.111.1), denotes not the hoplite himself but his attendant/armour-bearer, though later it was applied to an elite infantry corps in the armies of Philip II and Alexander.

183 ξὺν ἵπποις καμπύλοις τ' ὀχήμασιν: if the hoplites are contemporary, the chariots are Homeric, in an echo of the epic formulae σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν (*Il.* 4.297 and four further passages) and καμπύλον ἄρμα (*Il.* 5.231, Hes. *Shield* 324), the latter referring to the chariot's curved front rail (Kirk 1990: 159).

184–5 If with Otto Foss (ap. FJW) we posit a lacuna, and tentatively restore the missing line (modifying a proposal by Sommerstein 1977: 69) as <ὀπάονές θ' ἦκοιεν, ὡς τῶν ἐνθάδε>, the sentence will mean 'Perhaps the ruler of this land <and his troops>, after receiving information from messengers, <are about to come to us in order to> see <the situation here> for themselves.' The assumption of a lacuna is necessary. The unexpressed singular subject of 186–7 shows that the subject of the present sentence must also be singular, i.e. that ἀρχηγέται must be emended to ἀρχηγέτης; doubtless the word was pluralized, after the next line had been lost, in an attempt to restore grammatical coherence. It is, furthermore, unlikely that Danaus, coming from a land of absolute monarchs (cf. 370–5), would assume that Argos was ruled by some kind of collective body; nor can any sense be made of πρὸς ἡμᾶς ... ὀπτῆρες εἶεν (ὀπτῆρας εἶεν van Herwerden; but (1) ἴημι means 'let go, release' and is not a synonym of πέμπω or ἀποστέλλω, (2) the potential optative cannot in Attic refer to a past action). If we read ἀρχηγέτης, however, ὀπτῆρες εἶεν, being plural, still cannot stand in the same clause, and it cannot be plausibly emended. Positing a lacuna enables us to take ὀπτῆρες εἶεν as the verb-phrase of a subordinate clause, whose subject is not the king of Argos but the armed force which is apparently approaching. The alternative supplement proposed by Bowen (<ἔπεμπεν ἄνδρας τῆσδ' ὅπως ἀφίξεως>) virtually necessitates his further emendation πεπυσμένος, which in itself is quite tempting, since one would expect that the messengers would report to the king rather than to the army; but τάχ' ἄν with a past indicative tense is normally counterfactual (e.g. *Seven* 662–3 – though cf. Dem. 36.55), and furthermore 187 implies that Danaus is expecting the king not merely to 'send men' but to come in person (as he will).

184 ἀρχηγέτης in A. always refers to monarchs (251, *Seven* 999); it was the title given to the kings of Sparta in the 'Great Rhetra' (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.1–2).

185 ὀπτῆρες is contrasted with ἀγγέλων πεπυσμένοι. The sending of an *armed* force suggests that we are to understand that the messengers' report was vague enough to leave open the possibility that an invading

or raiding enemy had landed on the Argive coast, so that the response required was not, in modern terms, a ‘fact-finding mission’ but at the very least a ‘reconnaissance in force’.

εἶεν is optative, presumably, because its lost governing verb was optative. Normally the verb in a final clause will be subjunctive after a governing verb in the ‘potential’ optative (with ἄν), but the optative is found in *Ar. Peace* 411, *Pl. Rep.* 2.370d, and several times in Xenophon (Goodwin 1912: 60–1); it is more frequent, especially in poetry, after a main verb in the ‘wishing’ optative (e.g. *Eum.* 296–7).

186 εἴτ’ ... εἴτε καί: the force of καί may be ‘it does not matter (so far as our own course of action is concerned) which alternative is correct’; cf. *Eur. Tro.* 941–2 ὁ τῆσδ’ ἀλάστωρ, εἴτ’ Ἀλέξανδρον θέλεις | ὀνόματι προσφωνεῖν νιν εἴτε καὶ Πάριν (it does not matter what you call him – what matters is that he was my ruin).

ἀπήμων ‘without harmful intent’.

τεθηγμένος is linked with ὀργή at *Eur. Hipp.* 689 and Alcidas fr. 22 Avezzù (ap. *Arist. Rhet.* 3.1406a9–10); Eteocles describes himself as τεθηγμένον at *Seven* 715 with reference to his inflexible determination to go and fight his brother (ascribed by the chorus to ὀργή, 678).

187 ὡμῇ ξὺν ὀργῇ: implying that the Argive king (of whose character, and even identity, Danaos presumably knows nothing) may well be coming with the fixed intention of attacking or expelling the newcomers regardless of whether they are hostile or not.

τόνδ’ ἐπόρνυται στόλον ‘is setting himself in motion with this expedition’ (on the meaning and connotations of στόλος see 2n.), στόλον being an internal accusative; the scholiast’s paraphrase shows that he understood the phrase thus. An alternative rendering would be ‘is setting himself in motion against our band’; but ἐπόρνυμαι, and other verbs of aggressive action compounded with ἐπι-, nearly always take a dative, not an accusative, of the target of aggression.

188 ἄμεινον ‘to our benefit’ (without there being any specific alternative in view); likewise 730–1 where Danaos again advises his daughters to seek the protection of the sanctuary. Cf. *Dem.* 21.198 εἰρήσεται γάρ, εἴτ’ ἄμεινον εἴτε μή (possibly a tragic quotation: MacDowell 1990: 406).

παντός οὔνεκ ‘for every reason’, ‘on all accounts’, ‘from every point of view’. M has the non-Attic εἴνεκ’ here (but not at 477, 1007, 1015), a corruption (Barrett 1964: 242) due to recollection of Homer.

189 πάγον ... θεῶν: 1–175n. *ad init.*

τόνδ’: corruption to τῶνδ’ (M), which had come to be identically pronounced, would be very easy before ἀγωνίων θεῶν, and Danaos is more likely to be saying ‘come to this rock, which is sacred to the assembled gods’ than ‘come to the rock which is sacred to these assembled gods’: in 222 (πάντων δ’ ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν) the situation is different, since

Danaus has spent the previous ten lines directing his daughters' attention to one or another of the divine images (with deictics at 212, 217, 218 and 220).

ἀγωνίων θεῶν 'the assembled gods', i.e. probably the Twelve Gods (1–175n.). The phrase recurs at 242, 333, 355, and at *Ag.* 513 (also with reference to Argos) where the scholia gloss it as 'the gods installed together in one place'; it is not found in any other literary or inscriptional text, with the possible exception of Pl. *Laws* 6.783a (where, however, it probably denotes the gods who preside over athletic contests). It is derived from ἀγών in the sense 'assembly, gathering', common in Homer and used by A. at *Seven* 774 and *Ag.* 845; it may be based on *Il.* 18.373–7 where Thetis finds Hephaestus working on a set of self-moving wheeled tripods to convey him to and from 'the assembly of the gods' (θεῖον ... ἀγῶνα). Among the Twelve Gods there are three (Artemis, Athena and Hestia) who as virgins might be expected to favour the Danaids' cause; but the group also includes Hera (162–7n.) and Aphrodite (cf. 1034–42). It may be significant that in fifth-century Athens supplications were often made at the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora (Hdt. 6.108.4, Plut. *Per.* 31.2; see Naiden 2006: 174).

190 The sanctity of the altar is emphasized by two comparisons with means of defence in war, a city wall and a soldier's shield. It will be respected by the Argives but, as the Danaids fear (751–2), ignored by the Egyptians when they land. Both wall and shield are physical barriers (and they are famously compared to each other in the Homeric formula φέρων σάκος ἥτε πύργον, *Il.* 7.219 etc.); but the purely spiritual power of the altar is, or should be, as strong as or stronger than either.

κρεῖσσον: the neuter predicative adjective strictly means 'a stronger thing'.

ἄρρηκτον σάκος is also found at Soph. *Aj.* 576 (of the great shield of Ajax).

191 λευκοστεφεῖς: cf. 22 ἐριοστέπτοισι.

192 ἱκετηρίας: this noun was probably in origin an adjective agreeing with (e.g.) ῥάβδος understood (cf. Achilles Tatius 4.13.1. Σ Aeschines 2.15). It occasions one of the only two instances of 'anapaestic substitution' in the iambics of *Supp.*, both (cf. 713) involving derivatives of ἱκέτης: this metrical phenomenon is also rare in A.'s earlier surviving plays (twice in *Pers.*, once in *Seven*), but becomes considerably commoner in the *Oresteia* (11 instances); its even greater frequency in the Prometheus plays (12 in *Prom. Bound*, plus 2 in the 21 surviving trimeters of *Prom. Unbound*) has been seen as evidence for denying their Aeschylean authorship (Griffith 1977: 77–8; M. L. West 1979: 130 n. 3).

ἀγάματ': ἄγαμα means literally 'something in which one takes delight (ἀγάλλεται)', and in relation to a god it can denote anything

connected with his/her worship, such as a cult-statue (*Seven* 258, 265, *Eum.* 55) or a votive tablet (*Ar. Thesm.* 773); similarly a lock of hair dedicated at Agamemnon's tomb can be called an ἄγαλμα τύμβου (*Cho.* 200). In our passage ἀγάλατ' may combine the notion of 'cultic object' with that of 'beautiful adornment' (*Ag.* 208, 741).

αἰδοίου Διός 'Zeus who demands respect', sc. for suppliants and for himself as their patron. The verb αἰδεῖσθαι is often used to refer to the feeling that causes the *supplicandus* to give a favourable response (e.g. 345, 362, 478, 641; cf. *Il.* 21.74); but Danaus will also advise his daughters to show αἰδώς towards the Argives (194). See Cairns 1993: 183–5.

193 διὰ: English would say simply 'in'; but an object which, though grasped by the hand, is too large to fit into the palm can very properly be said to be held 'through' the hand, and in Greek often is, e.g. *Pers.* 237 (spear), *Seven* 433 (torch), 513 (thunderbolt), *Eur. fr.* 223.91 (lyre).

χερῶν εὐωνύμων: the *right* hand must be left free for making suppliant gestures, e.g. stretching out towards (and, if possible, touching) the *supplicandus* (e.g. *Eur. Hclid.* 844; see Naiden 2006: 55).

194–203 The last ten lines of Danaus' speech are almost entirely devoted to advising his daughters, rather repetitiously, on how they should conduct themselves in speaking to the Argives – advice of which they will take little notice – with what is in effect a parenthesis (198–9) about the message their 'face-language' should convey.

194 αἰδοῖα: 192n.

γοιδνά 'sorrowful', cf. 73.

ζαχρεῖ 'expressive of great need'. This adjective occurs otherwise only at [*Theocr.*] 25.6 ὁδοῦ ζαχρεῖον ... ὁδίτην 'a traveller badly in need of directions'; but for the intensive prefix ζα- cf. ζαπληθής 'very numerous' (*Pers.* 315), ζάπυρος 'full of fire' (*Prom.* 1084), ζαμενής 'very strong' (*Soph. Aj.* 137), ζάπλουτος 'very rich' (*Eur. Andr.* 1282, *Eur. fr.* 285.6), ζάχρυσος 'with much gold' (*Eur. Alc.* 498, *IT* 1111; [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 370, 439). That the Danaids are in dire need is re-emphasized by their father in 202 (χρεῖος εἶ). Geel's emendation of M's impossible τὰ χρέα fits excellently with the preceding adjectives: the Danaids must take pains to give the impression that they are (1) respectful of the Argives, (2) in distress and danger, and (3) badly in need of assistance.

195 ξένους ... ἐπήλυδας: Danaus stresses the fact that his daughters are strangers, aliens, immigrants at Argos and must speak and behave accordingly. In fact they will first reply to Pelasgus' question (where have they come from? 234–7) with a question of their own, demanding to know his status (247–9), and in their next utterance (274–6) they will claim that, far from being aliens, they are of Argive descent.

196 τορῶς 'clearly, plainly'. This adverb, and the adjective τορός, are trademarks of Aeschylus, and specifically of *late* Aeschylus: they occur

four times in *Supp.* (also 274, 931, 944), ten times in the *Oresteia*, just once in A.'s earlier plays (*Pers.* 579), and once in the whole of Sophocles and genuine Euripides (*Eur. Ion* 696). The authors of *Prometheus Bound* (605, 609, 699, 870) and *Rhesus* (77, 656, 737) may well be consciously imitating A.

τάσδ' ἀναιμάκτους φυγάς: cf. 6-7. It will improve the Danaids' prospects of being granted asylum if they assure the Argives that they are not polluted homicides; similarly in *Eum.* Orestes, who *is* a homicide, is at pains to assure Athena, three times over, that he is no longer polluted (*Eum.* 237-9, 280-9, 443-52). In fact the Danaids never give Pelasgus any such assurance (though admittedly he does not ask for one); they leave it to be inferred from their statement that they have left their homeland to avoid marriage with the sons of Aegyptus (328-35).

197 φθογγῇ δ' ἐπέστω ... τὸ μὴ θρασύ 'let your speech be marked by diffidence' (lit. 'the absence of boldness'); for ἐπεῖναι used in describing a characteristic of someone's speech, cf. *Ar. Clouds* 1026-7 τοῖσι λόγοις σῶφρον ἐπεστὶν ἄνθος 'your words bear the flower of modesty', *Pind. Nem.* 7.23-4 ψεύδεσσι οἱ ... σεμνὸν ἐπεστί τι 'there is something grand about his [Homer's] lies'. M's ἐπέσθω ('let your speech be followed/attended by ...') is not supported by 523 (*pace* Sandin): 523 describes not the speech that Pelasgus intends to make, but the effect he hopes it will produce.

198-9 The Danaids' faces, and especially their eyes, must give an impression of modesty – or, as Danaus puts it, modesty must 'come out of' them. In A.'s *Archeresses* (Τοξοτίδες), Actaeon apparently boasted (*fr.* 242-3) that he could always distinguish the ταπεινὴ βλεμμάτων ... βολή of a pure virgin from the φλέγων ὀφθαλμός of a woman who had 'tasted man' (he may then have disastrously mistaken a disguised Artemis for a woman of the latter kind: Sommerstein 2013b: 87).

τὸ μὴ μάταιον: μάταιος and its cognates are often applied by A. to outrageous or hybristic persons, words or actions (*Seven* 442, *Ag.* 1662, *Eum.* 337, *A. fr.* 281a.19) and can refer specifically to sexual incontinence (in *Cho.* 918, as the context shows, Agamemnon's μάται are his relationships with Cassandra and others); in their other occurrences in *Supp.* (229, 762, 820) they refer to the behaviour of the sons of Aegyptus.

†**μετώπω σωφρονῶν†** gives neither metre (it violates 'Porson's law', on which see M. L. West 1982: 84-5) nor sense, and the forehead (μέτωπον) is not a plausible location for the display of a modest mien. Probably **μετώπω** originates from a variant **μετώπων** written in above **προσώπων** (199) and then mistakenly copied into the text of 198. Dindorf's conjecture **σεσωφρονισμένων** is based on 724 ἡσύχως (cf. 199) ... καὶ σεσωφρονισμένως: it might have been shortened to **σωφρονων** in an attempt to restore a semblance of metre after **μετώπω** had been inserted into the text.

ὄμματος ... ἡσύχου: i.e. a steady eye, one that does not ‘twinkle’ or glance in different directions. The steady eye can be associated with concealment of emotion (Eur. *Or.* 1317), with consistency of purpose and principle (Dionysius [I of Syracuse] fr. trag. 5) or, as here, with feminine modesty (Eur. *Tro.* 654–5).

200 πρόλεσχος ‘forward in speech’. In their initial dialogue with Pelasgus (234–347) the Danaids do indeed speak only when spoken to, but in the rest of the scene (348–523) they consistently take the lead.

ἑφολκός ‘laggard’ (cf. Ar. *Wasps* 268), lit. ‘having to be dragged along’. In fact, contrary to this advice, the Danaids are very slow to answer Pelasgus’ simple opening question (195n.).

201 γένη: the change from plural to singular is of no particular significance. Danaus will use the singular again at 207 and then, from 212, revert to the plural; later he will twice (739–40, 753–4) use both plural and singular forms within one two-line speech. In general, an individual character addressing the chorus in tragedy most often uses the singular in stichomythia and in epirrhematic passages, the plural in longer speeches (Kaimio 1970: 208–25, 237–9), but it is doubtful whether the fairly numerous exceptions can be accounted for in any systematic way.

ἐπίφθονον ‘ready to take offence’. If this was indeed (regarded as) a characteristic of the Argives, we do not hear about it elsewhere: their liking for brevity of speech (273n.) is another matter entirely. Possibly we are to understand that Danaus (who has never been in Greece before) is not speaking from actual knowledge but merely saying what is most likely to persuade his daughters to obey his advice.

202 χρεῖος ‘in need’ (194n.); the adjective is two-termination.

ξένη: 195n.

203 Danaus is fond of gnomic sentences, especially at the end of a speech (499, 732–3, 761; also 190, 769–70).

θραυσστομεῖν echoes and reinforces the message of τὸ μὴ θρασύ (197). Speech that could be described as θρασύστομον was normally considered inadvisable not only for τοὺς ἡσσονας (‘those in an inferior position’) but for any mortal (*Seven* 612, Ag. 1399, A. fr. 154a.18); given the implication of this line that θραυσστομεῖν is not necessarily improper if one is in a *superior* position, one wonders if later in the trilogy, when he was probably ruler of Argos (Intr. §§2, 3), Danaus may have indulged in such speech himself.

γάρ links back not to the sentence immediately preceding but to μέμνησο δ’ εἶκιν (see Denniston 1954: 63).

τοὺς ἡσσονας: almost by definition a suppliant was, or at least presented him/herself as, ἡσσων in comparison with the *supplicandus*. The

Danaids, however, will increasingly speak as if they held the whip-hand (466!) over Pelasgus.

204–33 At some point or points during this passage the Danaids ascend the πάγος and sit down near the altar. The emphatic placement of ἐν ἄγνῳ in 223, and the comparison (*ibid.*) of the Danaids to a flock of doves (who would *fly* to their place of refuge), strongly suggest that at that moment they are still in the *orchestra*, and take their new position during 226–33, the movement being covered by Danaus' speech. However, 207–8 indicate that a movement *towards* the sanctuary begins much earlier, and the prayers to individual gods in 209–21 suggest that the Danaids are now close to their images. Probably then they approach the sanctuary at 207–8, make their prayers under their father's direction, and then follow his instructions to ascend the πάγος and seat themselves there.

204–21 The fact that the individual gods to whom Danaus and his daughters pray are all male may not be of any thematic significance: if they were choosing gods to invoke primarily according to their relevance to their own plight and wishes, they would certainly have included Artemis (144–5n.). There would probably be too many images for them all to be set in a single line on the πάγος, and the gods selected for mention must have been prominently placed: perhaps the images were arranged in two (or three) rows, with Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon and Hermes (and possibly the other two male gods, Hephaestus and Ares) in the front row.

204 echoes 176–7, and is in effect an affirmative reply to Danaus' φρονεῖν χρή: his daughters accept the wisdom of his words, and assure him that they will indeed act with good sense themselves.

φρονοῦντας: when individual women in tragedy refer to themselves in the plural, they regularly use the masculine gender, whether they are making themselves the subject of a first-person plural verb (e.g. *Cho.* 716–18, Eur. *Hipp.* 349) or whether, as here, the plural is in an oblique case (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 751, *IT* 641–2); for a possible explanation of this phenomenon, see Barrett 1964: 224 on Eur. *Hipp.* 349. Here the idiom has been abnormally extended to the case of a chorus-leader speaking on behalf of the whole chorus (who themselves, of course, often speak or sing as if they were an individual, in the first person singular).

205 μεμνησθαι: the middle voice of φυλάσσειν normally governs an infinitive only when the infinitive is negated, but this rule is not absolute; cf. Hes. *WD* 797–8 πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ | τετράδ' ἀλεύσθαι.

206 γεννήτωρ: resuming the insistent appeals made in the *parodos* to Zeus as the Danaids' ancestor (16–18, 40–8, 77, 168–75).

ἴδοι: cf. 1, 78, 104, 145, and contrast 173–4 ἔχων παλίντροπον ὄψιν.

207–11 The transpositions adopted here are based on the following considerations:

(1) The use of δῆτα ‘echoing a word ... of the previous speaker’ (Denniston 1954: 276, cf. 584) strongly suggests that 210 should directly follow 206 (cf. 215–16 συγγνοίη ... συγγνοῖτο δῆτα); it is true that 209 is also a prayer to Zeus of similar purport, but 210 contains no verbal echo of it.

(2) If 207 directly follows 206, Danaus tells his daughters to act without delay and expresses the wish that ‘the stratagem’ should be successful, but does not say what it is that must be done immediately and what the ‘stratagem’ is. If, on the other hand, 207 follows 208, σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν makes everything clear: the ‘stratagem’ is that of taking a suppliant station at the altar, and this should now be done at once (i.e. before the Argive military force arrives).

The occurrence of two displacements of lines in the same short passage is, *pace* Sandin, no more wildly improbable than the occurrence of two independent textual corruptions in the same passage.

208 σοὶ πέλας: πέλας usually governs a genitive (e.g. 257, 308), but it takes a dative in A. fr. 102, Soph. *Aj.* 774, Pind. *Olymp.* 7.18–19, *Nem.* 11.4, and frequently in Euripides (e.g. *Alc.* 366–7, *Supp.* 1021).

θρόνους ἔχειν ‘to take my seat’: θρόνος here means no more than ‘a place to sit’ (cf. 792 where it is used in an even vaguer sense) – we need not suppose that the πάγος was furnished with a dozen chairs.

207 μηχανῇ δ’ ἔστω κράτος ‘and let there be victory for our stratagem’, with a simple emendation of M’s μηχανῆς: the transmitted text has never been satisfactorily explained (see Sommerstein 2010b: 14). The prayer for κράτος will be heard again at 951 (the Egyptian Herald: victory to the males!) and 1068–9 (the Danaids: victory to the women!).

209 σκοπῶν ‘look upon us and ...’, a variation on the repeated calls on Zeus and other gods to ‘see’ (ἰδεῖν) the Danaids’ plight (206n.).

μή ’πολωλότας (sc. ἡμᾶς) ‘when we have not <yet> perished’, i.e. ‘before we perish’. The masculine participle might in principle refer to the Danaids alone (204n.), but it probably includes their father, who joined in their previous prayer (210) and will direct those that follow. For the ‘aphaeresis’ or ‘prodelision’ following μή cf. 228, 341, 725, 773, 924, and (with ἀπο-) Soph. *OT* 1388, *El.* 1369, Eur. *Med.* 35, *IT* 731.

211 κείνου θέλοντος might be conditional (‘if he so wills’) or causal (‘since he so wills’): in one case Danaus avoids, in the other he prejudges, the vital question whether the will of Zeus is in fact what Danaus and his daughters wish it to be.

212 Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν: the statue of Zeus apparently has his sacred bird, the eagle, perching on its hand or sceptre (see Dunbar 1995: 350–1). No Greek would pray to this bird as to a separate god, but Danaus directs his daughters to do so, and they identify it with the Sun (213). The only

plausible explanation of the transmitted text is one based on Egyptian religion, or rather on Greek beliefs about Egyptian religion. The Egyptian god Amun-Re, whom Greeks identified with Zeus (4–5n.), was often portrayed as, or with the head of, a hawk which represented the Sun (see E. M. Hall 1989: 144–6). Aeschylus and his audience evidently knew that the Egyptians worshipped the Sun in the form of a bird, and may well have been misled by the identification of Amun-Re with Zeus into supposing that the bird in question was an eagle; indeed, later sources (D.S. 1.87.9, Strabo 17.1.40) assert that in Thebes (the greatest centre of Amun's cult) the eagle was worshipped. Kiehl's emendation ἱνὶν 'son' entails the assumption that the Sun is here identified with Apollo (and probably also the substitution of γ' for τ' in 214). This identification was already known in Aeschylus' time (Eratosth. *Catast.* 24 appears to ascribe it to his *Bassarides*; see M. L. West 1990b: 33–46), but (as FJW point out) A. would hardly have described *the Sun* as having been 'exiled from heaven' (214), and the emendation is therefore to be rejected. The letters ος ορνιν το are written in M with wide spacing, over an erasure (West ap. Bowen 2013: 193). Probably the scribe first made an in-line correction, deleting one word and substituting another, and then erased both and rewrote his preferred text, spread out to fill the space; we cannot tell for certain what word he deleted, nor even whether that word was an inherited variant or a mere error.

213 καλοῦμεν responds to κικλήσκετε: cf. in this dialogue 206/210 ἴδοι ~ ἴδοιτο, 215–16 συγγνοίη ~ συγγνοῖτο.

σωτηρίους: this was not a regular Greek epithet of the Sun, though Ἥλιος Σωτήρ was later worshipped at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.31.7); A. has probably transferred it to the Sun from Zeus (26n.), with whose sacred bird the Sun is here being identified. The adjective σωτήριος, like λυτήριος (1072, *Eum.* 298, 646), has no separate forms for the feminine gender (cf. 407, 417, Soph. *OC* 487, Eur. *Ion* 484, *Or.* 1637); indeed the only distinctively feminine forms of -τήριος adjectives in tragedy are χρηστηρίαν (*Ag.* 1270) and θηρατηρίαν (Soph. fr. 474.1).

214 ἄγνόν is an epithet of Apollo at Pind. *Pyth.* 9.64, and is applied to his sanctuary at Delphi in Eur. *Andr.* 1065, but is more usually associated with his twin Artemis (144–5n.).

φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεόν was rightly understood by Plutarch (*Mor.* 417e) as referring to the punishment of Apollo for killing the Cyclopes, when he was banished from Olympus for a year and became a labourer working for Admetus at Pherae; Admetus' kindness to him led him to save Admetus from a destined early death (*Eum.* 723–8, Eur. *Alc.* 1–14). The story, already known to Homer (cf. *Il.* 2.763–7), was told in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Hes. fr. 54 M–W = 58–9 Most) and by the fifth-century mythographers Acusilaus (fr. 19 Fowler) and Pherecydes (fr. 35, 131).

Fowler); it is mentioned here for the sake of the parallel between the exile of Apollo and the flight of Danaus' family from the land of their birth. This is done at the cost of an anachronism (unusual in tragedy, which normally avoids gross violations of mythical chronology), since Admetus was a contemporary of Heracles (and thus eight generations younger than Danaus) and his son Eumelus fought in the Trojan War; but A. palliates the anachronism by keeping the reference as vague as possible.

215 αἶσαν τήνδε: the fate of exile.

συγγνοίη 'will sympathize with' (not, as usually in later texts, 'will forgive').

βροτοῖς: i.e. mortals who have suffered the same fate.

216 συγγνοῖτο: the aorist middle of συγγιγνώσκω is not found in any other archaic or classical text, and may be an *ad hoc* coinage.

δῆτα: 207–11n.

παρασταίη 'may he stand beside us' as an ally; cf. *Seven* 669 (where the related verb παραστατεῖν is used).

πρόφρων: 1n.

217 οὖν here marks not (as usually in later texts) the drawing of an inference, but merely the transition to a new point; A. uses it on its own, as a connecting particle, mainly in 'answer-questions' like this (cf. 314, 318; *Cho.* 114, 171; *Eum.* 902). See Denniston 1954: 415–16.

κικλήσκω is subjunctive, the question being a deliberative one ('on which of these gods should I call?').

218 τρίαῖναν: the audience will of course at once identify the unnamed god as Poseidon, and will assume that Danaus and his daughters could do likewise, just as Danaus was able to recognize Apollo immediately. In fact there was no native Egyptian god whom Greeks felt they could identify with Poseidon; but he is an appropriate god for the family to invoke after their long sea-voyage. The mention of him here may also be a preparation for his major role in the satyr-play *Amymone*, just as the mention of the missing Menelaus in *Ag.* 617–33, 674–9 has sometimes been seen (e.g. by Raeburn and Thomas 2011: 134) as preparation for his role in the satyr-play *Proteus*.

σημεῖον θεοῦ: i.e. a distinctive attribute of the god which serves to identify him.

219 In effect this means 'may he receive us here with as much favour as he sped us on our voyage'.

ἔπεμψεν 'caused us to travel', 'sped us on our way', perhaps even 'escorted us' (cf. *Eum.* 12, 1022).

δεξάσθω: the same appeal that was made to all the gods of Argos at 27. It does not necessarily imply any special connection between Poseidon and this particular locality (Lerna? 31n.); it is sufficient that Poseidon is one of the major gods worshipped by the Argive community.

220 'This other one is Hermes according to the Greeks' usage', i.e. is Hermes as portrayed by the Greeks, with his usual attributes including the herald's staff (κηρύκειον).

Ἑρμῆς: in 'real life' a family of refugees from Egypt, landing in Greece for the first time, would have spoken Egyptian to each other, and would have said, in Egyptian, 'This is the Greek equivalent of our god Thoth.' In a Greek tragedy, all characters are made to speak in Greek, and *every* word of the sentence is translated into Greek, including the name of the god. In the same way, a Roman dramatist writing a play whose characters were Greeks would make them speak throughout in Latin, and if there was occasion to mention Hermes, would make the speaker call him *Mercurius*. The equation of Thoth with Hermes was well established among fifth-century Greeks, who knew Thoth's chief cult centre by the name of Hermoupolis (Hdt. 2.67.1).

ὁδ' ἄλλος 'this other one', introducing the next in a series; cf. *Seven* 486 τέταρτος ἄλλος 'another, the fourth', Soph. *El.* 708 Βοιωτὸς ἄλλος 'another, a Boeotian'. We cannot take ἄλλος closely with Ἑρμῆς ('another Hermes'), since that would imply that the god whose image Danaus sees before him, though resembling Hermes-Thoth, was distinct from him (cf. *Seven* 424 γίγας ... ἄλλος: Capaneus is not one of the Giants, but he is comparable to them in important respects).

221 ἐλευθέροις is predicative, and the sentence is effectively two prayers in one: may we receive good tidings from Hermes, and may it be in freedom that we receive them. By this single word they imply clearly for the first time (unless the point had been made in a preceding play; cf. also 37-9n. on σφετεριζόμενοι) that for them a forced marriage to the sons of Aegyptus will be tantamount to enslavement; they will make this equation explicit at 335.

ἔσθλὰ κηρυκεύτω: they will indeed, later in this play, receive a message from a herald (who claims Hermes as his patron, 920), but it will be far from 'good': it will be a summons to surrender themselves into what they (and the Herald himself, 918n.) perceive as slavery.

222 πάντων ... ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν: probably 'the altar-fellowship consisting of these lords', i.e. 'these lords who share an altar'. κοινοβωμία, which occurs only here, is properly an abstract noun meaning 'the state of being κοινόβωμοι'; it is most likely being used here in the collective sense of a group of gods who share an altar, just as e.g. συγγένεια, originally 'kinship', came to mean 'kinsfolk' (Eur. *Tro.* 754, Pl. *Gorg.* 472b). Another possibility is that κοινοβωμία has the concrete sense 'shared altar' (cf. συνοικία, originally 'the state of being σύνοικοι, i.e. of sharing a dwelling', in a fifth-century Attic 'tenement house'), so that the whole phrase would mean 'the altar shared by these lords'; but it is more likely that the Danaids are being told to revere the gods worshipped at the

shrine (most of whom they have not yet addressed individually) than the altar which, though sacred, has in itself no power to help them.

ἀνάκτων: Pindar (*Olymp.* 10.49) calls the Twelve Gods δώδεκ' ἀνάκτων θεῶν, but otherwise the plural ἄνακτες, denoting gods, is rare; it is found in tragedy only in *Supp.* (here, 1018, perhaps 524), and in other archaic and classical poetry only in *Od.* 12.290, Hes. *Thg.* 543, Simonides *PMG* 523.2, and Ar. *Birds* 781 (lyric).

223–4 Once again the Danaids are being figuratively pursued by hawks (cf. 62), but this time they are compared not to a nightingale but to doves, in a simile reminiscent of *Il.* 21.493–4 (where the dove is Artemis and the hawk Hera), 22.139–42. The comparison is imitated (as a metaphor rather than a simile) in *Prom.* 857, in a summary of the Danaid story forming part of Prometheus' prophecy to Io.

ἐν ἄγνῳ: i.e. in a place which it would be sacrilegious to invade.

ἴσμός ὥς πελειάδων: when ὥς introduces a simile consisting of a noun or nominal phrase, it is common in A. (as in Homer) for it to be placed after the first (or only) word of the *comparandum* (cf. 469, 887, *Pers.* 127, 745, *Seven* 53, *Cho.* 106, 506, etc.). In this position it is conventionally printed with an acute/grave accent (Probert 2003: 138 §273), though Vendryes 1904: 72 argued that one would have expected a circumflex (ῶς) as in all other -ως adverbs that are accented on the final syllable.

ἵζεσθε suits both the Danaids ('sit') and the birds to whom they are compared ('perch').

ὁμοπτέρων 'fellow-birds', lit. 'likewise-feathered ones': when the Hoopoe (formerly Tereus) summons all the birds to a meeting, he sings ἴτω τις ὧδε τῶν ἐμῶν ὁμοπτέρων (Ar. *Birds* 229). The idea of bird preying on bird will be picked up in 226.

225 ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίμων: an oxymoron that encapsulates in two words a quintessentially tragic type of situation (Arist. *Poet.* 1453b15–1454a13); cf. Ag. 1272 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, 1374–5, *Seven* 695 φίλου ... ἐχθρὰ ... πατρός ... ἄρᾳ.

μιαίνοντων γένος 'besmirching their kinship', i.e. foully flouting the rights of their kindred; cf. Ag. 1669 μιάινων τὴν δίκην, *Seven* 344 μιάινων εὐσέβειαν. The use of the root ἄγν- in 226 and 228 gives the impression that Danaus is speaking here of true religious pollution, but this is mere rhetorical sleight of hand. It can hardly have been thought polluting for birds to prey on other birds: the κίρκος, the very predator mentioned in this passage, was sacred to Apollo, a god with a particular interest in purity (*Od.* 15.526, cf. *Il.* 15.237). Nor was the seizure of a woman, against the will of her father, a polluting act requiring purification; we never hear of such an idea anywhere else (cf. R. Parker 1983: 94–100).

226 ὄρνιθος ὄρνις: the *polyptoton* (144–5n.) misleadingly raises the spectre of cannibalism.

φαγών: the sons of Aegyptus are not, of course, threatening to eat the Danaids, or even to kill them; but we have already heard (154–61) that the Danaids would rather end their lives than submit to a forced marriage.

227 ἄν ... ἄν: ἄν has an affinity both for the second place in a sentence and for the neighbourhood of the verb, and is often found in both slots in the same sentence (Barrett 1964: 210).

ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος: a second *polyptoton* emphasizes the parallelism between the two rhetorical questions. For the aspiration (resulting from the combination of ἄ- with ἐκών) see Thraette 1980: 503, M. L. West 1990a: xxx. It might be surprising to an Athenian audience that Danaus seems to be attaching as much importance to his daughters' aversion to the marriages as to his own (see Intr. §5); but in this play and trilogy marriage and sex are represented as naturally – that is, divinely – bound up with persuasion (1040), female consent (940–1) and mutual desire (A. fr. 44).

πάρ᾽α: probably 'from the house of': cf. Pl. *Polit.* 310c οἱ ... κόσμιοι τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἦθος ζητοῦσι, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν γαμοῦσί τε παρὰ τούτων καὶ τὰς ἐκδιδομένας παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τοιούτους ἐκπέμπουσι πάλιν.

228–31 That evil deeds are punished after death, in the underworld, is a prominent idea both in this play (cf. 413–16) and in *Eumenides* (175–8, 267–75, 339–40); it was an Orphic doctrine (M. L. West 1983: 23–4, Graf and Johnston 2007: 98–108), also taught in the Mysteries of A.'s native Eleusis (cf. Ar. *Frogs* 145–53, Pl. *Rep.* 2.363c–e) and expounded by Pindar (*Olymp.* 2.56–80). In the oldest of the 'Orphic' gold tablets (*Orphica* L1 Bernabé) the judge of the dead, as in A., is 'the underworld King' Hades–Pluto, though in other Orphic texts it is usually his consort Persephone.

228–9 οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν Ἄϊδου ... φύγη: 'he will assuredly not escape, even in Hades': οὐ μὴ + subjunctive (perhaps originally meaning 'there is no risk that ...') makes a powerful and emphatic negation (Goodwin 1912: 102–3).

φύγη, with αἰτίας and δικάζει ... δίκας (230–1) following, carries a strong suggestion of the sense 'be acquitted (of)' which it often bears in judicial contexts (cf. *Eum.* 752).

ματαίων 'of his outrageous actions' (198–9n.).

230–1 δικάζει τὰμπλακήμαθ' ... ὑστάτας δίκας 'judges a final judgement upon their transgressions': the verb governs both an internal and an external accusative, cf. Ag. 1191–2 ὕμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον ... πρῶταρχον ἄτην 'they sing a song [internal object] about the original act of ruinous folly [external object]', Soph. *Trach.* 50–1 πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα τὴν Ἡρακλείαν ἔξοδον γοωμένην 'lamenting with tearful laments [internal] over the departure of Heracles [external]'; see Moorhouse 1982: 41.

ὥς λόγος ‘so men say’ (cf. *Eum.* 4, Eur. *IT* 534, *Phoen.* 396). The phrase does not cast doubt on the truth of the proposition to which it is attached, but rather cites common belief as evidence of its truth: in his argument with the panicking chorus in *Seven*, Eteocles twice in succession (217–18, 224–5) appeals to λόγος in this sense.

Ζεὺς ἄλλος: i.e. Hades–Pluto (158n.).

καμοῦσιν ‘the dead’; the use of the aorist of κάμνω in this sense (contrast 158 τῶν κεκηνηκότων) goes back to the *Iliad* (3.278 – invoking ‘those below who punish the dead’ for perjury – and 23.72) but is found in tragedy only here.

232 ‘Consider <your situation>, and answer <the Argives>, in this way’, i.e. in the light of all I have said to you. The first verb, σκοπεῖτε, refers primarily to 223b–231: the Danaids should be confident of receiving divine support against the *hybris* of their cousins, and need therefore have no fear of the Argives. The second, καμείβεσθε, harks back to 195 (ξένους ἀμείβεσθ’) and must refer to the advice given in 194–203, appropriately recalled just before the Argives actually arrive. It may seem surprising that τόνδε τὸν τρόπον looks back so far, passing over 204–223a; but the advice (on prayer) given in that passage has already been obeyed and so is no longer relevant. Emendation (beyond the addition of -ρ- to M’s impossible τόπον) has not been successful. Whittle 1968: 1–2 suggested transposing 232–3 to follow 203, but that would deprive Danaus’ first speech of its gnomic conclusion (203n.) and duplicate the summary of his advice which he gives in 202.

233 ὅπως ... πρᾶγος εὖ νικᾷ τόδε: ‘this action’ is the supplication, and it will be ‘victorious’ if the Danaids are promised asylum and protection against their pursuers.

After completing his speech, Danaus must place himself in an inconspicuous position, probably behind his daughters; for Pelasgus does not become aware of his presence until the Danaids themselves draw attention to him at 321 when tracing their Argive pedigree (had he seen Danaus before that point, he would surely at least have asked who he was). At this point, or earlier, the Danaids must lay some of their suppliant-boughs on the altar (cf. 241–2) while continuing to hold others (eventually, after Danaus has taken the first set of boughs into the city, the second set will in turn be placed on the altar, 506–7).

234–503 The confrontation between Pelasgus and the Danaids (Danaus is briefly taken notice of in 319–21, but otherwise completely ignored until Pelasgus addresses him at 480) is the crucial scene of the play, and will determine much of the action of the trilogy, including a war between Argives and Egyptians and probably the death of Pelasgus (Intr. §3). It has similarities to *Seven* 369–719, where likewise a long process of

development leads to a crucial decision by a central character that proves fatal to him; but Eteocles there was under no human pressure to decide as he did, and indeed was strongly urged to reverse his decision (*Seven* 677–719), whereas here immense and ultimately irresistible pressure is put on Pelasgus to take a course of action which he knows (342, 398–401, 410, 439–40, 474–7) will put his city in great danger.

The scene presents a total reversal of power relationships – between ruler and suppliant, between Greek and barbarian, between male and female. At its beginning Pelasgus seems in complete command: he is the king of Argos and the leader of an armed host, facing a band of women ‘armed’ only with their suppliant boughs. We no doubt expect them to follow their father’s advice (191–203) to be ‘yielding’ and deferential. They do nothing of the sort. They turn the tables on Pelasgus by stages, beginning with their first utterance (246–8) when instead of answering his question they put a counter-question to him themselves; this is not the last time they will evade a direct answer to an explicit or implicit question of his (cf. 337, 345, 392–6). Next they assert, and then prove, that they are of Argive descent (274–324) and therefore, other things being equal, entitled to Argive sympathy and support. Pelasgus fails (333–9) to extract from them a clear statement of why they reject marriage with their cousins, and there follows what is less a plea than a demand (341) that he refuse to hand them over; acceptance of that demand, as Pelasgus at once sees (342), is likely to involve Argos in a major war, yet rejection of their supplication will itself be perilous (346–7) even though Pelasgus is by no means sure that the demand is justified (344).

At this point the Danaids pass from speech to song, and from 348 to 454 the structure of the scene is ‘epirrhematic’. At first the chorus sing one strophe or antistrophe at a time, and Pelasgus replies to each with a speech of 5 iambic lines; to the sixth stanza (402–6), however, he responds with a speech of 11 lines expressing complete ἀπορία; the chorus then sing two complete (if short) strophic pairs without interruption (418–37), to which Pelasgus’ response is again longer (17 lines) and again aporetic. Throughout this section the Danaids harp on the dangerous wrath of Zeus Hikesios (359–60, 375 ἄγος φυλάσσου, 381–6, 402–4, 433–7) while also courting sympathy as persecuted victims (350–3, 420–32). Pelasgus makes various attempts to escape from his dilemma. He tells the Danaids that he can give no undertaking on his own authority without the consent of his people (365–9); they reply – correctly, it seems, at least in theory – that he is an absolute ruler (370–5), and when he says that even so (399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν) he must have popular approval for so grave a decision, they revert to singing of the power and justice of Zeus (402–6). Pelasgus also tries (387–91) to raise the issue of whether the Aegyptiads are entitled under their native law to compel their cousins

to marry them; the question is evaded (392–6) in a flood of irrelevant emotionalism.

At 454 there seems to be complete deadlock; then the Danaids break it by announcing, in stichomythia and with exquisite and tormenting slowness, that if Pelasgus does not promise them assistance they will hang themselves from the statues of the gods (465) – thus (as they do not need to make explicit) afflicting the sanctuary, and the community, with a terrible pollution (472–3). With this threat they have Pelasgus, and Argos, in the hollow of their hands, and he surrenders (478–9) and becomes the obedient agent of the Danaids and their father. When he instructs Danaus to go into the city and deposit suppliant-boughs on its altars, to influence public opinion ahead of the coming assembly meeting (481–9), the old man, speaking for the first time in more than 250 lines, asks for an escort (492–9) to guide and protect him, and Pelasgus at once complies, so that when he leaves the scene at 523 he will have with him only half the soldiers he originally brought.

234 King Pelasgus enters by Eisodos T with armed men. Danaus had spoken (181–3) of chariot troops as well as foot-soldiers, but there is nothing to indicate that any of the former appear on stage, though Pelasgus himself may well be in a chariot (Intr. §10); certainly the men who escort Danaus into Argos (492–9) must be on foot. The soldiers occupy the *orchestra*, which the Danaids have just vacated; they will do likewise in 911–53, when the Danaids have again taken sanctuary (cf. 730–1, 832, 927). They may bear the wolf, emblem of Argos, as a device on their shields (760n.). If, as is likely, they function as a secondary chorus in 1034–61, they are presumably equal in number to the main chorus (12); from time to time they will be divided, presumably into two groups of 6 each. It is possible that they divide themselves immediately on their first entrance, the two sections going to opposite sides of the *orchestra* (500n.). The soldiers will be involved in more entrances and exits than any of the other performers (enter all 234; exeunt six with Danaus 503, six with Pelasgus 523; enter all 911; exeunt six with Pelasgus 965, the others remaining with the Danaids, cf. 954–5; enter six with Danaus 980; exeunt all 1073). Pelasgus himself is evidently not in military garb, since the Danaids think he may be a religious official (248); he carries a sceptre (cf. 248 *ἱερόρραβδον*), but his clothing, while appropriate for a tragic character of high rank, is not so luxurious as to make it obvious (to an Egyptian) that he is a king (Pattoni 2011: 129–30).

234–6 ποδαπὸν ὄμιλον τόνδ’ ... προσφωνοῦμεν; ‘where does this group I am addressing come from?’: ποδαπὸν is predicative.

234 ἀνελληνόστολον ‘dressed in un-Greek fashion’. For costume as an indicator of non-Greekness cf. A. fr. 61 ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή; and Eur. *Hec.* 734–5. Compound adjectives containing negative

ἀ(ν)- followed by two lexical morphemes are rare even in A., and the nearest parallels – ἀπειρόδακρυν (71), ἀβουκόλητον (929) and ἄωρόνυκτον (*Cho.* 34) – are built on existing compounds (ἄπειρος, βουκολέω, ἄωρος), whereas neither *ἀνέλλην nor *ἑλληνόστολος is otherwise known to have existed in the language.

235 κάμπυκώμασιν: an ἄμπυξ is a headband, whether part of a horse's harness (*Seven* 461, where the word is ἄμπυκτήρ) or of a woman's head-dress (432, *Il.* 22.469); it might be made of metal, of leather (cf. Σ Pind. *Olymp.* 5.7), or of stiff linen, and those worn by the Danaids could well be decorated with gold and/or jewels (for 'golden' ἄμπυκες cf. *Il.* 5.358, Hes. *Thg.* 916, Eur. *Hec.* 465, and note χλίωντα below). The front of the ἄμπυξ would rest on the forehead and its rear on the small of the neck, so that it is possible for the Danaids to imagine their enemies dragging them away by their ἄμπυκες (431–2). See Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 30–2 and fig. 8. The suffix -ωμα is freely used by A. to generate quasi-abstract nouns differing little if at all in meaning from the nouns from which they are derived (e.g. πεπλώματα 720, καρπώματα 1001).

236 χλίωντα: robes and headdresses alike are luxurious (cf. 120–1n.), in accordance with the stereotypical Greek image of the barbarian (see E. M. Hall 1989: 80–3, 126–9, 136–7); Pelasgus' clothing, king of all Greece though he is, will have been relatively plain by comparison (cf. 246–8).

Ἀργολίς is a feminine-only adjective (the masculine equivalent is Ἀργόλας, which appears first in Eur. fr. 630) which provides a metrical alternative to Ἀργεῖος.

237 οὐδ' ἄφ' Ἑλλάδος τόπων: the women's dress is not only not Argive, it is not even Greek. Alternatively A. may possibly be imitating *Od.* 1.344 etc. καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος ('in northern and southern Greece', S. R. West 1988: 119); but such a use of Ἑλλάς to denote Greece north of the Isthmus would be unique in tragedy. For the periphrasis exemplified by Ἑλλάδος τόποι = Ἑλλάς, which A. can use to refer to a geographical area of any size (from Aulis to Africa), cf. *Pers.* 447, 796, *Ag.* 191, 292.

238–40 Pelasgus is amazed that these foreign women have had the courage (ἔτλητ' ἀτρέστως) to land in Argive territory completely on their own (he has not noticed Danaus, 233n.), and he mentions three kinds of assistance they have not employed: a herald to act as their official spokesman; an Argive πρόξενος (see below) to represent and further their interests with the Argive authorities and people; and guides to show them their way to an appropriate destination. In the end Pelasgus himself will be both their πρόξενος (491) and their spokesman, and will provide both them and their father with guides/escorts (492–503, 954–6).

χώραν: accusative of the goal of motion (Weir Smyth 1956: 358) with μολεῖν.

κηρύκων is a generalizing plural (as in the same phrase in Eur. *Alc.* 737) and does not imply that the Danaids might have been expected to bring more than one herald with them.

ὑπο ‘accompanied by’ (LSJ ὑπό A.II.5).

ἀπρόξενοι: in classical Greece, a πρόξενος was a citizen of one state (State A) who was recognized by another state (State B) as standing in a relationship of guest-friendship with State B as a community, and who could normally be relied on to render assistance to citizens of State B residing in, or visiting, State A; see Herman 1987, Mack 2015. Later (419, 491) the Danaids and their father, who as exiles from Egypt are in effect a mini-community of their own, will ask for Pelasgus to act as πρόξενος for them and express gratitude when he agrees to do so.

νόσφι θ’: νόσφι, which is very common in epic (*Il.* 29, *Odyssey* 17) and occurs occasionally in lyric and elegy (Simonides *PMG* 543.26, Ibycus *SLG* 221 = *GL* 282B (ii), Bacchylides 1.170; Thgn. 166, 766), is found only here in tragedy. Portus’ addition of θ’ is desirable: without it, the phrase νόσφιν ἡγητῶν would be perceived not as parallel to the two preceding expressions but as more closely bound to the verb, and would imply ‘that if the Danaids had had a patron [or a herald], they could somehow have dispensed with guides’ (FJW).

ἡγητῶν is a metrical substitute for ἡγεμόνων: ἡγητής is found elsewhere only in Soph. *OT* 966 (text and meaning uncertain) and 1260 (where it means ‘guide’ of a blind man, like ἡγητήρ in Soph. *OC* 1521, 1588).

ἔτλητ’ ‘you have dared’.

ἀτρέστως: cf. *Ag.* 1402, *Prom.* 416 (both referring to women).

241 γε μὲν δὴ ‘on the other hand’, ‘however’; this particle-combination (Denniston 1954: 395) occurs only in tragedy and mainly in A. (e.g. 273, *Ag.* 661, 1213).

νόμους: here ‘custom’.

242 παρ’ ὑμῖν ‘next to you’. The sixteenth-century conjecture (Auratus, Portus) παρ’ ὑμῶν (‘from you’, i.e. ‘placed by you’), favoured by several recent editors, is not an improvement: it is very rare for κεῖσθαι to be accompanied by an expression denoting an agent, and elsewhere in this speech Pelasgus does not assert as a fact anything that he cannot see for himself, and is very conscious of the difference between knowledge and conjecture (στόχῳ 243, εἰκάσαι 244).

πρός ‘near, adjacent to’.

θεοῖς ἀγωνίοις: i.e. the divine images (189n.).

243 μόνον ... στόχῳ: lit. ‘only in this respect will <the expression> “the land of Greece” coincide with (LSJ συμφέρω B.II) my guess’, a rather tortured way of saying ‘this is the only thing that would make me guess you were Greek’.

ξυνοίσεται: ξυν (both as preposition and as prefix) is much more frequent than συν in M (in passages where both are metrically possible), and χσυν is normal in Attic inscriptions down to about 420 BC (Threatte 1980: 553–4); editors accordingly usually restore ξ- in A. except where metre excludes it (as it does e.g. in 5, 21, 136, 159, 215; in 216 συγγνοῖτο is preferred because of the echo of the previous line).

στόχῳ: στόχος in the sense ‘guess’ is found only here; the derivative στοχάζομαι appears first in the corresponding sense at Soph. *Ant.* 241 and later becomes common.

244 καὶ τᾶλλα ‘for the rest’, closing down the previous topic; cf. Ag. 918. Note that τᾶλλα and πόλλ’ are not syntactically connected.

πόλλ’ ἔτ’ εἰκάσαι ‘to make many further conjectures’: πόλλ’ ἐπεικᾶσαι (M) gives good sense and Aeschylean usage (cf. *Cho.* 14, 576) but leaves the line without a caesura or even the midpoint break which, especially in A., sometimes substitutes for it (M. L. West 1982: 82–3). The only caesura-less tragic trimeter generally accepted as sound is *Pers.* 501 στρατός, περᾶι κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον where the abnormal rigidity of the middle of the line may be a sound–sense echo of the unnatural freezing of the Strymon which it describes.

δίκαιον ἦν ‘it would have been right’: if the verb (or verbal phrase) in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional is one denoting ‘obligation, propriety, or possibility’ (Goodwin 1912: 152), governing an infinitive, it often stands, as here, in the imperfect without ἄν.

245 Either ‘if there were not a person present with a voice to inform me’ (taking παρόντι as possessive dative with φθόγγος ἦν, and as referring, despite its gender, to the chorus-leader) or ‘if you did not have a voice to inform me in person’ (taking παρόντι as indirect object of σημανῶν, and as referring to Pelasgus himself); see next note.

παρόντι can hardly refer to Danaus: if Pelasgus notices, and addresses, Danaus now, it is very surprising that he makes no comment at all when the reply comes from someone other than the person he had asked to speak. There are two other possibilities. (1) The participle refers to the chorus-leader, agreeing with an understood τινι (cf. 903 εἰ μή τις εἰς ναῦν εἶσιν αἰνέσας τάδε). In both passages it is implied that for the speaker, the person’s gender and other such details are irrelevant – all that matters is (here) that the person has a voice, (at 903) that the person is disobeying the Herald’s orders. (2) The participle refers to Pelasgus himself, and he is in effect saying ‘I’m here, you’ve got a voice, so speak to me.’ This solves the gender problem, but forces us to separate παρόντι from the adjacent φθόγγος ἦν and link it to the remoter σημανῶν. See further 246–8n. on the possibility that Danaus does indeed speak at this point.

ὁ σημανῶν: future participle of purpose (or rather, perhaps, function), equivalent to ὅς σημανεῖ: cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1242 τίς ἔσται μ' οὐπικωλύσων τάδε; 'who is there who can stop me doing this?'

246–8 Instead of answering Pelasgus' question, the Danaids counter with one of their own: *they* in their turn want to know what manner of person they are talking to. Like Pelasgus, they are having difficulty in interpreting the significance of what to them is foreign clothing: in their eyes Pelasgus is not dressed as a king should be, and they are not sure whether he has in his hand a royal sceptre, or the 'sacred staff' of some kind of priest, or even the ornate walking-stick of a rich private citizen.

Sandin revives a suggestion by Paley that these lines are spoken not by the chorus-leader but by Danaus. This would remove the problem of the gender of παρόντι (245n.), but only at the cost of other difficulties elsewhere. Pelasgus' reply to the question posed here begins and ends (249, 271–3) with a request that his interlocutor reply to his own original inquiries, and at 271 he refers to that interlocutor in the feminine gender (ἔχουσα), indicating that he expects the answer to be given by the chorus-leader; he would not have had that expectation if it had been Danaus who initially acted as spokesman for the group.

246 ἀμφί 'about, on the subject of' is rare in tragedy, where it is otherwise normally associated with high and sorrowful emotion (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 937, Eur. *Hec.* 706); *Seven* 843 μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν is a possible exception, if it means 'there is apprehension concerning <the fate of> the city' rather than 'there is apprehension throughout the city'.

κόσμον 'our adornment', i.e. 'our ornate attire', which Pelasgus had described as un-Greek and luxurious.

247 ἔτης: ἔτης in Homer seems to mean a member of an extended kin-group, not as close as a brother or a first cousin (cf. *Il.* 6.239 κασιγνήτους τε ἔτας τε, 9.464 ἔται καὶ ἀνεψιοί) but with a recognized duty of mutual support. When this duty came to be extended to all citizens of a *polis*, ἔτης acquired the meaning '(fellow-)citizen' (Pind. *Paeon* 6.10) and then 'private citizen' (= Attic ἰδιώτης) (Thuc. 5.79.4, from a treaty between Sparta and Argos), which is the meaning it bears on its rare appearances in tragedy (A. fr. 281a.28, Eur. fr. 1014).

248 τηρόν: τηρός 'custodian' occurs only here in surviving texts, but τηρέω is presumably derived from it. The noun itself does not specify what kind of custodian is meant, but *ἱερόρραβδον* shows that the reference is to a custodian of a sanctuary, i.e. a priest (cf. 291 κληιδούχον).

ἱερόρραβδον: evidently they are conjecturing that Pelasgus' sceptre may be the emblem of a religious office (cf. *Iliad* 1.15, 28).

ἄγόν: ἄγός 'leader' is common in the *Iliad* (where it is invariably preceded by an ethnic term and/or followed by ἀνδρῶν), rare in lyric

(Ibycus *SLG* 151, Pind. *Nem.* 1.51); in tragedy, except for an obvious imitation of Homer at [Eur.] *Rhes.* 29, it occurs only here and at 905.

249–72 Pelasgus shows no sign of being offended by the suppliants' failure to answer his question, and instead answers theirs, giving them much more information than they had asked for. His speech, marked at beginning and end by ring-composition (249 ~ 271–2), falls into two nearly equal parts. In the first part (250–9) he gives his name and patronymic, says that he is king of Argos, and describes the extent of his dominions, which comprise virtually all the territory on the European mainland which Greeks believed their ancestors had inhabited in the heroic age (and even some, notably Macedonia (254–5), beyond those limits). The second part is a seemingly irrelevant account of the coming to Argos of the 'healer-seer' Apis who cleansed the land of deadly serpents, and in whose honour it was named Apia (117–19n.). Pelasgus may be hinting at a question which he is too courteous to ask directly (and which will be answered only by the course of events to come in the play and trilogy): will the arrival of these strangers be for the good of Argos, as was the arrival of Apis who also came from over the sea (262)? For the audience, the passage may well in addition have considerable thematic significance (260–70n.).

249 †πρὸς ταῦτ'† ἀμείβου: πρὸς ταῦτα (and πρὸς τάδε) have two main usages in drama, neither of which is appropriate here. Most often (e.g. 520, 1006), usually accompanied (as here) by an imperative, it refers back to a previous statement by the speaker and says in effect 'that is the position; and now that you know what it is you must (may) do so-and-so' (Barrett 1964: 216); but this usage is not found at the beginning of a speech (in Ar. *Clouds* 1433 and *Wasps* 927 the speaker is ignoring an interruption), nor is there any relevant previous statement by Pelasgus for the expression to refer to. Sometimes (e.g. *Eum.* 436) the phrase means 'in answer to this'; but that should introduce a response to the chorus-leader's question, not a request for *her* to give an answer. The sense 'so far as that is concerned' (Sommerstein 2008) has no tragic parallel. No plausible emendation has been suggested. Transposition (e.g. to follow 245) only creates other difficulties; for example, it breaks the link (see below) between εὐθαρσής and the lines that precede and follow. There is thus much to be said for Sandin's suggestion that the end of one line and the beginning of another have been lost by a slip of the eye from πρὸς ταῦτ(α) to a similar sequence of letters in the following line, which may have begun with σὺ δ' αὖτ' (cf. *Seven* 970), the type of error known by textual critics as *saut du même au même*; Pelasgus would then be saying 'In answer to your question <I will explain who I am; and for your part,> please answer and speak to me with confidence.'

εὐθαρσής 'with good cause for confidence' (cf. 968, Ag. 930). Pelasgus perceives that the suppliants are uncertain whether he is the right person for them to approach with a request for protection, and proceeds to assure them (250–9) that in all Argos, and indeed in all Greece, he is the best (because the most powerful) person they could possibly approach.

250–3 The Argive king gives his name as Pelasgus, and says his people are called Pelasgians after him. 'Pelasgian' was 'a vague word used by the Greeks for pre-Greeks, or for non-Greeks displaced by Greeks' (Hornblower 1991: 16; see also E. M. Hall 1989: 171–2, and note the contrast between 'Pelasgic' and 'Hellenic' in Hdt. 1.56.2) – though in this play Pelasgus and his people are emphatically Greek. In early texts the Pelasgians are particularly associated with Thessaly (*Il.* 2.681, probably Pind. fr. 107a Snell–Maehler) – where the region around Larissa came to be called Pelasgiotis – with Dodona (*Il.* 16.233, Hes. fr. 319 M–W = 270 Most), and with Arcadia, where we find the earliest mentions of an individual named Pelasgus. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 160–1 M–W = 110–11 Most) Pelasgus is an αὐτόχθων (so also Asius fr. 8 West, who makes him the founder of the human race) and father of the Arcadian hero Lycaon (so also Pherecydes fr. 156 Fowler); the Argive mythographer Acusilaus (fr. 25 Fowler) who is said to have lived 'shortly before the Persian invasion of Greece' (Jos. *Ap.* 1.13) made Pelasgus a son of Zeus and Niobe, gave him a brother named Argos, and said that the inhabitants of the Peloponnese were named Pelasgians after him. A. seems to have invented King Pelasgus on the basis of these earlier references, perhaps choosing the name because by now almost every region of Greece was imagined as having once been inhabited by Pelasgians (including Attica, and the lands of the Ionians and Aeolians: Hecataeus fr. 127 Fowler, Hdt. 7.94–5) so that the name seemed appropriate for a very early king ruling all of Greece. Later authors, sometimes citing Argive tradition, say that when Danaus arrived in Argos, its king was Gelanor son of Sthenelas ([Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Plut. *Pyrr.* 32.10; Paus. 2.16.1, 2.19.3–4).

250 τοῦ γηγενοῦς ... Παλαίχθονος: Παλαίχθων ('anciently from the soil') is nowhere else attested as a proper name; as an ordinary adjective it appears in *Seven* 104 as an epithet of Ares stressing his close association with Thebes, and in an epigram quoted by Aeschines 3.190 (cf. *SEG* xxviii 45.73–6) as an epithet of the Athenian people, almost equivalent to αὐτόχθων. By thus making Pelasgus a grandson of Earth, and by incorporating the root of παλαιός in his father's name, A. emphasizes that his story is set in very early times – at the cost of a certain degree of illogicality, since it is not obvious how we are to reconcile this pedigree with the fact that Argos and its temple of Hera (291) already existed in the time of Io four or five generations previously. It is possible that Palaechthon is an

Aeschylean invention; but it may be significant that the epic *Danaïs* (fr. 2 West) spoke of Hephaestus and the early Athenian king Erichthonius as having been born from the earth.

251 τῇσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης : same phrase as in 184.

252 εὐλόγως ‘appropriately’, cf. 46, *Seven* 508.

ἐπώνυμον: according to Eur. fr. 228.6–7 they similarly became Δαναοί (one of Homer’s regular words for ‘Greeks’) when Danaus succeeded Pelasgus as their ruler; we do not know whether this change of name was mentioned in *Danaïdes*.

253 καρποῦται ‘cultivates’ (lit. ‘reaps the fruits of’).

254–9 Pelasgus defines the boundaries of his kingdom. Since Perrhaebia and the Dodona area were Greek-speaking regions, he is evidently naming the most distant lands that lie *within* the boundaries, running from east to west.

254–5 Surprisingly, the kingdom includes at least one area which was partly non-Greek in A.’s time and wholly non-Greek in the heroic age as then imagined – eastern Macedonia, including the area which fifth-century Athenians called τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, as far as the Strymon. The Strymon basin was of considerable interest to the Athenians in the 470s and 460s (Thuc. 1.98.1, 1.100.3; Plut. *Cim.* 7; cf. *Pers.* 495–507, 868–75), culminating in a disastrous attempt to establish a large colony at Ennea Hodoi (site of the later Amphipolis) in 465, and this may explain its inclusion in Pelasgus’ realm.

πᾶσαν αἶαν: hardly the whole basin of the 415-km river; presumably the lower part of it, now well known to Athenians.

ῆς δι: an elided preposition may be placed after its noun (or pronoun, or noun-phrase) in the middle of a tragic trimeter, e.g. 485, Ag. 1277 βωμοῦ πατρώιου δ’ ἀντ’, Eur. *Ba.* 732 θηρώμεθ’ ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ’ ὑπ’: see Denniston 1939: 121–2.

ἄγνός: the Strymon is so called also at *Pers.* 497, the Nile at A. fr. 300.6 Radt = 126a.6 Sommerstein; rivers in general are ἄγνόρυτοι at *Prom.* 434, ἱεροί at Eur. *Med.* 410 – because they were divine, like the Scamander in *Il.* 21, the Achelous in Soph. *Trach.* 9–14, 507–10, or the Inachus in *Cho.* 6.

255 Στρυμῶν: the modern Strymonas (Greek) or Struma (Bulgarian), which flows into the Aegean just below Amphipolis.

τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου ‘<that is,> the part on the western side’ (lit. ‘on the side of the setting sun’); the phrase is in quasi-apposition to πᾶσαν αἶαν in what is called the ‘whole-and-part’ construction (σχῆμα καθ’ ὅλον καὶ μέρος). See Weir Smyth 1956: 266–7 who cites Thuc. 2.47.2 Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ‘the Peloponnesian and allied forces – that is, two-thirds of them’.

κρατῶ here and in 259 governs an accusative instead of the usual genitive (so too κρατύνεις 372, 699).

256–7 **ὀρίζομαι** ‘I mark as my bounds’ (compare the metaphorical use in Pl. *Gorg.* 470b τίνα ὄρον ὀρίζη; ‘what limit do you set?’) or possibly ‘I mark out as my own’ (cf. 544–6n., Eur. fr. 696 ὦ γαῖα πατρίς, ἣν Πέλοψ ὀρίζεται, i.e. the Peloponnese).

Περραιβῶν: in the fifth century ‘Perrhaebia’ meant the region of northern Thessaly beyond the river Peneus (Hdt. 7.128.1, Thuc. 4.78.5–6). To name this as a border province implies that central Macedonia, to its north, was not part of Pelasgus’ kingdom; possibly we are to imagine that he controlled a coastal strip linking Perrhaebia with Chalcidice and the Strymon region. Many of the Perrhaebians had apparently migrated westwards to live around the sources of the Achelous (Soph. fr. 271, cf. Strabo 9.5.12, 19, 22), a fact which gives a modicum of support to Friis Johansen’s interchange of Περραιβῶν with Παιόνων (see below).

Πίνδου ... τὰπέκεινα: the Pindus range, running roughly south-east to north-west, forms the spine of north-western Greece. A region ‘beyond’ it might in principle be to the west of the range (if we imagine ourselves as proceeding westwards from Perrhaebia) or at its northern extremity (if we imagine ourselves as surveying the kingdom from Argos); the latter is more likely, since the land to the west of Pindus would be either identical with the ὄρη Δωδωναῖα (258) or else to the south of them (and therefore not a border province). If so, the reference is probably to what in A.’s time was the kingdom of Molossia. The Molossians were already considered Greek enough in the second quarter of the sixth century for a Molossian noble to seek the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon in marriage (Hdt. 6.127.4) and their rulers claimed descent from Achilles (Pind. *Nem.* 7.38–40; Eur. *Andr.* 1243–52).

Χαόνων: the Chaonians were a barbarian people (e.g. Thuc. 2.80.5) of Epirus, living on the mainland opposite Corcyra and therefore to the west of the Molossians; see Hammond 1967: 464–5, 479–80. M has Παιόνων, but our sources from Homer (*Il.* 2.848–50) onwards (see especially Hdt. 5.12–15) place the Paeonians in northern and north-eastern Macedonia, in the region of the rivers Axios and Strymon. The only way to keep the Paeonians in the text of our passage is to have them change places with the Perrhaebians (256) as proposed by Friis Johansen 1966: 49–52; but this would imply that the Paeonian territory, which had never contained any Greek settlements, formed part of Pelasgus’ panhellenic kingdom (M. L. West 1990b: 136–7).

258–9 **ὄρη ... Δωδωναῖα**: i.e. the mountains of Epirus to the west of the Pindus range.

συντέμνει ‘cuts short, cuts off’ (sc. my border).

ὄρος ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης ‘the boundary which is the watery sea’ (‘genitive of identity’ or ‘appositive genitive’: Weir Smyth 1956: 317–18).

τῶνδε τὰπὶ τάδε κρατῶ ‘I rule what is on the hither side of these’, i.e. the regions I have mentioned are the outermost parts of my realm.

260–70 This passage, which *prima facie* seems an irrelevant digression, may well be designed to allude ironically to future events (Conacher 1996: 88, Bakewell 2013: 94–6, Meinel 2015: 199, Pattoni 2017: 257–9): the land that was cleansed of blood-pollution by Apis will shortly be threatened by new pollution when the very suppliants whom Pelasgus is addressing threaten a sacrilegious mass suicide, and later they will actually bring such pollution on Argos by the murder of the Aegyptiads. Already in 366 (cf. 376, 449) Pelasgus will perceive the risk of pollution being brought upon Argos if the Danaids’ supplication is mishandled (see Gruber 2009: 246).

260 Ἀπίας: 117–19n.

262–70 This account of Apis is found nowhere else, except in a passage of Eustathius’ commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (414) which quotes line 262 and is obviously based on our passage. Several Hellenistic and later authors (Rhianus fr. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21.106.4–107.1, citing Aristippus’ *Arkadika*; [Apoll.] 2.1.1; Paus. 2.5.6–7; Augustine *Civ. Dei* 18.5, citing Varro) tell of an Apis, son of Phoroneus and grandson of Inachus, who ruled Argos (as a ‘violent tyrant’ according to [Apollodorus]), or the whole of the Peloponnese, and gave his name to his realm; he appears to have figured in the traditions not only of Argos but also of Arcadia and Sicyon. It was inevitable that attempts would be made to link him with the Egyptian god: in Roman times some (Clem. Alex., [Apollodorus], Augustine, as cited above) imagined him as founding a colony in Egypt or as becoming the god Serapis, while others (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.75.2, obviously from a different source) modified A.’s account to make him an Egyptian medicine-man rather than a Greek one. Either, then, A. is our sole independent source for a tradition that has otherwise completely disappeared, or else he has drastically transformed a shadowy early monarch into a beneficent hero, presumably for thematic reasons (249–72n.). The latter is more likely; one may compare *Eum.* 1–8, where A. discards the well-established myth of Apollo’s forcible takeover of Delphi and instead makes it a birthday present to him from his grandmother.

262 πέρας ‘the opposite shore’ (of the Corinthian Gulf); the noun πέρα occurs elsewhere only at Ag. 190.

Ναυπακτίας: Naupactus is on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf, at its narrow neck. It is possible that the traditions about Apis king of Argos (see above) already associated him with this region of north-western Greece, since there seems no particular reason why A. should have invented such an association; it may be significant that according to

[Apoll.] 1.7.6, Apis son of Phoroneus was killed by Aetolus, the founder of the Aetolian people.

263 ἰατρόμαντις ‘seer and healer’, properly one who gives prophetic advice on the cause and cure of diseases (R. Parker 1983: 209). The term is applied to Apollo himself in *Eum.* 62.

παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος: an appropriate parentage both for an ἰατρός and for a μάντις.

264 κνωδάλων ‘beasts’, usually (though not always, cf. 1000) referring to animals hostile to man; they will be designated more precisely as δράκοντες in 267. The sons of Aegyptus will be compared to serpents at 511, and called κνώδαλα in 762.

265–7 ‘the bringers of woe which Earth, stained by the pollution of old bloodshed, had sent up [from below] in her anger, a hostile horde of serpents sharing our home’ (lit.: a hostile serpent-horde cohabitation).

265 τὰ = ἄ. Forms of the relative pronoun beginning with τ-, frequent in Homer, are normally used in spoken tragic verse only when metrically necessary, but cf. *Ag.* 342 (cod. V), *Soph. Trach.* 47, *OC* 35.

παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν: according to the scholia ‘the citizens had been killing each other’, but this is probably a mere guess (blood-pollution in Argos is more likely to have arisen from Argives killing Argives than from murder of or by foreigners); there is no need to suppose that the ancient commentator was referring to some specific tradition unknown to us. The chthonic Erinyes, avengers of bloodshed (particularly of kindred bloodshed), were often imagined in the form of serpents (see *Prag* 1985: 44–51). It is, of course, ironic that this tale of the cleansing of ‘ancient blood’ is being told to those who will in time themselves pollute Argos by the shedding of new blood.

266 γαῖα †μηνεῖται ἄκη†: it is fairly certain that the penultimate word was originally some derivative of μῆνις, and that the earth is described as being angered by the blood that has flowed into it; cf. *Cho.* 66–7, 400–4, *Eum.* 261–3, and especially *Eum.* 980–2 where the chorus pray ‘may the dust not drink the black blood of citizens and then, out of passion for revenge, eagerly welcome the city’s ruin through retaliatory murder’. The end of the line appears to have been corrupted (1) by a repetition of the letters of ΓΑΙΑ in ΜΗΝΕΙΤΑΙΑΚΗ (cf. *Eum.* 1044 codd. σπονδαὶ δ’ ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἴκων) and (2) by anticipation of ἄκη from 268; Martin’s μηνίσας’ ἄχη (ἄχη will mean ‘bringers of suffering’ as in *Cho.* 586) is the simplest solution but far from certain. A popular alternative has been μηνῖτις δάκη (Wecklein): δάκη ‘biters’ would be thoroughly appropriate (cf. 898, *Ag.* 1232, *Cho.* 530), but μηνῖτις is completely unattested, and even its masculine counterpart μηνιτής is found only once, in Roman times (*Arr. Epict.* 4.5.18).

267 The ὄμιλος (234) of the Danaids will also prove to be a δυσμενής ξυνοικία for Argos; and since ξυνοικεῖν can mean ‘live together in marriage’, there is a further ironic allusion to the wedding-night murders.

δρακονθόμιλον ‘consisting of a multitude of serpents’, a compound coined *ad hoc*. At 511 the Danaids will compare their cousins to ‘hostile serpents’.

δυσμενῇ ξυνοικίαν = δυσμενεῖς ξυνοίκους: abstract nouns are similarly used in *Eum.* 406 ὀμιλίαν χθονός (= ὀμιλούσας χθονί), 1018 μετοικίαν ... ἐμήν (= ἐμέ μετοικοῦσαν), *Thuc.* 5. 23.3 (treaty) ἡ δουλεία ‘the slave population’ (i.e. the Helots).

268 ἄκη τομαῖα καὶ λυτήρια ‘a decisive, liberating cure’: how it was effected we are not told. An ἄκος τομαῖον is literally a cure by cutting, i.e. by surgery, but the literal sense cannot be directly relevant here. Apis presumably got rid of the serpents: he could not have done that by practising surgery on the Argives, and decapitating the animals (cf. *Cho.* 1047) would not have required the skills of an ἰατρόμαντις. Moreover, an adjective *classifying* the cure by its method should not be joined by καὶ to an adjective *evaluating* its effectiveness. Rather, τομαῖον is itself here an evaluative adjective: from its original meaning ‘surgical’ it has come to mean ‘drastic and effective’, because surgical methods were generally only tried when medical methods had failed (*Hippocr. Aph.* 7.87 ὁκόσα φάρμακα οὐκ ἰῆται, σίδηρος ἰῆται). Thus Clytaemestra, after her alarming dream, is said (*Cho.* 538–9) to have sent drink-offerings to Agamemnon’s tomb ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων. Clytaemestra, of course, gets an ἄκος τομαῖον of quite a different kind from Orestes’ sword, and here too there is yet another ironical allusion to the murders to come. In *Supp.* our passage is echoed in 806–7 (τίν’ ἔτι πόρον τέμνω γάμων λυτήρια;) and in the last words of the play (λυτηρίοις μηχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα).

269 πράξας ‘having effected’ (LSJ πράσσω III 1).

ἀμέμπτως ‘in a manner beyond criticism’, i.e. with complete success.

Ἀργεῖαι χθονί: dative of advantage.

270 μνήμην ... ἐν λιταῖς ‘the right to be remembered in prayers’. This implies a hero cult; we do not otherwise hear of a cult of Apis at Argos, but there may well have been one in honour of the son of Phoroneus (262n.).

τότ’ ‘at that time’, i.e. immediately – the Argives did not wait for his death before thus honouring him. Turnebus’ conjecture ποτ’ is closer to M’s meaningless ποντ, but ποτε ought not to refer to a time which has been specified just previously (contrast 172, 291).

ἀντίμισθον: either ‘instead of a fee’ or ‘as a reward in return <for his services>’.

ἡὔρετ’ ‘gained for himself’ (LSJ εὕρισκω IV).

271 τεκμήρια ‘credentials’: by describing the vast extent of his kingdom Pelasgus has demonstrated that he is a powerful ruler well able to protect suppliants.

272 ἄν ἐξεύχοιο ‘you can openly declare’ (cf. Perpillou 1972: 170–1 on comparable uses of εὐχομαι in Homer). The potential optative constitutes a polite request (Goodwin 1912: 79).

καὶ λέγοις πρόσω: Pelasgus is in effect asking (see previous note) for further information, e.g. why the suppliants have come to Argos and what is the threat from which they are seeking protection. The response he receives (274–324), however, addresses only his request to be told their γένος, and he is forced to ask further specific questions (325–41).

273 The Argives, as well as the Spartans, had a reputation for brevity of speech (cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.58–9, Soph. fr. 64). This speech by Pelasgus is, however, the second longest in the play, exceeded only by that of Danaus in 980–1013.

γε μὲν δὴ: 241n.

274–5 βραχύς: as requested; but though the statement is simple, its explanation will prove to be lengthy.

τορός: 196n.

Ἀργεῖαι γένος ἐξευχόμεσθα ‘we declare (272n.) that we are Argive by race’: γένος is accusative of respect, and εἶναι is understood, as in *Od.* 14.199 ἐκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένος εὐχομαι εὐρειάων.

σπέρματ’ ‘offspring’; for the plural cf. Soph. *OT* 1246, *OC* 600, 1275.

276 χῶς ταῦτ’ ἀληθῆ ‘and <to show> that this is true’: a slight variant of an expression constantly used by speakers in the Athenian courts (six times in Lysias 13 alone), especially when about to cite documents or witness statements in support of their case; see Sommerstein 1977: 69.

πιστά ‘grounds for believing it’, a near-synonym of τεκμήρια: cf. *Ag.* 272 (Clytaemestra has just announced that Troy has been captured) τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδ’ σοι τέκμαρ; M’s πάντα is acceptable only if λόγῳ is changed to λόγον (Friis Johansen and Whittle 1975: 18–20).

προσφύσω ‘I shall attach’; cf. *Ar. Clouds* 372 τοῦτό [your argument that rain never falls from a cloudless sky] γέ τοι τῶι νυνὶ λόγῳ [your assertion that the Clouds, not Zeus, make the rain] εὔ προσέφυσας.

277–90 Not yet having heard the πιστά which the Danaids have promised to add to their assertion, Pelasgus finds the statement ἄπιστον, and reiterates his earlier statement (234–7) that the maidens do not look at all Greek. He makes a succession of guesses as to where they might come from, all but one (all, if 282–3 are interpolated: 282–3n.) referring to regions far from Greece (and to regions whose women, so Greeks believed, grossly violated the Greek norms of female behaviour: see

Bakewell 2013: 68–70). One of his suggestions (281) happens to be correct, and at least one more has an ironic point (287–9n.).

277 κλυεῖν: epexegetic infinitive (93–5n.). Tragic MSS always accent κλυεῖν and κλυων as present, but they were originally aorist, and in tragedy they are often provably so (e.g. *Cho.* 3 κλυεῖν, ἀκοῦσαι). They should therefore be accented accordingly whenever they correspond in meaning to ἀκοῦσαι, ἀκούσας rather than to ἀκούειν, ἀκούων. See M. L. West 1984: 172–80.

278 ὅπως is an indirect interrogative ('how'); the whole sentence is equivalent to 'I cannot believe how you can be Argive, as you say you are' and has a close parallel in the partly paratragic couplet *Ar. Peace* 131–2 ἄπιστον εἶπας μῦθον, ὦ πάτερ πάτερ, | ὅπως κάκοσμον ζῶιον ἦλθεν εἰς θεούς (see Olson 1998: 94).

τόδ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖον γένος is best explained as a blend of τόδε γένος Ἀργεῖον ἐστὶν 'this (i.e. your) family is Argive' and γένος ὑμῖν Ἀργεῖον ἐστὶν 'you have Argive lineage, you are of Argive descent'.

279 Λιβυστικάῃς: i.e. African; cf. *Hdt.* 2.16. The Greek original of the Latin proverb *ex Africa semper aliquid noui* (cf. Pliny *HN* 8.42.9) is αἰεὶ τι καινὸν ἢ Λιβύη τρέφει *uel sim.* (*Arist. GA* 746b8, cf. Anaxilas fr. 27). The suppliants' skin colour (70–2n., 154–5) makes this an obvious guess, and we shall later learn (317) that the continent is actually named after their great-grandmother.

μᾶλλον ἐμφερέστεραι: for the double comparative cf. *Seven* 673 μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος, *Soph. Ant.* 1210, *Il.* 24.243, and see Weir Smyth 1956: 282.

280 ἐγχωρίαῖς is the first of eight occurrences of the adjective ἐγχώριος in this play, twice as many as in the other five undisputed plays together: we are to be repeatedly reminded of the importance of the opposition between natives and foreigners.

281 Νεῖλος ἄν θρέψει: cf. 497–8, *Pers.* 33–4 πολυθρέμμων Νεῖλος, *Seven* 308–9, *Cho.* 6, A. fr. 155: 'rivers in general were conceived as nurturing human life' (Garvie 2009 on *Pers.* 33–4).

φυτόν (lit. 'plant') is here used, like ἔρνος (lit. 'young shoot': *Ag.* 1525, *Eum.* 661, 666) to mean 'offspring, young creature'; the usage may be based on *Il.* 18.57 = 438 (Thetis of Achilles) τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα, φυτόν ὥς γουνῶι ἄλωῃς.

282–3 'And similar <to your appearance> is the Cyprian stamp which is struck into female moulds (?) by male craftsmen.' These lines are probably interpolated from another play, as was first argued by Friis Johansen and Whittle (1975: 20–1); the attempt of Sommerstein 1977: 69–71 to defend their authenticity (with one fairly modest emendation – see apparatus) has attracted little support (though see Bakewell 2013: 70–2). (1) Cyprus is much nearer to Greece than any of the other places mentioned in this passage; a large part of its population was Greek, and in *Pers.* 893–7

it is listed among the Greek regions and islands which Darius had conquered and Xerxes has lost. It is thus not appropriate to list it alongside Egypt, India, etc., as a possible provenance for a group that looks extremely un-Greek. (2) The placement of τ' after adjective + noun is without parallel in the spoken verse of tragedy. (3) As Sandin points out, the close association of the words χαρακτήρ and τύπος (or their close cognates) is extremely common in the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods, whereas before 200 BC it is found only here. (4) After γυναιξίν (280; cf. also 237), one would expect Pelasgus to be saying that *the suppliants themselves* resemble the (Cyprian) women referred to in the phrase γυναικείois τύποις: but within the couplet itself, the contrast with τεκτόνων ... ἄρσένων suggests rather that the reference is to mated couples, in which case the women of 282 are being compared to the *mothers* of the suppliants. (5) εἰκώς 'resembling, similar' normally (though not invariably, cf. *Od.* 3.124, *Eur. Hel.* 579) takes a dative specifying what its subject is being compared to. The couplet may have been quoted by a reader in the margin as a parallel passage, and mistakenly 'restored' to the text by a later copyist (who, or one of whose successors, probably added τ' to fit the sentence into its context): we can see this happening at *Pers.* 253, where a Sophoclean parallel (*Ant.* 277), quoted in the scholia, is inserted in the text in several MSS, and it may well have occurred elsewhere (e.g. *Seven* 601, *Eum.* 286). The metaphor in χαρακτήρ ... ἐν ... τύποις ... πέπληκται is apparently from coining; the thought is close to that of Aristotle (*GA* 730b1–15) where the male parent is compared to a craftsman (carpenter, potter; here a moneyer) who supplies the *form* of the product, the female to his material (wood, clay; here the blank disk of metal from which the coin will be made) which supplies the *matter*. In its original context the sentence seems to have meant that children of Cyprian fathers and non-Cyprian mothers are Cyprian in appearance.

284–6 Herodotus' account of the Indians (3.98–106) – 'the easternmost Asian people about whom we have any accurate information' (3.98.2) – states *inter alia* that they are dark-skinned (3.101.1) as the Danaids are, that some of them (in the east) are nomads (3.98.3, 3.99.1), and that some of them (in the north) ride camels (3.102.3) – though he does not say that *women* do so. Both he and A. are probably drawing on Hecataeus who gave a fairly detailed account of India and its peoples (cf. *FGrH* 1 F 294–9).

284 ἵπποβάμοσιν 'moving like horses' (cf. *Soph. Trach.* 1095–6, of centaurs), understood by the scholiast to mean 'moving as fast as horses' (cf. *Hdt.* 3.102.3).

285 ἀστραβιζούσας χθόνα 'travelling across the country on riding-seats'; cf. *Eur. Andr.* 1011–12 διφρεύων ἄλιον πέλαγος 'crossing the sea in a chariot'. An ἀστράβη was a seat with a back-rest (*Σ Dem.* 21.133)

designed to make it easier for women (Machon 389, 399 Gow) and invalids (Lys. 24.11) to ride animals (in Greece usually mules or donkeys); an able-bodied man who used one would be considered effeminate (Dem. 21.133). According to Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr.4 Nauck) and many later grammarians ἀστράβη could also denote the animal itself, and this is supported by the existence of a word ἀστραβηλάτης for its driver (Luc. *Lex.* 2, Pollux 7.185).

286 παρ' Αἰθίοψιν: Greeks gave the name Αἰθίοπες not only to the black peoples of inner Africa but also to a people whom they called the 'eastern Ethiopians', straight-haired and living near the Indians (Hdt. 7.70); in *Prom.* 808–9 the two seem to be identified, as if there were continuous land linking south Asia directly to the upper Nile – a belief still current in the time of Alexander the Great (Nearchus ap. Strabo 15.1.25; cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.293).

ἀστυγειτονόμενας: ἀστυ- is either redundant or else it means here 'country' rather than 'city', as πόλις does in Soph. fr. 411 (Mysia), Eur. *Ion* 294 (Euboea), *Ba.* 58 (Phrygia), fr. 730 (the Peloponnese), Ar. *Peace* 251 (Sicily); Herodotus (2.104.3, 9.122.2) uses ἀστυγείτων in the same way.

287–9 It is *prima facie* surprising that the Danaids should be compared to the Amazons, with whom they have nothing outwardly in common except that both are in different ways very un-Greek. But they do resemble the Amazons in two characteristics, mentioned here, of which Pelasgus is unaware – (1) they are, and wish to remain, ἄνδρες; (2) they will become users of weapons (though not of bows and arrows) – and also in one characteristic not mentioned here: their arrival at a Greek city spells danger to that city, as it famously did to Athens in the time of Theseus (*Eum.* 685–90, Lys. 2.4–6, Plut. *Thes.* 27).

287 ἀνάνδρους: according to some accounts, the Amazons reared only their female children, presumably exposing the boys ([Apoll.] 2.5.9); according to others, they maimed the boys to render them incapable of fighting (D.S. 2.45.3).

κρεοβότους (= κρέασι βοσκομένας) is preferable to κρεοβόρους (anon.) as a correction of M's impossible κρεοβρότους, since it appears in a papyrus fragment almost certainly by A. (fr. 451.17 Radt = 78a.17 Sommerstein). The Amazons lived by hunting and pillaging (Hdt. 4.116–17).

Ἀμαζόνες, following κρεοβότους, may hint at an etymology deriving the name from μᾶζα so that it would mean 'those who do not eat cereals' (in contrast with civilized humanity who are ἄνδρες ἀλφεισταί, *Od.* 1.349, 6.8, Soph. *Phil.* 708); in later sources (e.g. Σ *Il.* 3.189) this etymology sometimes appears side by side with the more familiar one from μαζός (which gave rise to the belief that the Amazons cauterized their daughters' right breasts: Hellanicus *FGrH* 323a F 107, D.S. 2.45.3). Later (760–1) Danaus

will claim that the grain-eating Argives will prove better warriors than the papyrus-eating Egyptians.

288–9 τοξοτευχεῖς ‘armed with bows’ (from the Homeric τεύχεα = ὅπλα). The bow was the Amazons’ typical, though not their exclusive, weapon (e.g. *Eum.* 628, *Hdt.* 4.114.3 τοξεύομεν καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν).

ἦστε, not ἦτε (which appears first in *Eur. Tro.* 1161), is the early Attic second person plural imperfect of εἶμι: it was M’s original reading here, and survives at *Ag.* 542 in cod. F in the corrupt form ἴστε.

ἄν ἦικασα ὑμᾶς ‘I would have guessed you <to be>’; cf. *Soph. El.* 663–4 ἦ καὶ δάμαρτα τήνδ’ ἐπικράζων κυρῶ | κείνου; ‘am I right in guessing that this lady is his [Aegisthus] wife?’ Not ‘I would have likened you to, I would have thought you resembled’, which would require ταῖς ... Ἀμαζόσιν.

διδαχθεῖς is conditional (= εἴ με διδάξαίτε).

290 virtually repeats 278: another instance of ring-composition (78, 162–7, 175, 249–72nn.).

ὅπως: 278n.

291–324 In this passage – all stichomythia, except that it begins and ends with a couplet by the chorus-leader – the Danaids prove their descent from the Argive Io to Pelasgus’ satisfaction (at the end, 325–6, he explicitly accepts what in 277–8 he had found incredible). The structure of the dialogue has given rise to some difficulties, and there have been various proposals of lacunae and transpositions. At the beginning it is clear that the Danaids are taking the lead, making a statement about Io with which Pelasgus agrees (291–3) and then asking a question which he answers affirmatively (295–6). By the end, however (317–23), it is equally clear that Pelasgus is the one seeking information and the Danaids are supplying it. At some stage, then, Pelasgus must pass from being the respondent to being the questioner, and it is likely that he is the questioner already at 298: the questions at 298, 302 and 306 ‘betray no knowledge’ (M. L. West 1990b: 139) and would be inappropriate in the mouth of the Danaids, who are concerned to prove that they do know all about Io. Thus the pattern of the dialogue is as follows. The Danaids begin (291–6) by establishing that they know of Io who was loved by Zeus. Their responses to Pelasgus’ questions (298–308) then establish that they know a great deal more about the episode, and that this agrees precisely with the facts as known to Pelasgus and the Argives (as Pelasgus confirms at 310). This takes the story to the point at which Io, driven by the gadfly, leaves the vicinity of Argos (cf. *Prom.* 681–2). Here Pelasgus’ knowledge gives out. He continues to ask the questions, but now the answers are to him new information; he cannot know for certain that the suppliants are telling the truth about these matters, but their detailed knowledge of what happened to Io in Argos can hardly be accounted for except through the family connection they are claiming.

If this is the structure of the stichomythia, it forces us to assume that three lines have been lost and one displaced. A lacuna is needed after 296 because otherwise Pelasgus will have two successive lines; a line (or two half-lines) must have been lost at 306/7 because 306 (a question that reveals nothing) belongs to Pelasgus and 308 (a statement about an Egyptian word) belongs to the Danaids; and a line must be missing after 315 because a question is needed for the chorus-leader to answer in 317. In addition, a line is needed to stand between 311 and 313 (both of which, as statements about events in Egypt, belong to the Danaids), and 309 fits in excellently, whereas it is not needed between 308 (Danaids) and 310 (Pelasgus). Probably all the lacunae are due to *saut du même au même* (249n.).

Many editors posit no lacuna after 296, giving 295 to Pelasgus and thus making him ask the questions right from the beginning. That this gives Pelasgus, as well as the chorus-leader, a two-line speech to begin with is no problem; but it is unlikely that the sceptical Pelasgus would put his first question in a form that made the suppliants a free gift of one of the most important pieces of information in the whole story.

It should be noted that there are no lines with the numbers 294 and 312; some earlier editors posited lacunae at these points, and assigned numbers to the supposedly missing lines (just as the numbers 297 and 316 are assigned to missing lines in other editions, including this one).

291–2 Io's parentage is not mentioned. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 124) and the Argive mythographer Acusilaus (fr. 26 Fowler) made her the daughter of Peiren, but in the mid and late fifth century she is usually the daughter of Inachus (Bacch. 19.18; *Prom.* 589–90, 663–72; Soph. *Inachus*; Hdt. 1.1.3).

κληιδούχον 'keyholder', i.e. priestess (cf. Eur. *IT* 131, 1463). The temple key was often used in art to symbolize the office of a priestess (see Connelly 2007: 92–104; its iconographic counterpart for male priests was the sacrificial knife), and it is so used on an early fifth-century Attic hydria depicting the slaying of Argus by Hermes (*LIMC* Hera 486 = Inachos 2 = Io 8). That Io was Hera's priestess would of course exacerbate Hera's jealous anger over her seduction by Zeus.

Ἡρας ... δωμάτων: i.e. the Argive Heraeum (Tomlinson 1972: 33–4, 230–46), some 8 km north-east of the city, the most famous of all sanctuaries of Hera, who is Ἡρῇ Ἀργεῖῃ already in Homer (*Il.* 4.8, 5.908).

293 ὥς μάλιστα 'to the greatest possible extent', i.e. 'certainly, absolutely'.

φάτις πολλή κρατεῖ : lit. 'much saying prevails <to that effect>', i.e. 'that is very much the prevalent account'.

295 'Might it be that there is also a story about Zeus mating with a mortal?'

μή, as in *Ag.* 683 and *Prom.* 247, does not so much ‘expect the answer no’ as indicate that a proposition is being put forward hesitantly or tentatively (see Weir Smyth 1956: 401). Here the hesitancy is largely affectation: the Danaids know that the story is true, though they cannot be quite certain that it is still remembered at Argos.

λόγος τις: sc. ἔστι, cf. 230, *Seven* 217–18.

μειχθῆναι: it is almost impossible, in classical Attic texts, to decide between the spellings **μειχ-** and **μιχ-**. Historically the aorist passive had had **μι-**, but in classical Attic the vocalism of **μείγνυμι**, **ἔμειξα**, etc., was generalized to all forms and derivatives of the verb (see Threaghton 1996: 623–4). In the *κοινή*, contrariwise, **μι-** became universal, and medieval manuscripts of *A.* have **μι-** everywhere; in *A.* fr. 99.5, however, a papyrus of the early second century BC reads **μειχθείσα**, which tells in favour of restoring **μειχθῆναι** here.

βροτῶι: **βροτός** was originally an adjective (**mrtós*, from a verb, lost prehistorically, cognate with Latin *morior*; cf. ἄμβροτος) and will then presumably have been inflected for gender, but already in Homer – in contrast with its near-synonym **θνητός** – it is a noun which, like ἄνθρωπος, can refer either to a man or to a woman.

296 κᾶκρυπτά: καὶ κρυπτά (M) is obviously wrong: the action Hera took against Io necessarily implies that she was aware of the Zeus–Io relationship. Hermann’s emendation is the simplest (for the adjective ἄκρυπτος cf. Eur. *Andr.* 834 – coincidentally also about a jealous wife taking drastic action against her rival), though κοῦ κρυπτά (Portus) cannot be ruled out.

γ’ introduces an elaboration on an affirmative answer to the question put (Denniston 1954: 133–7, 157–8).

Ἡρας ‘from Hera’ (ablative genitive); cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 154 κρυπταῖ κοίται λεχέων σῶν (and contrast Eur. *Ba.* 98 κρυπτόν ἀφ’ Ἡρας).

τάμπαλάγματ’ ἦν: M’s **παλλαγμάτων** is a non-existent noun in a wrong case (and a syllable short), and ἦν is grammatically necessary. The scholia give the gloss αἱ περιπλοκαί ‘entwinings, embraces’, which shows that the commentator’s text had a nominative (not genitive) plural; this gloss prompted Hermann’s conjecture **τάμπαλάγματ’** ‘entanglements’, which is further supported by Hesychius ε2412 ἐμπαλάγματα· αἱ ἐμπλοκαί. That ἐμπαλάσσειν and its derivatives are not found elsewhere in an erotic sense is of little significance, since they are rare in any case, occurring once in Herodotus (7.85.2), once in Thucydides (7.84.4), six times in Aelian (c. AD 200), and otherwise only in lexicography.

It appears from 313 that Io is assumed not to have become pregnant while at Argos (contrast Bacch. 19.39–41). The principle that ‘the beds of immortals are not barren’ (οὐκ ἀποφῶλιοι εὐναὶ ἀθανάτων, *Od.* 11.249–50)

is not absolute: in the *Odyssey* itself Odysseus lives with the goddess Calypso for seven years and there is no mention of any offspring.

297 M. L. West 1990b: 140 convincingly argues that the lost line (spoken by the chorus-leader, 291–324n.) probably ended in -μάτων, thus accounting for M's nonsensical genitive plural in 296, and that its 'content ... should be such as to provoke Pelasgus into testing the chorus' knowledge with questions'; his *exempli gratia* suggestion κυρεῖ δὴ ἤδη τῶν ἐμῶν τοξευμάτων 'two of my arrows have now hit the mark' is based on *Ag.* 1194 and *Eum.* 589.

298 Now that the suppliants have proved they have some knowledge of these long-past events in Argos, Pelasgus questions them in order to discover how far this knowledge extends and how accurate it is.

οὖν 'well then', 'proceeding to ... a new stage in the march of thought' (Denniston 1954: 426); cf. 340, *Eur. Hel.* 1266.

βασιλέων 'of the royal pair', cf. Theocr. 17.132 βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου also of Zeus and Hera. This (from *βασιλήοιν by quantitative metathesis) is the etymologically correct Attic genitive dual of βασιλεύς. It represents no real alteration of the transmitted text (βασιλέων), only an interpretation of it, since ι in long diphthongs was not pronounced in later Greek and was commonly omitted in writing (whence the medieval and modern practice of writing it as a subscript). The dual is transmitted (in the corrupt form -έοιν or -είοιν) in *Seven* 820, but that line is probably interpolated. Here the dual is preferable to the plural as emphasizing the couplehood of Zeus and Hera. Zeus is called βασιλεύς alike in Aeschylean anapaests (*Pers.* 532, *Ag.* 355) and in everyday Attic (*Ar. Clouds* 1, *Frogs* 1278), while Hera is 'queen of the gods' in Pind. *Nem.* 1.39 (cf. *Phoronis* fr. 4 West), she was worshipped as βασίλεια or βασιλῖς at various places (Cook 1914–40: III 61 n. 2) – though nothing clearly proves that she had this title at Argos – and Euripidean women swear in her name μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν (*Eur. Andr.* 934, *IA* 739).

νείκη τάδε: for this poetic plural cf. *Eur. IT* 813 (referring, as here, to a specific quarrel), *Hel.* 1681, *Ba.* 294, fr. 223.116, *Ar. Frogs* 818.

299 In most sources the transformation of Io was effected by Zeus with the object of deceiving Hera; according to [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.3 (citing 'Hesiod') he swore to Hera 'that he had not had intercourse with her' (he meant 'with the cow', but expected Hera to understand him as meaning 'with Io'; she was not fooled). The scholiast treats this as the normative form of the story, saying that the poet 'has attached to the goddess the metamorphosis of Io effected by Zeus'. Aeschylus' version was not followed in subsequent tragedy or satyr-drama: in Sophocles' *Inachus* (Soph. fr. 269a.34–45, 54) Io was transformed by a 'dark stranger' who has been variously identified but was certainly male (see Collard 2013: 314–18 with further bibliography), while in *Prometheus Bound* (673–4) Io clearly

does not know who was responsible, nor does Prometheus enlighten her. Why has Aeschylus transferred the deed from Zeus to Hera? Probably in order to preserve the plausibility of the Danaids' faith in Zeus as their patron and protector (cf. Konstantinou 2015a: 45-6). In the traditional story, Zeus was treating Io as a pawn in the game being played between himself and Hera: the transformation was not intended to be, nor was it in fact, of any benefit to her. Such a Zeus might equally well sacrifice the Danaids to further some interest of his own. In Aeschylus' version it is Hera who treats Io as a pawn, depriving her of her human form in order to spite and frustrate Zeus.

Ἀργεῖα θεός: 291-2n. That Hera, the enemy of Io and the deity most closely associated with marriage, is also the deity most closely associated with Argos, might be thought to have unwelcome implications for the Danaids (162-7n.).

300 This is probably a further innovation (cf. 299n.), since it contradicts the story of Zeus's deceptive oath. Its effect is to defeat Hera's first attempt to end the Zeus-Io relationship. Her second attempt (setting Argus to guard Io) is likewise defeated when Hermes slays Argus; her third (forcing Io to flee by sending the gadfly) drives Io to Egypt but still fails to end Zeus's interest in her.

οὐκοῦν: this is M's accentuation; if it is correct, the particle has much the same force as οὖν in 298 ('so then did Zeus ...?'). The alternative accentuation οὔκουν would give the sense 'didn't Zeus ...?', which is far less satisfactory: by indicating that Pelasgus is expecting an affirmative answer, it would impair the usefulness of the question in probing the extent of the suppliants' knowledge.

πελάζει (historic present, cf. φητύει 313) 'approached', a common poetic euphemism for sexual intercourse (Pind. *Nem.* 10.81), though mostly found in the passive with the female as subject (*Prom.* 897, Soph. *OT* 1101, Eur. *Andr.* 25).

ἔτ': i.e. notwithstanding her metamorphosis. M's ἐπ' is improbable, there being no known instance of πελάζειν (in any sense) with ἐπί + dative.

εὐκράϊω 'with beautiful horns', cf. *h.Herm.* 209.

301 Zeus's self-transformation into a bull recalls his seduction of Europa (Hes. *fr.* 140-1, Bacch. *fr.* 10, Eur. *fr.* 820); on a possible Near Eastern antecedent for both myths see M. L. West 1997: 443-4, 451.

φασίν: sc. τόν Δία τῇ βοῖ πελάσαι.

πρέποντα 'resembling' (cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1121-2, *Ba.* 917, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.38-9), i.e. 'taking the likeness of', agrees with the accusative subject (Δία) of the understood complement of φασίν (see previous note).

βουθόρω 'cow-mounting' emphasizes the physical animality of the union; compare however *Eum.* 660 τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώϊσκων said (by Apollo) with reference to *human* (and divine) reproduction.

δέμας: accusative of respect; cf. Eur. *Ba.* 917 πρέπεις δὲ Κάδμου θυγατέρων μορφήν (Musgrave: μορφῇ cod.) μιᾷ, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.38–9 εἶδος ... πρέπεν ... θυγατέρι Κρόνου.

302 τί δῆτα: sc. ἔδρασε *vel sim.*; cf. Eur. *Or.* 274 τί δῆτ' Ὀρέστης πρὸς τόδ' (sc. δράσει);

303 πάνθ' ὀρῶντα: Argus is represented in fifth-century art as having 'countless' eyes all over his body (see e.g. *LIMC* Io 1 nos. 4, 5; cf. *Prom.* 568, 678–9; Bacch. 19.19–20), though in earlier accounts (and some earlier images, e.g. *LIMC* Io 1 no. 2) he has only three or four (Hes. fr. 294 M–W = 230 Most, Pherecydes fr. 66 Fowler), just enough (together with an immunity from sleep conferred by Hera) to give him 360-degree, 24-hour vision.

304 οἰοβούκολον: probably 'cowherd of a lone cow' rather than 'lone cowherd' (Sommerstein 2008): it is normal for a herd of many cattle to be looked after by one herdsman, but extraordinary for a cowman's 'herd' to consist of a single beast. This is the only known οἰο- compound whose elements have the semantic relationship of object and verb (= μίαν βοῦν βουκολοῦντα).

305 No description is given of Hermes' slaying of Argus, but in contemporary art (e.g. *LIMC* Io 1 nos. 4, 7, 11, 13) he kills him with a sword. Bacchylides (19.25–36) mentions several alternative accounts; the lacunose state of the papyrus text leaves it a little uncertain what these are, but most probably the methods listed are (1) throwing a stone (cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.3), (2) waiting till Argus fell asleep through fatigue, and (3) lulling him to sleep with music (cf. e.g. Valerius Flaccus 4.384–90). This exploit of Hermes was believed to be the source of his epithet Ἀργεῖφόντης (Hes. fr. 126 M–W = 74 Most) probably already in Homeric times, for the poets had created ἀνδρεῖφόντης (*Il.* 2.651) on the same model (S. R. West 1988: 79).

Ἄργον: the name means 'the shining one' or 'the bright-eyed one'.

παῖδα Γῆς: this appears to have been Argus' parentage in Argive belief (Acusilaus fr. 27 Fowler; so *Prom.* 677); other early sources made him the son of Arestor (Pherecydes fr. 66 Fowler) or of another Argus (Hes. fr. 294 M–W = 231 Most). A.'s choice among these alternatives may be designed to suggest that like those other γηγενεῖς, the Titans and Giants, Argus was an enemy of Zeus's world order. For the embedding within a relative clause of a word or phrase which logically belongs to the main clause, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 986–8 εἰπέ παῖδ' ὃν ἐξ ἐμῆς χερὸς | Πολύδωρον ἔκ τε πατρὸς ἐν δόμοις ἔχεις, | εἰ ζῇ (see Weir Smyth 1956: 571 §2539).

306–13 On the text and line-assignments in this passage, see 291–324n. and M. L. West 1990b: 140–2.

306 The subject is Hera, who was subject of the last full sentence spoken by the chorus-leader (303; 305 is merely an expansion of the object phrase of that sentence).

ἔτευξ' 'contrived, caused to come about' (LSJ τεύχω II).

δυσπότημι βοῖ: dative of disadvantage.

306a–7 M has here a single line, βοηλάτην μύωπα κινητήριον, which not only forces a break in the stichomythia (291–324n.) but, being object of ἔτευξ', would imply that Hera *made* the gadfly. West's tentative supplement makes the chorus give an accurate but slightly riddling answer to Pelasgus' question, which Pelasgus then interprets correctly.

βοηλάτην elsewhere normally refers to human or superhuman beings (Soph. fr. 314.123; Lys. 7.19; Pl. *Euthphr.* 13b–c, *Polit.* 261d).

μύωπα: correctly identifying the 'winged cattle-driver' as a fly. Sometimes, as here, μύωψ and οἷστρος are treated as synonyms (e.g. Eur. fr. 472b.35) and sometimes they are distinguished, as by Aristotle (*HA* 490a20, 528b31); in the latter case there is a slight tendency to associate the οἷστρος with horses rather than cattle (Pl. *Apol.* 30e–31a).

308 οἷστρον: in 'real life' the Danaids would use an Egyptian word, just as their father would have said Θώθ rather than Ἑρμῆς (220n.).

310 Pelasgus confirms that everything the suppliants have said so far agrees exactly with the Argive traditions known to him.

συγκόλλως 'so as to cohere perfectly with' (lit. 'in a manner that glues together with'); cf. *Cho.* 542 where Orestes undertakes to demonstrate that his mother's dream foreshadows precisely the fate she will suffer at his hands.

311 καὶ μὲν: marking the major transition (Denniston 1954: 351–2) from the Argive to the Egyptian phase of the narrative; the Danaids know that they are now giving Pelasgus information new to him.

Κάνωβον: Canobus (or Canopus) was a city situated at the westernmost mouth of the Nile, just east of what was to become the site of Alexandria (see Lloyd 1976: 80–1); it was particularly familiar to Greeks because the Greek colony of Naucratis was some distance upstream on the same branch of the Nile. One suspects that A. did not know precisely where Canobus was, since it is not on any reasonable route from Phoenicia and Palestine (554–5) to Memphis. In *Prometheus Bound* Io's wanderings end with a journey *down* the Nile (810–15) from the Cataracts to Canobus, and the conception and birth of Epaphus take place there (846–52).

κάπτι: the preposition ἐπί, placed before the second of two coordinate expressions, is to be taken ('ἀπὸ κοινοῦ') with both of them; cf. *Pers.* 492–3, *Ag.* 656, and see Weir Smyth 1956: 369.

Μέμφιν: Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt (and its capital again under Persian rule: see Ray 1988, esp. 259–60), was situated about 20 km south of modern Cairo and about 240 km from the sea at Canobus.

In *Pers.* 36–8, Memphis in effect stands for Lower Egypt as Thebes does for Upper Egypt. Since Epaphus and his descendants will be rulers of Egypt, it is appropriate that he should be born at Memphis, all the more so because this was where the Apis-bull was kept (Hdt. 2.153, 3.27–8; cf. 41–2n.).

309 ‘Was it to that place, do you mean, that it [the gadfly] drove her, in a long journey from <this> land?’

τοῖ is the demonstrative counterpart to the relative, interrogative and indefinite adverbs οἷ, ποῖ, ὅποι, ποῖ. It is nowhere else securely attested, but it is striking that A. (*Pers.* 100, *Ag.* 220) provides two of the four known archaic or classical occurrences of its antonym τόθεν (the others are Hes. *Shield* 32 and Bacch. 5.197). The scholiast, as his gloss διό (Weil: δις M) shows, read the text as τοιγάρ ‘therefore, for that reason’, which would make no sense even if 309 preceded rather than following 310–11.

γάρ: Pelasgus is asking for confirmation that Io’s arrival in Egypt was the result of the gadfly’s pursuit of her.

313 On Zeus’s procreative touch see Intr. §§2, 8.

ἐφάπτωρ is found nowhere in literature or inscriptions outside this play. The Danaids treat it almost as a cult-title, and pray to Zeus as ἐφάπτορ ἰοῦς (535); but at 728, taking the underlying verb ἐφάπτομαι in another sense, Danaus warns them that representatives of the Aegyptiads may try to seize them, acting as ῥυσίων ἐφάπτορες (315n.).

314 τίς (‘who does he claim to be?’) is preferable to M’s τί (‘what does he claim to be?’), given that the chorus-leader understands the question as being about the child’s name.

ὁ Δῖος πόρτις ... βοός ‘the Zeus-begotten calf (41–2n.) of the cow’.

εὐχεται: sc. εἶναι (15–18n.).

315 Ἐπαφος: 43–7nn.

ῥυσίων has usually been taken to mean ‘the deliverance’ of Io effected by Zeus’s touch (cf. 149–50 where the Danaids ask Artemis to become their ῥύσιος). The speaker, however, has not said that Zeus’s touch restored Io to human form; she has only mentioned Io’s impregnation, which can hardly be called a ‘deliverance’. Moreover, the noun ῥύσιον and its derivative ῥυσιάζω elsewhere in this play (*412, 424, 610, *728) and in tragedy generally (*Ag.* 535, A. fr. 258; Eur. *Hcl.* 163, *Ion* *523, 1406, fr. 190) always refer to the seizure of persons or things, usually as booty or compensation, except in Sophocles (*Phil.* 959, **OC* 858) where ῥύσιον means ‘penalty’; and in several passages (asterisked) ῥύσιον is closely associated with the verb ἐφάπτομαι. In the light of this it is worth considering whether the word would not be understood as bearing the same sense here also. If Epaphus’ daughter (317) was ruler of all Egypt (indeed of all Africa), her father had presumably conquered the country (he is said in *Prom.* 851–2 to have reaped the fruits of the whole Nile basin). His descendants, then,

may be saying here that his name was appropriate (not, or not only, to the circumstances of his birth but) to his warlike achievements as a great conqueror and plunderer; now they fear, not without reason, that they themselves may be sought as plunder by Epaphus' other descendants, Aegyptus and his sons (424, 728).

316 In the lost line Pelasgus must have asked 'who was Epaphus' child?', and if the line began with Epaphus' name this would help, after 315, to account for its loss.

317 Λιβύη was 'the first woman to be a monarch, and caused her country to bear her name' (Isoc. 11.10, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.14–15, Hdt. 4.45.3, [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4), which implies that she ruled not only Egypt but all of Africa (279n.).

μέγιστον γῆς <~ ->: the best proposals for filling the lacuna are λάχος '(allotted) portion' and θέρος 'harvest'. Against λάχος FJW argue that 'Libya'/Africa was not regarded as the largest portion of the earth's land surface; no, but μέγιστον need only mean 'very large', and Africa (even if this means, as it would to a Greek of the classical period, only the Mediterranean coastal regions plus the Nile valley) certainly is that by comparison with Egypt. Against θέρος (which would allude to the proverbially great fertility of Cyrenaica: cf. *Od.* 4.85–9, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.7, Hdt. 4.199) it may be observed that καρπόομαι normally governs an accusative of the land, not the crop (e.g. 253, *Prom.* 851–2 [of Epaphus], Ar. *Wasps* 520); but cf. e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 8.548b, Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.22.

καρπουμένη may here be literal or semi-metaphorical ('who enjoyed the revenues of', cf. Ar. *Wasps* 520, Dem. 1.22) according to the word we restore as its object.

318 τίν' ... ἄλλον τῆσδε βλαστημόν 'who else, an offspring of hers'; not 'what other offspring of hers', since no such offspring has yet been mentioned.

319 Libya is usually said to have had two children, Belus and Agenor (e.g. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4, 3.1.1), and Agenor (father of Cadmus and Europa) figured already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 138 M–W = 96 Most) as well as in the mythographic work of Pherecydes (fr. 21 Fowler); but the Danaids mention only that part of the genealogy which is relevant to their own descent and situation. They also omit the fact that the father of Belus (and Agenor) was Poseidon.

Βῆλον: Βῆλος is widely thought to be a hellenization (with Attic-Ionic η for ᾱ) of West Semitic *ba'al* 'master, lord', the name or title of many gods; in Greek myth, however, he is no more than a link in a human genealogy.

δίπαιδα: according to [Apoll.] 2.1.4, Euripides (fr. 881, probably from *Andromeda*) credited Belus with two further sons, Cepheus (father of Andromeda) and Phineus; Cepheus is son of Belus also in Hdt. 7.61.3. We cannot tell whether this filiation of Cepheus was unknown to A. (perhaps

invented by Sophocles in his *Andromeda*) or whether the Danaids are once again ignoring irrelevant side branches of the family. The scholia here claim that Euripides gave Belus *five* sons, but this is probably due to a genealogical confusion by someone abridging a commentary, since the list includes Phineus but omits Cepheus, and also includes Agenor and Phoenix (Agenor's son in Hes. fr. 138 M-W = 96 Most and Pherecydes fr. 21 Fowler).

τοῦδ': the presence of Danaus is thus for the first time brought to Pelasgus' notice, but it seems not to register with him (326-7n.). Probably therefore the chorus-leader does *not* make any gesture in Danaus' direction.

320 τὸ πάνσοφον ... ὄνομα: why is Pelasgus so sure that the suppliants' father has a 'very clever' name? Most likely because two of their remoter ancestors did. The name of Epaphus alluded, as we have seen (315n.), both to the abnormality of his engendering and to his success in war; likewise the name of Libya, which matched that of the country she ruled. There is nothing so obviously apposite about the name of Belus, but there might still be a reasonable expectation that the name of Belus' son will be as significant as those of his grandmother and great-grandfather. And it is, though not in a way that either Pelasgus or the Danaids can perceive: Danaus, like Pelasgus (252-3), will ultimately (though posthumously) give his name to the entire Greek nation (while his brother will give *his* name to another great nation). Most recent editors (FJW, Sandin, Bowen) have adopted a very different interpretation, according to which Pelasgus already knows about Danaus and his descent from Io, and πάνσοφον alludes to an etymological association between Δαναός and δαῖναι 'to know'; but if Pelasgus knew that Io's flight had taken her to Egypt and that her descendants had become rulers of that country, he would not have thought it 'incredible' (277) when the African-looking suppliants claimed to be of Argive descent, especially since they had already identified their ancestress as 'the cow who bore a fine child' (275).

321 ἀδελφός δ' ἔστι 'he has a brother'.

πεντηκοντόπαις: the contracted form (σπονδαί) τριακοντούταις or τριακοντούτιδες '(peace treaty) for thirty years' (Ar. *Ach.* 194, *Knights* 1388; Thuc. 1.23.4, 1.87.6) shows that compounds formed with numbers ending in -κοντα normally in the fifth century used the connecting vowel -ο- rather than -α-. M's πεντηκοστόπαις is a relatively rare instance of subliminal Christian influence on the copying process.

322 ἀφθόνωι λόγωι 'with ungrudging speech', 'ungrudgingly': the point may be 'be kind enough to give this information even though it is not strictly necessary for the purpose of establishing your descent'.

323–4 The couplet marks the end of the stichomythia, though another will soon follow (333–47, again marked off by couplets at beginning and end).

323 Αἴγυπτος: sc. ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Bowen points out that this is the fifth successive utterance of the chorus-leader that has begun with a personal name; one might even say the sixth, since the name of Zeus was the first significant word of 313. The six names constitute, together with that of Io (whose story was the topic of 291–311), the entire relevant genealogy of the Danaids.

ἄμόν: probably to be taken as singular; cf. 107n.

324 πράσσοις ἄν ‘please act’, a polite request (Goodwin 1912: 79).

ὥς ... ἀνστήσαι ‘so as to raise up’ (consecutive infinitive, with ὥς for ordinary Attic ὥστε, Goodwin 1912: 232). M’s ὥς ... ἀνστήσας would mean ‘as having raised up’, ‘in the belief that you have raised up’, which is a wrong tense since the ‘raising’ has not yet occurred (see below on ἀνστήσαι). The marginal variant (or conjecture) ὥς ... ἀντήσας ‘as having met’ is grammatically dubious, since ἀντάω and its compounds never take the accusative in Attic except in Eur. *IA* 150, in a sentence ‘judged irredeemably corrupt by almost all editors’ (Collard and Morwood 2017: 283).

Ἀργεῖον: reminding Pelasgus that they belong to his city.

ἀνστήσαι: to ‘raise up’ suppliants is to accept their plea so that they can rise from their suppliant pose, release their hold on the altar, etc., in the confidence that they are assured of protection by the *supplicandus*. However, such acceptance will normally be granted only when the *supplicandus* has satisfied himself of the justice of the suppliants’ plea, into which Pelasgus will now proceed to inquire. See Intr. §4.

στόλον: 2n.

325–32 Pelasgus begins his inquiry into the justice of the Danaids’ supplication (324n.) by asking why they have fled from Egypt. Their reply is partly corrupt, but the phrases κῆδος ἐγγενές (331) and εὐναίων γάμων (332) are enough to make it clear that their answer is ‘to avoid marriage to our kinsmen’. Apparently Pelasgus does not understand this answer, presumably because marriage to a kinsman (except for the very closest) was nothing unusual among Greeks (Intr. §5), and he in effect repeats the question (333–4).

325 μέν: M’s text is a syllable short, and μέν is the best of various supplements that have been proposed (δὴ Turnebus, δοκεῖτ’ ἔμοιγε Porson). When Pelasgus first saw the Danaids, he noted two salient facts: that they were alien-looking (234–7) and that they were making supplication (241–3); the contrastive pairing of μέν ... ἀλλά (Denniston 1954: 5–6)

signals that the first issue has been resolved and that Pelasgus is now concerned with the second.

κοινωνεῖν ‘to be sharers in’, ‘to have a stake in’.

326–7 τὰρχαῖον ‘by origin’ (adverbial accusative: Weir Smyth 1956: 361 §1611). The expression accepts that the Danaids have a special claim on the Argive *polis*, but neither confirms nor denies that they should be regarded as members of it. The kings of Macedonia are frequently spoken of as being Argive τὸ ἀρχαῖον (Thuc. 2.99.3, 5.80.2; cf. Hdt. 9.45.2); their descent would hardly have entitled them to hold public office at Argos, but it did enable Alexander I to compete as an Argive in the Olympic Games (Hdt. 5.22.2).

πατρῶια δῶματα λιπεῖν: a surprising expression, when their father has come with them; but despite the mention of Danaus at 319, both sides in this dialogue continue to speak as though he did not exist and his daughters were the sole agents in the flight from Egypt and the supplication at Argos.

κατέσκηψεν implies a stroke that descends suddenly and violently, like that of a thunderbolt (σκηπτός): cf. *Pers.* 102, 514, 740, *Seven* 429, *Ag.* 102, 514, 740.

328 αἰόλ’ ‘ever-changing’, a metaphor from objects that change colour as they move; such objects are often made of glittering metal (like the helmet of κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ) but include the skin of snakes (e.g. *Il.* 12.208, Soph. *Trach.* 11–12) and the plumage (cf. πτερόν 329) of certain birds like the widgeon (*Anas penelope*, πηνέλοψ: Ibycus *PMG* 317(a).2).

329 πόνου ‘trouble’.

ἴδοις ἄν: sc. if you were to investigate the matter comprehensively.

οὐδαμοῦ (usually ‘nowhere’) appears here to mean ‘on no occasion, never’ (cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 186–7, Ar. *Clouds* 754); similarly A. can use ὅπου to mean ‘on what occasion’ (*Eum.* 277) or ‘on the occasion on which’ (*Cho.* 582, A. fr. 208).

πτερόν continues the metaphor of αἰόλ’ (328); in *Cho.* 174 ὁμόπτερος means little more than ‘similar’, and in Eur. *Phoen.* 328 ἀπήνας (= pair of horses) ὁμοπτέρου the literal sense of πτερόν appears to have been totally forgotten.

330–2 The key phrase for establishing the text and construction of this sentence is κῆδος ἐγγενές. The noun κῆδος means a connection by marriage between two individuals or families, e.g. between Polyneices and Adrastus (Soph. *OC* 379, Eur. *Phoen.* 704) or Pylades and the house of Agamemnon (Eur. *IT* 707); in *Ag.* 700 it denotes the marriage-connection between Helen and the royal house of Troy, with a play on the homonymous noun meaning ‘grief’. A κῆδος ἐγγενές will then be a marriage-connection with a kindred family, an expression which applies precisely to the prospective marriage of the Danaids to their cousins. It follows that this phrase must be the object of a verb meaning something like ‘hate’ or ‘flee from’;

and since κέλσειν 'put in to land' cannot be that verb, the required verb (or rather participle) must underlie the corrupt words μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν. Adopting the almost universally accepted ἔχθαι 'by reason of hostility' for ἔχει in 332 we have as the skeleton of the sentence τίς ηὔχει <...> κέλσειν ἐς Ἄργος, κῆδος ἐγγενὲς <...> οὔσαν <...>, ἔχθαι εὐναίων γάμων; 'who ever thought that <I?> would land at Argos, <fleeing from?> a marriage connection with kinsmen, out of hatred of the marital bed?' The remaining difficulties are (1) finding a subject for κέλσειν, (2) fitting τήνδ' ἀνέλπιστον φυγὴν into the structure of the sentence, (3) deciding what is to be done with τὸ πρίν, and (4) emending μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν. For (1) the simplest solution is to suppose that μ' once stood somewhere in the sentence and has been lost. The other three issues will be taken up separately below. See further FJW ad loc.; M. L. West 1990b: 142–3; Sommerstein 2010b: 15.

τίς ηὔχει 'who previously thought ...?': on this sense of αὐχέω + infinitive in tragedy (e.g. *Pers.* 741, *Ag.* 506, 1497, *Prom.* 688, *Eur. Alc.* 675, *Ba.* 310, and the paratragic Cratinus fr. 1) see Fraenkel 1950: III 707–8.

τήνδ' ἀνέλπιστον φυγὴν has two possible syntactic construals: (1) as subject of κέλσειν, with the sense 'we who have unexpectedly become exiles' (cf. 73–6n.); (2) as internal accusative governed by κέλσειν, the phrase meaning 'would come ashore from our unexpected flight' (cf. [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 897–8 οἷαν ἔκελσας ὁδὸν ποτὶ Τροίαν). Option (2) necessitates the insertion of μ', either after κέλσειν or as part of an emendation of μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν, but it is probably to be preferred as being a little more easily intelligible.

κέλσειν ἐς Ἄργος: cf. 15.

†τὸ πρίν† 'previously' is likely to be corrupt. It would be acceptable if it modified ηὔχει, but this is only possible if τὸ πρίν is made to change places with φυγὴν (Thomson), which would leave the latter word very unnaturally placed; in its present position τὸ πρίν would be understood as modifying either ἐγγενὲς or the participle underlying μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν, and thus as implying, absurdly, either that the Aegyptiads are no longer kin to the Danaids, or that the Danaids no longer object to marrying them. FJW's emendation τὸ πᾶν 'utterly' (to be taken with the participle) gives acceptable sense and thoroughly late-Aeschylean phraseology (cf. 594, 692, 781; (ἐς) τὸ πᾶν occurs at least 18 times in the *Oresteia*, never in *Pers.* or *Seven*), but the interlaced word-order, with ἔχ<θ>ει separating both κῆδος ἐγγενὲς and τὸ πᾶν from the participle to which they are syntactically attached, is somewhat suspect.

†μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν†: as shown above, we need here a participle meaning something like 'hating' or 'fleeing from', and the likeliest verbs to provide such a participle are compounds of πτύω 'spit out, abhor' (n.b. πτυ- and πτοι- would have been pronounced alike from the late Hellenistic

or early Roman period: Teodorsson 1977: 227–9, 253–5; Horrocks 1997: 109–10). The simplest emendation, μεταπτύουσιν (Whittle), must be rejected for reasons both lexical (no form or derivative of *μεταπτύω is attested in any Greek text) and semantic (as a verbal prefix μετα- denotes change, and here it would imply that the Danaids had not always been hostile to marriage with their cousins). Whittle's alternative proposal μ' ἀποπτύουσιν (for μ' see above) introduces a compound that occurs five times in the *Oresteia*, sometimes meaning little more than 'reject' (*Ag.* 980, *Cho.* 197; a stronger sense in *Ag.* 1192, *Eum.* 191, 303).

εὐναίων γάμων: as so often (Intr. §5), it is left ambiguous whether the Danaids are rejecting marriage as such or only marriage to their cousins.

333 τί φής: in A. a question containing φής is always a request for clarification of a statement already made by the addressee (cf. *Pers.* 439, 446; *Cho.* 778; *Eum.* 892).

ἰκνεῖσθαι and other verbs meaning 'supplicate' normally govern an accusative of the *supplicandus*, and sometimes (mainly in epic) a genitive of the god(s) or other entities in whose name the supplication is made (*Il.* 22.345 μή με ... γούνων γουνάζεο μηδὲ τοκήων, *Eur. Or.* 671 ταύτης [Helen] ἰκνοῦμαί σ': more often in tragedy the genitive is preceded by πρὸς). Here we apparently have the genitive alone, as in *Od.* 2.68 λίσσομαι ἡμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἡδὲ Θέμιστος: the parallel of 355 is uncertain (354–5n.), and it is tempting to insert μ' (Abresch) as Sommerstein 2008 (among others) has done. However, Pelasgus will soon (365–9) be drawing a careful distinction between a supplication to himself and a supplication to the Argive community, and this would be stultified if he had already identified himself as the *supplicandus*, even though the Danaids at 324 had treated him as having the power to 'upraise' them (324n.).

τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν: 189n.

334 λευκοστεφεῖς 'white-wreathed', cf. 22 ἐριοστέπτοισι.

νεοδρέπτους 'freshly plucked' (cf. 354 νεοδρόποις), a ritual requirement according to Σ *Eur. Or.* 383.

335–6 We expect the chorus-leader to answer 'In order not to be forced to marry the sons of Aegyptus.' The answer actually given equates such a marriage with slavery – or rather it *takes for granted* that such a marriage would be tantamount to slavery. Pelasgus can think of only two possible reasons why a marriage might be so described: either (1) the two families are at enmity (in which case the prospective brides might well fear they would be treated like war-captives) or (2) there is something unlawful (by Egyptian law, cf. 387–91n.) about the proposed marriage.

γένει 'offspring'.

τὸ μὴ θέμις: a phrase found nowhere else except *Cho.* 641.

337 This rhetorical question is clearly meant to affirm the first of Pelasgus' alternatives: the Danaids regard their would-be bridegrooms

as enemies, and in this line they explain why. The key phrase is τοὺς κεκτημένους ‘their owners’, which usually refers to the relationship of master and slave; it does sometimes denote a husband, but when it does it ‘conveys [as does δεσπότης] the absoluteness of his authority’ (FJW, citing Eur. *IA* 715, *Med.* 233, *Hel.* 1193), thus assimilating him to a slave-owner. Coming after δμῶϊς (335) the phrase must be taken as a reassertion of the claim that marriage to the Aegyptiads would be virtual slavery – a claim which once again is taken for granted, not argued for; from which it follows that the relationship between the spouses cannot be one of φιλία, for φιλία ... οὐκ ἔστι ... πρὸς δοῦλον ἢ δοῦλος (Arist. *EN* 1161b1–3). There are three possible emendations of M’s meaningless ὤνοιτο, and the preceding word can be read either as φίλους or as φιλοῦσ’. With ὠνοῖτο (Turnebus), the reference will be to dowries, with which a woman (or rather her κύριος on her behalf) ‘buy[s] a husband ... and take[s] him as absolute master of her person’ (Eur. *Med.* 232–4); but dowries are nowhere else mentioned in the play (except in the very dubious lines 977–9), and nowhere else do the Danaids suggest that they object to marriage with the Aegyptiads on economic grounds. With ὄνοιτο (Robortello) – from ὄνομαι, which appears nowhere else in tragedy, though cf. 10 ὀνοταζόμεναι – the meaning, whether we read φίλους or φιλοῦσ’, will be ‘who would censure/despise her lord if she regarded him as a φίλος?’ This would make the Danaids’ argument circular (in effect ‘we object to these marriages because the men are our enemies, and they must be our enemies because we object to marrying them’), which is not necessarily a fatal objection to this text; it would also, however, leave τοὺς κεκτημένους with very little argumentative weight (one is unlikely to censure or despise a φίλος even if he is not one’s κεκτημένος). The best sense, in relation to the preceding context, is given by φίλους οἶοιτο (Portus: ‘who would regard her owner as her friend?’) which is, however, furthest from the transmitted text. An additional problem is posed by the following context, i.e. the relationship between 337 and 338 (see below); several editors have followed Wilamowitz in positing a lacuna (which, in view of the stichomythia, would have to be of at least two lines).

338 Pelasgus seems to be saying that a man’s, and a family’s, power and effectiveness in society are enhanced by an appropriate marriage alliance, a view with which almost all Greeks would agree. For σθένος and σθένω denoting the power to achieve desired goals cf. *Ag.* 938, *Cho.* 849; *Soph. Aj.* 488, *Phil.* 456, *OC* 68, 456, fr. 87.

μέν is *solitarium* (Denniston 1954: 380–2), its force being approximately ‘whatever else might be said about the matter’.

οὔτω: i.e. by what you are objecting to. Precisely what this means will depend on our restoration of 337. If the Danaids are simply reiterating

that they regard their cousins as enemies (which, as explained above, would be the effective meaning of 337 if ὄνοιτο is read), Pelasgus will be replying that cousin marriage (very common among Greeks), even if personally distasteful, can be socially advantageous to both parties, joining the two families by the double bond of consanguinity and affinity. If their words imply (and if Pelasgus understands them to imply) that they regard *any* marriage as tantamount to slavery, he will be taking the much stronger position that any marriage, even a bad one, is better (for the woman and her family) than none; there is, however, no sign elsewhere that Pelasgus believes the Danaids to be rejecting marriage absolutely. Before a consonant οὔτω is the normal form; οὔτως is often found as a variant, but it never appears as the *sole* reading in a fifth-century dramatic text preserved in more than one authoritative manuscript.

μεῖζον αὖξεται 'is augmented <so as to become> greater, is magnified'. This proleptic use of the adjective (Weir Smyth 1956: 357 §1579) is idiomatic with αὖξω (never αὖξάνω); cf. Eur. *Ba.* 181-3 δεῖ γάρ νιν ... αὖξεσθαι μέγαν, Pl. *Rep.* 8.565c ἓνα τινὰ δῆμος ἀεὶ εἶωθεν ... τρέφειν τε καὶ αὖξειν μέγαν.

339 The chorus-leader offers a powerful counter-argument: the social advantages of a marriage alliance between two families may well be illusory (especially if one of them is considerably more powerful than the other), since if troubles arise, the stronger family can easily escape from the alliance. In classical Athens divorce by a husband was in fact easy (Harrison 1968: 39-40, 55-6); he would have to repay his wife's dowry, but that might be no great deterrent if his family was much the richer. For the audience, this statement has an ironic point (Gantz 1978: 282): it is the Danaids themselves who will eventually find, with their father, a simple means of escaping from their marriages – by murder.

καὶ ... γ' 'yes, and ...' (Denniston 1954: 157).

δυστυχούντων: probably 'if/when they suffer misfortune' (genitive absolute with unexpressed subject, cf. 123-4n.); possibly 'from them if they suffer misfortune' (genitive of separation with ἀπαλλαγή). In either case, as the gender of the participle shows, the understood subject of the participle is βροτοί, denoting, as it did in 338, one or both of the *families* that had made the marriage alliance.

340 Pelasgus, evidently realizing that argument about the Danaids' attitude to the marriages will be fruitless, passes to the practical question of what they want him to do.

πῶς ... εὐσεβῆς ... πέλω 'how shall I <act so as to> show piety towards you' (deliberative subjunctive), i.e. 'what are you supplicating me to do?'

οὖν: 298n.

341 αἰτοῦσι 'if/when they demand us'.

μὴ 'κδούς 'if you refuse to hand us over' (the participle will be conditional, as μὴ shows); understand εὐσεβῆς ἔσῃ. M's reading (in effect μὴ

ῥκδῶις) is grammatically correct, but Schütz's emendation gives a more precise answer to Pelasgus' question, and is in accordance with a tragic idiom whereby questions with πῶς are normally answered with a participial phrase (e.g. Ag. 543-4; Soph. *OT* 1177-8; Eur. *Alc.* 45-6 πῶς οὖν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἐστὶ κοῦ κάτω χθονός; – δάμαρτ' ἀμείψας). For ἐκδίδωμι 'surrender a person to one wishing to punish or ill-treat him/her' (LSJ ἐκδίδωμι 1) in tragedy, cf. 414, 510, 943, Eur. *Med.* 1238, *Hclld.* 97, 221. There is also probably a play on the verb's other meaning 'give in marriage' (LSJ ἐκδίδωμι 2a): if Pelasgus were to surrender the Danaids to their cousins, he would in effect himself be giving them in marriage, something that only their father has the right to do.

πάλιν is sufficiently justified by the fact that if the Danaids are surrendered to their cousins, they will be taken 'back again' to Egypt; it need not be regarded as an 'admission that [they] do, in some sense, belong to their cousins' (FJW).

342 γ' has the function of emphasizing βαρέα (Denniston 1954: 127), but the particle has a special affinity for pronouns (*ibid.* 121-3) and is thus postponed to follow σύ: cf. e.g. Soph. *OT* 432 (Teiresias has been told to go home) οὐδ' ἰκόμην ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἰ σύ μὴ 'κάλεις ('I wouldn't even have *come* ...'), Ar. *Ach.* 1192 στυγερά τάδε γε κρυερά πάθεα.

πόλεμον: the first mention of an expectation that acceptance of the Danaids' suppliant plea will result in war between Argos and Egypt.

ἄρασθαι: πόλεμον αἶρεσθαι means 'embark upon war' (439, 950, Ar. *Ach.* 913, Hdt. 7.132.2, Thuc. 1.80.3, 4.60.2).

νέον: νέος often has a sinister tinge (LSJ νέος 2; cf. 463, 712); here it may suggest that the anticipated war – against one of the greatest nations in the world – is unexpected, unprecedented and exceptionally dangerous. No myth, so far as we know, told of a major Greek-barbarian war earlier than this one.

343-4 The Danaids try to reassure Pelasgus (cf. 395 ξύμμαχον ... ἐλόμενος Δίκαν, 402-6, 437) that if he becomes involved in war as a result of supporting them, he will prevail because his cause will be a just one. Pelasgus' response plainly implies that he is not yet convinced that the Danaids' cause *is* a just one.

ξυμμάχων 'those who fight on her side'.

ἦν (M) or ἦι (M.L. West 1990b: 143)? The latter would be appropriate (for εἰ + subjunctive see 92n.) if Pelasgus takes 343 as a general maxim, the former if he takes it as a comment relating specifically to the current situation. It is true, as West points out, that a state of affairs beginning in the past and continuing into the present is normally described in Greek in the present tense, not the imperfect (nor, as in English, the perfect); but Pelasgus may be focusing his attention on the origins of the dispute, already wondering (as he wonders aloud in 387-91) whether the Danaids

had any right in Egyptian law to refuse marriage to their cousins. It is significant that the scholiast's paraphrase (συνέπρασσον ὑμῖν, εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προφάσεως εἶχον), while difficult to interpret, has both its two verbs in the imperfect tense.

345 πρύμναν: the poop, where the steersman stood, was the most vital part of a ship (cf. *Seven* 2, 760); and this shrine, claim the Danaids, is the most vital spot in Argos (cf. 372 ἐστὶαν χθονός) – all the more so now that it has been 'garlanded' with their suppliant-boughs. There is an allusion to the garlanding of the sterns of ships on sacred missions (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 58a–c).

346–7 Both lines should be given to Pelasgus, who expresses his fear of 'the wrath of Zeus Hikesios' again at 478–9 and 616–20 (and in less direct language at several other points). Editors before FJW gave 347 to the chorus-leader; but everywhere else in *Supp.*, and normally in A.'s other plays also, a stichomythia ends with a speech (not a song) of two lines or more by one of the parties to the stichomythia, and there is no reason to suppose that this convention was broken here.

τάσδ' ἔδρας 'this sitting', i.e. these suppliants sitting here; for ἔδραι meaning in effect '(collective) supplication' cf. Soph. *OT* 2–3. In principle the phrase could also mean 'this <divine> abode', but in 354–5 (where see n.) it appears to be the Danaids, not the statues, that are described as 'shaded' by the suppliant-boughs.

βαρύς echoes βαρέα (342): acceptance of the supplication may have fearful consequences, but so may its rejection (cf. next note). This is Pelasgus' first implicit recognition of his terrible dilemma; from here onwards it will come to seem more and more acute, more and more insoluble, until he finally decides (478–9) that he has no alternative but Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι (cf. 345) κότον ἰκτῆρος.

γε μέντοι is normally adversative ('on the other hand') both in A. and elsewhere (Denniston 1954: 412). Denniston (*ibid.* 413) cites this passage as evidence for a different sense, 'giving a partial ground for the acceptance of a belief' (like γε τοι or γοῦν), but the parallels he offers are not strong: Eur. *Hec.* 600 is now generally regarded as spurious, and Xenophon (as Denniston himself points out) is exceptional in often using γε μέντοι without adversative force. And it can be seen as having adversative force here. Pelasgus has 'shuddered' (346) at the sight of the supplication because, as he has said, its acceptance will probably involve Argos in a perilous war; *on the other hand*, rejection may well incur the wrath of Zeus Hikesios.

Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου κότος: 67n.

348–417 constitute an 'epirrhematic' scene, i.e. one in which sung stanzas by the chorus alternate with short speeches, normally all of the same

length, by an individual character; here all Pelasgus' speeches, except the last, are of five lines. Such scenes are found in all A.'s earlier plays (734–61, 866–910; *Pers.* 256–89; *Seven* 203–44, 686–711); the *Oresteia* plays variations on the pattern (*Ag.* 1072–1113, where it is the chorus(-leader) who speaks while Cassandra sings; *Ag.* 1407–47 and *Eum.* 778–891, where the speeches are longer and unequal; *Eum.* 117–139, where the chorus's part consists of inarticulate or semi-articulate sounds). The Danaids put pressure on Pelasgus, reminding him of the danger of incurring pollution (364, 375) and of the power of Zeus (360, 381–6, 402–4), and insisting that their cause is just (384, 395, 404–6) and that he who supports them will be rewarded by the gods (362–4, 402–4). Pelasgus struggles to find a way out of his dilemma, saying he cannot act without the consent of his people (365–9, 398–401) and asking the Danaids – a question they evade answering – whether under Egyptian law their cousins have a right to insist on the marriages (387–91). At the end of the scene (407–17) he is still hoping that 'deep thought' may enable him to discover an escape route.

348–54 = 359–64: metre

1	υ – υ – υ – – υ –	<i>ia doch</i>
2	υ υυ – υ – υ – – υ –	<i>2 doch</i>
3	υ υυ – υυ – υ υυ <u>υυ</u> υ –	<i>2 doch</i>
4	υ υυ – υ – υυ υ – υ –	<i>2 doch</i>
5	– υυ – υ –	<i>doch</i>
6	– υυ – υ – υ –	<i>ch ia</i>
7	– υυ – υ – –	<i>ch ba (= ar)</i>

Note that 6 and 7 are in effect, in this context, extended dochmiacs.

The first dochmiac in 3 is of a rare form (with double-short replacing the usual single-short in penultimate position) found also in *Seven* 147, 893–904, 935 = 949 (M. L. West 1982: 111). In the antistrophe 5 and the beginning of 6 have been lost in M, though they were apparently known to the scholiast (362–3n.).

349 πρόφρονι: 1n. Here and in 968 (also addressed to Pelasgus) this adjective is unusually employed in an appeal for the favour of a human rather than of a god.

350 περίδρομον 'wandering' (cf. *Ar. Frogs* 472, *Thgn.* 581) might seem to be less well suited to the Danaids, who have come direct from Egypt to Argos, than to the heifer to which they will presently compare themselves; but the point being made is that they have as yet no sure abode in which to remain.

351–3 λυκοδίωκτον ὡς δάμαλιν: a heifer is an appropriate *comparanda* for a descendant of Io. In Homer the predator who attacks cattle is the lion (*Il.* 5.161–2, 11.172–6, 15.630–6, etc.), but apparently the Danaids would rather strain probability (throughout archaic and classical poetry

the wolf's victim is elsewhere invariably a sheep/lamb or goat/kid) than compare their enemies to so noble a beast. Cf. 760n.

ἄμ (= ἀνά) 'on'; ἀνά + dative, common in Homer, is rare in tragedy even in lyric (only Eur. *El.* 466, *IA* 754). For the apocope cf. 550, *Pers.* 566, *Eum.* 229 (πάρ); it is rather more frequent in compounds (e.g. 781 ἀμπετής, 1048 παρβατός).

πέτραις ἡλίβατοις: a Homeric phrase (e.g. *Il.* 15.273, 16.35) which can be applied to any rock(s), including the great stone with which the Cyclops closed up his cave (*Od.* 9.243). The epic poets may well not have been able to ascribe any definite meaning to ἡλίβατος: on its only two appearances in tragedy (the other is Eur. *Hipp.* 732) it seems to mean 'lofty' or 'steep'. The Danaids, of course, are themselves at present in an elevated place which, being sacred, is capable of serving as a refuge, as the 'steep crags' do for the heifer, and which will in fact serve as a refuge when their pursuers arrive.

ἵν' 'where'.

ἀλκᾶι 'protection' (a sense not properly recognized by LSJ), used at 731 and 832 with reference to the shrine.

μέμυκε: perfect with present meaning, found in early hexameter poetry (*Il.* 18.580, 21.237; *Od.* 12.395; Hes. *WD* 508) but in tragedy only here.

φράζουσα βοτῆρι μόχθους 'telling the herdsman of her distress' – as the Danaids are telling Pelasgus of theirs. This passage may be imitated in Eupolis fr. 1 (from his *Goats*), where it seems to be said that a goat threatened by a wolf 'will cry out and tell the goatherd'.

354–5 'I see this company, shaded by fresh-plucked boughs (cf. 346), supplicating in the name of (333n.) these assembled gods' – an answer to 350 ἴδε με τὰν ἱκέτιν. Pelasgus does indeed see the supplication, but he cannot give the immediate, favourable response that the Danaids desire, because of the danger it would pose to his community (356–8). The echoes of 333–4 (the 'fresh-plucked boughs' and the ἀγώνιοι θεοί) and the parallels of 234 and 993 strongly suggest that ὄμιλος denotes the Danaids, not the gods; the few parallels that exist for the phrase ὄμιλος θεῶν (e.g. *h.Herm.* 5, *PMG* 936.14) give no support to the notion that it could denote a group of divine images in a sanctuary.

ναύονθ': M's νέον θ' is certainly corrupt. The newly arrived Danaids might possibly be called a νέον ὄμιλον, but there is nothing to which this phrase, or νέον alone, can reasonably be linked by τε. Rather, M's letters must conceal a participle. If its subject is the Danaids, neither νέονθ' ('swimming', 'spinning', 'heaping up') nor ναίονθ' (Musgrave, 'dwelling', which would imply a settled residence) nor νεύονθ' (Bamberger, 'nodding') will do; but Hesychius (ν116, 148) has ναύειν ἱκετεύειν and ναυστῆρες οἱ οἰκέται (ἱκέται West), which points to ναύονθ' here, giving a further (semantic)

echo of 333 (ἰκνεῖσθαι + genitive). Bowen's suggestion that in Attic, by regular phonological processes, this participle would have had the form *νέωνθ' is tempting because it yields a reading which in medieval Greek would be homophonous with M's; but there is no evidence that this verb even existed in ordinary Attic – A. may well have known it only from lyric poetry.

τόνδ' is probably preferable to τῶνδ' (M), as in 189; 'I see this company' (cf. *Eum.* 406 ὁρῶσα τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονός) is more plausible than 'I see the company' or 'I see a company', so the Danaids need the demonstrative more than the gods do.

356–8 Pelasgus hopes that the supplication will have no evil consequences for Argos, but it is already fairly clear that what he hopes for is not what he expects (cf. 454 γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν).

ἄνατον 'not harmful' (so again 410; 'not harmed' in *Ag.* 1211, *Eum.* 59; 359 is ambiguous); from ἄτη in its original sense 'harm, damage, (material) loss' (Sommerstein 2013a: 2–3).

πρᾶγμα 'matter, business'.

ἄστοξένων: i.e. foreigners of citizen descent. This is the only surviving occurrence of ἀστόξενος in a literary text, but scholiasts and grammarians (Σ *Il.* 4.377; Aelius Dionysius 12 Erbse, Paus. Att. α163 Erbse) cite a range of examples that suggest the word may have been more widely used, applying it to Atreus and Agamemnon in Asia (the original home of Atreus' father Pelops), the Lycian Glaucus at Corinth (home of his grandfather Bellerophon), and Teucer at Troy (home of his mother Hesione).

μηδ' ... γένηται: the use of the subjunctive instead of the optative makes this more like a negative third-person injunction ('let not ...') than a wish ('may not ...'); see Weir Smyth 1956: 404 §1800. Most recent commentators prefer, following Fraenkel 1950: 176, to take it as an expression of fear (*Ag.* 131–4, 341–2 being cited as parallels; see Weir Smyth *ibid.* §1801–2); but the following words, τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις, are explanatory (n.b. γάρ) of a desire that strife may not occur, not of an apprehension that it may.

ἐξ ἀέλπτων κάπρομηθήτων: conflict is always undesirable, but it is particularly traumatic when it arises 'out of the blue' from a completely unexpected event (such as the arrival of the Danaids).

πόλει ... πόλις: strong emphasis on the endangered community; so again 366, 367 (λαός), 369 (ἄστοῖς ... πᾶσι), 398 (δήμου), 400 (λεώς), 401, 410.

νεῖκος probably here denotes war, or a dispute likely to lead to war, rather than internal civic strife; apprehension of the latter is never explicit in Pelasgus' words, and is implicit only at 399–401. Cf. 452, 935, *Il.* 4.444 (and many other Homeric passages), Hdt. 7.225.2.

τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις ‘the city doesn’t need that’, ‘the city can do without that’: a striking understatement (*meiosis* or *litotes*), since he clearly means that the city would suffer serious harm.

359–60 The Danaids wish that Themis may ‘cast her eye on our flight <so as to make it> harmless’ (ἄνατον being predicative/proleptic, 338n.).

δῆτ’ emphasizes an echoed word (207–11n.), viz. ἄνατον. Usually the echoed word is placed first, but cf. Ar. *Birds* 1547–8 μισῶ δ’ ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς οἶσθα σύ. – νῆ τὸν Δί’, ἀεὶ δῆτα θεομισῆς ἔφους.

ἄνατον may mean ‘coming to no harm’ or ‘causing no harm’ (356–8n.); thus we cannot tell, from the language at least, whether the Danaids are thinking primarily of the danger to themselves or, like Pelasgus, of the danger to Argos. Thus the echo of 356 (cf. previous note) may be more formal than real.

ἱκεσία Θέμις: by transferring the title of Zeus Hikesios to Themis, the Danaids imply that right (θέμις) demands that supplications be accepted – before they have even attempted to show by argument or evidence that their supplication is in a righteous cause.

Διός may mean (1) ‘daughter of Zeus’ (Themis is not elsewhere so called, but Dike is at *Seven* 662, *Cho.* 949–51); (2) ‘servant/agent of Zeus’ (cf. Soph. *OC* 1767 χῶ πάντ’ ἄϊων Διὸς Ὀρκος with Kamerbeek 1984: 235); (3) ‘attribute of Zeus’ (taking Θέμις/θέμις as personification and abstraction simultaneously). However it is taken, it further reinforces the Danaids’ claim by implying that the supreme god stands behind it.

κλαρίου: this epithet of Zeus is otherwise known only from Tegea (Paus. 8.53.9) where, perhaps significantly, it is associated with ‘the elevated place on which stand most of the Tegeans’ altars’. It is also possible, however, that it was, or was understood as being, a synonym of ἱκέσιος: note Hesychius κ2870 κλάριοι κλάδοι.

361 Normally the old teach the young, not vice versa; cf. *Cho.* 171 πῶς οὖν παλαιὰ παρὰ νεωτέρας μάθω; and *Eum.* 848–9 (Athena speaking!) γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ, | καὶ τῶι μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ’ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερα. The Danaids are very far from obeying their father’s advice to be respectful and yielding (193–203)!

ὀψιγόνου: this is the first known appearance of ὀψιγόνος in the sense ‘of the younger (living) generation’; in earlier texts it means either ‘born late in the parents’ life’ (e.g. *h.Dem.* 165, 219) or ‘of future generations’ (e.g. *Il.* 3.353, 7.87).

γεραιόφρων: cf. παλαιόφρων (593, *Eum.* 838 = 871). The word does not imply that Pelasgus is an old man, only (with a touch of flattery) that he has the wisdom of one. He is obviously a good deal older than the Danaids, who, being unmarried, are presumably to be thought of as about 14–18 years old (and therefore as the children of multiple mothers; cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5); on the other hand he must be assumed to be

childless (to avoid dynastic complications after the establishment of a new royal house by Lynceus and Hypermestra), and so can hardly himself be much over 30.

362–3 ποτιτρόπαιον ‘suppliant’ is a lyric variant (particularly suited to dochmiacs, and also found at *Eum.* 176) of προστρόπαιος, using the Doric form of the preposition/prefix (which is occasionally found even in spoken verse, cf. *Eum.* 79, *Soph. Trach.* 1214). The word sometimes, as here, means simply ‘suppliant’ (e.g. *Ag.* 1587, *Soph. Aj.* 1173), but more often ‘suppliant seeking purification’ (e.g. *Eum.* 41, 176); indeed Orestes, supplicating Athena, twice reassures her that he is *not* a προστρόπαιος (*Eum.* 237, 445). It is thus highly ironic that the Danaids, who before the end of the trilogy will have the pollution of murder upon them, should use this word to designate themselves.

†οὔν περ ... θεῶν†: the sense is reasonably clear, especially if we accept Headlam’s insight (based partly on the scholiast’s paraphrase οὐ πτωχεύσεις) that ΟΥΝΠΕΡ conceals the first five letters of the poetic adjective λιπερνής ‘poor’ (Archilochus fr. 109 West, Cratinus fr. 211, *Ar. Peace* 603) or a case-form or derivative thereof: Pelasgus is being told that if he respects suppliants he will never lack for prosperity, and that the gods accept (sc. with favour) the offerings of a man who is ‘pure’ (ἀγνοῦ, see below). The lacuna is too long for the lost words to be precisely reconstructed. When it ends, exact responsion (usual, though not invariable, in Aeschylean dochmiacs) would suggest we need a word or words scanning ~ – ~ – (or perhaps ~ – ~ – ~ if θεῶν is treated as a monosyllable); M’s ἱεροδόκα gives ~ ~ ~. West’s ἱερᾶδοκεῖ (or ἱερὰδόκ’ <ἐστι>: M. L. West 1990b: 144–5) is therefore tempting, though its formation is paralleled in pre-Hellenistic poetry only by ἱεραπόλος (Pind. fr. 94a.6 Snell–Maehler).

364 λήματ’ ‘will, mindset’ (plural also, when speaking of more than one individual, *Ag.* 122, *Eur. Med.* 119): λῆμα usually in A. means ‘fighting spirit’ (*Pers.* 55; *Seven* 448, 616; A. fr. 147), but in *Seven* 706 it may have a more neutral meaning (and may be applied, as here, to the will of a god); cf. too *Eur. Med.* 348 and Hesychius λ863 λήματα δόγματα, βουλεύματα.

ἀγνοῦ probably hints at the pollution that may be incurred ‘if the divinely sanctioned rights of suppliants are violated in any way’ (R. Parker 1983: 146), as would be the case if their plea were rejected unjustly. The implicit warning to avoid such pollution will prove to be ironic (cf. 362–3n.) when the Danaids force Pelasgus to accept their supplication by threatening a suicide which will bring on him and Argos a μίασμ’ ... οὐχ ὑπερτοξεύσιμον (473).

365–9 Pelasgus now for the first time makes the point that before coming to a final decision on so grave an issue, he must consult his people.

365 οὐτοί occurs 6 times more in *Supp.* (510, 513, 764, 884, 893, 934), 14 times in the *Oresteia*, but only once in *Seven* and never in *Pers.* The enclitic particle ‘does little more than add force to the negation’ (Denniston 1954: 543).

ἐφίστιοι ‘at the hearth’, which, being sacred to the goddess Hestia, was the normal place of supplication in a private residence, including a royal palace (*Ag.* 1587, *Thuc.* 1.136.3).

366 ἐμῶν: the one-word enjambment does not always, or even usually, confer strong emphasis (see Headlam 1891: 5–12), but it certainly does so here, with the help of the immediate contrast with τὸ κοινὸν ... πόλις and doubtless also of tone and pausing on the actor’s part.

τὸ κοινόν ‘collectively’, ‘as a whole’ (adverbial accusative, 326–7n.); contrast 518 where τὸ κοινόν is a nominal phrase meaning ‘the community’.

μιαίνεται ‘is threatened with pollution’ (cf. 364n.; lit. ‘is in the process of being polluted’); cf. *Lys.* 12.14 ἀδικῶ δ’ οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ’ ἔνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι (the speaker believes himself doomed to death, but has not actually been told so). Bowen’s emendation μιαίνεται (for εἰ + subjunctive cf. 92n.) is based on the assumption that the present indicative implies that the city is (or may be) *already* polluted; but if that were so, the emendation would not solve the problem, since the subjunctive would itself imply that the city will already be polluted when the assembly meets to consider a ‘remedy’.

367 ξυνῇ ... λαός echoes τὸ κοινὸν ... πόλις. Compare the words of King Edward I when summoning an unprecedentedly broad-based Parliament in 1295: ‘even as a most just law ... exhorts and stipulates that what touches all should be approved of by all, so it plainly implies that dangers facing the community should be met with remedies provided by the community’ (Palgrave 1827: 30, trans. AHS).

μελέσθω λαός = μελέτω λαῶι (LSJ μέλω B 11).

ἄκη: ἄκος can denote a preventive as well as a curative medication (literal or metaphorical): the Watchman in *Agamemnon*, who sings or hums to himself to keep awake, calls this an ἀντίμολπον ... ἄκος for sleep (*Ag.* 16–17).

368 ἐγώ is in contrast both with λαός above and with ἀστοῖς ... πᾶσι below.

ἂν οὐ κρᾶίνοιμ’ ‘I cannot make-so-as-to-be-effective’: κρᾶίνω is a verb that carries strong connotations of successful achievement (cf. 608, 624, 943).

ὑπόσχεσιν ‘promise’: only here in tragedy, but cf. *Il.* 2.286, 349, *Od.* 10.483.

πάρως: i.e. before consulting the people, in contrast with κοινώσας ‘after having shared the information’ (cf. *Cho.* 673, 717).

370-5 = 381-6: metre

1	υ - υ - υ υ - υ -	<i>ia doch</i>
2	υ υ υ υ υ -	<i>doch</i>
3	υ - - - υ - υ - υ -	<i>ia_Λ lek</i>
4	υ - - - υ - υ - υ -	<i>ia_Λ lek</i>
5	υ - - - υ - υ - υ -	<i>ia_Λ lek</i>
6	- υ - - υ - υ - -	<i>ch ith</i>

370-5 The Danaids assert that Pelasgus, being king, has power to accept their supplication on his own authority, and remind him again of the risk of incurring pollution if he does not. In almost every phrase they hammer home the message that he is the sole ruler, accountable to nobody. Their notion of monarchy is probably to be thought of as typically 'barbarian'; it resembles that of the Queen in *Persians*, who says (*Pers.* 212-14) that even if her son's expedition against Greece is unsuccessful, he is οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει and, if he has survived, will continue to rule. See E. M. Hall 1989: 97-8. In fact it will appear that Pelasgus does in theory have absolute power (cf. 399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν) but that it would be very imprudent for him to exercise it, in a matter like this, without popular consent (398-401, 484-5).

370 **σύ τοι πόλις**: here (contrast 365n.) τοι has its full normal force, 'bring[ing] home to the comprehension of the person addressed a truth [or alleged truth] of which he is ... temporarily oblivious' (Denniston 1954: 537); it may here be rendered as 'I tell you'. When Creon in *Soph. Ant.* 738 makes the similar assertion τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡ πόλις νομίζεται his son retorts 'You'd make a fine ruler for an uninhabited country.'

τὸ δάμιον is synonymous with ὁ δῆμος at 699 (by which time the Danaids have accepted that the people 'rule the city'), and probably therefore here also. The Danaids mean that Pelasgus has full power to take decisions that are binding on the people; but they express this in terms which, taken literally, are absurd. The restoration of the 'Doric' ᾱ here and in 699 (M has δημ- in both places) is supported by the transmitted readings at *Cho.* 57 and *Eum.* 160.

371 **πρύτανις** in serious poetry means 'ruler', normally of monarchs and sometimes of gods (e.g. Zeus in *Prom.* 170, Eur. *Tro.* 1288), and that is the kind of πρύτανις of which the Danaids are speaking; but now that the issue of popular consent to government decisions has been raised, Athenians would be bound to think of their own πρυτάνεις, the 50 members of the βουλή belonging to one of the 10 tribes, who acted as a business committee of the βουλή for one-tenth of the year – and who, like all office-holders, could be called to account for any misconduct. See Bakewell 2008: 305-6, 2013: 36-7.

ἄκριτος 'not subject to judgement', equivalent to οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος (370-5n.).

372 If Pelasgus has full power over the πόλις, then he has full power over everything belonging to it, and in particular over its sanctuaries. And if Argos is in effect his personal estate, then the Danaids at one of Argos' altars are in effect ἐφέστιοι in his house (365-6nn.).

κρατύνεις βωμόν: 255n.

ἑστίαν χθονός: an altar may be called a ἑστία even outside a context of supplication (e.g. *Seven* 275, Soph. *OC* 1495).

373 μονοψήφοισι: Pelasgus can make by his sole will the kinds of decisions which in democracies are made by popular vote. The decision to accept and protect the Danaids will in the end be made by what the Danaids' father himself describes as παντελῇ ψηφίσματα (601), τελεία ψηφος Ἀργείων (739; cf. also 942-3). It is noteworthy that the dissident Danaid, Hypermestra, is described by Pindar (*Nem.* 10.6) as having kept her μονόψαφον ... ξίφος in its sheath; we do not know for certain whether the ode is earlier or later than *Supp.* (see Forrest 1960: 228-30, Cannata Ferà 2004: 97-9, Henry 2005: 91), but voting is more relevant to the Danaid trilogy than to Pindar's poem, and it is quite likely that A. had been the first to apply this adjective to Hypermestra.

νεύμασιν: this picture of Pelasgus exercising power by a mere nod of his head falls little short of equating him with Zeus (92n.).

σέθεν is emphatic (otherwise it would be redundant): Pelasgus controls the altar (and everything else in Argos) by *his own* sole will.

374 mentions two attributes of royalty (throne and sceptre) to stress that Pelasgus is the sole possessor of both (and therefore of the power which they symbolize).

374-5 χρεός πᾶν 'every matter, everything' (LSJ χρεός II 1 or 2). Since χρεός also means 'debt, obligation', there may be an insinuation that Pelasgus has not only the power but the duty to accept the supplication himself; ἐπικραίνω is applied to the fulfilment (or rather non-fulfilment) of an obligation at *Ag.* 1545-6.

ἐπικραίνεις is the answer to οὐ κρᾶνοιμ' (368n.): Pelasgus, so say the Danaids, *can* make them a promise that will be effective, without seeking popular consent.

ἄγος φυλάσσου re-emphasizes the point hinted at in 364 (ἀνδρὸς ἄγνοῦ), and understood then by Pelasgus (366), that rejection of the Danaids' supplication may bring pollution on him and Argos.

376 Pelasgus immediately 'defuses' the ill-omened word ἄγος by directing it against his enemies: cf. e.g. Soph. *El.* 644-7 where Clytaemestra prays that if her dream portended evil, Apollo should divert that evil on to her enemies. See Fraenkel 1957: 410-11. In everyday Attic an imprecation or insult might be hurled straight back at its utterer with the formula εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι (*Ar. Peace* 1063, *Wealth* 526).

τοῖς ἐμοῖς παλιγκότοις: παλίγκοτος ‘hostile’ is ordinarily an adjective, but is here treated as a noun on the analogy of its synonym ἐχθρός: another synonym, δυσμενής, is treated similarly in Soph. *Ant.* 187 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.33.

377–80 Putting aside for the present the issue of consulting the people (to which he will return at 399–402), Pelasgus states more sharply the dilemma already posed in 342–7 (346–7n.): the Danaids’ supplication must in the end be either accepted or rejected, and either choice is likely to lead to evil consequences.

377 οὐκ ἔχω ‘I am unable’. As Bowen points out, this is the only occurrence in A.’s earlier plays of a usage of ἔχω that appears fairly frequently in the *Oresteia* (Ag. 163, 367; *Cho.* 199, 259, 518).

378 εὖφρων ‘sensible’ (cf. Xenophanes fr. 1.13 DK = B1.13 West). Elsewhere in *Supp.* εὖφρων generally means ‘kindly, friendly’ (but cf. 640, 1034nn.), and this sense may be hinted at here: a rejection of the Danaids’ plea will be likely to make the gods, especially Zeus, look on Pelasgus and Argos with an unfriendly eye.

379 ἀμηχανῶ and its cognates occur over 50 times in tragedy, in which characters are so often placed in situations in which no safe course of action is available. Here the Danaids’ μηχανή of supplication (207) has reduced Pelasgus to ἀμηχανία: their further μηχανή of threatening suicide (459, 462) will force him to tell his people that they must not reject the supplication for fear they may incur an ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς (620).

φόβος μ’ ἔχει φρένας is made to govern an infinitive, as if he had said φοβοῦμαι. The two accusatives are an instance of the ‘whole-and-part’ construction (255n.); cf. *Eum.* 88 μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.

380 δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε: both acceptance and rejection are actions, but δρᾶσαι here means ‘do what I have been asked to do’; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1252 ἄλλ’ οὐδέ τοι σῆι χειρὶ πείθομαι τὸ δρᾶν, where the ‘action’ referred to is that of obeying Odysseus’ demand *not* to give Philoctetes back his bow.

καὶ τύχην ἐλεῖν ‘and to grasp the fortune <that my decision will bring me>’: to decide for or against the Danaids is to accept, indeed to reach out for, the consequences of that decision – which, either way, are likely to be bad. The best clue to the meaning of the expression, and its relationship to the preceding words, is provided by the imitation of our passage in Eur. *IA* 55–7 where it is said that for Tyndareos, faced with a multitude of suitors for Helen’s hand making ‘dire threats’ against one another and probably also against him, τὸ πρᾶγμα ... ἀπόρως εἶχε ... | δοῦναί τε μὴ δοῦναί τε, τῆς τύχης ὅπως | ἄψαιτ’ ἄριστα (‘how he might lay hold on fortune in the best way’). Evidently the author, whether Euripides or another, took τύχην ἐλεῖν to refer not to either one of the alternative courses of action,

but to the choice between them, and to have approximately the meaning indicated above.

381–6 For the first time the chorus explicitly invoke against Pelasgus the authority of Zeus Hikesios (with an echo in 385 of Pelasgus' own words at 347); they will mention Zeus again at 403 and 437.

381 τὸν ὑπόθεν σκοπόν 'him who looks <down> from above': cf. Ag. 1579 θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ, *Seven* 640, *Cho.* 985, *Il.* 13.1–7. The following apposition 'guardian of unjustly-treated suppliants' makes it clear that Zeus Hikesios is meant.

ἐπισκόπει is given added point by its proximity to σκοπόν: Pelasgus must 'watch out for' (beware of) the god who 'watches over' earthly affairs from above: cf. 646 Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορ' αἰέσκοπον. Normally in such contexts in A. it is the god who ἐπισκοπεῖ (402; *Cho.* 61, 126) or ἐποπτεύει (*Cho.* 1, 583, 985, 1063; *Eum.* 220).

382 πολυπόνων reminds Pelasgus of the Danaids' own πόνοι (cf. 125, 329, 506, 1006).

383 τοῖς πείλας 'others': cf. *Prom.* 335–6, Eur. *Med.* 86, *Hipp.* 441. There may be a hint of the literal meaning 'those near to them': the Danaids are kin to the Argives, and will allude to this relationship again in 402 (ὁμαίων).

προσήμενοι 'sitting in front of' as suppliants (cf. Soph. *OT* 15–16 προσήμεθα βωμοῖσι τοῖς σοῖς, also 189 προσίζειν); but the verb can also have the hostile sense 'beset' (Ag. 834, 1191) or even 'besiege' ([Eur.] *Rhes.* 390–1).

384 οὐ τυγχάνουσιν: *prima facie* the relative clause is generic, referring to *all* wrongly slighted suppliants, and in Attic the normal negative in such clauses is μή (e.g. Ag. 342, *Eum.* 899; see Weir Smyth 1956: 564); but here οὐ indicates that the Danaids are really concerned with a *particular* group of suppliants, viz. themselves.

385 μένει 'awaits, lies in store', usually in A. said of future (typically punitive) action by a deity (435; Ag. 459, 1277; *Cho.* 64, 103, 464; *Eum.* 542). A second meaning, 'endures', may also be present (386n.).

τοι: 370n.

ἰκταίου: this variant of ἰκέσιος, probably formed on the analogy of εὐκταῖος (631–2; *Seven* 723, 841; Ag. 1387; Soph. *Trach.* 239; Eur. *Med.* 169, *Or.* 214), is found only here.

κότος: 67n., 347.

386 When a mortal has once committed a wrong that incurs divine wrath, no plea or prayer will avail; in addition to Ag. 69–71 (cited below) cf. Ag. 396–8, *Eum.* 558–9.

δυσπαράθελκτος: cf. Ag. 69–71 οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὐτ' ἐπιλείβων | ἀπύρων ἱερῶν | ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει (the only other occurrence of παραθέλγω or its derivatives in ancient Greek literature). M has -θέλκτοις, which

would have to be governed by μένει (cf. 433–5) and refer to the *supplicandi* (with οἴκτοις still an instrumental dative depending on it); but (1) the construction of the two datives might well be hard to understand in real time and (2) the *supplicandus* will not be punished merely for being *hard* to persuade, but only for *refusing in the end to yield* to a justified request.

παθόντος: the tense implies that the offender has already suffered for his offence; but the Aeschylean gods are often not content with a single punishment. The defeat of Salamis, with its thousands of dead, was only the beginning of the punishment of Xerxes and the Persians for invading Greece; it continued in the hardships of their retreat, culminating in the disaster at the river Strymon (*Pers.* 482–507), with the further disaster of Plataea to follow (*Pers.* 796–828). The penalty for Laius' defiance of an oracle was paid by him, by his son and by his grandsons (*Seven* 720–91, 800–2, 840–2); similarly the Danaids will warn Pelasgus that the consequences of his decision will be enduring (μένει, cf. 385) for his children and his house (434–6; on inherited guilt or punishment, see Föllinger 2003, Sewell-Rutter 2007). In any of these cases one who had already suffered (ἔπαθε) might grieve and pray for mercy, but (we are told) the punishing god(s) will be implacable.

οἴκτοις: 58–9n.

387–91 In his fourth epirrhematic speech, as in his second (365–9), Pelasgus introduces an argument against granting the Danaids' plea, and this time it is an argument which, if valid, would probably make it as impossible for the Argive people as for Pelasgus himself to give a favourable response. Prompted perhaps by the Danaids' appeal to νόμος (384 δίκας ... ἐννόμου), he raises the issue of Egyptian marriage law: if the sons of Aegyptus, by virtue of their kinship, have the legal right to insist that the Danaids must become their wives, Argos cannot deny them that right. This supposed Egyptian law is not to be confused with (though it may well be partly inspired by) the Athenian law of the ἐπίκληρος, which only applied when a man with no son *died* leaving his daughter(s) unmarried, in which case they were given in marriage (by order of the ἄρχων or, in the event of a dispute, of a jury-court) to the nearest kinsman/kinsmen who put in a claim. Greeks of A.'s time may perhaps have known that the kings of Egypt often married their sisters, though it is striking that Herodotus never mentions this practice – the only full-sibling marriage he does mention (3.31) is that of a *Persian* king. At any rate, whether from knowledge or by chance, Pelasgus has hit on the weakest point in the Danaids' case; their response, highly emotive but completely ignoring the challenge posed to them, shows as clearly as anything could that Egyptian law would indeed allow the Aegyptiads to compel the Danaids to marry them. Whether a Greek *polis* should be required – and whether its people

would be willing – to enforce on their own soil the law of a barbarian people, a law riding roughshod over what Greeks would regard as the natural prerogatives of a father, might be another matter.

387 τοι (again 390): this particle, already used in Pelasgus' previous argumentative speech (365n.), here demands from the Danaids close attention to an important point.

κρατοῦσι 'have power over, have control of': this verb does not seem to be used in the sense 'have the right to marry (an ἐπικληρος)' until Plutarch (*Solon* 20.2) – in Isaeus 10.12 it refers only to control of her *property* – and it may suggest something close to a master–slave relationship (cf. 335).

388 νόμῳ πόλεως must mean 'by Egyptian law'; this would be obvious even before it is confirmed by νόμους τοὺς οἰκοθεν (390), since Pelasgus would not need to engage in conjecture about *Argive* marriage laws. For πόλις denoting a political or geographical entity far larger than a city-state cf. Eur. *Ion* 294 (Euboea), *Ba.* 58 (Phrygia), fr. 730 (Peloponnese), Ar. *Peace* 251 (Sicily).

ἐγγύτατα γένους (or its alternative form ἐγγυτάτω γένους) was a legal phrase (*IG* i³ 131.6, Ar. *Birds* 1666; very frequent in the orators); the genitive is in origin partitive, i.e. the phrase means literally 'most closely <related> of the kin-group'. Strictly speaking the Aegyptiads are not the Danaids' closest kin (even ignoring their father); under Athenian law, if the Danaids were ἐπικληροί, their uncle Aegyptus would have the first option to make a claim, as Smikrines has in relation to his two nieces in Menander's *Aspis*. It is, however, taken for granted that he would waive his claim in favour of his sons, who stand next in order of kinship.

389 τοῖς 'to them' (the Aegyptiads). There appears to have been a variant τοῖσδ' (M'), which would be neuter ('to this claim'); in tragedy the use of the article as a pronoun is comparatively rare (except before μέν and δέ), and it has been similarly displaced by a form of ὅδε in *Seven* 982 and *Ag.* 397.

ἀντιωθῆναι: this verb, common in Herodotus and in Aeneas Tacticus (32.11, 36.1, 37.5), occurs only here in classical Attic, where ἐναντιόομαι is normal.

390 φεύγειν 'argue in your defence' (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 263), a usage based on lawcourt language, in which the prosecutor was ὁ διώκων (*Eum.* 583) and the defendant ὁ φεύγων (Ar. *Wasps* 893).

κατὰ νόμους τοὺς οἰκοθεν can be construed equally well with φεύγειν ('argue, on the strength of Egyptian law, that they are not your κύριοι') or with what follows ('argue that under Egyptian law they are not your κύριοι'). The former construal puts a slight strain on κατὰ, but it avoids placing the prepositional phrase outside a clause of which it is part.

391 is equivalent to ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ κύριοί σου. A woman's κύριος was the man who represented her in those matters in which women could not act

on their own behalf – her husband if she had one, otherwise (at Athens) the person who had the right to give her in marriage – her father, brother, adult son, or a guardian appointed by a deceased father. See MacDowell 1978: 84–9. Under the Egyptian law imagined here, if a man had daughters but no sons, the next of kin would have a *κυριεία* superior to that of the father, in that he could *take* a daughter in marriage without the father's consent.

392–6 = 402–6: metre

1 – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
2 ∅ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
3 ∅ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∅ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
4 ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
5 – ∪ – ∪ – –	<i>ch ba</i> (= <i>ar</i>)

392–6 The Danaids conspicuously fail to meet Pelasgus' challenge, merely re-emphasizing their utter horror of the idea of marriage to their cousins. In 395–6 they tell Pelasgus, as they have told him before (343, 361–4, 381–6), that in favouring their cause he will be acting justly and pleasing the gods, but still without producing any argument to justify this claim.

392 τί 'in any way' (the accent is thrown back from ποτ').

οὐν emphasizes the negative (Denniston 1954: 422–5). Normally in this usage οὐν is followed, a word or two later, by γε, so that although 'the statement is emphatic, ... its application [is] restricted' (*ibid.* 422), and accordingly Denniston 1930: 213 conjectured κράτεσι γ' in 393; but restriction is hardly appropriate here (as if the Danaids would have been willing to accept some other form of enslavement), and there is a good parallel in Soph. *Phil.* 872–3 οὐκουν Ἀτρεΐδαι τοῦτ' (i.e. my loathsome wound) ἔτλησαν εὐφώρας | οὕτως ἐνεγκεῖν, where γ' αὐτ' (Blaydes), favoured by Denniston, would sacrifice the deictic force of the demonstrative (see Schein 2013: 255).

ὑποχείριος 'subject to', mainly a prose word, occurs only here in tragedy, but cf. Soph. *El.* 1092 ὑπόχειρ.

393–5 κράτεσιν picks up κρατοῦσι (387), but here it denotes *de facto* rather than *de jure* power. For the poetic plural cf. *Pers.* 785, *Cho.* 1, Soph. *Ant.* 60, *OT* 237, Eur. *Hipp.* 5; but the *dative* plural of κράτος is found only here in the whole of Greek literature.

ἀρσένων: of these males (the sons of Aegyptus), or of any male whatever? See 141–3n. and Intr. §§3, 5.

ὑπαστρον ... φυγάν 'I define my remedy for a hateful marriage as a flight up to the stars', i.e. 'I am prepared to flee up to the stars, if necessary, to avoid a hateful marriage.' Later, when the Egyptian fleet has arrived, the Danaids will express the wish to become smoke amid the clouds (779–80) or to find a seat in the αἰθήρ (792) rather than accept such a marriage.

ὑπαστρον 'up to the stars'; cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 133-4 καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη
κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν | ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη.

τοι 'I tell you' (370n.).

μῆχαρ 'remedy'; cf. 594, *Ag.* 199, *Prom.* 606 (nowhere else in archaic or classical texts).

ὀρίζομαι 'I define for myself'. There may be an echo of 255-6, where κρατῶ and ὀρίζομαι are juxtaposed. Pelasgus defines the (remote) limits of his power in geographical terms; the Danaids define the limits of their flight from male power in astronomical terms.

γάμου δύσφρονος: cf. above on ἀρσένων: a similar question arises here as to whether δύσφρονος is a restrictive adjective ('a marriage that is hateful') or a non-restrictive one ('marriage, which is hateful').

φυγάν echoes φεύγειν (390), again (cf. above on κράτεσιν) with a physical sense of the word being substituted for a legal one. The superficially easier correction φυγαῖ (Victorius: φυγαῖ M) would require us to take ὑπαστρον, implausibly, with μῆχαρ (or else to emend it).

395-6 ξύμμαχον ... Δίκαν echoes 343.

κρίνει 'choose', cf. *Ag.* 471 κρίνω δ' ἀφθονον ὄλβον.

σέβας τὸ πρὸς θεῶν: either (1) 'that which is reverent in the eyes of the gods' (cf. Andoc. 1.97 (law of 410 BC) 'I will regard the killer of an oligarch or tyrant as ὅσιον ... καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων') or (2) 'that which earns respect from the gods' (cf. *Eum.* 92 σέβει τοι Ζεὺς τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας, 151 (of Apollo) τὸν ἱκέταν σέβων); it makes little difference, since the gods may be expected to honour those who honour them.

θεῶν scans as one syllable, as often throughout tragedy.

397-401 Pressed to make a decision (395-6 ἐλόμενος ... κρίνει), Pelasgus again (cf. 365-9) insists that he must first consult his people: he apparently admits that he could if he wished make the decision on his own authority (399n.), but he would then be blamed if it led to evil consequences (cf. 485 ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λεώς: see Podlecki 1993: 72-6).

397 εὐκριτον ... κρίμα ... αἶροῦ κριτήν emphatically echoes two key words of the previous sentence, but in slightly different senses. The derivatives of κρίνω here speak of a judgement, and a difficult one, implying that there are weighty considerations on both sides; while αἰρέομαι now refers not to Pelasgus' choice of a course of action but to the Danaids' choice of a judge.

κρίμα: this is the only pre-Hellenistic occurrence of a noun that becomes extremely common in later Greek (where, moreover, on its rare appearances in verse, its first vowel is short – as indeed is implied, contrary to the metre, by M's original accentuation here). It is therefore possible that the word is corrupt (see apparatus); but it could equally well be

an Aeschylean coinage, given a long root vowel on the analogy of κρίνω, ἔκρινα.

’μ’: i.e. ἐμέ doubly elided. In delivery the emphatic pronoun will have been distinguished from the enclitic μ’ by its effect on the pitch pattern of the preceding word (whatever exactly the phonetic distinction between acute and grave accentuation may have been: Devine and Stephens 1994: 180–3, Probert 2003: 16–17). The pronoun marks the contrast between a decision by Pelasgus alone (which the Danaids are urging him to make) and a decision by the Argive people, and ensures that the sentence is understood as ‘don’t make *me* the judge’ rather than as ‘don’t make me the *judge*’.

398 εἶπον ... καὶ πρίν ‘I said it before’ is followed, without subordination, by a paraphrase (with some new elements added) of what Pelasgus had said in 365–9: cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 178 καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον· ἔστι χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις (referring back to 170 ἄλλ’ ἔστ’ ἐν οἴκοις).

ἄνευ ‘without the consent of’: cf. *IG* i³ 40.4–10 οὐκ ἔχσελὼ Χαλκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος ... ἄνευ τῷ δέμο τῷ Ἀθηναίων, *Thuc.* 5.60.5 ἐν ... αἰτίαι εἶχον τοὺς σπείσασμένους ἄνευ τοῦ πλήθους.

399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν ‘not even though I have the power’, οὐδέ περ being the negative counterpart of καίπερ (Denniston 1954: 486–7; cf. *Cho.* 504 οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών). Like καίπερ, οὐδέ περ implies that the following participle expresses a true proposition, i.e., in this case, that Pelasgus does indeed (as the chorus had claimed in 370–5) have the power to grant asylum to the Danaids on his own authority. This is not inconsistent with his statement in 365–9, where he said, as he does here, not that he was unable to act without consulting the people but only that he was not minded to do so (ἐγὼ δ’ ἂν οὐ κραινοίμ’ ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος).

καὶ in negative final clauses adds emphasis and vividness to the danger apprehended or warned of; cf. *Pers.* 531, *Seven* 657, *Eum.* 181, *Soph. Phil.* 13, 46, and see Denniston 1954: 298.

400–1 These words are clearly designed to recall the reflections of Hector when deliberating on whether he should stand and face Achilles in single combat (*Il.* 22.99–107): if he retires within the walls, he will be rebuked for his refusal to withdraw into the city the previous evening, which has led to disaster for his army, and he feels shame at the thought that someone inferior to him may say “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν. Hector, however, *had* in fact consulted the people, and they (foolishly, says the poet) had agreed with acclamation (*Il.* 8.310–13) even though they had heard the opposing case powerfully put by Polydamas.

400 εἴ ποὺ ‘if by any chance’: the ‘tone of uncertainty’ (Denniston 1954: 491) carried by πού makes this ‘remote future’ conditional seem even more remote.

μή λῶιον ‘not too good’, a euphemistic expression for ‘bad’. M’s μή τοῖον would have to be taken as equivalent to ἄλλοιον, which can also be used euphemistically (e.g. Hdt. 5.40.1 ‘you had better agree to our proposal, ἵνα μή τι ἄλλοιον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῆται βουλευσῶνται’); but there is no parallel for such a use of τοῖος. The corruption may be due to anticipation of the first syllable of the next word (τοι- and τυ- were pronounced identically from Roman times onwards).

401 The medial caesura is not in itself unusual or significant (it occurs at least ten times in this play alone), but, as FJW point out, the precise balance between the two halves of the line is: each half consists of a four-syllable word ending in -ᾶς (and beginning with similar syllables: ἐπήλ-/ ἄπῶλ-) and a two-syllable word ending in -ν. Pelasgus’ detractors are imagined as pointedly contrasting his solicitude for foreigners with his neglect of the interests of the Argives themselves.

ἐπήλυδας: the Argive public are unlikely to be very impressed by the claim of these ‘incomers’ that they are of Argive descent. In Danaus’ report of Pelasgus’ speech in the assembly (600–24) this claim is not mentioned.

402–6 As in each of the previous antistrophes (359–60, 381–6), the Danaids claim to be under the protection of Zeus, this time on account of their kinship with the Argives; in each of the three passages prominence is given to the idea of the deity’s regarding eye (ἴδοιτο 359; τὸν ὑφ’ὅθεν σκοπὸν 381; ἐπισκοπεῖ 402).

402 ἀμφοτέρωσ’ ‘in both directions’, i.e. watching both the κακοί and the ἔννομοι (404). M’s ἀμφοτέρους can only be kept if τὰδ’ is rather artificially taken as adverbial (‘in this matter’). The comparatively rare adverb ἀμφοτέρωσ(ε) (*Il.* 8.223, 11.6, 12.287; Hippocr. περὶ διαίτης 22, 30; Pl. *Rep.* 9.572c) would be very liable to corruption, much more so than the alternative emendation ἀμφοτέροις (Schütz).

ὁμαίων ‘god of kinship’. The same epithet is applied to Dike in *Seven* 415; elsewhere the title applied to Zeus in this function is ὁμόγνιος (Eur. *Andr.* 921, Ar. *Frogs* 750). The Danaids are reminding Pelasgus of their Argive descent, which he had seemed to ignore when he called them ἐπήλυδας: but the word may ironically remind us that the Aegyptiads share the same Argive descent.

ἐπισκοπεῖ: 381n.

403 ἐτερορρεπής ‘inclining to one side’ like a balance, evoking the picture of Zeus weighing the fates of contending parties in his scales (*Il.* 8.69–72, 22.209–13; cf. 822–3 below), as he was made to do on stage in Aeschylus’ *Psychostasia* (if that play was indeed Aeschylus’ work; see M. L. West 2000: 345–7). Similarly Ares holds the scales of war in *Ag.* 439–40, and ‘some god’ is said in *Pers.* 345–6 to have loaded them against the

Persians at Salamis; see Kraias 2011: 168 n. 545. Most editors (including Sommerstein 2008) take ἑτερο- to mean ‘one or the other, either of the two’, but the Danaids are not in any doubt on which side the scales will come down.

404 ἄδικα ... ἐννόμοις echoes 384 δίκας ... ἐννόμου.

ἄδικα and ὅσια must refer, not to the good or evil treatment that Zeus metes out to the two parties (the due punishment of the wicked is not ἄδικον), but to the behaviour that earns them such treatment. Zeus, the Danaids are saying, will place their cousins’ criminality in one scale, their own innocence in the other, and the outcome of his weighing is then a foregone conclusion.

ἐννόμοις, unlike the necessarily masculine κακοῖς, is conveniently ambiguous in gender. The Danaids have in fact been ‘law-abiding’ up to this point, but they will very soon be threatening an act of sacrilege (457–65).

405–6 The broad meaning of this sentence is not hard to perceive: if Zeus’s weighing is conducted fairly (τῶνδ’ ἐξ ἴσου ῥεπομένων, a conditional participle in the genitive absolute) – and of course it will be – Pelasgus will have no cause to regret it (μεταλγεῖν, lit. ‘feel pain afterwards’) if he has done the right thing (the Danaids insisting yet again on the justice of their cause: cf. 343, 360, 384, 395). Grammatically, however, the text betrays corruption: μεταλγεῖς is the wrong tense (we need a future, or a potential optative) and it ought not to govern an infinitive. We have a scholium (τί ἀπορεῖς συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Διί;), but this gives no help: either it is glossing some entirely different text, or (more likely) it is merely a vague paraphrase. Friis Johansen (in Friis Johansen and Whittle 1975: 28–9) proposed τί ... μεταλγοῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξας, but this lacks an indispensable ἄν, which can be supplied by the small further change τὰ δίκαι’ ἄν (Sommerstein 2010b: 15–16).

407–35 Pelasgus breaks the epirrhematic pattern with an 11-line speech (of which the first 10 lines form a single complex sentence, the longest spoken sentence in the play) which focuses on the dilemma he faces between incurring the perils of war (412) and the more elaborately described perils of wronging suppliants (413–16). The Danaids then likewise depart from the previous pattern of their lyrics, responding not with a single stanza but with two strophic pairs, but they continue to harp on the same themes – the justice of their cause (418, 430, 437), the rights of suppliants (420, 429), the sanctity of their place of refuge (423, 430), an exaggerated estimate of Pelasgus’ royal power (425, cf. 370–5), and the risk of divine wrath if he spurns their pleas (427, 433–7) – and emphasize also the hybristic brutality of their enemies (421–2, 426, 430–3). Both Pelasgus and the chorus begin and end by saying that strenuous thought is called for (407, 417; 418 φρόντισον, 437 φράσαι); but while Pelasgus is in

an agony of hesitation, for the Danaids there is only one conclusion that he can properly reach.

407 βαθείας φροντίδος: cf. *Pers.* 142 φροντίδα ... βαθύβουλον. The metaphor of 'deep thought' is then transmuted into the simile of the diver.

σωτηρίου: 213n. The choice of this adjective underlines the extremity of the danger that threatens Pelasgus and Argos whichever decision he takes.

408–9 'So that a clear-sighted eye, like that of a diver – not an eye unduly fogged by wine – may reach right to the bottom.' The accusative–infinitive construction is best taken as final–consecutive (79–80, 141–3 = 151–3nn.). The figurative eye is Pelasgus' mind's eye.

δίκην 'in the manner of'. In A.'s earlier surviving plays this preposition/postposition occurs only here and at *Seven* 85; in the *Oresteia* it appears 23 times, a fact doubtless to be associated with the exceptional thematic importance of δίκη in that trilogy.

κολυμβητήρος: the scholiast thinks especially of sponge-divers; their work is described in detail by Oppian (*Hal.* 5.612–74), who calls it the worst occupation in the world (see also Plin. *HN* 9.151–3). With very limited artificial light (obtained by spitting out olive oil carried in the mouth: Opp. *Hal.* 5.638, 646–8) and no goggles, a diver would need exceptionally good vision to be able to take sponges, shellfish, etc., efficiently. See Frost 1968.

μηδ' ἄγαν ὠινωμένον: the effect of alcohol on vision would be particularly acute, and particularly dangerous, under water, where visibility was much reduced in any case. Divers ate and drank sparingly before starting work (Opp. *Hal.* 5.614–15), but this may have been mainly to avoid the well-known dangers of swimming on a full stomach.

410–11 A blend of two ways of expressing more or less the same sense: (1) ὅπως ταῦτα ἄνατα ἔσται πρῶτα μὲν πόλει, ἔπειτα δ' αὐτοῖσιν ἡμῖν, (2) ὅπως ταῦτα ἐκτελευτήσει καλῶς τῇ τε πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἡμῖν. Whichever decision Pelasgus makes, both he and his city stand to suffer. If he grants the Danaids' plea and war results, Argos may be ruined or destroyed, and Pelasgus will bear the blame (399–401); if he rejects it, Zeus may punish not only him but his whole city, as later he punished Troy for the offence of Paris (*Ag.* 395, 532–7).

ἄνατα 'not harmful' (356–8n.).

412 Δῆρις 'Battle', here personified as a plundering warrior; cf. Empedocles fr. 122.2 DK Δῆρὶν θ' αἱματόεσσαν (paired with Ἀρμονίη in a list of pairs of antithetical powers).

ῥυσίων ἐφάψεται: 315n. Pelasgus does not name the 'booty' on which he fears Battle may lay hands, but we know he is thinking of the possible fate of the city and people of Argos.

413-15 '... nor may we, by handing you over when you have thus established yourself at an abode of the gods, make the all-destructive Avenger-God a vexatious lodger'.

ἐκδόντες: 341n.

βαρὺν ξύνοικον: the same phrase is used by Soph. fr. 753. Those other deities of revenge, the Erinyes, are also bad to share a house with (*Ag.* 1186-90).

Ἀλάστορα: in general ἀλάστορες (spirits of vengeance) tend to be thought of as a vague plurality, and one may speak, for example, of 'some ἀλάστωρ' (*Eur. Hipp.* 820) or of 'an ἀλάστωρ or evil spirit from somewhere' (*Pers.* 354), or of the ἀλάστωρ of a particular person or act (e.g. *Ag.* 1501, *Soph. OC* 785). But Ἀλάστωρ can also be an individual deity personifying destructive revenge (e.g. *Eur. Tro.* 768), in this case the revenge of the gods on a violator of their laws. The pattern of usage of Ἐρινύ(ε)ς is quite similar, and Erinyes too are said to pursue their victims even after death (228-31n.). See generally Fraenkel 1950: III 711.

416 οὐδ' must be taken not with ἐν Ἅιδου alone (as if there were some other abode of the dead, less remote than Hades, in which they were also subject to punishment) but with the entire phrase ἐν Ἅιδου τὸν θανόντ' (cf. 228).

417 μῶν: 'I say "μῶν X" when I am reluctant to accept X as true' (Barrett 1964: 314), X here being the proposition 'hard thought is not needed'. This passage is one of the relatively rare cases in which the speaker is 'convinced that X is false' (*ibid.*) and uses μῶν to emphasize (what he sees as) the absurdity of believing it true (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1158, *Eur. Med.* 567).

418-22 = 423-7: metre

1	- ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	3 cr
2	- ∪ - - ∪ -	2 cr
3	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	2 cr
4	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	2 cr
5	- ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ -	2 cr

The cretic rhythm, rare in tragedy (Dale 1968: 99-100, M. L. West 1982: 106-7), will continue into the first colon of the next strophic pair (428 = 433) after which the chorus revert to dochmiacs to describe themselves being seized and dragged away.

418 φρόντισον picks up φροντίδος (407, 417).

πανδίκως meant originally 'in every way, thoroughly, utterly' (cf. δίκην 'in the manner of', 408n.), as in *Soph. Trach.* 1247 πράσσειν ἄνωγας οὖν με πανδίκως τάδε; 'do you absolutely command me to do this?'; but it was inevitably affected by association with δίκη 'justice' (in *Seven* 670-1 Eteocles is made to play on this association, saying that Dike would be

πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος if she supported Polyneices), and in a passage like *Cho.* 241 ἡ δὲ [Clytaemestra] πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται it has clearly come to mean ‘with full justice’. In our passage the primary meaning may still be ‘thoroughly’ (modifying εὐσεβής), but the Danaids certainly also wish to suggest that justice is wholly (παν-) on their side.

419 πρόξενος: 238–40n.

420–1 ‘... who has been set in motion from afar by an impious expulsion’.

ἐκβολαῖς: a poetic plural. Strictly speaking, the Danaids have not been ‘cast out’ of Egypt; as they themselves have said (6–10) they left that country of their, and their father’s, own free will. Since, however, they could not have remained in Egypt without submitting to the marriages they abhor, they can reasonably claim to have been forced to leave.

422 δυσθεοῖς: cf. 9 ἀσεβῇ, 37 ὧν θέμις εἶργει, 526–8 Ζεῦ ... ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας.

ὀρομέναν: aorist participle middle of ὀρνυμι. This form (or corruptions of it) are found at *Seven* 87, 115, *Ag.* 1408 (nowhere metrically guaranteed), while the athematic form ὀρμενος appears at *Ag.* 429 and *A. fr.* 74.1 (both times metrically guaranteed); Sophocles uses only the short form (*OT* 177), Euripides only the long one (*Phoen.* 1569, *IA* 186). All these passages are lyric. It is thus possible that A. used the short form everywhere, but the transmitted readings also show a consistent pattern (ὀρομεν- after a long syllable or a double-short, ὀρμεν- after a single-short), and emendation for the sake of uniformity would not be justifiable.

423 ἰδηῖς: cf. 429 εἰσιδεῖν: Pelasgus is challenged to visualize the scenes of violence that the chorus describe, and to ask himself whether he can honourably remain a passive spectator of them.

ἑδρᾶν πολυθέων: either ‘this abode of many gods’ (cf. 346, 413) or ‘this place where I am seated, sacred to many gods’; neither sense need be excluded. This is the sole occurrence of πολύθεος in any pre-Christian text.

424 ῥυσιασθεῖσαν echoes ῥυσίων (412): the Danaids are trying to bring Pelasgus’ thoughts back from the ‘plunder’ that war may make of Argos to the danger in which they themselves stand of becoming literally the plunder of their cousins.

425 πᾶν κράτος ἔχων χθονός: repeating what they said in 370–5, and either ignoring Pelasgus’ statement that he cannot (in practice) act without the consent of his people (398–401) or exploiting his admission (399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν) that he has (in theory) the power to do so.

426 γνῶθι ‘recognize’.

ἀνέρων: in early Greek the full-grade stem ἀνερ- was confined to the voc. and acc. sing., nom.-acc. dual, and nom. pl., all other case-endings (except the nom. sing. ἀνήρ) taking the zero-grade stem ἀνδρ-. Homer treated the

two stems as metrical alternatives in all cases in which both could fit in the hexameter, and so used *ἄνέρος*, *ἀνέρι*, *ἀνέρας* when convenient, always with the first vowel artificially lengthened. These forms are likewise used occasionally in fifth-century lyric (though nowhere else in A. that we know of), and *ἄνέρων*, of which Homer had no need, is added to the repertoire (Soph. *OT* 869, Eur. *Med.* 1257, Ar. *Knights* 1295, Pind. *Olymp.* 1.66, 5.22, *Nem.* 6.29, Bacch. 13.159). See Sihler 1995: 279–81, 292–3.

427 κότον: evidently the ‘wrath’ is that of Zeus Hikesios (347, 385) and probably also of the ‘many gods’ of the sanctuary (423) if Pelasgus were to offer no opposition to its desecration.

428–32 = 433–7: metre

1	– ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	3 <i>cr</i>
2	∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
3	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	<i>doch</i>
4	∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>

The shift from cretics to dochmiacs after the first colon matches the content of the strophe (418–22 = 423–7n.) but not that of the antistrophe. In 429 *βρετέων* must be scanned as two syllables, not three.

428–32 The Danaids imagine themselves being sacrilegiously seized and dragged off like so much livestock. This is almost exactly the fate that they are on the point of suffering in 825–910, before Pelasgus intervenes to save them, though in at least one respect their fears are actually understated: the Herald and his men threaten to drag them not by their headbands (*ἀμπύκων*) but by their hair (838, 884, 909). In *Seven* (326–9) the chorus of maidens, visualizing the possible sack of Thebes, similarly sing of women being dragged by the hair ‘like horses’ (*ἄγεσθαι ... ἵππηδὸν πλοκάμων*) and their clothes being torn.

428–30 τλαῖς: subjunctive of *ἔτλαν* (Attic *ἔτλην*). The unmetrical transmitted reading *τλαίης* (optative) may have originated from a misguided ‘correction’ of *ΤΛΑΙΣ*.

εἰσιδεῖν: 423n.

βρετέων ‘cult-images’; the word carries strong overtones of the special sanctity of such images, and is used even in comedy (Ar. *Knights* 31) in relation to fugitives seeking sanctuary. It is common in A., being applied seven times in *Eumenides* to the olive-wood image of Athena Polias in Athens, and also in Euripides, but is not found in Sophocles. It will reappear at 463 – when the Danaids are about to announce their intention of defiling the sanctuary.

βίαι ‘in violation of, in defiance of’; cf. 798–9 *βίαι καρδίας*, *Seven* 612 *βίαι φρενῶν*, 746 *Ἀπόλλωνος ... βίαι*, Soph. *Ant.* 59 *νόμου βίαι*, 79, 907 *βίαι πολιτῶν*.

δίκας: 77–8n.

431 ἵππαδόν: as a horse may be pulled along by its bridle. In the parallel passage *Seven* 328 the comparison is to an unharnessed horse being led by its mane. This emendation (ἵππηδόν M^{pc}, as in *Seven* 328) gives a form not otherwise attested but apparently coined by A. on the model of such forms as ἱλαδόν (*Il.* 2.93) and ὁμιλαδόν (*Il.* 12.3); the existence in Attic of a feminine adjective ἵππας (= ἵππική) will have provided further support for the neologism.

ἀμπύκων: 235n.

432 πολυμίτων ‘many-threaded’, i.e. ‘elaborately woven’. With the punctuation here adopted, this describes the Danaids’ robes (πέπλων). It would also be possible to punctuate after πολυμίτων and take this adjective to belong to ἀμπύκων: in favour of this is the rarity of the sequence adjective + noun + τε or noun + adjective + τε (1042?, Eur. *Tro.* 1064, Ar. *Birds* 257; cf. 282-3n. and see Fraenkel 1950: II 130-2); against it is the lack of any evidence for the existence of ἄμπυκες made out of delicate, elaborately woven fabrics (235n.). An escape from the dilemma would be provided by Friis Johansen’s transposition πολυμίτων τ’ ἐμῶν ἐπιλαβὰς πέπλων: this could have been initially corrupted by the shifting of πέπλων to stand next to its adjective (an example of the error known as *simplex ordo*).

433-7 The Danaids remind Pelasgus that whichever decision he takes may have consequences for his children and descendants far into the future, in accordance with the well-known divine habit of punishing later generations for wrongs committed by their ancestors. This warning relates primarily to the consequences of a decision to *reject* their supplication, since the evil consequences of *acceptance* (viz. a dangerous war) are proximate and obvious. The subsequent course of events suggests that Pelasgus is in fact childless (though the Danaids cannot know this), and in that case – ironically – by accepting the supplication he will bring it about that he dies childless.

433-6 παισὶ ... καὶ δόμοις: dative of advantage or disadvantage as the case may be.

τάδε looks forward to the next sentence, which will define its meaning as, in effect, retribution.

ὅπότερ’ ἂν κτίσῃς: lit. ‘whichever of the two states of affairs you bring into being’ (140n.), i.e. whichever decision you take.

μένει ‘lies in store’ (385n.).

δεῖ ’κτίνειν ὁμοίαν θέμιν ‘one must pay in full (ἐκ-) a just measure to match’, i.e. Pelasgus’ decision will be rewarded or punished measure-for-measure (though the language of ‘payment’ puts the stress on punishment). This emendation (Friis Johansen and Whittle 1975: 32-5) of M’s meaningless δρεικτείνειν is supported by a scholium

δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι ὁμοίαν δίκην: the inserted ρ may be a relic of a variant reading χρή. Most of the alternative restorations take these words not as a new sentence but as an infinitive phrase in apposition to τάδε. Even, however, if we were to disregard the evidence of the scholium, no solution along these lines has been found which gives appropriate sense and conforms with Aeschylean metrical practice: δορὶ τίνειν (Boissonade) would refer exclusively to the danger of war, from which the Danaids would wish to *divert* attention, while Ἄρει ἔκτίνειν (Seidler), which gives better sense (Ares can be responsible for plagues as well as wars, cf. Soph. *OT* 190–215), requires the second syllable of μένει to be scanned short by *correptio epica*, which occurs in Aeschylean dochmiacs only in duplicated exclamations, e.g. *Eum.* 143 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ ποπάξ (Conomis 1964: 40–2).

θέμιν: cf. *Il.* 9.156 λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας, of payments due by custom from subjects to their ruler. The word is probably preferred to δίκαν because it is vague enough to cover reward as well as punishment, whereas δίκην ἐκτίνειν means only ‘pay a penalty’.

437 τάδε probably looks back (= ‘what we have just said’) rather than pointing forward to δίκαια Διόθεν κρατεῖ, a statement so brief that one would expect it to be introduced by the singular τόδε.

φράσαι ‘consider’ (aorist imperative middle).

Διόθεν ‘by the will of Zeus’; cf. *Ag.* 43, *Cho.* 308, also θεόθεν *Pers.* 101, *Seven* 324, *Ag.* 105, 131, *Cho.* 941.

κρατεῖ (Friis Johansen and Whittle 1975: 36), not κράτη (M): δίκαια Διόθεν κράτη would have to mean either (1) ‘the power of Zeus is just’ (but that would require -θεν to function as a genitive ending, which it can only do in pronominal forms such as σέθεν) or (2) ‘a victory that comes from Zeus is just’ (which is irrelevant: the proposition the Danaids wish to impress on Pelasgus is not ‘if you are victorious in a cause favoured by Zeus, you will have acted justly’ but ‘if you take up arms in our cause – a just cause, favoured by Zeus – you will be victorious’. He is far from convinced (cf. 474–7)).

438–54 Pelasgus responds to the chorus’s urging to ‘consider’ the long-term consequences of his decision by telling them he has already done so – and remains trapped in his dilemma. He knows, or thinks he knows (440n.), that if he does not accept war with Egypt he will inevitably be at war with the gods (439–40), which already suggests that only one decision is possible for him; yet the prospect of war with Egypt is such a terrible thing, particularly since it is likely to involve the shedding of kindred blood (449, cf. 474), that he desperately hopes it can somehow be avoided. Perhaps if the gods are propitiated by large-scale sacrifices (450–1) they will allow him to escape the dreadful choice – but he does

not think this likely (454), and in a moment the Danaids, by their threat of suicide, will firmly close the door on it.

438 καὶ δὴ ‘in response to a ... command, often with a word of the command echoed’ (Denniston 1954: 251); cf. 507, *Seven* 473, *Prom.* 54, *Soph. Ant.* 245.

δεῦρο δ’ ἐξοκέλλεται ‘and it is driven aground here’, i.e. this (the dilemma expressed in the next sentence) is the point to which my thoughts have been forced, and where they have become hopelessly stuck. The passive form is based on the transitive use of ἐξοκέλλειν seen in Eur. *Tro.* 136–7 ἐς τάνδ’ ἐξώκειλ’ ἄταν (of the ruin that Helen has brought upon Hecuba), Men. fr. 840 ὃ τε πλοῦτος ἐξώκειλε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰς ἕτερον ἦθος. There is no connection with the nautical metaphor of 440–2, which pictures a ship that has not yet put to sea.

439 ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς ‘either with the gods or with the sons of Aegyptus’ (scholia). ‘As he speaks, Pelasgus perhaps gestures respectively towards the images and towards the sea’ (FJW).

πόλεμον αἶρεσθαι: cf. 342.

440–1 πᾶσ’ ἔστ’ ἀνάγκη: in fact it is not quite inevitable, since the Aegyptiads may come to grief on their voyage (29–39, 529–30); but the audience know that this will not happen, and that Pelasgus’ prognostication will prove correct.

καὶ γεγόμενται ... †προσηγμένων†: however uncertain the details, the image is clearly of a ship whose timbers have been bolted together (i.e. construction of the hull is complete) and which is ready, or almost ready, to be set afloat. Pelasgus will very soon have to make a decision which will inevitably ‘launch’ him and Argos on one of two courses both of which may lead to disaster.

στρέβλαισι ναυτικαῖσιν ‘by twisted cords of the kind used for ships’, i.e., probably (so Bowen) by rope-girdles or ‘swifthers’ (ὑποζώματα), two of which were passed right round a ship longitudinally and drawn tight so as to ‘hold the hull together in rough waters’ (Morrison et al. 2000: 170); these were such important pieces of equipment that every Athenian warship carried a spare pair. They would be one of the last items fitted to the vessel, and the mention of them confirms that its launching is imminent.

ὥς ‘as if’. It is not quite clear whether this conjunction, signalling that the nautical language is figurative, belongs to the preceding phrase or to the last word of 441 (whatever that was); in the latter case, coming *before* the word to which it relates, it would conventionally be written without an accent (ὧς).

†προσηγμένον† ought to mean ‘brought to’ something, but there is no indication of what the ship is being brought to. Bowen understands it as ‘drawn to itself’, i.e. pulled together by the action of the ὑποζώματα, but it is very doubtful whether προσάγεσθαι could bear such a sense (one might

rather have expected *ξυνηγμένον*); the same applies even more strongly to Citti-Miralles' rendering 'immobilized'. Friis Johansen's *πρὸς γῆι μένον* 'remaining at the shore', while it posits an easy corruption, is premised on the probably wrong assumption that the *στρέβλαι ναυτικά* are the cables of a windlass on shore, which will be let go to set the ship afloat; while *πεπηγμένον* (Whittle) 'fixed firmly together' is not quite appropriate to timbers being *held* or *pulled* together by a rope-girdle. No proposal satisfies.

442 *καταστροφή*: either 'outcome' (it later became a regular term for the *dénouement* of a drama, Antiphanes fr. 189.20) or perhaps 'destination' of the ship's maiden voyage (the cognate verb is somewhat similarly used in *Pers.* 787-8 *ποῖ καταστρέφεις λόγων τελευτήν*);).

443-51 There are serious textual problems in this passage, but its general sense is clear: many misfortunes (such as the plundering of a house) and errors (such as the uttering of hurtful words) are remediable, but the shedding of blood, especially kindred blood, is not. The same contrast is made in *Ag.* 1008-24 and *Eum.* 644-51. Here, however, the proposition that bloodshed is irremediable is not explicitly stated but is left to be understood; instead Pelasgus says that one should be ready to make vast sacrifices to the gods to avert such a disaster.

443-5-4 As this passage stands in M, its middle line (444) makes no sense; hence Dindorf deleted 444, and an unknown reader (formerly identified as Isaac Casaubon, but see Dawe 2001) of a copy of Victorius' 1557 edition now in the Cambridge University Library (Adv. b.3.3) suggested it should change places with 445. This still, however, leaves *χρήμασιν* (443) without a construction: M's marginal variant (or gloss?) *χρημάτων* would solve this problem, but the corruption we would then be obliged to assume is far from plausible. There seems little alternative to Friis Johansen's assumption of a lacuna between 443 and 445; his suggestion for filling it, *<βίαι διαρπασθεῖσι διάδοχ' ἐν χρόνῳ>*, is intended only to indicate what may have been the general sense of the missing line.

ἄλλα sc. *χρήματα*.

κτησίου Διός: Zeus Ktesios ('Zeus of Possessions') was primarily a household god, the protector of the family's wealth, whose image or symbol (a jar containing a mixture of water, oil and grain: Autocleides *FGrH* 353 F 1) might be placed in a store-room (*Men.* fr. 410); the domestic altar could be called a *κτήσιος βωμός* (*Ag.* 1038). Cf. also *Ant.* 1.16, *Isaeus* 8.16. Public sacrifices were also sometimes made to Zeus Ktesios: such a sacrifice is commanded in an oracle cited by Demosthenes (21.53). See R. Parker 2005: 15-16.

χάριν 'thanks to', cf. *Ar. Wasps* 62; lit. 'as a favour from' ('accusative in apposition to the sentence'; see Barrett 1964: 307-8).

ἄτης γε μείζω ‘even greater than what was lost’. Here ἄτη has its earliest meaning ‘loss, harm’, the antonym of κέρδος (*Cho.* 824–5, *Eum.* 1007–9, *Soph. OC* 92–3, *Hes. WD* 352, *Thgn.* 133, *Solon* fr. 13.74–6 West); see Sommerstein 2013a: 2, also Cairns 2013: xxi–xxxiii. The scholiast’s paraphrase τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπιπλῶντος καὶ γεμίζοντος ἄτης τὸν γόμον may or may not indicate that he had γεμίζων in his text; if he did, it was probably a corruption, since γεμίζων and γόμον are unlikely to have stood in the same line and sentence when there was no direct grammatical connection between them.

γε is ‘epexegetic’, ‘giv[ing] force and urgency to an addition or supplement’ (Denniston 1954: 138): not only may lost wealth be replaced, it may be *more* than replaced.

καὶ μετεμπλήσαι (opt.) γόμον ‘and they [the ‘other possessions’ of 445] may fill the store with different goods [μετ- indicating change or substitution]’, ἄν being understood from the previous clause. This is a very uncertain restoration, not least because μετεμπλήσαι is not otherwise attested. FJW point out that one would have expected a form of ἐκπλήσαι (‘fill up’ something that had previously been only partly filled) rather than of ἐμπλήσαι.

γόμον: properly the cargo of a ship; here apparently used of the property stored in a house.

446–8–7 This transposition was first suggested by the same unknown scholar referred to above (443–5–4n.); the only alternative to it would be to delete 448 (Geel).

γλῶσσα is a *nominativus pendens* (see Novelli 2012: 77–80); it seems at first as though this will be the subject of the sentence, but when the main clause arrives another subject (μῦθος) has taken its place. This is one of the earliest instances in tragedy of a phenomenon which occurs several times more in A. (*Seven* 681–2, *Ag.* 1008–13, *Cho.* 520–1, *Eum.* 477–9 codd.); it becomes rarer in the generation following his death (e.g. *Soph. OT* 60–1, *Eur. Hipp.* 22–3), but is frequent again in the later plays of Euripides (e.g. *IT* 695–8, 947–8, 964–5). In a few cases this irregular syntax serves to convey the speaker’s agitation (e.g. *Eum.* 95–7, 100–2, spoken by the indignant ghost of Clytaemestra), but that is clearly not the case in this well-structured speech. See M. L. West 1990c: 6.

τοξεύσασα: for the metaphor of words as arrows cf. *Eur. Hec.* 603, *Pind. Isthm.* 5.46–7 πολλά μὲν ἀρτιεπὴς γλῶσσά μοι τοξεύματ’ ἔχει. It is probably implicit in *Eum.* 676 ἡμῖν μὲν ἤδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος.

μὴ τὰ καίρια ‘something other than what is appropriate’; cf. *Thuc.* 3.57.1 εἰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα.

ἀλγυνὰ ... κινητήρια ‘creating pain and very likely to stir up anger’ is in apposition to μὴ τὰ καίρια.

κάρτα has been suspected of corruption, because the same word occurs in 450 and 452; but such casual repetition is very common in A. (52–5n.) as in many other ancient texts (Poutsma 1913), and is not by itself sufficient to justify departing from the transmitted text.

μύθου μῦθος ... θελκτήριος: a person roused to anger by harsh words can be placated by conciliatory words. For the *polyptoton* see 144–5, 226, 227nn.; for θελκτήριος cf. *Eum.* 81–2 θελκτηρίους μύθους, 886 γλώσσης ἐμῆς ... θελκτήριον, Eur. *Hipp.* 478 λόγοι θελκτήριοι.

449 ὅμαιμον: in principle this could refer either (1) to the kinship between the Danaids (on whose behalf the Argives would be fighting) and the Aegyptiads, or (2) to the much more distant kinship, through Io, between the Aegyptiads and the Argives themselves. Since, however, Pelasgus never regards the Argive descent of the Danaids as in itself imposing any duty on him to aid them, there is no reason why he should regard the Argive descent of the Aegyptiads as making it especially heinous for Argives to kill them in battle. Rather we must accept (1): Pelasgus is saying that in the event of war, the Danaids will indirectly have the blood of their cousins on their hands. This is confirmed by 474–5 where he describes the Aegyptiads as ὁμαίμοις ... σέθεν. Such indirect responsibility for a death is called ‘killing’ in, for example, Lys. 12.34 ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον (all Eratosthenes had done was to take part in Polemarchus’ arrest after the Thirty had condemned him and others to death, a decision which Eratosthenes had opposed) and Ant. 6.16 διωμόσαντο ... ἀποκτεῖναι με Διόδοτον βουλεύσαντα (the allegation was that the defendant had caused Diodotus’ death by negligently allowing him to be given a drink that unexpectedly proved to be lethal). There is strong irony here: by accepting the Danaids’ supplication, Pelasgus will indeed bring it about that the Danaids cause the death of their cousins – not indirectly but directly, and under an Argive roof.

αἷμα ‘bloodshed’; cf. *Eum.* 752, Eur. *Or.* 285, 406, 1139, *Ba.* 837.

450–1 δεῖ governs both **κάρτα θύειν** ‘make lavish sacrifices’ (subject not expressed) and πεσεῖν ... πολλά (subject χρηστήρια) which is an ampler restatement of the same idea.

χρηστήρια originally denoted sacrifices made by those consulting an oracle, and its mantic connotations may still be present in *Seven* 230, where it refers to sacrifices made immediately before a battle to determine whether the omens were favourable. Eventually it came to mean simply ‘sacrifice’, as in Soph. *Aj.* 220 and here: the object of these sacrifices would not be to ascertain the will of the gods but to influence it, in the hope that they will provide Pelasgus and Argos with an escape from their seemingly hopeless dilemma.

πολλοῖς πολλά: *polyptoton* again (446–8n.).

ἄκη: the ‘remedy’ is preventive rather than curative (for bloodshed, once it has occurred, is beyond all remedy); cf. *Ag.* 16–17 where singing or humming tunes to keep awake on a night-watch is described as ὕπνου ... ἄκος.

452 ἡ κάρτα places strong emphasis on the statement being made; cf. *Ag.* 592, 1252, *Cho.* 929, *Eum.* 213, A. fr. 78a.3 Radt = 78c.3 Sommerstein, *Soph. El.* 1278, *Eur. Hipp.* 412.

παροίχομαι: lit. ‘I have gone aside from’, i.e. ‘I will have nothing to do with’; but this declaration is as futile as his immediately following statement that he wants to know nothing about the matter. He *does* know about it, and he *must* make a decision. The parallel of *Eur. Med.* 995 (apostrophizing Jason) δύστανε, μοίρας ὅσον παροίχηι is sometimes cited to show that παροίχομαι here means ‘I am at a loss about’; but such a sense would be inappropriate for the *Medea* passage itself – Jason is not baffled, but is being deceived.

453 θέλω: by the use of the present indicative (rather than the potential optative θέλοιμ’ ἄν) the wish is expressed as though it were fulfillable.

ἄιδρις is found in hexameter, elegiac and lyric poetry from Homer (*Il.* 3.219) to Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.37); A. uses it in spoken verse (*Ag.* 1105), Sophocles only in lyrics and anapaests (*Aj.* 213, 911; *OC* 548).

κακῶν: we should probably understand τῶνδε. Ignorance of the evils with which Argos is now threatened, while not now possible for Pelasgus, is the happy state he was in less than an hour ago; ignorance of evil *tout court* is not compatible with the human condition.

454 γένοιτο δ’ εὔ: 86–7n. Of the Aeschylean characters who express wishes of this kind, Pelasgus is the only one who is sufficiently clear-sighted (and sufficiently honest with himself) to recognize that his wish is unlikely to be fulfilled.

455–67 With Pelasgus still hesitant, the Danaids now deploy against him the weapon with which they had previously threatened Zeus (154–61n.): if their demand is not met, they will hang themselves in the sanctuary, thereby polluting it. (But the chorus-leader is in no hurry to reveal this, instead spending several lines tantalizing Pelasgus – and mystifying the audience – with obscure remarks.) Pelasgus’ eyes are thus opened (467): he sees that he has no choice but to accept the Danaids’ supplication and undertake to defend them. From being helpless petitioners, they are now effectively coercing the king and people of Argos.

455 τέρματ’ αἰδοίων λόγων: this is indeed the end of the αἰδοῖα ... ἔπη that Danaus had advised his daughters to speak (194): what they have to say now will be very far from ‘respectful’.

456 ἤκουσα ‘I hear you’, or more literally ‘I have begun listening’, an ‘ingressive’ aorist (Weir Smyth 1956: 430).

λέγοις ἄν: a formula of polite request; cf. 272, *Seven* 261, *Cho.* 105, 108, 167.

457 ἔχω: probably an instance of the 'choral' singular referring to the whole group, since any one woman would only have one *στροφος* and one *ζώνη*. See Kaimio 1970: 73.

στροφους ζώνας τε: a *ζώνη* is a belt or waistband; a *στροφος* must be another kind of band or cord which, according to *Seven* 871-2 (interpolated, but no later than the fourth century), women 'put around their garments' (*στροφον ἐσθῆσιν περιβάλλονται*). It therefore cannot be equated with the *στροφιον* (breastband) known from comedy (e.g. *Ar. Lys.* 931, *Thesm.* 255, 638), which was worn *under* the main garments; rather, as FJW argue, it must be a second belt worn just below the breasts, sometimes seen in art (see e.g. Bieber 1928: 40, 42-3, 58-9, and pll. VIII 4, X 4, XXV 3).

συλλαβάς πέπλων 'to hold our robes together'.

458 τάχ' ἄν 'no doubt', 'I suppose'. M's *τύχαν* makes no sense, and the potential optative *πέλοι* requires ἄν. Pelasgus cannot see the relevance of what the chorus-leader has said (457); his reply almost amounts to saying 'that's what anyone would expect, so why are you mentioning it?'

γυναικῶν ... συμπρεπῇ: one might expect a dative with *συμπρεπῆς*, as with *πρέπει*, *πρεπόντως*, *πρεπώδης*, but the genitive may be possessive ('<a>proper <appurtenance> of women').

459 τοίνυν 'well' ('marking a fresh step in the march of thought', Denniston 1954: 574).

μηχανή καλή: we expect the sentence to continue (after the interruption necessitated by the *stichomythia*) with an explanation of the purpose which this 'fine device' will serve (an expectation shared by Pelasgus, as 460 shows), but instead the chorus-leader begins a fresh sentence (461).

460 γηρυθεῖσ' ἔσῃ: the periphrastic construction is equivalent to a future perfect (cf. *Soph. OT* 1146 οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσῃ; in effect 'shut your mouth and keep it shut'); its use here may convey some impatience. The passive participle *γηρυθεῖσ'* is the only instance of the aorist passive of this verb being used in a middle sense (contrast *Eur. Hipp.* 1074 *γηρύσασθε*, *El.* 1327 *ἐγηρύσω*).

461 τι πιστόν ... ὑποστήσῃ 'make some promise that can be trusted' (LSJ *ὑφίστημι* A.II.1). That M reads *ὑποστήσει* (the normal spelling of the 2nd sing. middle in Hellenistic and later times) is of no significance; M usually preserves the older spelling of such forms, but it is not surprising that one copyist, at some point in more than a millennium of transmission, should have failed to do so.

στόλῳ: 2n.

462 τί σοι περαίνει ‘what will (this girdle-device) achieve for you?’ For the present tense referring to the future consequences of an action which the addressee has declared her intention to perform, cf. Eur. *Hcl.* 557 ἀδελφούς ὠφελεῖς θανοῦσα σούς.

μηχανή is picked up from 459, ξυζωμάτων from 457.

463 νέοις πίναξι ‘with votive tablets of a new (and possibly sinister, cf. 342n.) kind’: only in 465 will it be clear to Pelasgus (and the theatre audience) that these ‘tablets’ will be the Danaids’ bodies. Votive tablets, constituting or recording the fulfilment of a vow (and often depicting one or more human figures), were dedicated in a sanctuary of the deity to whom the vow had been made; they might be hung on its walls, or placed near the cult-image, or displayed in various other ways (see Mikalson 2005: 14–16, Headlam 1922: 181–2, Parker et al. 2004). There is no other evidence of their being hung from the cult-image itself, and the metaphor is probably not to be understood in so precise a sense.

465 ἀπάγξασθαι properly means ‘to choke, strangle ourselves’, but the verb is used in the sense ‘hang oneself from ...’ also in Thuc 3.81.3 ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο. The common Attic verb for suicide by hanging, κρεμαννύναι (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 122), appears in this sense in tragedy only in Eur. *Hipp.* 1252.

466 μαστικτήρα καρδίας ‘that scourges my heart’. Cf. *Eum.* 155–61 ὄνειδος ... ἔτυψεν ... μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν· πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου βαρύ τι περίβαρυ κρύος ἔχειν.

467 ὠμμάτωσα ... σαφέστερον ‘I have made your eyes clearer-sighted.’ Pelasgus, who wished (408–11) to see clearly, like a diver gazing into the depths, a course of action that would keep his city and himself from harm (ἄνατα 410), has now been made to see clearly that there is only one course he can take – a course, however, that leads not to safety but to an ἄτης ... ἄβυσσον πέλαγος (470).

468–89 Pelasgus, his hand finally forced, begins by expressing his despair in a kaleidoscopic sequence of metaphors (468–71); then he states once again (cf. 342–7, 377–80, 412–16) the two options between which he had been hesitating (472–7), with greater emphasis on the evil consequences of agreeing to defend the Danaids – which nevertheless he has no choice but to do (478–9). Having made his decision, he turns at once to the practicalities of implementing it (480–9); from this point onwards he is single-minded and decisive. He instructs Danaus (whom he now addresses for the first time) to take his daughters’ suppliant-boughs and deposit them at the city’s altars, in the hope that this will encourage the Argive people to show favour to them and give Pelasgus the support without which he cannot effectively pursue the policy on which he has now decided (cf. 365–9, 397–401).

468 †καὶ μὴν† πολλαχῇ γε: the transmitted text is unmetrical, but no solution yet proposed is free of drawbacks. If πολλαχῇ 'in many ways' is sound – and it is hard to see how it could have arisen by corruption – there are essentially two possibilities. (1) καὶ μὴν has displaced a monosyllabic particle or interjection (Sandin suggests *φεῦ*); ἦ 'truly' (Denniston 1954: 279–81) gives suitable sense, and it has an affinity for adjectives or adverbs meaning 'much', 'many', 'great', etc. (ἦ πολλά *Pers.* 843, *Eum.* 106, 144; ἦ κάρτα *Ag.* 592, 1252, *Cho.* 929, *Eum.* 213; ἦ μεγα- *Pers.* 852, *Seven* 977, *Ag.* 1481) – but while ἦ is quite often confused by copyists with the contraction for καὶ (cf. F. W. Hall 1913: 165), no recognized mechanism of corruption could account for the insertion of μὴν. (2) The line as transmitted is a conflation of what were originally two lines, the first of which (called 467a by West) began with καὶ μὴν and the second with καὶ (or perhaps ἦ). The lost line might have been spoken by the chorus-leader (continuing 467) or by Pelasgus (beginning his speech); Aeschylean usage favours the former possibility (10 of 13 instances of καὶ μὴν in the six undisputed plays are speech-initial, while the other 3 occur in the middle of long speeches), but 468 makes such a strong opening line that one is reluctant to demote it to second place.

δυσπάλαιστα πράγματα 'this business <is> hard to wrestle with'. The proximity of this wrestling image to the maritime images of 470–1 may be echoed in *Eum.* 558–9 ἐν μέσαι δυσπάλει τε δίνει (cf. also *Cho.* 692).

469–71 The sea of troubles is a familiar image (e.g. *Pers.* 433, *Seven* 758, *Prom.* 746, Eur. *Hipp.* 822–4), but the river of troubles is not; Pelasgus is thinking of a river in spate that threatens to sweep all before it (cf. *Il.* 16.389–92 – n.b. 389 ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες –, 21.233–83, Ar. *Knights* 526–8). It is probably relevant that the Danaids come from a land watered by the greatest river in the known world, a river famous for its annual inundation (559–61, where n.b. ἐπέρχεται).

469 ποταμός ὥς: 223–4n.

ἐπέρχεται 'is advancing against me'.

470–1 The sea image is quite separate from the river image of 469. In 469 it was the river that rushed against Pelasgus; here it is he himself that has walked into (εἰσβέβηκα) a fathomless sea.

470 ἄτης ... ἄβυσσον πέλαγος: see 467n. In 407–11 Pelasgus had hoped that if he could see down to the sea bottom (εἰς βυθόν) he would be able to find a way to safety; but now he has discovered that the sea of ruin (110–11n.) has no bottom.

οὐ μάλ' εὐπορον 'not very easy to cross', *litotes* for 'not at all easy'; similarly at 925, *Pers.* 325, 384.

471 κούδαμοῦ λιμὴν κακῶν: yet another distinct, though not unrelated, image. Just previously Pelasgus had been a man 'walking into' the

sea; now he is a ship. The vessel that in 440–1 was on the point of being launched is now at sea, no doubt in a storm, and far from any harbour.

472–7 The two alternative decisions are made the protases of conditional clauses; they are expressed not in the unmarked form for a future condition (ἤν + subjunctive, ‘if I do X’) but in the form εἰ + future indicative (‘if I am going/intend/decide to do X’) which emphasizes, not so much the future action itself, as the present resolve to perform it.

472 ὑμῖν ... τόδ’ ἐκπράξω χρέος can mean either (1) ‘perform this task for you’ (LSJ χρέος IV) or (2) ‘exact this debt on your behalf’ (see Fraenkel 1950: 592–3), viz. the debt owed by Argos to a group of persons of Argive descent who have made supplication at an Argive sanctuary. In either case the reference will be to the task of persuading the Argives to agree to the suppliants’ request, a task to which Pelasgus will begin to apply his mind energetically from 480. The two senses are compatible, and there is no need to choose one to the exclusion of the other; (1) is easier to understand in real time (the language of debtor and creditor has not been used before in the play), but the juxtaposition of ἐκπράξω and χρέος would probably encourage many hearers to perceive sense (2) also.

473 English would probably say ‘the pollution of which you have spoken is ...’

οὐχ ὑπερτοξεύσιμον (the adjective occurs only here in Greek literature), ‘higher than any archer can shoot’, i.e. ‘unsurpassable’; cf. *Cho.* 1032–3 οὐκ ἔρῳ τὴν ζημίαν, τόξωι γὰρ οὐδεις πημάτων ἐφίξεται, *Virg. Georg.* 2.123–5. In antiquity (and until the medieval Chinese invention of the rocket) no human artefact could fly higher than an arrow from the bow; and Pelasgus finds it impossible to imagine any pollution more dire than that which the Danaids are threatening to inflict on Argos.

474 αὖθ’: αὖτε is a Homerism (for normal Attic αὖ) used some 14 times by A., once by Sophocles (*Trach.* 1010, in hexameters), never in Euripides, occasionally in comedy when the grand style is being imitated (see Biles and Olson 2015: 380 on *Ar. Wasps* 1015).

ὁμαίμοις ... σέθεν: 449–51n.

475 Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 13.56–7 (for a victor in 464 BC) πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων ... μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος.

σταθείς ‘taking my stand, stationing myself’: ἐστάθην is frequently used in tragedy (six times in A.) where prose would normally use ἔστην. He means, of course, ‘stationing myself at the head of my army’; ‘but [he] sounds as alone as Hector in *Il.* 22 ... and the echo is ominous’ (Bowen).

διὰ μάχης ἦξω τέλους ‘wage a decisive battle’: for μάχης ... τέλος cf. *Cho.* 874, Pind. *Ol.* 13.57 (above); for διὰ μάχης ἰέναι and similar phrases see LSJ διά A.IV.b.

476 τάνάλωμα ‘the loss’ (of life); cf. *Ag.* 570 τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας (the Greek dead of the Trojan War).

477 ἄνδρας γυναικῶν οὐνεχ': one of the most male-chauvinistic utterances in Greek tragedy. It is one thing to hold that it is not worth waging a war for a single woman, particularly if the war lasts ten years and the woman is an adulteress (cf. e.g. *Ag.* 62, 225–6, 448, 799–804 – though Agamemnon is proud of having destroyed a great city γυναικὸς οὐνεκα, 823–4); it is quite another to imply that a war fought to protect women in peril (notionally 50 of them) is *ipso facto* more to be regretted than a war fought for some other cause – and to do so in the very presence of the women in question. When the Euripidean Iphigeneia says εἷς γ' ἀνὴρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων ὁρᾷ φάος (*Eur. IA* 1394), the context suggests that this is hardly to be regarded as rational (she has just said, 1387–90, that she has no right to prevent thousands of men from *dying* for Greece by insisting on preserving her own life); here there is no sign that the (overwhelmingly male) audience is expected to disagree with Pelasgus' assumption, any more than they will disagree with the proposition (401) that it is undesirable to imperil one's own city for the sake of foreigners. We must not, however, forget that from this point on Pelasgus will do everything possible to defend the Danaids, probably including the sacrifice of his own life (*Intr.* §3).

478–9 These lines mark the turning-point of the play's action as Pelasgus finally makes his decision (234–503n.).

Ζηνὸς ... ἰκτῆρος: 1n. The power of his κότος was stressed by Pelasgus at 347 and by the chorus at 385.

αἰδεῖσθαι 'take respectful note of' (and accommodate one's behaviour accordingly); cf. 345, *Eum.* 680, 760. The opposite of αἰδεῖσθαι in this sense is contemptuous dismissal; cf. *Ag.* 937 μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆις ψόγον, *Eum.* 539–42 βωμὸν αἶδεσαι Δίκας, μηδὲ νιν ... λάξ ἀτίσης.

ὑψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος 'for that [*or* he] is the most fearsome power in human life': φόβος here means 'an object of fear', 'something to be feared'; cf. *Soph. OC* 1651–2, *Eur. Or.* 1518, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 52, 335, *trag. adesp.* 356. The subject, understood from the previous sentence, may be 'Zeus' or 'the wrath of Zeus'.

ὑψιστος is an epithet of Zeus himself in *Eum.* 28; cf. *Soph. Trach.* 1191, *Phil.* 1289, *Pind. Nem.* 1.60, 11.2. Zeus was worshipped under this title at Thebes (*Paus.* 9.8.5), at Olympia (*Paus.* 5.15.5), and later much more widely (*Cook* 1914–40: II 876–90; *Graf* 2005); under the synonymous title ὑπάτος (cf. *Ag.* 509) he had an altar on the Athenian Acropolis (*Paus.* 1.26.5).

480–523 Pelasgus now takes charge and issues appropriate instructions to all present. Danaus is to take the suppliant-boughs previously placed on the κοινοβωμία (233n.) and place them on other altars in the city, to give publicity to his daughters' supplication and facilitate the task of persuading the Argive people to accept it (480–9); he asks for

an escort to guide and guard him (490-9), and Pelasgus detaches some of his soldiers for this purpose, warning them to say as little as possible to the citizens (500-3). Pelasgus then instructs the Danaids to descend to 'this level meadow' (508-9), i.e. the *orchestra*, leaving behind on the altar the boughs they have been carrying; the object of this, from the dramatist's point of view, is evidently to enable them to dance freely in the ensuing *stasima* (524-99, 625-710). They do not explicitly ask Pelasgus for military protection, but it is made clear enough that they would welcome it (509-15); they are not given it, no doubt again for the dramatist's reasons more than for those of Pelasgus – he wants the Danaids to be alone when an Egyptian force arrives to seize them at 825, and to be saved by a last-minute intervention (911ff.). The scene ends with Pelasgus announcing that he is going to hold an assembly of the Argive people, at which Danaus will also speak, and departing with the remainder of his men.

480/1 Something is wrong with the text hereabouts, since there is nothing either before or after the sentence 481-5 to which it can be conjoined by τε (482). The simplest solution is to suppose that a line has dropped out between 480 and 481, and in support of this one may note that Danaus, who is a stranger to Argos and who has not yet been provided with guides, needs to be given some idea where the 'other altars' (482), on which he is to lay the suppliant-boughs, are situated (in 494-6 he knows that they are within the city). The missing line, therefore, most likely said something like 'go to the city' (Wilamowitz); other suggestions are 'leave the sanctuary' (Hermann) and 'be of good cheer' and/or 'approach the altar' (FJW).

481 τούτους is probably accompanied by a gesture in the direction of the altar, to make it clear that Danaus is to take the boughs lying there, not those which his daughters are holding.

αἶψ'(α) 'forthwith' is common in Homer and other archaic poetry (including the elegies of Solon: frs. 2.3, 13.18, 13.62 West); it appears in tragedy only here and possibly in Soph. fr. 222a.102.1 (all letters uncertainly read).

482 δαιμόνων ἐγχωρίων: cf. θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι at 520, *Seven* 14, *Ag.* 810, 1645, and see 280n.

483 ἀφίξεως: normally a prose word meaning 'arrival', but here evidently 'supplication'.

τέκμαρ 'token, piece of evidence' appears in A.'s later plays side by side with its everyday Attic equivalent τεκμήριον (55, 271); neither word occurs in *Pers.* or *Seven*.

484 πάντες πολῖται: for the rest of this speech the Argive public is mentioned in one way or another in almost every line (485 λέως, 486 τις,

488 δῆμος, 489 πᾶς τις): it is of vital importance that public opinion be won to the Danaids' cause.

ἀπορρίψῃ 'be thrown out, be uttered' (LSJ ἀπορρίπτω III): mostly a prose usage, and not found elsewhere in tragedy, but cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.37 χαμαιπετές δ' ἄρ' ἔπος οὐκ ἀπέριψεν. Curiously, the collocation of ἀπορρίπτειν and λόγος appears again in a quite different syntactic and semantic context in *Eum.* 215 Κύπρις δ' ἄπιμος τῶιδ' ἀπέρριπται λόγῳ.

485 ἐμοῦ κάτ': 254-5n.

ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λιώς 'for the people are apt to criticize their rulers'. This maxim is illustrated in every surviving genuine work of A., even *Pers.*, where despite the queen-mother's confidence that Xerxes is not ὑπεύθυνος to the community (213) he is severely censured by the chorus of elders both in his absence (550-3) and when he returns (922-4, 966-1003). In *Seven* (4-9) Eteocles expects that success in the war will be credited to the gods while failure will be blamed on him; in *Agamemnon* (432-70) resentment in Argos against the Atreidae over losses in the Trojan War has reached such a pitch that the chorus fear there may be a plot for their assassination (457-60). In fifth-century Athens such feelings found expression in prosecutions and ostracisms, from which not even a Miltiades or a Themistocles was immune. See Podlecki 1993.

486 καὶ γάρ 'for in addition', here introducing a further reason why the proposed course of action will be advantageous; for καὶ γάρ = 'for also' cf. *Ag.* 1255, *Cho.* 16, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 267, *Ar. Knights* 252 (Denniston 1954: 108).

τάχ' ἄν 'perhaps'.

487 Pelasgus has taken the side of the Danaids under compulsion, but, having done so, he backs them without reservation, and here he adopts *in toto* their outlook on the conflict with their cousins, echoing 426 γυνῶθι δ' ὕβριν ἀνέρων, 528 ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας. Of ten occurrences of ὕβρις (and its derivatives and compounds) in *Supp.*, this is the only one not uttered by the Danaids.

στόλου: 2n.; this is the only time in the play that this term is applied to the Aegyptiads.

489 Athenians with experience of the lawcourts would know well how litigants strove to emphasize and exaggerate their own poverty and distress, and the power of their adversaries; cf. *Ar. Wasps* 562-75. It could be regarded as characteristically Athenian 'to pity the weak, and not to allow the strong and powerful to behave hybristically' (*Dem.* 24.170-1). See Dover 1974: 195-201.

εὐνοίας: plural also in *Seven* 450.

490 πολλῶν ... ἡξιωμένα 'valued highly' (LSJ ἀξιόω I 3); cf. *Ar. Peace* 918-19 πολλῶν γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξιος Τρυγαῖος Ἀθμονεὺς ἐγώ.

τάδ' is defined in 491.

ἡμῖν 'in our eyes' (*dativus iudicantis*).

491 αἰδοῖον: this adjective, once applied to the suppliants themselves (194, cf. 455), has now been transferred to the *supplicandus* who feels αἰδώς before them and their protector Zeus Hikesios (345, 362, 478, 641) and acts accordingly.

†εὖ ρέοντα†: ρεῖν can be used with a directional preposition or adverb to refer to a person's natural inclination to a particular lifestyle or pattern of behaviour (Isoc. 8.5; Pl. *Rep.* 6.485d, 495b); but for εὖ ρεῖν 'be favourably inclined', of a person, the only parallel is *Pers.* 601 ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ which is part of an extended image of fair and foul weather at sea (599-602). Corruption is therefore likely, but correction is difficult: εὖ ρέζοντα (Abresch) involves a Homerism otherwise unknown in tragedy; εὐρεθέντα (Porson) involves a use of the passive participle that is more Latin than Greek; one might think of εὐεργουῖντα or εὐεργόν τε, but in the required sense ('beneficent') these words are non-existent in classical Greek. Other proposals stray far from the transmitted text and fail to account for the corruptions they presuppose.

πρόξενον: 238-40n.

492-9 Danaus asks Pelasgus for, and is given, an escort to guide and protect him as he goes into Argos and around the city. This is not a permanent bodyguard, and when Danaus returns at 600 he returns alone. It foreshadows, however, the permanent guard of δορυσσοῖ that he will receive later from the Argive people (985-90), which in turn probably foreshadows a subsequent seizure by Danaus of supreme power at Argos (Intr. §§3, 7).

492 ὀπάονας: ὀπάων and its synonym ὀπαδός denote members of a bodyguard at 985 and *Cho.* 769, and probably a military escort at 954 and 1022 (see nn. there): evidently Danaus is asking for some of the soldiers accompanying Pelasgus (234n.) to be detached to assist him.

φράστορας 'guides'. This noun occurs (except as a proper name) only here, but a synonym φραστήρ is found in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 5.4.40) and later authors.

ἐγχωρίων 'from among the natives' (partitive genitive). Any escorts accompanying Danaus will necessarily be Argive, as he is the only male non-Argive present, but he insists on the point because he wants to stress his own position as a foreigner unacquainted with the city (493-5) and vulnerable to xenophobic prejudice (495-9).

494 βωμοὺς προνάους: altars for animal sacrifice nearly always stood in the open air, and an altar associated with a temple would normally stand in front of the temple at its east end; see Bergquist 1967: 72-80, 112-13, Mikalson 2005: 5-9, 19-20.

†πολισσούχων† has evidently intruded from the previous line, replacing some other word or words, most likely an adjective agreeing with ἔδρας and similar enough to πολισσούχων that an inattentive scribe could have mixed up the two vertically adjacent words, e.g. πολυχρύσους (H. Voss), πολυστεφεῖς (Butler), περιστύλους (Paley).

ἔδρας: places where a god or gods dwell, including but not limited to built temples; the open-air sanctuary now occupied by the Danaids was called (θεῶν) ἔδραι at 346, 413, 423.

495–6 εὐρώμεν ... στείχουσι (sc. ἡμῖν): first person plural used by the speaker of himself, cf. 236.

ἀσφάλεια: the earliest surviving instance of this noun (in tragedy also Soph. *OT* 51, Eur. *Heracles* 104, Eur. fr. 1039).

στείχουσι: dative of advantage, ‘for us [i.e. me] as we walk’.

μορφῆς δ’ οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις: lit. ‘the nature of <our> form is not similarly arrayed <to that of the townsfolk>’, i.e. ‘I look alien here.’

μορφῆς ... φύσις: i.e. my appearance as nature has shaped it. Cf. Soph. *OT* 740–1 τὸν δὲ Λάιον φύσιν | τίν’ εἶχε φράζε, to which Jocasta responds (743) μορφῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς οὐκ ἀπεστᾶται πολύ.

ὁμόστολος: but for the context, one would expect this to refer to Danaus’ dress (cf. 234 ἀνελληνόστολον); as it is, it must refer to his complexion and facial features, regarded as the outward vesture of the person (and of course represented, in theatrical actuality, by the actor’s mask).

497–8 Νεῖλος ... τρέφει: cf. 281 καὶ Νεῖλος ἄν θρέψει τοιοῦτον φυτόν.

ὅμοιον Ἰνάχῳ: i.e. similar to the race nurtured by the Inachus. This is an instance of what is called *comparatio compendiaria*; cf. *Cho.* 176, *Il.* 17.51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι.

Ἰνάχῳ: the principal river of Argos, flowing past the city on its east side to reach the sea at the head of the Argolic Gulf. Later Inachus was regarded as the father of Io (291–2n.).

μὴ θράσος τέκηι φόβον: since it is Pelasgus whom Danaus is warning to ‘take care’ (φύλαξαι), it must be Pelasgus who may be dangerously prone to θράσος, and this θράσος must be over-confidence that Danaus is not at risk of coming to harm in Argos. Paradoxically, says Danaus, such θράσος may engender its opposite, φόβος. This ‘fear’ is caused, not by Danaus’ presence in Argos as such, but by his *unprotected* presence; therefore it is not the Argives that will be afraid but Danaus himself, who, as the next line shows, will (or so he claims) be in fear for his life. His later acquisition of a permanent bodyguard is also justified, in part, by an alleged danger of assassination (987–8).

499 Danaus claims he is a φίλος to Argos; but some Argive not knowing this may see in him only a stranger of alien appearance, and may kill him. His claim to be a φίλος is actually rather dubious: one expects

φίλοι to benefit each other (cf. Pl. *Rep.* 1.332a, Arist. *EN* 1157b33-4, etc.; see Dover 1974: 180-2), but neither Danaus nor his daughters have offered any benefit to Argos, except the uncertain prospect of a reward from Zeus (362-5, 402-6) if Argos agrees to face a dangerous war on their behalf. The killing of φίλοι through ignorance is of course a staple of myth and especially of tragedy (see Arist. *Poet.* 1453b29-34), and A. had recently composed a trilogy built partly around the most famous of such events, the patricide of Oedipus. On Danaus' lips, however, these words are deeply ironic. Not only will his supplication probably be, without any such intent on his part, the indirect cause of the death of the man he is addressing (see Intr. §3), but he will subsequently mastermind his daughters' murders of their bridegrooms, both he and they knowing full well the nature and quality of their act.

καὶ δὴ introduces an argument to the effect that what has happened in the past can be expected to happen again, as in Ar. *Birds* 1251; see Denniston 1954: 250.

τις ἔκταν' '<before now> people have killed', a usage closely related to the so-called gnomic aorist which 'employ[s] a distinct case ... in the past to represent (as it were) all possible cases' (Goodwin 1912: 53-5).

500 στείχοιτ' ἄν: though usually thought of as a polite form of command (272n.), the potential optative can be quite brusque (e.g. Soph. *El.* 1491; see Finglass 2007: 288) and so is not inappropriate for this order given by a king to his soldiers.

ἄνδρες: we can hardly suppose that Pelasgus is ordering the whole of his escort to accompany Danaus to Argos while he himself returns to the city (at 523) unattended. Perhaps on its entrance at 234 the escort divided itself into two sections, going respectively to the left and right sides of the *orchestra*, and Pelasgus is here addressing himself to the section nearer to Eisodos T.

501 βωμούς ... ἔδρας: directional accusative (15n.).

θ' is essential: it corresponds to καί (494), and without it ἔδρας would be in apposition to βωμούς, which is religiously wrong, since gods were not conceived of as dwelling in their altars.

502-3 Pelasgus is anxious that information about the Danaids' supplication shall reach the Argive people only from himself (or from Danaus after careful coaching, 519) and only in a form conducive to the decision he desires; he therefore instructs Danaus' escort to say nothing about him to any Argive they meet except that he is a suppliant – which will be obvious in any case from the boughs.

συμβολοῦσιν, dative plural participle of the rare verb συμβολεῖν 'meet' (cf. *Seven* 352), was read by the scholiast, who glossed it as τοῖς συντυγχάνουσι.

Subsequently it was corrupted into *ξυμβόλοις*, dative plural of the very common noun *ξύμβολον*.

ναυστήρ' ἄγοντας τόνδ' 'as you bring this suppliant' (from *ναύειν*, 354–5n.). This, Pelasgus gives the soldiers to understand, is how Danaus is to be officially regarded until further notice – simply a suppliant seeking the protection of the Argive gods, with no mention of where he comes from, who has come with him, or what boon he is supplicating for, let alone of the risks attached both to rejecting and to accepting his plea. M reads *ναύτην*, but that would require us to assume that, in contrast with the elaborate 'oriental' costumes of his daughters (120–1, 234–7), Danaus is attired as a common sailor or at most a sea-captain (cf. 177 *ναυκλήρωι*), since otherwise his escorts could not credibly describe him as such. Bowen adopts Wecklein's alternative suggestion *ναυστήν*, which is a little closer to the transmitted text; but *ναυστής*, unlike *ναυστήρ*, is not known to have ever existed.

ἑφέστιον θεῶν 'who has come to a hearth of the gods'. A person supplicating a human ruler would often sit at his hearth (365n.), with the result that *ἑφέστιος* could be a virtual synonym of *ικέτης* (Ag. 1587, *Eum.* 669, Hdt. 1.35.3); the expression here is thus mildly pleonastic, but cf. *Eum.* 577 *ικέτης ... καὶ δόμων ἑφέστιος*.

Danaus departs by *Eisodos T*, escorted by a group of Argive soldiers. His silent exit marks him, at this stage, as an inferior personage compared with Pelasgus (Taplin 1977: 205–6).

504 τεταγμένος 'having been assigned his task' (LSJ *τάσσω* II 2; cf. the words of Death in Eur. *Alc.* 49 'Do you want me to kill someone? τοῦτο γὰρ τετάγμεθα'). This expression too (cf. previous note) tends to cast Danaus as a subordinate, acting on orders.

κίει: in Homer the verb *κίειν* 'go' is aorist only, but A. uses a present tense (perhaps of his own invention) in *Cho.* 680 and probably in 852 below (cf. there *λεῖφ'*); in *Pers.* 1068 *κίει* could be of either aspect. The other tragedians do not use the verb. M has the optative *κίοι*, but this is inappropriate when all other indications suggest that Danaus is already on his way, and when his daughters, far from desiring his departure, are apprehensive for their safety in his absence (505, 509–15). The itacistic corruption (*ει* and *οι* being pronounced alike in medieval as in modern Greek) would be particularly easy here with *ἐμοί* immediately below to catch the copyist's eye.

505 πῶς δρῶ; 'how shall I act?', 'what am I to do?' (deliberative subjunctive).

ποῦ θράσος νεμεῖς ἐμοί; 'In what respect are you going to give us cause for confidence?' For this use of *ποῦ* cf. Eur. *Or.* 802–3 'ποῦ γὰρ ὦν δείξω φίλος, if not by helping you when in trouble?', *IA* 406; for *θράσος/θάρσος*

meaning ‘cause for confidence, encouragement’ cf. *Seven* 184, 270, Eur. *Hec.* 371, *IT* 1281. The verb is accented as present in M, but this only shows, at most, how a Hellenistic editor interpreted the letters of the text, and the future is preferable as drawing Pelasgus’ attention to the fact that he has not yet made any provision for the Danaids’ safety.

506 See 480–523n. The boughs will remain on the altar throughout the play as ‘a symbol of [the Danaids’] distress’ (σημείον πόνου) and of their suppliant status (which the Egyptian Herald and his men will brutally ignore in 825–910).

μέν: logically the balancing sentence is 508, where ‘νῦν ... atone[s] for the absence of an answering particle’ (Denniston 1954: 377, citing no exact parallel – but νῦν here is virtually equivalent to εἶτα/ἔπειτα which are very commonly used alone after μέν, e.g. *Pers.* 523, *Soph. Aj.* 312).

507 καὶ δὴ: 438n.

σφε: this third-person accusative pronoun, found in epic, lyric and tragedy, can be either plural, like the longer form σφέας/σφᾶς (here, *Seven* 630, 788, 1002) or singular, the latter being more frequent in A. (e.g. *Pers.* 198, *Seven* 469, *Ag.* 1642, *Eum.* 234).

χειρία ‘obedient’; elsewhere in tragedy (*Soph. Aj.* 495; Eur. *Andr.* 411, 628, *Ion* 1257, *Cycl.* 177), where it always refers to a woman, it means ‘subject to the power’ of another, like the more prosaic ὑποχέριος (392n.).

508 κατ’ ἄλσος ... ἐπιστρέφου is probably a ‘pregnant’ construction with the sense ‘direct your steps [cf. Eur. *Hel.* 83, 768; Xen. *Oec.* 4.13] <so as to be> in this smooth meadow’ (LSJ κατά B 12). The more straightforwardly directional senses of κατά + accusative are not suitable here: ‘down into’ may be ‘firmly attested in Homer’ (FJW) but only in the sense of sinking below the surface of the sea (*Il.* 6.136 and possibly *Od.* 4.510), while ‘towards’ (LSJ B 111) is ‘not [used] with a subst[antive] denoting a locality’ (FJW).

ἄλσος here, and everywhere in A., means neither ‘grove, glade’ nor ‘sacred enclosure’ (let alone ‘sacred grove’) but ‘level expanse’ whether of land (558) or of water (868, *Pers.* 111); here we are specifically told that the area referred to is ‘smooth’ (λευρόν) – hence presumably treeless – and non-sacred (βέβηλον 509). The same usage is found in several other fifth-century poets (*Soph. Ant.* 844–5, *El.* 5; Bacchyl. 17.85; Melanippides *PMG* 757.3) – but not in any of earlier or later date – and in the epitaph for Aeschylus quoted in his ancient *Life* (§11) and by Athenaeus (14.627c), where it is said that the Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος can testify to his valour. See Sommerstein 1996a.

509 καὶ here conveys ‘an emotional effect of surprise’ (Denniston 1954: 309–11) and here almost of indignation: the Danaids are being

asked to give up the protection of the sanctuary before any substitute at all has been offered.

510 All Pelasgus can offer is a bare promise, and one that depends crucially on the consent of his people, which he has not yet obtained. He will keep the promise (911-53) in the nick of time.

οὐτοί: a strong negative, 'I assure you we will not ...'; cf. 513, 884, *Cho.* 269, *Eum.* 64.

πτερωτῶν: most recent editors have taken this literally, and suggested either (1) that Pelasgus is being sarcastic (Sandin: 'as if [abduction by birds of prey] was the most pressing danger') or (2) that his statement is to be understood as part of an *a fortiori* argument ('I will not abandon you even to abduction by birds, <much less to abduction by men>': FJW, Bowen). But (1) would be perceived by the Danaids not merely as inadequate but as insulting, and (2) requires an οὐδέ which is not in the text. Rather (thus in effect Citti-Miralles) A. either has forgotten, or is counting on his audience's having forgotten, that the vivid simile in which the Danaids were compared to a flock of doves pursued by hawks (223-6) was not heard by Pelasgus (who entered at 234). Later (734) the ships carrying the Aegyptiads will be described as 'swift-winged'. See also 512n.

ἰκδῶσομεν: 341n. It is not clear whether the first person plural refers to Pelasgus alone or whether it means 'we, the Argives'.

511 is highly elliptical: 'but <what will become of us> if <you surrender us> to those who are more hostile than malignant serpents?' FJW may be right to suggest that the sentence is incomplete, being interrupted by Pelasgus before even more ill-omened words can be said. The Danaids have not compared their cousins to serpents before, though they will do so again at 895-6. Argos has defeated a plague of real serpents before (262-70), but only with external assistance from the seer Apis.

512 Lit. 'May words be fair-spoken for one to whom fair words have been spoken', i.e. 'Please use only words of good omen, just as I have done in speaking to you.' Pelasgus warns the Danaids not to utter words of evil import – a warning evidently provoked by the suggestion that they may be surrendered to 'malignant serpents' or worse. Cf. *Ag.* 1246-7 Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον. – εὐφημον, ὧ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.

εὐφημουμένη: a unique use of the passive of εὐφημεῖν to mean 'have words of good import spoken to one'. Pelasgus is saying that *he* has been careful to avoid ill-omened speech; if (which is doubtful) this refers to anything specific, it may possibly be to the use of the metaphor πτερωτῶν in 510, whereby he avoided any direct mention of the Aegyptiads. The dative is possessive.

513 οὐτοί: 510n.; but here τοί may carry a stronger flavour of its force when self-standing – 'well, you know, it's not surprising that ...'.

δυσφορεῖν φόβωι φρένας: with this text, the subject of *δυσφορεῖν* ('be uneasy') is *φρένας*. If *φρενός* (M) were retained, a subject such as *με* would have to be understood, and this together with the redundancy of *φρενός* is enough to justify Bothe's emendation.

514 is corrupt, and no emendation has won general acceptance. Its latter half appears sound and refers to a 'fear' (*δειμα*, picking up *φόβωι* in 513) which is described as 'beyond what is proper, immoderate' (for *ἐξαισίος* cf. Bacchyl. 15.58–9 ἀφροσύναις ἐξαισίοις θάλλουσ' ... Ὑβρις: its opposite is *ἐναίσι(μ)ος*, Ag. 775, 916, A. fr. 179.2) and which the Danaids next ask Pelasgus to assuage by actions as well as words (515). As transmitted, the line says 'Fear of kings is always improper', which is neither true nor relevant (Pelasgus knows very well that the Danaids are not frightened of him, nor even of their uncle the ruler of Egypt – who, to judge by 30–9 and 341, is not with his sons in the pursuing ship – but of their cousins). (1) Most critics have located the corruption in *ἀνάκτων*, but this has proved hard to emend. West's *ἀνάλκτων* 'undefended, with no protector' (M. L. West 1990b: 146) introduces a word otherwise unattested (hence Citti–Miralles propose *ἀναλκῶν*, but *ἀναλκῆς* is not found in poetry), and anyway it is nonsense to say that people (especially women) left unprotected never have good grounds for fear; *γυναικῶν* (Linwood) gives good sense (cf. *Seven* 187–90, *Eum.* 38) but posits a most improbable corruption. Perhaps worth reconsidering is *ἀνάτων* (Ludwig); its proposer envisaged the genitive as objective ('fear of those who present no danger is always excessive'), but it could also, and better, be treated as subjective ('those who have suffered no harm are always liable to be excessively fearful'). The adjective *ἀνατος* occurs in three other places in *Supp.* (356, 359, 410) and only once in the rest of the Aeschylean corpus (Ag. 1211). (2) An alternative line of emendation is to understand *ἀνάκτων ἐστί* as meaning 'it is the business of kings to ...' (Weir Smyth 1956: 315 §1304) and emend *ἀεὶ δ'* into an infinitive of which *δειμα* will be the object; the best proposal in this vein is *λύειν* (Garvie 1973: 22), giving the sense 'it is the business of kings to dissolve undue fears'. However, Pelasgus would then be making a point against himself, since 513 makes it clear that the Danaids think he has so far done nothing to dispel their fears.

515 Pelasgus has already given a strong verbal reassurance (510), so that when the Danaids ask for reassurance 'both by speech and by action' it is clear that they mean 'not only by speech but also by action'. In fact Pelasgus intends to achieve a practical goal (an Argive agreement to protect the Danaids by all means including force if necessary) by means of speech.

μ' ... φρένα: another instance of the 'whole-and-part' construction (255n.). The addition of *μ'* (not in M) is not strictly necessary (cf. *Cho.*

847 τί τῶνδ' ἂν εἶποις ὥστε δηλῶσαι φρενί; 'what of all this can you explain so as to make it clear to <my> mind?'), but it helps to account for the otherwise puzzling corruption of φρένα to φρενί (by a copyist unfamiliar with the 'whole-and-part' construction).

516-23 If the Danaids are hinting that they want immediate military protection (480-523n.), Pelasgus ignores the hint. Instead he undertakes that he will speedily win them, with Danaus' help, the support of the Argive people; bids them pray for divine support also; and departs. This is apparently sufficient reassurance: the ensuing song is entirely addressed to, or concerned with, Zeus, with no mention of Pelasgus or the Argives.

516 δαρόν χρόνον: an expression taken over from epic (e.g. *Il.* 14.206, 305 δηρόν χρόνον), fairly common in tragedy (though only here in A.) where it is always spelt with 'Doric' ᾱ (Björck 1950: 126); δαρόν, like Homeric δηρόν, is also used as a self-standing adverb (not in undisputed A., but cf. *Prom.* 648, 940).

ἐρημώσει πατρός: future middle with passive sense, very common in fifth-century Attic (Weir Smyth 1956: 218, 219-20; his lists of verbs are not exhaustive). With the later second-person middle ending -σει this form confused a copyist who took it for a third-person future active and therefore wrote πατήρ (M), creating a text that is grammatically correct but can hardly be what A. wrote, for it would make Pelasgus blame Danaus for 'deserting' his daughters when it was Pelasgus himself who told him to go to the city.

517 συγκαλῶν may be present or future, depending on how the first word of 518 is restored.

518 †πιετω† is nonsense, and the lack of an accent suggests that the scribe knew it and was mechanically copying what he (thought he) could see (in a damp patch?). Most editors have looked for a verb that means 'I am going', such as στείχω or κίω (504n.), with συγκαλῶν as a future participle of purpose. Turnebus' πείσω, revived by Sandin, is worthy of consideration. It makes Pelasgus a little more confident of success than he really has a right to be, but that is easily understandable given his need to reassure the Danaids. However, συγκαλῶν as a present participle (which is what it would be, if πείσω is read) is slightly inappropriate, since Pelasgus must first summon the assembly and then, when he has completed that task, make his persuasive speech.

τὸ κοινόν 'the community' (cf. 366n.), mostly a prose usage, found in comedy (Ar. *Wasps* 917, *Ecc.* 208) but nowhere else in tragedy (at Eur. *IA* 967 it means 'the common cause' in which the expedition against Troy is being mounted).

519 misleads us into expecting that both Pelasgus and Danaus will speak at the assembly meeting. In fact, as we shall learn from Danaus

(621-2), the people spontaneously and unanimously (605-8) approved Pelasgus' motion as soon as (possibly even before) he had finished speaking, and Danaus did not have to say a word.

520-1 πρὸς ταῦτα 'in view of that': 249n.

θεοὺς ... παραιτοῦ: Pelasgus will attempt to persuade the citizens of Argos (λαοὺς ... ἐγχωρίους) to look with favour on the Danaids; they themselves should attempt to persuade the gods of Argos (θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους) to do likewise. They have in fact already made such prayers more than once (23-39, 206-23), and their ensuing prayer will be addressed exclusively to Zeus, not as a god of Argos but as their ancestor. They will, however, pray to the gods of the city *after* the city has voted to support them (625-709, also 1018-21).

τῶν is relative, a pronominal antecedent being understood. There are two possible syntactic analyses: (1) παραιτοῦ ἐκεῖνα ὧν τυχεῖν ἐρᾶις 'pray for that which you desire to obtain'; (2) παραιτοῦ τυχεῖν ἐκείνων ὧν ἐρᾶις 'pray to obtain that which you desire'. There is nothing to choose between them.

522 ταῦτα refers to Pelasgus' intentions as described in 517-19, whereas ταῦτα in 520 included also his reassurance in 516. For the repetition, see 52-5, 446-8-7nn.

πορσυνῶν: future participle of purpose; M's πορσύνων would not scan, the υ being long in the present tense.

ἐλεύσομαι: this future tense, cognate with ἦλθον (Homeric ἤλυθον) and ἐλήλυθα, is found elsewhere in tragedy only in *Prom.* 854 and *Soph. Trach.* 595, *OC* 1206.

523 Pelasgus was asked (515) to reassure the Danaids by speech and action; he fittingly ends his response by expressing the hope that his speech to the assembly will prove persuasive and that appropriate action will follow.

τύχη πρακτήριος 'a successful outcome', 'success'. It is an Aeschylean mannerism to use τύχη with an adjective as the equivalent of an abstract noun, e.g. *Ag.* 1276 θανασίμους τύχας (= θάνατον), 1484 ἀτηρᾶς τύχας (= ἄτας), *Cho.* 511 τῆς ἀνοιμώκτου τύχης (= τοῦ ἀνοίμωκτον εἶναι), *Eum.* 956-7 ἀνδροκμητας ... ἄωρους ... τύχας (= the premature death of young men). Pelasgus is not, therefore, necessarily implying that he will need luck as well as oratorical skill to succeed.

πρακτήριος is two-termination; see 213n.

Pelasgus, with the remainder of his soldiers, departs for the city by Eisodos T. Now, if not earlier, the chorus descend to the *orchestra*, where they will be able to dance as well as sing; they will remain there until they flee back to the sanctuary in panic at the approach of their enemies (832 βαῖνε φυγαῖ πρὸς ἀλκάν).

524-99 Directed by Pelasgus to pray to the gods of Argos (520-1), the Danaids make an extended prayer to one god only, Zeus. Apart from a single brief reference to the ὄβρις of their cousins (528), they appeal to him solely on the ground that he is their ancestor (527, 532-7, 588-9, 592-4), ignoring as usual (cf. 15-22, 168-74; 402n.) the fact that he is equally the ancestor of the Aegyptiads. They begin by requesting him for a second time (cf. 29-39) to sink the Aegyptiads' ship, and then embark on a long narrative of the journey of Io from Argos to Egypt and the conception and birth of Epaphus, highlighting the beneficence of Zeus towards Io (571-88) which, on the principle of *da quia dedisti*, he ought now to show to her descendants. They conclude, as they began (524-6), by emphasizing Zeus's supreme power (594-9): he cannot avoid granting their prayer by claiming that some stronger deity is preventing him from doing so. But their own words remind us that there is in fact another major deity, and one intimately connected with Argos, who is unlikely to look on them with favour: Hera (564, 586-7), whose priestess Io was (291-2) and who harassed her, first through Argus (303-5) and then through the gadfly, all the way to Egypt (556-64). Zeus and Hera together are patrons of marriage (cf. 1035, *Eum.* 213-14, A. fr. 55; see also 524-6n.): how will they look on the Danaids who are attempting to avoid it? In the *Iliad*, too, when Zeus and Hera disagree, Hera nearly always gets her way, even to making Zeus consent to the death of one of his favourite mortals (22.167-87) and of one of his own sons (16.431-61).

The argument with which the Danaids attempt to gain the support of Zeus bears no relation to that with which Pelasgus gains the support of the Argives (616-20); they make no mention of their suppliant status.

The Danaids' voyage from Egypt to Argos has brought them back from Io's destination to her starting-point, and it has been a much easier journey, a direct sea transit blessed by fair winds (133-7), whereas Io, in the form of a cow and continually stung by the gadfly, had to take the much longer land route, swim across the Bosphorus (544-6) and cross at least one mountain range (551) and more than one major river (553); but, as we shall see (565-70n.), there are parallels as well as contrasts between her experience and that of her descendants.

There is a useful analysis of this ode, from a narratological standpoint, by Rutherford 2007: 22-5.

524-30 = 531-7:	metre
1 ~ - ~ - ~ -	ia ch
2 ~ - ~ - ~ -	~ D
3 ~ - ~ - ~ - ~ -	~ D ia _Λ
4 ~ - ~ - ~ -	ia ia _Λ
5 ~ - ~ - ~ - ~ -	ia ia ia _Λ

6 — — — ∪ — ∪ — — 4 *da*

7 — ∪ — ∪ — — ||| *ar*

At 527/8 (cola 4/5) Lobeck's emendation γένει σῶι, here adopted, involves a metrical pause (and hiatus) with no syntactic pause; but cf. e.g. *Pers.* 635 = 642, where this phenomenon appears in both strophe and antistrophe.

Colon 5 is comparatively rare, but is exactly paralleled in *Seven* 117 = 137.

524–6 It is common for a prayer to open with an invocation, in the vocative case, of the deity addressed, but few such invocations are as elaborate as this one, which uniquely consists mainly of three *polyptota* in the form of an ascending tricolon (5 + 7 + 11 syllables), two of them superlative and the other virtually so, with strong emphasis both on the power of Zeus (ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, τελειότατον κράτος) and on his association with prosperity and happiness (μακάρτατε, ὄλβιε). The name of the god is kept to the end of the invocation, but his identity is clear from the opening phrase.

ἄναξ ἀνάκτων is a poetic variant of βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, a title of the king of Persia (found in Greek in an inscribed letter of Darius I, ML 12) also used by Egyptian rulers at least from Rameses II (D.S. 1.47.4) to the children of Antony and Cleopatra (Plut. *Ant.* 54.7); see Schäfer 1974: 42–5 and M. L. West 1997: 557–8. Since ἄνακτες can mean 'the gods' (222n.) the title is an appropriate one for Zeus as king of the gods, but it would probably be perceived as having a strong oriental flavour. Cf. perhaps *Pers.* 666 δέσποτα δεσποτᾶν (Dindorf: δεσπότου codd.), addressed to the ghost of Darius.

μακάρων μακάρτατε: μάκαρες, like ἄνακτες, can mean 'the gods' (Eur. *HF* 758, Stesichorus fr. 172 Davies–Finglass (= Ar. *Peace* 780), *Od.* 10.299). The reinforcement of a superlative by a partitive genitive of the same adjective is found in Greek poetry mainly in pejoratives such as κακῶν κάκιστε (Soph. *OT* 334, *Phil.* 984, *OC* 1384). It is not used elsewhere in invocations to gods, and although there was a thousand-year-old Egyptian precedent for such an adjectival expression (Schäfer 1974: 21–3, 80–1) it is unlikely to have been known, even indirectly, to A.

τελέων τελειότατον κράτος: τέλε(ι)ος, said of a god, means 'having the power to fulfil what (s)he desires'. It was a cult-title of Zeus in Attica (*SEG* XXI 541 col. III 40–1) and elsewhere, and is applied to him at *Ag.* 973 and *Eum.* 28; the adjective appears in close connection with Zeus at *Supp.* 92, 824 (cf. also 624 Ζεὺς δ' ἐπέκρανεν τέλος), and the last words of the present song (598–9) stress Zeus's ability to 'hasten the deed as fast as the word'. The gods collectively can also be called τέλειοι τέλειαι τε (*Seven* 167). But the adjective has other associations too: it is an epithet of Hera (cf. *Eum.*

214, A. fr. 383) as a goddess of marriage, and, significantly, the sacrifice to Zeus Teleios at Erchia (*SEG* XXI 541 col. III 40-1) – and very likely in other demes also – was performed on the fourth-from-last day of the month Gamelion, the day of the celebration of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Hera and Zeus (cf. Men. fr. 225; see Salviat 1964). There may be a similar irony in Ag. 973-4, when Clytaemestra prays to Zeus Teleios to fulfil her wishes (i.e. to enable her to murder her husband).

τελείων is masculine, not neuter, κράτος (see next note) being treated as a designation of a person; cf. *Cho.* 893 φιλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βίᾱ.

κράτος 'power' in the sense 'wielder of power, ruler' (*Seven* 128-9; Ag. 109, 619).

δαίει: Zeus both enjoys δαίος himself and (when he wishes) grants it to humans (e.g. *Od.* 4.207-8, 6.188-9).

527 πιθοῦ 'do as we ask' (not 'obey': πιθοῦ can be freely used to a superior, e.g. by child to parent (Soph. *OC* 1181, Eur. *Hec.* 402), slave to mistress (Eur. *Hipp.* 508), subjects to king (Soph. *OT* 649, Eur. *Hipp.* 892) – and mortal to deity (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.59)). The aorist imperative (M has the present, πείθου) gives exact metrical responsion with 534, and more importantly it gives conformity with the four other imperatives addressed to Zeus in the first strophe and antistrophe.

γένει σῶι 'for the benefit of your descendants' (dative of advantage): the Danaids mention their genealogical claim on Zeus at the first opportunity. M's γενέσθω 'let it happen' is meaningless (let *what* happen?) unless the text is emended elsewhere. Stinton 1976: 121-2 proposed πειθοῖ τύχα γενέσθω 'let success attend persuasion' (reinforcing Pelasgus' wish of 523), but this topic is nowhere else mentioned in the song, and such a prayer could not be followed, without even a δέ, by a shift to a completely different subject in 528.

528 ἄλευσον 'keep off'. The active voice of ἀλεύω is confined to tragedy and mostly to lyric (Soph. fr. 269d.17, from the satyr-play *Inachus*, may be an exception); cf. *Seven* 88, 141, *Prom.* 567, Soph. fr. 993 (a single-word citation).

ὑβριν εὖ στυγήσας: cf. 81 (addressed to the θεοὶ γενέται) ὑβριν δ' ἐτύμως στυγόντες.

εὖ: probably 'well and truly, heartily, thoroughly'; cf. *Seven* 34, Ag. 524 εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, *Cho.* 687.

529 λίμναι: λίμνη can denote the sea in epic (e.g. *Il.* 13.21, 24.79) and in other archaic poetry (Simonides *PMG* 543.4, Thgn. 1035 πορφυρέης ... λίμνης); in tragedy this usage is confined to lyrics (Soph. fr. 371.3, 476.3; Eur. *Hipp.* 744 πορφυρέας ... λίμνας, *Hec.* 446, *HF* 410).

πορφυροειδεῖ: this compound, found only here and at Eur. *Trö.* 124 (also of the sea), is evidently formed on the model of two Homeric

epithets of the sea, πορφύρεος ‘purple’ (e.g. *Il.* 16.391; see also previous note) and ἰοειδής ‘violet-coloured’ (e.g. *Il.* 11.298).

530 μελανόζυγ’: this unique word means literally ‘with black rowing-benches’ (for the nautical sense of ζυγόν see Morrison and Williams 1968: 51, Morrison et al. 2000: 30, 131, 136); the epithet is a somewhat illogical elaboration of the Homeric νηὶ μελαίνῃ (since the benches of ships, unlike their hulls, would hardly be coated with pitch), but it conjures up the image of a ‘black yoke’ about to be imposed on the Danaids – the yoke of slavery (cf. *Ag.* 953) to the dark-skinned Egyptians (719–20n., 888).

ἄταν ‘ruin, calamity’ (110–11n.), a surprise substitute for a word meaning ‘ship’: the safe arrival of the Aegyptiads’ ship will portend calamity for the Danaids.

531 τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν ‘that which comes from the side of the women’, ‘the women’s side of the matter’; cf. *Soph. Trach.* 476–80 ‘It is true that Heracles was in love with Iole, and sacked Oechalia for her sake; and, δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πρὸς κείνου λέγειν, he neither denied this nor told me to conceal it.’ The Danaids will again present their conflict with their cousins as a gender war in 643–5 and 1068–9, as the Egyptian Herald will on the other side (951).

ἐπιδών: 1n.

532–4 παλαίφατον ... εὐφρον’ αἶνον belong together, and the intervening genitive phrase defines the subject of the αἶνος, ‘the woman you loved, the ancestress of our race’, viz. Io.

φιλίας: φίλιος is used in tragic lyrics and anapaests as a metrical variant of φίλος (e.g. *Ag.* 1491, *Cho.* 719, *Soph. El.* 226); it may, however, be relevant that it is also a cult-title of Zeus (e.g. *Ar. Ach.* 730, *Pl. Phdr.* 234e). Zeus as patron of φίλια could be said to have a particular obligation to show favour to the descendants of one who was φίλη to him.

νέωσον contrasts with παλαίφατον: the tale of Zeus’s kindness to Io has been ‘told from of old’, but Zeus must now ‘renew’ it by showing kindness to Io’s descendants.

εὐφρον’ αἶνον ‘the tale of kindness’ which the chorus will retell in the following stanzas, singing first of Io’s tribulations (540–70) and then of Zeus’s favour to her (571–94). An αἶνος is properly ‘a story with a message of some kind, moral or otherwise’ (Bowie 2013 on *Od.* 14.508; cf. *Hes. WD* 202–12), though in this sense the word appears to be found only here in tragedy; the Danaids make it clear, before telling their story, what message they wish it to convey.

535 πολυμνήστωρ: similarly in *Seven* 180–1 the chorus ask the gods of Thebes to be μνήστορες of the Thebans’ past worship and sacrifices. The compound adjective occurs only here.

ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς (313n.) serves to make plain what it is that the Danaids want Zeus to be ‘very mindful’ of. Io’s name is mentioned twice more in this stasimon (540, 573), each time, as here, before a pause; so too on the only occasion when the name appears in the second half of the play (1064).

536 ‘We claim, we tell you (τοί), that we are descendants of Zeus (lit. of Zeus by descent).’ Perhaps modelled specifically on *Il.* 4.405 ἡμεῖς τοί πατέρων μέγ’ ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι.

Δῖαι: cf. 41, 314.

εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι: in Homer εὐχομαι εἶναι often means little more than εἰμί, but here (as in *Il.* 4.405, see above) εὐχόμεθα has its full value of ‘(truthfully) claim, boast’. There may also be a hint at one of the verb’s other senses, ‘pray’, since the claim of descent from Zeus is being used to justify a prayer for his support.

537 ‘from an inhabitant of this land’ (viz. Io): ἀπὸ governs ἐνοίκου, which in turn governs γᾶς ... τᾶσδ’. The mention of Argos here is followed up (538–40) by a statement that the Danaids have returned to the fields where their ‘mother’ once grazed, but with her gadfly-driven flight (540–2) the chorus too leave Argos behind, never referring to it in the rest of this song.

538–46 = 547–55: metre

1	υ – – – υ – υ – –	ia _^ ^ ia ia _^
2	– υυ – υυ – υ – –	D ia _^
3	υ – υ – – υ – υ – –	ia _^ ia ia _^
4	– υυ – υυ –	D
5	– υυ – υυ –	D
6	– υυ – υυ – υυ –	D ²
7	– υυ – – υυ –	2 ch
8	– υυ – – υυ – – υυ –	3 ch
9	– υυ – υ – –	ar

In colon 4 the antistrophe (550), as transmitted, has its fourth syllable short, which would make it a dochmiac; but the *correptio epica* in οἴστρωι ἐρεσσομένα – a phenomenon which in A. is overwhelmingly concentrated in dactylic and anapaestic passages, and never occurs in dochmiacs except in exclamations – strongly suggests that the colon is a hemiepes (as in the strophe, 541) and that the antistrophe requires emendation.

538 παλαιὸν ... ἵχνος: the two following lines clarify the meaning of this expression: the Danaids are standing in the place trodden by the hooves of their bovine ancestress.

μετέσταν: lit. ‘I have changed my place and taken my stand’.

539 ματέρος ἀνθονόμους: cf. 43–4 ἀνθονομούσας προγόνου βοῶς, 50–1 ἐν ποιονόμοις ματρὸς ἀρχαίας τόποις.

ἑπωπίας 'the watching-place', i.e. the place where Io was watched over by Argus (303-5nn.). This first action of Hera against Io is passed over quickly, in contrast with the second stage (the sending of the gadfly), which was far more prolonged and (unlike the first stage) painful (541, 556-7, 563-4, also 586-7). In the *sûchomythia* between the chorus-leader and Pelasgus, where the former was only concerned to provide evidence that she knew the story of Io accurately, Argus and the gadfly had been given equal space (302-10).

540 βούχλον 'cow-feeding', from the rare verb χιλοῦν (Xen. *Anab.* 7.2.21), itself derived from χλός which can denote either pasturage (e.g. Hdt. 4.140.3) or fodder for stall-fed livestock (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.25). The root of χλός occurs nowhere else in tragic drama.

541 ἐρεσσομένα: lit. 'rowed', i.e. 'driven, propelled'. Humans, beasts or birds may metaphorically 'row', effortfully, with their legs, arms or wings (e.g. *Pers.* 1046, *Ag.* 52, Eur. *IA* 138), but here, as FJW note, *the gadfly* is 'rowing' with *Io's* legs, and all the exertion is *Io's*.

542 φεύγει: in this and the next two stanzas all the finite verbs describing *Io's* journey are in the historic present tense. This tense is common in tragic messenger-speeches (e.g. nine times in Soph. *El.* 725-49) and other spoken narratives, where it often marks the most crucial events (Rijksbaron 2006: 128), but is relatively rare in tragic lyric. Here it may suggest that the Danaids are as it were reliving the travels and travails of their ancestress (cf. Rijksbaron 2006: 129). The present tenses begin at the moment when *Io* leaves Argos, and the last one (556) records her arrival in Egypt. In the dialogue about *Io* between the chorus-leader and Pelasgus, the former had used the historic present only once, in reference to the generative touch of Zeus (313). See also Sicking and Stork 1997; Finglass 2007: 324.

ἁμαρτίνοος 'not in her right mind' (lit. 'erring in her mind'); at the end of her journey she is explicitly described as mad (562, cf. 564 θυιάς), as she is in *Prom.* (581, 673, 675, 878-86; cf. 848).

543-55 The narrative passes over the first stage of *Io's* wanderings, until she reaches the straits (544-6n.) that divide Europe from Asia. Thereafter she seems to be represented as for the most part following the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts fairly closely all the way to Egypt, though the omission of the well-known regions of Caria and Lycia in south-western Asia Minor *may* indicate that she is to be imagined as taking an inland short cut (cf. perhaps 551 δι' ὁρῶν) from Lydia to Cilicia and Pamphylia. In *Prom.* (829-41 + 707-35 + 790-815), where she has to be brought to the remotest part of Scythia (1-2, cf. 707-13) so that she can meet Prometheus, she is given an extremely long and circuitous route, starting in an easterly direction, crossing the *Cimmerian* Bosphorus (the Strait of Kerch) into Asia (729-35), passing through many fabulous lands, and eventually entering Egypt from the *south*.

543-4 πολλὰ βροτῶν ... φύλα: sc. in Europe, before reaching the 'Bosporus'. From that point on, Io's journey is described in almost purely geographical terms; we hear of natural features (550, 551, 553), crops (555) and animals (548), but there is hardly a mention of any 'tribes of men' until Egypt is reached and the βροτοί who live there (565) are amazed by the sight of this half-human cow (568-70). In *Prom.* there is frequent mention of the inhabitants of the lands that Io will pass through (709-12*, 714-16*, 723-8, 793-801*, 803-7*, 808-9), though it is usually accompanied by a warning not to go near them (in the passages asterisked above); here, by contrast, as a quadruped continually spurred on by the gadfly, Io 'rushes' like an arrow (547 ἰάπτει, cf. *Ag.* 510; 549 διορνυμένα) through land after land without ever having a chance of interacting with any human being.

544-6 Io will enter Asia by swimming across a strait. The strait is not explicitly identified, but the repetition of (-)πόρον makes it evident that we are to think of the Βόσπορος and etymologize it, as in *Prom.* 733, as 'strait of the cow'. It is not clear whether the 'Bosporus' meant is the strait off Byzantium later (and now) regularly known by that name, or whether, as in *Pers.* 723, 746 and *Soph. Aj.* 884, the name denotes the Hellespont. From the Asian shore of either strait Io could be said to pass 'right through Phrygia' (548), though the Bosporus crossing would take her first into Bithynia (cf. *Thuc.* 4.75.2).

†διχῆ† ... ὀρίζει: omitting διχῆ (on which see below), the sentence means 'and she set her mark on [i.e. gave a name to] the land across the strait, appropriately, because she cleaved [i.e. swam across] the wave-filled strait'. The object of διατέμνουσα must be πόρον, not γαῖαν, since Io did not 'cleave' Asia from Europe (to do that she would have had to *create* the strait, as Poseidon by an earthquake created the Strait of Messina, *A. fr.* 402); hence γαῖαν must be the object of ὀρίζει, and the participial phrase διατέμνουσα πόρον κυματίαν is sandwiched between the object of the sentence and its verb.

†διχῆ†, if sound, would have to modify either (1) ὀρίζει (with the meaning 'in two ways, doubly') or (2) διατέμνουσα (with the meaning 'asunder'); with (1) it is not clear in what sense Io could be said to set her mark on the Asian shore 'in two ways', with (2) we have a very harsh hyperbaton to which no close parallel can be found. Attempts at emendation have been few and unsuccessful; the latest, διχᾶ ... ἐν αἴσῃ 'with a different destiny' (Bowen), posits an otherwise unattested adjective *διχός and implies that before Io's swim there had been no distinction between Asia and Europe, while αἰδεῖ ... ἐν αἴσῃ 'under a destiny hidden from her' (Sier 2007: 122-4) prematurely introduces the saving action of Zeus, of which nothing is otherwise said throughout the narrative of Io's wanderings and arrival in Egypt. The corruption, if corruption there is, seems unhealable.

ἀντίπορον γαῖαν must mean the Asian shore of the strait, the shore 'opposite' to that on which we, and Io, have thus far been located.

ἐν αἴσαι 'appropriately' is equivalent to the Homeric ἐν μοίρῃ (*Il.* 19.186, *Od.* 22.54) or αἴσιμα (e.g. *Il.* 6.62) and to the tragic ἐναισίμῳ (*Ag.* 916, *Eur. Alc.* 1077). The reason why the naming of the territory is 'appropriate' is explained in the participial phrase that follows: it was named after Io because she swam to it. At 47 the appropriateness of Epaphus' name is similarly marked by the adverb εὐλόγως, and at 315 by ἀληθῶς.

διατέμνουσα πόρον κυματίαν: cf. *Od.* 5.409, 7.276 λαῖτμα διατμήξας/διέτμαγον (Odysseus, who had been swimming for 48 hours after his raft was wrecked). The parallel strongly suggests that what Io 'cleaved' was the wave-filled waters of the strait. M. L. West 1990b: 146, taking πόρον in another sense, points out that one can also speak of 'cleaving' a path through water or air (e.g. *Eur. fr.* 124, *PMG* 939.16–17); but such a path (compared to a furrow in the *PMG* passage) could not be called κυματίας.

ὀρίζει here apparently bears its etymological sense 'plants a ὄρος in' (M. L. West 1990b: 146); attempts to understand it in its more common derived senses like 'delimit' or 'define' lead to tortuous semantic acrobatics, and again imply (cf. above on †διχῆ†) that before Io there was no distinction between Asia and Europe. A ὄρος was a stone placed on a plot of land either to assert its ownership (and usually the location of its boundary – mostly on sacred or public property; cf. *IG* i³ 1049–1141) or to record a financial encumbrance upon it; see Fine 1951. By planting a (metaphorical) ὄρος on the Asian shore of the 'Bosporus', with her name on it, Io was as it were laying claim to the territory, with the implication that it would henceforth be named after her. Since the marker is placed in the ἀντίπορος γαῖα, not in the πόρος itself, the name thus bestowed cannot be Βόσπορος: the kingdom adjacent to the Cimmerian Bosporus was often known by the name of the strait (e.g. *Dem.* 34.8), but there is no evidence that the territory on the Asian side of the Thracian Bosporus was so called. More likely the name implied is Ἰωνία: Ionia proper was further south, around Ephesus and Miletus, but the Persians and other Asian peoples called all Greeks alike 'Ionians' (cf. *Pers.* 178, 563, etc.), and the 'Ionian' revolt of the 490s had extended as far north as Byzantium and Chalcedon (*Hdt.* 5.103.2, 6.33.2). The name of the Ionians was commonly derived from Ion, grandson of Hellen (so probably already *Hes. fr.* 10.23 Most; cf. *Eur. Ion*), but it would be just like A. to create an innovative etymology ad hoc (cf. his ad hoc aetiology for the name 'Areopagus' at *Eum.* 685–90; see Sommerstein 1989: 213–15). In *Prom.*, where Io takes a quite different route, she is again commemorated by a geographical name, this time that of the 'Ionian' sea to the west of Greece (*Prom.* 836–41).

547 ἰάππει: ἰάπτειν is normally transitive and means ‘let fly, loose off’ (spears, arrows, stones, words, etc.); here alone it is intransitive, apparently meaning ‘rush’. As FJW point out, some other verbs of similar meaning can also be used intransitively, such as εἰσβάλλειν (cf. also the colloquial βάλλ’ ἐς κόρακας) and ῥίπτειν ‘fling oneself’ (Thgn. 176, Eur. *Hel.* 1325, Men. *Leukadia* F 1.3 Austin).

Ἀσιδος: Ἀσίς has a long first vowel, whereas Ἀσία and its other cognates and derivatives have a short one (except in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 2.461, 837). The distinction is already established in the Hesiodic corpus (Hes. fr. 165.11 M–W = 117.11 Most ~ *Thg.* 359, fr. 180.3 M–W = 182.3 Most); it goes back ultimately to alternative hellenizations of *Assuwa*, the name in Hittite, and doubtless in other Anatolian languages, for a region of western Asia Minor (cf. the Mycenaean personal name *A-si-wi-jo* = Homeric Ἀσ(φ)ίος).

548 μηλοβότου Φρυγίας: ‘Phrygia’ was most often thought of as comprising the Troad and territory to the east of it; here, with Mysia and Lydia to follow, the Troad is probably mainly in view. Sophocles occasionally (*Aj.* 1054), and Euripides regularly, refer to the Trojans as ‘Phrygians’; it is not clear whether the Aeschylean play-titles Φρύγες and, if this was a different play, Φρύγιοι (perhaps rather Φρύγιοι? see Sommerstein 2010a: 16 n. 30) are authentic, or whether these terms appeared in the actual text of these or other lost Aeschylean Trojan War plays, or whether the statement in *Il.* 2.862 (= A. fr. 446) that Aeschylus confused the Trojans with the Phrygians refers to anything beyond these titles. The epithet μηλοβότου can be applied to the whole of Asia (*Pers.* 763) but is particularly appropriate to Mount Ida (Soph. fr. 511.1, Bacchyl. 5.66), where Paris was tending his sheep when the three goddesses came to him for judgement.

διαμπαξ ‘right through, from end to end’, most often applied to penetration of the body by a sharp instrument (e.g. *Prom.* 64–5; Eur. *Ba.* 993–6, 1013–16; Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.23) and suggesting a rapid, uninterrupted transit through Phrygia.

549–55 ‘She passes through the Mysian city of Teuthras, through the vales of Lydia and the Cilician mountains, and speeds across the land of the Pamphylians, its ever-flowing rivers and its deep rich soil, and the land of Aphrodite abundant in wheat.’

The syntax of this passage is difficult. Every phrase must depend on one or other of the only two verbal forms, the finite verb περᾶι and the participle διορνυμένα. Either of these can govern either a direct object (ἄστυ 549, ποταμούς ... χθόνα ... αἶαν 553–5) or a prepositional phrase (ἄγ γύαλα 550, δι’ ὁρῶν 551), but it is doubtful whether either could govern a combination of both types of complement in the same sentence. If Hermann’s emendation of M’s metrically unacceptable text is

adopted in 550 (see 538–46 = 547–55n.), the only way to maintain syntactic consistency is to take the whole of 550–553a (reading Παμφύλων ... γᾶς with Burges) as governed by διορνυμένα and the plain accusatives that follow as governed by περᾶι – which has the rather unsatisfactory consequence that the ‘ever-flowing rivers and deep rich soil’ of 553–4 either do not refer to any particular territory or refer to a region (north-western Syria, around the Orontes?) that is not explicitly identified in the text. Alternatively, we can take 550–1 (Lydia and Cilicia) as depending on περᾶι (accepting the double construction of this verb) and everything that follows as depending on διορνυμένα (reading Παμφύλων ... γᾶν with Wecklein). This will attribute the ever-flowing rivers and the deep rich soil to Pamphylia; classical Pamphylia was not particularly noted for either, but A. seems in any case to be applying the name to a different area (552n.).

549 περᾶι: even when Io comes to a city, she passes straight through it.

Τεύθραντος ἄστν: the city of Teuthrania on the river Caicus, famous in Greek saga (*Cypria* Arg. §7 West) for having been sacked by Agamemnon’s army who thought they were attacking Troy (the campaign in which Telephus, son of Heracles, was wounded). Teuthras was the name of Telephus’ stepfather, his predecessor as king of the Mysians; either this is an anachronism, or else the reference is to a (possibly invented) earlier Teuthras who founded the city.

Μυσῶν: the Mysians lived south of the Phrygians, roughly opposite Lesbos. The use of two independent genitives of the same type (possessive), both depending on ἄστν, is somewhat clumsy and hard to parallel (see FJW), and Newman’s Μυσοῦ is tempting; but the corruption posited is not very likely (there are no genitive plurals in the immediate vicinity to induce an assimilation of endings) and the transmitted text (with the minor Renaissance emendation of Μυσ- for μουσ-) is perfectly intelligible.

550 Again we move south: Lydia, the later kingdom of Croesus with its capital at Sardis, was centred on the valleys (γύαλα ‘hollows’) of the Hermus and Cayster.

ἄγ = ἀνά (351n.) ‘through’ (LSJ ἀνά C.I.2).

551 ὄρων Κιλικῶν should refer to the Taurus range, which runs roughly east and west parallel to the coast of Cilicia in south-eastern Asia Minor; whatever route we imagine Io to have taken, a large section of it has been passed over.

552 Παμφύλων: in classical times Pamphylia was the territory on the south coast of Asia *west* of Cilicia; but it appears to have been thought that in the heroic age Pamphylia extended further east: ‘some, including Sophocles [fr. 180], transfer the strife [of Calchas and Mopsus] to Cilicia, and Sophocles in tragic style (τραγικῶς) calls the country Pamphylia’

(Strabo 14.5.16; cf. Strabo 14.4.3). It would appear that tragic poets sometimes applied the name Pamphylia to the whole coastal region south of Mount Taurus, most of which would usually in their own time have been reckoned as part of Cilicia. And the Cilician plain was indeed noted for its fertility (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.22) and was crossed by several large rivers, notably the Cydnus, Sarus and Pyramus.

τε: on the interpretation adopted here (549–55n.) this means ‘both’ and is answered by the second καί of 554.

διορνυμένα: on the interpretation adopted here, this governs two conjoined direct objects, Παμφύλων γᾶν (to which ποταμούς ... χθόνα is in apposition) and Ἀφροδίτας αἶαν.

553 ἀνάους: i.e. large enough not to dry up in summer as many Greek streams do.

554–5 βαθύπλουτον: this adjective also appears in a papyrus fragment (A. fr. 451g.3; anapaests) and in Eur. fr. 453 (lyrics; imitated by Ar. fr. 111).

τὰν Ἀφροδίτας πολύπυρον αἶαν: not Cyprus (which would require us to assume two further, unmentioned sea crossings) but Phoenicia and Palestine as seats of the worship of Astarte, identified by Greeks with Aphrodite (see Bonnet 1996; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 1999; Budin 2004). They were known to fifth-century Athenians as a grain-producing region (though not apparently a regular source of large-scale imports): the comic dramatist Hermippus (fr. 63.22), in a long list of Athenian imports, mentions Phoenicia as supplying ‘dates and fine flour (*semidalis*)’. The association of Aphrodite with cereal crops foreshadows her appearance in *Danaids* (A. fr. 44), where she claims to be responsible for their growth ‘through the wedlock of the rain’ between Heaven and Earth (see Intr. §3).

556–64 = 565–73: metre

1	υ – – – υ – υ – υ –	<i>ia_Λ lek</i>
2	– υ – υ – –	<i>pher</i>
3	– – – υ – –	<i>pher</i>
4	– – υ υ – υ – υ – υ –	<i>3 ia</i>
5	υ – υ –	<i>ia</i>
6	υ – υ – – υ – υ – –	<i>ia_Λ ia ia_Λ</i>
7	– υ – υ – υ –	<i>ch ia</i>
8	– υ – υ – υ –	<i>ch ia</i>
9	– υ – υ – –	<i>ar</i>

In colon 4 only the scansion of the strophe has been shown, since the antistrophe is corrupt (568n.).

556 ἰκνεῖται ... εἰσικνουμένου: there is a play on two senses of the verb: Io ἰκνεῖται (arrives) in Egypt while the gadfly’s sting continues to εἰσικνεῖσθαι (penetrate, cf. Hdt. 3.108.3) into her flesh. The word-play has

been seen as 'pointless and ... stylistically offensive' (FJW), but no convincing emendation has been proposed, and εἰσικνουμένου was already in the text when the scholia were first compiled. The repetition of the verb will also remind us of its other sense, 'supplicate': Io, arriving in a land that belongs to Zeus (558), is in the position of one appealing for his succour (and will receive it).

557 βουκόλου πτεροέντος: the gadfly is the second 'cowherd' imposed on Io by Hera (cf. 304).

558 Δῖον ... ἄλσος 'the plain of Zeus' (4-5, 508nn.). Has Io, fleeing from Hera's land of Argos (291-2n., 299), at last reached a destination (ἰκνεῖται already suggested that her journey was at an end) where she can expect protection?

πάμβοτον: for Egypt as a land of rich pasture cf. 4-5n., 855 ἀλφειβοιον ὕδωρ. The adjective πάμβοτος is otherwise attested only in A. fr. 99.1 (of a λειμών grazed by Zeus in the form of a bull).

559 χιονόβοσκον 'fed by snow', in reference to the belief that the annual flooding of the Nile was caused by melted snow coming down from the mountains of inner Africa (A. fr. 300 Radt = 126a Sommerstein; Soph. fr. 882; Eur. *Hel.* 2-3; Eur. fr. 228.3-5). This theory (on which see Lloyd 1976: 91-107) was held by the philosopher Anaxagoras (59 A 91 DK), though it may have had a more popular origin; Herodotus (2.22) argues strongly against it. The epithet associates Egypt even more closely with Zeus, who was responsible for snow (cf. e.g. *Il.* 12.278-80) as he was for rain.

ὄντ': 48n.

ἐπέρχεται 'comes upon', i.e. 'inundates', a verb frequently used by Herodotus in reference to the Nile (e.g. 2.14.2, 2.19.1) and by Thucydides (3.89.2) in reference to a tsunami.

560-1 Νείλου ... ἄθικτον 'the might of the Nile, and the water which Typhos does not touch with his plagues'. Typhos (Typhon, Typhoeus), the monster defeated by Zeus early in his reign over the universe (Hes. *Thg.* 820-68; cf. *Prom.* 351-72), was father of the rainy storm-winds (*ibid.* 869-80) such as those that wrecked the Greek fleet sailing homeward from Troy (*Ag.* 656); the Nile knows no such tempests. The mention of its calm waters recalls the Danaids' own storm-free voyage (134-7) and, by contrast, their prayer that their pursuers be overwhelmed and drowned in a tempest (30-6; cf. also 866-71). The transmitted text would be saying that Egypt was inundated by 'the might of Typhos, the water of Nile untouched by disease'; but Typhos is the last being that one would associate with the harmless, much-prayed-for Nile flood. Friis Johansen's transposition puts Typhos into a negative context appropriate to him.

τε is 'epexegetic' or 'appositive', linking two expressions with the same reference (Denniston 1954: 502); cf. *Ag.* 9-10 φάτιν ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν, 214-15 παυσανέμου ... θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος.

Τυφῶ νόσοις ἄθικτον: ἄθικτον, as usual, governs a genitive denoting that which does not touch (cf. *Eum.* 704 κερδῶν ἄθικτον, *Soph. Trach.* 685-6, *OC* 1521, *Eur. Hipp.* 1002); νόσοις is an instrumental dative, cf. *Seven* 44 θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου, *Pl. Ion* 535a ἄπτει ... τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ψυχῆς.

νόσοις 'plagues, afflictions'; cf. 586-7 Ἥρας νόσους ἐπιβούλους, *Soph. Ant.* 421 θείαν νόσον (a dust-storm).

562-4 μαινομένα: cf. 542 ἁμαρτίνοος, *Prom.* 581, 673, 675, 878-9, 884.

ἀτίμοις: lit. 'such that she did not receive her due', i.e. 'undeserved'; cf. *Ag.* 354 χάρις ... οὐκ ἄτιμος ... πόνων (i.e. a pleasure that is fair recompense for previous sorrows), 1443 (of the dead Agamemnon and Cassandra) ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.

κεντροδαλήτισσι: κεντροδαλήτης is feminine of *κεντροδαλήτης 'involving the infliction of injuries (~ δηλέομαι) with a sting'.

θυιάς (from θύειν 'rage') is normally, like μαινάς, applied both to the ecstatic female human followers of Dionysus and to his ecstatic female divine attendants (the latter sense is certain in *Alcman PMG* 63); the word is used in simile or metaphor in *Seven* 498, 836. Here, exceptionally, it is applied to a woman driven mad by another deity; but whereas Dionysiac 'madness', in an appropriate context, can bring harmless delight (*Eur. Ba.* 72-169, 370-433, 680-713), there is no 'up-side' to the madness that Hera (incidentally a traditional enemy of Dionysus and his mother, as in *A.*'s *Semele*) has brought upon Io.

565-70 The amazement and fear of the Egyptians at the arrival of Io mirrors the amazement of Pelasgus at the arrival of her descendants at Argos (234-45, 277-90) – though at least they, unlike Io, were of fully human appearance and of local ancestry. Her part-bovine, part-human appearance (568-70) can also be compared to that of the Danaids, who looked very un-Greek but had deposited suppliant-branches on the altar of the Assembled Gods in accordance with Greek custom (241-3).

565 ἔννομοι (elsewhere 'lawful' or 'law-abiding') bears here, uniquely, the sense 'inhabitants' (from νέμεσθαι, *LSJ* νέμω A.II.2); similarly *A.* can use ἔκνομος to mean 'stranger' (*Eum.* 92).

566-7 χλωρῶι δείματι: cf. the Homeric χλωρόν δέος (*Il.* 7.479, etc.). In view of the early attestation of the phrase, it probably did not in origin refer to medical theories about the migration of bile (reflected in *Ag.* 1121-3, *Cho.* 183-4) but directly to the pallor induced by fear (cf. English *yellow* 'cowardly').

θυμὸν πάλλοντ'(ο) 'were quivering in their hearts': θυμὸν is an accusative of respect (for an alternative, semantically equivalent construction cf.

Cho. 410 πέπαλται δαῦτέ μοι φίλον κέαρ). Omission of the syllabic augment is common in tragic lyrics: cf. e.g. 581, *Pers.* 656, *Cho.* 419, *Soph. Aj.* 706, *Eur. Supp.* 53.

ὄψιν ἀηθῇ is external object of πάλλοντ', indicating the cause of the Egyptians' terror; the same construction is found with other verbs denoting the physical symptoms of fear, e.g. τρέμειν (*Eur. El.* 643, *Ar. Ach.* 494), φρίσσειν (*Seven* 720, *Eur. Hipp.* 855).

568 †ἑσορῶντες† would probably not arouse textual suspicion were it not that the transmitted text involves the rare licence of a 'split resolution' (the syllables -τόν ἐσ- take the place of a single long syllable) which could easily have been avoided by writing e.g. βλέποντες, and also, unlike any other lyric iambic verse in A., involves *two* instances of strophic respension between a resolved and an unresolved long syllable. Attempts at emendation have mostly taken one of two routes. (1) Replace ἑσορῶντες with a more or less synonymous participle (βλέποντες Paley, δρακόντες Rose), which could have been displaced by the intrusion of ὁρῶντες from the scholia. (2) Insert in its place a further epithet for βοτόν (δίμορφον Headlam, θεομανές Whittle), which will then be in apposition to ὄψιν ἀηθῇ, and suppose that (ἐσ)ορῶντες originated as a marginal note (mistakenly) explaining the construction. Either way, it is difficult to account for ἐσ-, unless it is an early metrical 'correction' by someone who saw that ὁρῶντες did not give a valid iambic trimeter, and under option (2) the adjectives that have been proposed either overlap with words already in the text (δίμορφον ~ μειξόμβροτον), or refer to Io's mental state which the Egyptians could not have perceived by sight and thus contradict ὄψιν, or are not known to exist (κακόχαρι Hermann). It is curious that the only other occurrence of ἑσορᾶν in the genuine works of A. (*Pers.* 112) also involves a metrical anomaly which has proved equally difficult to heal.

δυσχερές: lit. 'hard to handle', i.e. 'perplexing'.

μειξόμβροτον 'half-human', not μιξ-: 295n. Parallel formations are μειξοβάρβαρος (*Eur. Phoen.* 138), μειξόθηρ (*Eur. Ion* 1161), μειξοπάρθενος (*Eur. Phoen.* 1023). Hitherto nothing said about Io in her transformed state (note especially 16–17, 44, 50–1, 170, 275, 299–314) has given any indication that she retained any human features, and several scholars have supposed that what is being described here is the first stage of her restoration to human form; but we cannot be expected to intuit this when nothing has yet been said about the action of Zeus which effected the restoration (and which one would anyway have expected, like the original metamorphosis effected by Hera, to have been instantaneous). In art, up to about 470 BC the transformed Io is simply a cow, thereafter she is normally a woman with horns (as she necessarily is in *Prom.* (588, 674), where she appears on stage); but on one South Italian vase (Boston MFA 1901.562 = *LIMC* Io I 33), datable about 440 or a little after, she is

shown as a cow with a (horned) human head, and this fits with A.'s language (for the horns cf. 300), though it could hardly be *inferred* from his language and he therefore probably did not originate the idea (Yalouris 1990: 675). He has three times (42, 50, 539) spoken of Io grazing or browsing in bovine fashion, but (at least in the world of mythic imagination) this is not inconsistent with her having the face of a woman.

569–70 τὰ μὲν βοός, τὰ δ' αὖ γυναικός 'some features of a cow but also some features of a woman' is in apposition to βοτόν ... μειξόμβροτον, specifying a little more precisely the amazing sight the Egyptians beheld. M has τάν twice, probably a change made by a reader who did not perceive the apposition and wanted to understand ὄψιν from 567; this reading is unacceptable because it would mean that the Egyptians saw two separate 'sights', a cow and a woman.

571–3 This type of question, designed to prepare for and add emphasis to the statement that follows in answer to it, is fairly common in epic and lyric, most famously in the words that begin the main narrative of the *Iliad* (1.8–9); in tragedy the only parallel is Soph. *Trach.* 503–6. The chorus will ask three more rhetorical questions (586–7, 590–1, 599) asserting the power of Zeus and their claim on him; to the first two they supply answers (588, 592–4) while the third is answered, or appears to be, by Danaus' report of the favourable decision of the Argive assembly, for which he gives Zeus the credit (624).

θέλξας: A. uses this verb and its derivatives exclusively in *Supp.* (386, 448, 1004, 1040, 1055) and in the *Oresteia* (six times). It usually means 'charm' with the effect of inspiring erotic passion (1004, 1040), or of soothing hostile feelings; at *Cho.* 670 it refers to the effect of rest after the stress of a long journey. Here it evokes the idea of Zeus exerting a quasi-magical influence over Io that charms away the 'madness' spoken of in 542 and 562–4; cf. *Prom.* 848, where the first thing that will happen to Io on arrival in Egypt is that Zeus makes her ἔμφρονα.

πολύπλαγκτον ἀθλίαν οἰστροδόνητον: henceforth Io will no longer be describable by any of these epithets. For the third, cf. 16–17 τῆς οἰστροδόνου βοός.

ἰώ: 535n.

574–81 = 582–9: metre

1	υ – – – υ – υ – –	<i>ia_Λ ith</i>
2	– – – υυ – –	<i>pher</i>
3	υ – υ – υ – υ –	<i>2 ia</i>
4	– – – υυ – –	<i>pher</i>
5	– υ – υυ – υ –	<i>glyc</i>
6	– υ – υυ – –	<i>pher</i>
7	υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ –	<i>3 ia</i>
8	– υυ – υ – –	<i>ar</i>

In colon 2 only the scansion of the antistrophe has been shown, since this colon is lost from the strophe.

574 δι' αἰῶνος is repeated at the start of the antistrophe (582), as it were symbolizing the kinship between Zeus and Epaphus and suggesting that the latter owed his long (μακροῦ) life to being the son of Zeus whose life is eternal (ἀπαύστου). Such repetition is otherwise found in A. only with interjections (e.g. *Seven* 150 = 158, 166 = 174) and in two other passages, *Cho.* 935-6 = 946-7 (ἔμολε ... ποινά: the coming of retribution for Helen's abduction, and for Agamemnon's murder) and *Eum.* 996 = 1014 (χαίρετε χαίρετε).

κρέων 'ruler', the fifth-century lyric and tragic equivalent of the Homeric κρείων. In epic and lyric this word and its feminine κρε(ι)ουσα could be used both of gods (e.g. *Il.* 8.31, Pind. *Nem.* 3.10, Bacch. 3.1) and of mortals of the heroic age, notably Agamemnon (42 times in Homer) but also others (e.g. *Od.* 4.22, Pind. *Pyth.* 8.99); its three appearances as an ordinary noun/adjective in tragedy all relate to Zeus or Poseidon (Eur. *Hipp.* 1168, *El.* 1262), though both Κρέων and Κρέουσα are of course common as human personal names (first in *Il.* 9.84).

575 As comparison with the antistrophe shows, a verse has been lost here, and it is highly likely to have contained the name of Zeus, which is the answer to the question posed in 571-3; most probably, though not certainly, Ζεὺς came first, immediately following the adjectival phrase describing him. Beyond this we cannot go, though Murray's supplement has the advantage of introducing a reference to the touch of Zeus's hand, which has not been mentioned since 535 and will not be mentioned again in this ode (except for the indirect allusion in 592 αὐτόχειρ).

576-7 βίαι ... ἐπιπνοίαις: the datives are instrumental/causal.

βίαι ... ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ 'with the force of painless strength': Zeus's intervention compelled Io to cease her flight, but it caused her no hurt (quite the contrary, since it presumably restored her to human form and rid her of the gadfly); in 1067, speaking of the same event, the chorus describe Zeus as εὐμενῇ βίαν κτίσας. With the triple compound ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ cf. 234 ἀνελληνόστολον. M's ἀπημάντω(ι) σθένει makes no sense unless (contrary to the scholia) βία (so M, with no final or subscript iota) is taken as nominative, and even then yields a sentence hard to understand because the source of the 'violence' is left unspecified; emendation of βία to Διὸς (Pearson) yields good sense, but the posited corruption is hard to account for.

θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις: cf. 17.

578-9 παύεται (sc. ἰώ): 'was stopped' (from the gadfly-driven flight referred to in 572-3 πολύπλαγκτον ... οἰστροδόνητον).

δακρύων ... αἰδῶ: lit. 'she dripped away a sorrowful shame consisting of tears', i.e. by shedding tears she gave expression to, and also relieved herself from, the grief and shame engendered by her recent experiences. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 958-61 (of Lycurgus, imprisoned underground, probably after killing his son in a fit of madness induced by Dionysus) τᾷς μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάζει ἀνθρώπῳ τε μένος [and realized – evidently returning to sanity – how he had previously offended Dionysus]. The tears, and the emotions referred to, create the strong impression that Io is now fully human again. The nature and cause of Io's αἰδῶς are well discussed by Cairns 1993: 187-8, who glosses it as 'embarrassment and self-consciousness at her situation', though this should probably be seen as caused more by her previous sufferings (fleeing madly through three continents in the form of a cow), over which she can now for the first time grieve in human fashion, than by her present position as one 'subject to the erotic attentions of Zeus', since (1) this position is not for her a new one (cf. 295-301) and (2) Zeus's erotic attentions are now of the gentlest kind.

580 λαβοῦσα 'receiving into herself'; cf. *Cho.* 127-8 'Earth who gives birth to all things, nurtures them, and then αὐθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει [i.e. receives them back when they die].' The verb does not in itself mean 'conceiving' unless ἐν γαστρὶ is added, as in *Hippocr. Aph.* 5.59.

ἔρμα Δῖον 'ballast from Zeus'. For the image of a pregnant woman as a ship carrying weight in her hold cf. *Xen. Mem.* 2.2.5 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὑποδεξαμένη ... φέρει τὸ φορτίον τοῦτο, βαρυνομένη τε καὶ κινδυνεύουσα κτλ.; also, more vaguely, *Cho.* 992 τέκνων ἥνεγχε' ὑπὸ ζώνην βάρους. Our passage is the earliest attestation of ἔρμα in the sense 'ballast'; the next is *Ar. Birds* 1429.

ἄψευδεῖ λόγῳ probably modifies Δῖον: the paternity of Io's child was ascribed to Zeus, and the ascription was correct.

581 γείνατο 'she bore'. This Homeric aorist form is common in tragedy, occurring even in spoken verse; in *A.* cf. *Seven* 751, *Eum.* 736, fr. 175.2 (the last two are said of the mother). On the absence of an augment, 566-7n.

ἄμειφῃ recalls the Homeric epithet ἄμύμων and so implies that the child was of heroic status; it implies also that he was physically perfect, despite his mother's time as a cow (and despite his having been called a πόρτις at 41 and 314; see 41-2n.).

For the run-on between stanzas cf. 1026, *Seven* 750, *Ag.* 76, 238 (the last three bridge a boundary between strophic *pairs*).

582 δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ: 574n.

πάνολβον: and therefore far more fortunate than most mortals, to whom Zeus gives at best a mixture of happiness and sorrow (cf. *Il.* 24.527-33, *Soph. Trach.* 126-35; 1069-70n.). This adjective occurs only here in pre-Christian Greek literature, though πανόλβιος appears occasionally in

dactylic poetry (*h.Dion.* 54; *Thgn.* 441; *Theocr.* 15.146; and an epigram cited in *Σ Eur. Andr.* 100).

583 ἐνθεν 'whence', i.e. probably 'as a result of which': Epaphus' unbroken prosperity was taken as proof that he really was the son of Zeus. The sense 'whereupon' (cf. *Il.* 13.741) is less satisfactory here because it would have to refer to some specific event as triggering the recognition, and no specific event has been referred to except Epaphus' birth.

πᾶσα ... χθών 'the whole land' (of Egypt); not 'the whole earth', since the Argives (for example) knew nothing about Epaphus before today (291-324, 311nn.).

βοᾷ is probably a true present: the Egyptians came to understand, *and still proclaim*, that Epaphus was the son of Zeus. As a historic present it would evoke the idea of a concerted acclamation on some specific occasion, and this does not suit the context (cf. last note but one).

584-5 The quoted words of the Egyptians probably extend only to the end of 585: they would not have known about the plotting of Hera.

φυσίζου ... Ζηνός 'of Zeus who generates life', with an implicit pun on Ζηνός and ζῆν. The same pun is spelt out in *Eur. Or.* 1635 (cf. also perhaps *Eur. Tro.* 770-1); similarly *Ag.* 1485-8, following *Hes. WD* 2-4, plays on Διός and διαί to present Zeus as 'the cause of all things'. In Homer φυσίζοος is an epithet of Earth (e.g. *Il.* 3.243); it probably once meant 'producer of (emmer) wheat (ζειαί: cf. ζείδωρος ἄρουρα)', but this original meaning was already forgotten in Homer's time (Kirk 1985: 300-1).

γένος τόδε: since this is something the Egyptians are still saying (583n.), the reference is not only to Epaphus but to the whole line of his descendants; this will be confirmed when the Danaids use the same phrase in 588 to denote themselves.

ἀληθῶς: cf. Matthew 27.54 (~ Mark 15.39) ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος.

586-7 τίς γάρ 'for who <else> ... ?' (Denniston 1954: 85); compare (with various interrogative pronouns or adverbs) *Ag.* 1139, 1374-6, *Eum.* 606-8.

κατέπαυσεν echoes 578 παύεται.

Ἡρας νόσους ἐπιβούλους 'the afflictions (560-1n.) caused by Hera's plotting', the epithet being transferred by 'enallage' from Hera to the νόσοι.

588-9 Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον: i.e. this is an act such as only Zeus could have performed (he alone being more powerful than Hera).

καὶ τόδ' ἂν ... κυρήσαις 'and if you [i.e. one] said that our [lit. this] race was descended from Epaphus, you would hit the mark'.

ἐξ Ἐπάφου: sc. εἶναι. The infinitive of indirect statement was likewise omitted in 16-18, where, as here, the chorus were asserting that their γένος was descended from Zeus and Io.

κυρήσαις: *κυρεῖν* and its synonym *τυγχάνειν* are fairly frequently used in A.'s later plays in the absolute sense 'hit the mark, be accurate' (*Ag.* 622, 1201, 1233; *Cho.* 14, 317, 418, 950); the construction is also found elsewhere in tragedy (e.g. *Soph. OT* 398, *Eur. Hipp.* 827) and even in fourth-century comedy (Alexis fr. 113). The weak aorist optative in -αις, -αι (instead of -εἰας, -εἰε) has a very uneven distribution in Attic texts (see Weir Smyth 1956: 194–5 §668n.); it occurs about eight times in Aristophanes, but in tragedy it is confined to A.'s later plays and mostly to lyrics (660, 662, 1052, *Eum.* 983, all third-person), with one occurrence in iambics (618).

590–9 The Danaids end their song, as they began it, by re-emphasizing that their descent from Zeus gives them a just claim on his favour (cf. 527, 532–7) and by hymning his supreme power (cf. 524–6) which, they imply, guarantees that he will be able to fulfil their prayer. The prayer itself, made at 527–30, is not repeated, except to the extent that it is implicit in the choice of *οὔριος* (594n.) as an epithet for Zeus.

590–4 = 595–9: metre

1	υ – – – υ – υ – –	<i>ia_Λ ith</i>
2	υ – – – υ – υ – –	<i>ia_Λ ith</i>
3	– ∞ υ – υ – υ – υ – υ –	3 <i>ia</i>
4	υ – υ – υ – υ –	2 <i>ia</i>
5	– – υ – υ – υ – –	<i>ia ith</i>

The text of colon 3 adopted here (592n.) requires a responsion of a resolved to an unresolved iambic *metron*; this is unusual for A., but cf. 809 = 818.

590–1 *ἐνδικωτέροισιν ... ἐπ' ἔργοις* 'on account of (cf. 6 ἐφ' αἵματι) deeds that give me a juster claim on him'. Literally *ἐνδικος* means here 'containing within themselves a lawful claim' (see Fraenkel 1950: II 448–9); in the ordinary usage of the adjective the lawful claimant in question would be the *doer* of the action, but here the actions of Zeus towards Io generate for the descendants of the *beneficiary* a lawful claim upon Zeus, or so the Danaids assert. There may be irony here: we know that subsequently the Danaids themselves will perform deeds that are far from being *ἐνδικα* – and when, in *Danaides*, they came on stage after performing these deeds (Intr. §3) they very probably made a claim of justification and appealed for divine support.

κεκλοίμαν: 40n.

εὐλόγως 'appropriately' is logically redundant, since if there were a god on whom the Danaids could call *ἐνδικωτέροις ἐπ' ἔργοις* than they could on Zeus, it would necessarily be 'appropriate' to do so; it is as if A. had hesitated between two forms of expression and had ended up using both.

592-4 'The Father himself, the King, he of ancient wisdom who was the great artificer of my race, the remedy for all ills, Zeus of Fair Winds, is he who engendered us with his own hand.'

These three lines must be construed as a complete sentence, not as an elliptical response to the question posed in 590-1 (such a response would have had to be in the accusative case). Since this sentence has no expressed verb, it must be of the form 'Subject <is> Predicate'; but it is not at all clear which of the six or seven expressions describing Zeus in these lines is formally the predicate. To some extent this will depend on the relationship of the sentence to its context. The heavy stress in the early part of the sentence on Zeus as (fore)father (πατήρ φυτουργός, γένους ... τέκτων) suggests that its main function is to explain (again) why the Danaids have a juster claim on Zeus than on any other god, and if so, the predicate will probably be φυτουργός αὐτόχειρ: Zeus (who has the qualities described in the rest of the sentence) is 'he who engendered me with his own hand'. At the same time the sentence looks forward, especially in its last five words, to the description of Zeus's supreme power in the antistrophe.

<αὐτός>: the line, as transmitted, is half a *metron* short, and as the scholia paraphrase its first few words with αὐτός ὁ πατήρ φυτουργός τοῦ γένους, it is highly likely that αὐτός originally stood in the text. Most editors take over αὐτός ὁ from the scholium; this gives precise responsion with 597, but one should be reluctant to introduce a 'split resolution' (568n.) by conjecture, and the scholiast's use of the article does not imply that he found it in his text but only that it would have been used if this were prose. Voss's placement of αὐτός directly before αὐτόχειρ (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 52 αὐτός αὐτούργωι χερί) is tempting, but if αὐτός had stood there the scholiast would probably have placed it later in his paraphrase.

πατήρ: not 'our father' but 'the Father', as Zeus may be called even by those who are not his children if the context makes it clear who is meant (139, 811, *Cho.* 984-5 with M. L. West 1990b: 262-3).

φυτουργός means etymologically 'plant-grower, cultivator', but like φυτάλμιος (*Ag.* 327) it had come to be associated with φύειν 'beget'; it is an epithet of πατήρ in Soph. *OT* 1482, and a synonym of πατήρ in Eur. *Tro.* 481, *IA* 949.

αὐτόχειρ 'with his own hand' most often refers to a murderer – indeed it can mean 'murderer' (Soph. *OT* 231, Men. *Sam.* 561); here by contrast it refers to a gentle, beneficent touch,

παλαιόφρων 'of ancient wisdom' (cf. 361 γεραιόφρων) is appropriately used by the Erinyes, who continually emphasize their age and their seniority to the Olympians, in *Eum.* 838 = 871; it is more surprising to find it used of Zeus, who is never thought of as aged, but from the Danaids'

point of view he is old in terms of years or of human generations (he is their great-great-great-grandfather).

τέκτων, originally ‘carpenter’, could be applied to any maker of any product, literal or metaphorical (cf. e.g. *Ag.* 1406, Agamemnon’s corpse as τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς | ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτονος).

τὸ πᾶν, here something like ‘in every respect, for every purpose’, with its variant ἐς τὸ πᾶν, is a favourite adverbial phrase in late A. with a wide semantic range (in 781 ‘entirely, utterly’, in 692 either ‘thoroughly’ or ‘in every way’; 19 times in the *Oresteia*). It is also found fairly frequently in Sophocles (e.g. *Trach.* 1057; *El.* 1009, 1121) and in *Prom.* (215, 233, 456, 627), but only once in Euripides (*Hcl.* 575).

μῆχαρ: 393–5n. For the idea of Zeus as a universal ‘remedy’ cf. *Ag.* 163–6: Zeus offers the only means of casting off τὸ μάταν ... φροντίδος ἄχθος.

οὔριος ‘giver of fair winds’ is not attested as a cult-title of Zeus until the late second century BC when it appears at Delos (*IDelos* 1561, 1754, etc.); but its irrelevance to its immediate context here strongly suggests that it was already known as an epithet of his. It has a broader relevance to the Danaids’ position: Zeus gave them fair winds, literally, on their voyage to Argos (134–7), and they hope he will continue to do so metaphorically (cf. 28–9n.) while seeing to it that their enemies’ voyage is disastrous (29–36, 529–30). In fact, however, he will show himself οὔριος to the Aegyptiads also (1045–6), and even Danaus’ prognostications about the difficulties of landing on a harbourless shore (764–72) will apparently be falsified.

595–9 Zeus is no servant or underling ‘speeding at [the] bidding’ of one sitting in authority above him (to quote John Milton’s *Sonnet on his Blindness*, referring presumably to God’s ἄγγελοι); on the contrary, as the Danaids have said previously (100–3), he, sitting on his throne, can effect anything by his mere word.

595 ὑπ’ ἀρχᾶς ‘by the command of’; cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1253–4 οὐκ ἐμῶν ὑπ’ ἀγγέλων ... ἐκ δόμων πορεύεται.

θοάζων could come from either of two homonymous verbs meaning ‘sit’ (cf. *Soph. OT* 2) and ‘move rapidly’ (10 attestations in Euripides). Although the latter sense is not certainly found before c. 417 BC (*Eur. Heracles* 383) it is to be preferred here: (1) one does not expect a subordinate to sit still when he has received an order from a superior; (2) the sense ‘sit’ would probably require ὑπ’ ἀρχᾷ rather than ὑπ’ ἀρχᾶς.

596 is still governed by the negation in οὔτινος.

τὸ μείον κρείσσονων κρατύνει ‘exercises the lesser power in comparison with others who are stronger’; a case of *comparatio compendiaria*, since Zeus’s power is being compared, not with the imagined κρείσσονες themselves, but with the power they hold. There appears to be no exact parallel

for the use of the article in a construction of this type, to denote *that one* of two entities being compared which excels or falls short in some quality: of the passages cited by FJW, Soph. *OC* 598 τί γὰρ τὸ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον νοσεῖς; means 'What is this more-than-human affliction from which you suffer?', while in Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.18 τὸ πλεόν οἶσθαι χρῆναι πάντων ἔχειν the article goes with οἶσθαι, not with πλεόν.

κρεισσόνων κρατύνει is probably to be regarded as a *figura etymologica*, since the superlative corresponding to κρείσσων is κράτιστος.

597 οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου: since Zeus is ὑπατος/ὑψιστος (478–9n.).

κράτος: M's κάτω gives no construction; it probably originated as a misguided 'correction' after a letter had dropped out of κράτος.

598–9 πάρεστι ... σπεῦσαι 'it is possible <for him> to hasten the deed like the word', i.e. to get a command implemented the instant it is issued.

τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν; 'what of all this is not brought to pass by the mind of Zeus?' (LSJ φέρω A.IV.3, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 109 εἰ τὸ σωθῆναί γε τὸ ψεῦδος φέρει): a beautiful emendation, requiring only a minimal change of one letter (Λ to Δ). The only possible reservation one might have is that it is not quite clear what τῶνδ' refers to; possibly to the recent and current experiences of the Danaids, of which we were partly reminded by οὔριος (594). After their departure from Egypt, Zeus (Ourios) protected them on their voyage, and now Zeus (Hikesios) has induced Pelasgus to respond favourably to their supplication; surely Zeus will continue to use his supreme power on their behalf. They will immediately receive what seems to be strong confirmation of this belief.

600–24 This is arguably the central scene of the play. It consists essentially of a single speech by Danaus in which he reports the favourable decision of the Argive assembly; there are similar brief *epeisodia* in *Pers.* 598–622, *Seven* 792–821 – which curiously begins, like the present scene, with the words θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες – and *Cho.* 838–54. The assembly's proceedings are described throughout in language appropriate to the proceedings of the fifth-century Athenian ἐκκλησία (see Bakewell 2013: 30–1), and the scene contains the earliest piece of evidence for the existence of the term δημοκρατία (604n.): δῆμος and its compounds appear six times in these 25 lines, five times (601, 604, 607, 623, 624) as the opening word of a verse. (In *Eumenides*, by contrast, A. carefully avoids applying the term to the Athenian people; they are so designated only once, and then in an injunction to keep silent, *Eum.* 1039 εὐφραμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμεί.) The Argives have voted unanimously (605 οὐ διχορρόπως, 607 πανδημῖαι) not only to grant asylum to Danaus and his daughters but to resist any attempt to seize them, on pain of exile and loss of civic rights for anyone failing to participate (609–14). This decision followed a speech by Pelasgus which was apparently so persuasive (615 ἔπειθε, 623 εὐπειθής) that the people immediately and spontaneously voted their approval, without allowing

anyone else to speak, without waiting for the motion to be formally put to the vote, and probably without even letting Pelasgus finish his speech (621–2); there was no need for the anticipated speech by Danaus on his own and his daughters' behalf (519). Certain features of Danaus' speech may disturb a thoughtful listener. He refers to Pelasgus' speech with the terms *δημηγόρους ... στροφάς* (623): when *δημηγόρος* occurs in later fifth-century texts the context is always pejorative (Eur. *Hec.* 254; Ar. *Knights* 956, *Clouds* 1093, *Wasps* 35), and *στροφάι*, in relation to oratory, means 'twists, tricks' with a strong suggestion of disingenuousness (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 775, *Eccl.* 1026, *Wealth* 1154; note that the debt-evading anti-hero of Ar. *Clouds*, who goes to Socrates to learn rhetoric, is named *Στρεψιάδης*). And if Pelasgus has been correctly reported (and there is no reason why Danaus, speaking only to his daughters, should distort or partly suppress the content of Pelasgus' speech), he has in fact seriously misled his people: he emphasized their duties towards suppliants and the threat of the wrath of Zeus Hikesios, but made no mention of something over which we know he has been agonizing, the likelihood of a major war if Argos refuses a demand for the refugees to be handed over (cf. 342, 377, 399–401, 412, 439–42, 474–7). The decree itself makes reference only to a possible seizure by 'any citizen or foreigner' (611–12), with no suggestion that the abductor might have an army at his back; there is thus no evidence that 'the Argives are aware of the dangers' as Papadopoulou (2015: 17) claims. But once the decree has been passed, Pelasgus takes it as an authorization to accept war if that is necessary to protect the suppliants: when the Egyptian Herald makes it clear that refusal of his demands will be treated as a *casus belli* (934–7), Pelasgus cites the people's decree (942–9) as justifying and indeed requiring a refusal. We may wonder, but cannot know, how the Argive people might have responded if he had frankly put before them the situation as he himself saw it – that both acceptance and rejection of the suppliants were fraught with danger, but the dangers attending rejection were worse (cf. 478–9); but he has evidently deemed it his duty to ensure at all costs that the decision is for acceptance, having prepared the ground by ordering suppliant-boughs to be deposited on the city altars and instructed Danaus' escort to be tight-lipped in their response to public curiosity about the newcomer (480–523, 502–3nn.).

Carter 2013 discusses this scene in comparison with the two other reports of assembly meetings in surviving tragedy (Eur. *Hec.* 107–43 and *Or.* 884–952), in each of which, unlike the present scene, there are several speeches, and in each of which the debate ends in a decision unfavourable to the party supported by the narrator.

600 εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων: lit. 'the matters of the natives are well', i.e. 'all is well so far as the natives are concerned'.

601 expands and explains the brief statement εὐ τὰ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων: asyndeton is common 'when a ... thought is repeated in different words, such that what had previously been said in general terms is expounded and explained more closely' (Kühner 1904 II 345).

δήμου ... παντελῇ ψηφίσματα should be taken together as the subject of δέδοκται. The phrase κατὰ τὸ φρέσισμα τῷ δήμῳ occurs in two fifth-century Athenian inscriptions (*IG* I² 40.76, 474.4-5).

δέδοκται 'has been resolved'; cf. 605 ἔδοξεν and n.

παντελῇ 'absolutely final', 'definitive'; cf. 603, 624 τέλος. In 944-5 Pelasgus emphasizes that the decree is unalterable.

ψηφίσματα is a poetic plural of a type particularly common in tragedy for neuters in -μα, e.g. *Ag.* 1105, 1112, *Cho.* 887, *Eum.* 235; it is clear from 621-2 that only one vote was taken, and therefore that only one decree was passed. The noun (which occurs only here in tragedy) is the standard Athenian term for an enactment passed by the ἐκκλησία (the distinction between ψηφίσματα and νόμοι, the latter requiring a more elaborate procedure, was not introduced until 403). Originally ψηφίζεσθαι meant 'to vote with pebbles', i.e. by ballot, but it had long since come to mean simply 'to vote', and voting in the ἐκκλησία was nearly always by show of hands, as it is in this Argive assembly (604 χεῖρ, 607 χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις).

602 ὦ χαῖρε is found in A. only here and at *Ag.* 22, both times in an excited reaction to good news; it later becomes fairly common both in tragedy (e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 91, *El.* 666; *Eur. Med.* 665, *Hipp.* 1453) and in comedy (e.g. *Ar. Ach.* 872, *Knights* 1254; *Men. Georg.* 41, fr. 240). Fraenkel 1950: II 15-16 was probably right in taking the expression to 'belong to the language of ordinary life' as a slightly heartier or more emotion-charged variant of the normal greeting χαῖρε.

πρίσβυ is used in addressing a father also in *Eur. Ba.* 1350 (affectionate and commiserating).

φίλτατ': φίλτατος is often used in reaction to good news, especially in the vocative; even a slave may be thus addressed if he has brought such news (e.g. *Eur. Hcll.* 788, *El.* 767); see Sommerstein 1993a: 73 = 2010c: 204.

603 ἐνίσπε (stem **eni-skʷ-*) is in origin the aorist imperative of ἐν(ν)-έπειν (stem **en-sekʷ-*). In Homer the usual form (invariably at the end of a line) is ἐνίσπες (cf. σχέες, θέες, δός, etc.), but ἐνίσπε appears (in mid-line, before a consonant) at *Od.* 4.642. The imperative probably appears again in A. fr. 25d.3 (the ending is lost) and the infinitive ἐνισπεῖν in *Eur. Supp.* 435.

ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος: lit. 'to what destination the final decision has been ratified', i.e. what are the terms of the παντελῇ ψηφίσματα of which Danaus has spoken. A similar phrase is used in a very different

context in *Cho.* 874 μάχης γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται τέλος ‘for the final outcome of the fight has been decided’ (an agonized cry has been heard from indoors, but the chorus cannot tell whether it was uttered by Aegisthus or Orestes).

604 stands in explanatory asyndeton (601n.) with ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος. Dindorf avoided the asyndeton by inserting θ’ after χεῖρ, but there is no good parallel for the placement of τε after dependent genitive + adjective + noun (cf. 282–3, 432nn.).

δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ is probably meant to evoke the concept of δημοκρατία: cf. 699 τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει, and see Ehrenberg 1950: 522. The phrase is formally, but only formally, inconsistent with 399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν: Pelasgus may be theoretically entitled as king to accept the Danaids’ supplication without seeking his people’s approval, but if (as he in effect says, 398–401) it would be very imprudent for him to do so, then *de facto* the people are sovereign. See 370–5, 399nn.

ὅπῃ πληθύνεται ‘in what direction (it) is multiplied’, i.e. what decision has been approved by οἱ πολλοί. The speaker evidently assumes that the decision was reached by a majority vote; Danaus at once clarifies that the vote was unanimous.

605–24 Danaus’ speech is remarkable for its symmetry, as FJW note. It begins and ends with four-line sections describing the unanimous passage of the decree, while the middle portion (609–20) consists of two six-line units, the first giving the terms of the decree in detail, the second summarizing Pelasgus’ speech, or rather the argumentative portion of it (for he must first have given at least some factual information about the group for whom he was proposing a decree of asylum). At least 13 words or roots are repeated within the speech (ἀκούειν, γῆ, δημ-, *Ζεύς, *κραίνειν, λέγω/λόγος, *ξύν, *-οικ-, πειθ-, *Πελασγῶν, πόλις, *τοιαῦτα, *χεῖρ), and in 7 cases (asterisked) the repetitions occur at corresponding metrical positions; the final sentence (623–4) consists almost entirely of words which have appeared before in the speech in whole or in part (the last word of all, which appropriately enough is τέλος, echoes 601 and 603 – just as the first word, ἔδοξεν, had echoed 601 δέδοκται).

605 ἔδοξεν reflects the phraseology of countless Athenian decrees beginning ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ *vel sim.* (see Rhodes 1972: 64–78).

οὐ διχορρόπως: lit. ‘not in an evenly balanced way’. This adverb, which is peculiar to A., is always negated, and usually οὐ διχορρόπως means ‘unequivocally’ or ‘beyond question’ (982; Ag. 349, 1272). At Ag. 815 it is applied to a (metaphorical) vote which is explicitly stated (816–17) to have been unanimous, but in itself it need not imply more than that the decree was carried by a large majority; only at 607 (πανδημῖαι) does it become clear that there was no dissent at all.

606 The restoration of youth in old age is a frequent motif in Old Comedy (Sommerstein 2019). In tragedy it is generally recognized that physical rejuvenation is impossible (e.g. Eur. *Hcl*d. 704–8) except by a miracle (*ibid.* 796, 849–58); but an old man may become young in mind and spirit (*ibid.* 702–3, Eur. *Andr.* 763–5, *Ba.* 188–90). This may not have been Danaus' only mental rejuvenation in the trilogy; it was probably he who said in *Danaids* καθαίρομαι γῆρας (A. fr. 45), perhaps in delighted reaction to the success of the plot to murder the sons of Aegyptus. The contrast, and the paradoxical similarity in some respects, of old age and youth will be a persistent theme of the *Oresteia* (Lebeck 1971: 17–20; Sommerstein 1989: 87–8). See also 776n.

γῆραιᾱι φρενί: locative dative, cf. φρενί 915, *Cho.* 512.

607 πανδημίαι finally confirms that the Argive vote was unanimous. It is a metrical alternative to πανδημεί, for which cf. *Seven* 296, *Eum.* 1039.

δεξιωνύμοις: this compound occurs only here. It is evidently coined on the model of εὐώνυμος (193), but it is not clear whether the second element is semantically otiose or whether it is designed to prompt the thought that the right hand (δεξιᾱ) is appropriately named because one meaning of δεξιός is 'of good omen, auspicious'.

608 ἔφριξεν αἰθήρ 'the bright air bristled'; cf. *Il.* 4.282 φάλαγγες ... σάκεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι, 13.339–40 ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη ... ἐγχειῖσι μακρῆις. The verb, which in origin probably referred to hair standing on end, is more appropriate to massed weapons (as in the cited *Iliad* passages) than to massed right arms, and it may ironically remind us that this vote will indeed cause weapons to bristle around Argos.

τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον: possessive genitive depending on χερσί.

609–14 The provisions of the decree are couched in the accusative + infinitive construction, as is regular in actual Athenian decrees. The provisions are: (1) that Danaus and his family shall have the right of residence in Argos as free aliens (μέτοικοι) (609), (2) that they shall be guaranteed immunity from seizure by any person (610–612a; Danaus says this twice in different words), and (3) that if this immunity is violated, every Argive citizen must come to their aid on pain of disfranchisement and exile (612b–614).

609 μετοικεῖν: the earliest attestation of this verb in the sense 'live as a μέτοικος or resident alien'. The noun μέτοικος is found in an Attic inscription dated c. 460 (*IG* i³ 244 C.1, 8), and it and its derivatives are common in A. in various literal and transferred senses; cf. especially 994, *Seven* 548 (Parthenopaeus, an Arcadian brought up in Argos), *Cho.* 684 (Orestes, supposedly buried in foreign soil), *Eum.* 1011, 1018. In the finale of *Eumenides* the Erinyes, now the Semnai Theai (1041), are given the purple robes (1028) which were worn by metics in the Panathenaic procession (Photius σ284, citing Men. fr. 147). Metics at Athens mixed

freely with citizens in work and leisure, and some became very rich, though they had no political rights and (unless awarded special privileges) could not own land and had to pay a special tax (the μετοίκιον). See MacDowell 1978: 76–8, Whitehead 1977, and Bakewell 2013 who sees metic status and its problematic aspects (both in the Argos of the play and in the Athens of Aeschylus), as a major theme of *Supp.* and of the trilogy.

τῇσδε γῆς: the genitive depends on μετοικεῖν taken in the sense ‘share a home in’, and/or is used on the analogy of the near-synonymous phrase μετέχειν τῆς χώρας (cf. *Eum.* 869).

610–12 is a kind of ascending tricolon, as the same guarantee of protection is presented successively in three expressions of increasing length (5, 7 and 14 syllables), the threefold repetition emphasizing the strength and comprehensiveness of the guarantee. The first expression (a single adjective) does not mention the potential violators, the second (a prepositional phrase) refers to them by the one word βροτῶν, and the third (a complete clause in the accusative and infinitive) specifies them more precisely as ‘any inhabitant or foreigner’.

610 (κ)άρρυσιάστους ‘immune from seizure’ (315, 424nn.). In the very next scene the Danaids, despite the decree, will again be in peril of being seized as ῥύσια (728).

ἄσυλῖαι: this word, though very frequent in epigraphic texts throughout the Greek world, happens not to occur in surviving fifth-century Attic inscriptions (in *IG* i³ 98.14 it is a restoration), though the adverb ἄσυλῖ does (*IG* i³ 63.14, 116.9); but Medea is promised that she will be ἄσυλος in Athens (Eur. *Med.* 728, cf. 387) and Menelaus claims that as a shipwrecked voyager he belongs to an ἄσύλητον γένος (Eur. *Hel.* 449, cf. 61, 1587).

βροτῶν ‘by <all> men’, a subjective genitive depending on ἄσυλῖαι (= τῶι μὴ συλᾶσθαι).

611 ἐπηλύδων: Pelasgus had feared (399–401) that the Argives might view the Danaids themselves as ἐπήλυδες and criticize him for supporting them.

612 ἄγειν ‘carry off’, especially as booty in war or raiding (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 140, 610, 1310): ‘one ἄγει the cattle and slaves of an enemy (and him, too, for enslavement, if one can catch him), and φέρει his portable goods’ (Dover 1968: 129). At 918 the Egyptian Herald uses this verb to refer to his attempted seizure of what he calls ‘my own lost property’.

προστιθῇ: the subject is τις understood from the previous clause.

τὸ καρτερόν ‘force’ (lit. ‘the forcible’); cf. *Prom.* 212–13 οὐ κατ’ ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν χρεῖη ... κρατεῖν, Soph. fr. 589.2 ἐκείνον ἡμύναντο <πρὸς τὸ> καρτερόν, also *Ag.* 128–30 πάντα ... κτήνη ... Μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον.

613 βοηθήσαντα: βοηθεῖν in Attic inscriptions nearly always denotes *military* assistance, but in literary prose it is used much more widely, as is its usual tragic substitute βοηδρομεῖν (A. fr. 46c.6; Eur. *Hclld.* 121, *Hipp.* 776, *Or.* 1475), and the context here (particularly the singular forms τινά and προστιθῆι) evokes a scenario like that of the attempted seizure of Oedipus and Antigone by a small party under Creon, against the opposition of the demesmen of Colonus, in Soph. *OC* 818-86. At the same time the language of the decree certainly *covers* military as well as non-military assistance: the Argives, whether they realize it or not, are in fact committing themselves to war if necessary.

τῶνδε: no Argives are present, but the Argive πόλις includes the countryside (in which the estates of Argos' γαμόροι are located, and in which Danaus now is) as well as the town.

γαμόρων 'citizens', lit. 'possessors of a portion of land' (the true Attic form would be γεωμόρων: see Björck 1950: 114-16). In Athens a non-citizen could not own land unless specially awarded the right of γῆς ἔγκτησις, and doubtless similar laws were in force in many other states; here the converse rule also seems to be assumed, that every citizen has a land-holding (as in Plato's city of Magnesia, Pl. *Laws* 5.737e). In fifth-century prose usage the word denotes an aristocracy (Hdt. 7.155.2, Thuc. 8.21), presumably claiming descent from those who had been allotted land at the first settlement of the πόλις in question; in two tragic passages (*Eum.* 890 and *trag. adesp.* 208) it refers to divinities (the Erinyes and Hades) who have been allotted a home or a dominion *under* the earth.

614 ἄτιμον: ἀτιμία in Athens was a legal penalty whereby a citizen was deprived, wholly or partially, of most of the normal rights that went with his status; the fullest form of ἀτιμία included *inter alia* loss of the right to sue or prosecute in the courts, to be a witness, or to enter the Agora or any sanctuary. It did not in itself involve exile from Attica, though many ἄτιμοι, subjected to such degradation and stripped of most of their legal protections, did go into exile; hence exile is here prescribed as an additional punishment. In archaic times ἀτιμία may have amounted to total outlawry, so that an ἄτιμος found on Athenian territory could be killed without penalty (cf. Dem. 9.41-5), but, if so, the severity of the sentence had probably been mitigated by the time *Supp.* was produced. See Hansen 1975: 54-82; MacDowell 1978: 73-5; Todd 1993: 142-3.

δημηλάτῳ: 6n.

615 τοιαῦτ' ἔπειθε 'he persuaded them of this' (for the imperfect cf. Eur. *Alc.* 827, Ar. *Clouds* 1422; for πείθειν with an object denoting the proposition advanced, cf. Soph. *OC* 1442), or perhaps 'he was in the process of persuading them of this' when the people interrupted his speech by spontaneously voting their approval (621n.): τοιαῦτ' provides the connection

with the previous sentence which makes a connecting particle unnecessary. M's τοιάνδ', which would point forward rather than back, gives no such connection, and in any case ought to have been followed (as ἔλεξε τοιάδε so often is in Thucydides) by a report of what was said (in either direct or indirect discourse), not by a series of participial phrases describing the speech (προφωνῶν 617, λέγων 619).

616–17 Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότον μέγαν: cf. 347, 385, and in part 478; it is most unlikely that A. reversed the word-order here (ἱκεσίου ζηνὸς M), particularly since, as FJW note, Ζην- in A.'s genuine plays is otherwise used (over 30 times) only where it is metrically necessary.

προφωνῶν 'warning them of'; cf. Ag. 881–2 ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα | ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, *Eum.* 466 ἄλγη προφωνῶν ἀντίκεντρα καρδίαι.

μήποτ' 'lest at some time', introducing a final clause.

εἰσόπιν χρόνου 'in the future': χρόνου is partitive as in *Eum.* 670 εἰς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου, Hdt. 8.144.5 οὐχ ἑκάς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος, and here may serve to clarify the meaning of the very rare word εἰσόπιν which might also have meant 'behind' (cf. Ag. 115 ὃ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς). In Homer, and sometimes in later poetry (e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 1104), the future is denoted by adverbs such as ὀπίσθεν (LSJ II) and ὀπίσω (LSJ II), just as in English *after* meant originally 'further back' (as it still does on board ship).

618–20 πόλει 'against the city' (dative of disadvantage). That M's πόλιν cannot be right is shown by the scholium μήπως αὐξήσῃ κότον ὁ Ζεὺς: the ending was probably corrupted under the influence of εἰσόπιν just before and/or of a sense that παχύναι needed an object.

παχύναι 'he [Zeus] might fatten [his wrath]', i.e. increase or intensify it. For the aorist optative in -αι see 588–9n.; for the metaphor cf. Ag. 1477 τὸν τριπάχυντον δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε (though there the context also suggests the idea of the δαίμων being 'fattened' in another sense by feeding on blood).

ξενικὸν ... πέλειν 'saying that the double pollution, concerning both foreigners and citizens, [which would be] made to appear by the city [if it rejected the supplication], would be an irremediable nourisher of suffering'.

ξενικὸν ἀστικὸν θ' ἅμα ... μῖασμα: two interpretations are possible. (1) Since Danaus' family are ἀστόξενοι (356–8n.), a rejection of them would be both an offence against Zeus Xenios (cf. 627, 672) and a violation of the duty of the πόλις towards its own citizens. (2) The Danaids' threat to hang themselves in the sanctuary (455–65) would, if carried out, create a μῖασμα (473) which, while caused by foreigners, would do most harm to the Argives themselves. Neither alternative is free from difficulties. Against (1), Danaus' family never regard themselves as Argive citizens (cf. e.g. 627–8 ξενίου στόματος), and the assembly decree itself treats them as metics (609n.). Against (2), the suicide threat has not been heard of

since Pelasgus yielded to it at 478–9. Probably the invocation of the ‘double pollution’ should be seen as having more rhetorical than logical force.

διπλοῦν is logically redundant, though not as extravagantly so as Ag. 642–3 διπλῇ μάστιγι ... δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα (referring to the combination of collective and individual grief at the news of a military disaster, already fully described in 640–1).

πρὸς πόλεως: the πόλις will have brought this pollution upon itself. M’s πρὸ πόλεως would weaken Pelasgus’ point by localizing the pollution in its place of origin (the sanctuary outside the city).

ἀμήχανον: 379n.

βόσκημα ‘a nourisher of’, ‘something that fosters’; cf. *Eum.* 302 ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων (the Erinyes intend to feed on Orestes’ blood), *Soph. El.* 361–4 ‘you can have your rich table and your affluent life: ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔστω τούς με χρή λυπεῖν μόνον | βόσκημα’.

621 ἀκούων: as Bowen sees, this implies that the people raised their hands in approval ‘while they were listening’ to Pelasgus, i.e. before he had finished his speech (cf. 615n.).

622 ἄνευ κλητῆρος: i.e. ‘before the herald could say “all those in favour raise their hands”’ (scholia). A herald is called a ‘caller’ (καλήτωρ) in *Il.* 24.577. A. might have written ἄνευ κήρυκος, but, as FJW note, that could have been taken to mean that there was no herald present.

ὥς ‘thus’, referring back to the content of the decree (609–14); this use of ὥς, except in a few set phrases, is mainly an epicism, but cf. Ag. 930.

623 δημηγόρους ... στροφάς: 600–24n. The pejorative implications of the phrase are of course not intended by Danaus, who is merely admiring Pelasgus’ persuasiveness.

ἤκουσεν εὐπειθής ‘was readily persuaded when it heard’, εὐπειθής being the word that makes a new statement: ἀκούειν, when governing an accusative, merely means ‘hear’, not ‘heed’ or ‘obey’. A.’s MSS elsewhere hesitate between εὐπειθ- and εὐπιθ-; in the genuine plays metre is decisive only at Ag. 982, in favour of εὐπειθ- (though this is also the only passage where εὐπιθ- is the sole transmitted reading!).

624 Ζεὺς δ’ ἐπέκρανεν τέλος: like most human statements about the actions of gods, this is inference, not observation (‘had there been an omen, [such as] a roll of thunder, [Danaus] would surely have said so’ – Bowen). The extraordinary vote, spontaneous and unanimous, might well be seen as evidence of divine intervention: for this Danaus (211) and his daughters had prayed, and their prayers seem to have been answered.

Danaus goes up to the πᾶγος (1–175n.) and once again begins to keep a lookout, this time seaward (towards Eisodos S). When he next speaks (710–33), it will be to announce that his daughters’ prayers of 29–39 and 524–30 have failed: the sons of Aegyptus have reached Argos safely, and not alone but with a considerable fleet (721–2).

625–709 The Danaids' response to the favourable decision of the Argive assembly is to sing a song of blessing upon the Argive people, wishing them peace (634–6, 661–6, 701–3), freedom from civil strife (679–82) and from sickness (659–60, 684–7), good government (670, 698–700), human and agricultural fecundity (674–7, 689–93), and good relations with the gods (654–5, 667–9, 693–7, 704–6). The song is comparable with that of the Erinyes to Athens in *Eum.* 916–1020, though each is adapted to its own dramatic context: the Erinyes, for example, do not pray for peace, since when the *Oresteia* was produced the Athenians were at war both with Persia and with the Peloponnesian League (instead Athena promises them victory, *Eum.* 913–15, 1009), but on the other hand they do pray that young women may not be denied marriage (*Eum.* 959–67), which it would not be appropriate for the Danaids to do.

Never were hopes and wishes more rapidly proved to be empty: one is reminded of the recurring Sophoclean motif of a song of joy or of confident prayer swiftly belied by some disastrous development (*Trach.* 205–24, *Aj.* 693–718, *Ant.* 1115–52, *OT* 1086–1109). The present song is immediately followed by the arrival of the Egyptian fleet, portending a war in which we know Argos will not be victorious and which may well have resulted in its subjection to Danaus as τύραννος (Intr. §3). When the Danaids say that the Argives have shown them respect and *therefore* (τοιγάρτοι) will be worshipping at pure altars (652–5), we are forcibly reminded that the Danaids themselves had threatened to pollute an Argive sanctuary – and we know that they will later pollute the whole city by a mass murder. In *Danaids*, too, we shall be told that human and agricultural fertility depend on Aphrodite (A. fr. 44), to whom the Danaids are hostile, and whom they mention in this song only as the consort of the hateful Ares (664). The Danaids are thus themselves an obstacle to almost all the blessings they here invoke upon Argos.

625–9 An anapaestic prelude to the *stasimon* (1–39n.).

625 ἄγε δὴ 'come now' is found in tragedy only in A., always in choral anapaests (*Ag.* 783, *Eum.* 307, fr. 451g.1; ἄγε alone at *Pers.* 140); it appears once (in spoken iambics) in a Euripidean satyr-drama (*Cycl.* 590) and is very frequent in Old Comedy.

ἐπ': either 'in relation to' (LSJ ἐπὶ B.1.1.c) or 'in honour of' as often in connection with funeral tributes (e.g. *Seven* 922, *Ag.* 1548: LSJ ἐπὶ B.1.1.b).

626 ἀγαθὰς ἀγαθῶν: the *polyptoton* emphasizes the principle of reciprocity; it will reappear at 966 in another expression of gratitude (this time to Pelasgus personally). As in that passage, ἀγαθῶν is neuter ('their good deeds').

ποινάς 'as recompense', in apposition to εὐχάς: for this use of ποινή to denote recompense for a *benefit* (rather than a harm) cf. *Cho.* 792–3

(παλίμποινα), Pind. *Pyth.* 1.59, *Nem.* 1.70. Pindar, though not (as far as we know) A., uses ἄποινα in the same sense (e.g. *Olymp.* 7.16, *Pyth.* 2.14).

627 echoes the opening words of the play, Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι, but with a different title for Zeus now that the Danaids' supplication has been accepted and they and their father have become recognized ξένοι at Argos.

ἐφορεύοι 'may (he) watch over'. A. uses this verb in lyrics and anapaests (677, *Eum.* 530 of gods, also by emendation *Cho.* 728; *Pers.* 7 of humans); in iambics it is replaced (in the *Oresteia* only) by ἐποπτεύειν (*Ag.* 1270, 1579; *Cho.* 1, 489, 583, 985, 1063; *Eum.* 220, 224 – always of gods or the spirits of the dead).

ξένιος: one of the most important cult-titles of Zeus in his capacity as protector of the rights of strangers and the obligations of hospitality; see Schwabl 1978: 1028, Dowden 2006: 78–9. The Argives are praised in 671–2 for honouring him. In *Agamemnon* there are several references (61, 362, 748) to the offence of Paris against Zeus Xenios as the cause of the Trojan War.

ξενίου: this is the only occurrence of ξένιος in classical Attic, other than as a cult-title; evidently it has been chosen for the sake of the *polyptoton*.

628–9 στόματος τιμάς 'the honours of our lips', i.e. the words uttered by our lips in their honour.

ἐπ' 'on the occasion of' (LSJ ἐπί B.III.1).

ἀλητείας τέρμονι 'the end of our wanderings'. The Danaids have not been literally wandering, but they have nevertheless been ἀλῆται, having been forced to leave their home (as Orestes is, twice: *Ag.* 1282, *Cho.* 1042); now they have acquired a new home, and are ἀλῆται no longer. For τέρμων = 'end' (its usual sense is 'boundary') cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1352: A. generally prefers τέρμα, as in *Eum.* 422 τὸ τέρμα τῆς φυγῆς. M's ἐπ' ἀλήθειαι τέρμον' gives no satisfactory sense; see M. L. West 1990b: 149.

†**ἀμέμπτων πρὸς ἅπαντα**†: the transmitted text is clearly unacceptable (apart from anything else, ἀμέμπτων has no possible construction), and the scholium βεβαίως εἰς παντελὲς (πᾶν τέλος Francken) φέρων αὐτὰς is probably no more than a desperate attempt to extract sense from an already corrupt text. The sense suggested by the context would be something like 'so that we speak irreproachably (ἀμέμπτως)', but it has proved impossible to find a verb which gives this sense and which could plausibly have given rise to the reading πρὸς ἅπαντα. West's proposal (1990b: 149) πρὸς πάντας ἀμέμπτως requires 'so that we speak' to be understood. One might instead think of πρὸς πάντας ἀμέμπτους (or ἀμέμπτου) as a proleptic predicative adjectival phrase (qualifying τιμάς or στόματος respectively): the Danaids would then be asking Zeus to watch over their words '<so that they [or the lips that utter them] are> irreproachable in relation to everyone', i.e. so that no one has cause to be offended by them.

630–42 = 643–55: metre

1 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>doch</i>
2 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>ar</i>
3 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>ar</i>
4 – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
5 ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –	2 <i>doch</i>
6 ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>doch ar</i>
7 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>pher</i>
8 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>pher</i>
9 – – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>gl</i>
10 – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>pher</i>

The same glyconic/pherecratean coda appears in the second and third strophic pairs of this ode, and also in *Ag.* 367–474 (where the dominant rhythm of the ode is iambic), and a similar one in Eur. *Heracles* 348–450. See Lomiento 2011, who argues (developing a thesis of Wilamowitz 1895: II 80–7) that this pattern has a ritual origin, still discernible in the fact that the *Supp.* ode is a prayer while the anapaestic prelude of the *Ag.* ode (*Ag.* 355–66) is of a form appropriate to the opening of a prayer or hymn.

629 †ὄτε καί†: the text here is unintelligible and has so far proved unemendable. Even if one were prepared to accept νῦν ὄτε ‘now is the time when ...’, citing a parallel in *Seven* 705 (which has, however, been convincingly emended by M. L. West 1990b: 115–16), καί resists all interpretation: the meaning cannot be ‘you gods also’ because (1) that would require the presence of ὑμεῖς and (2) in any case the gods are the first (and only) persons who are asked to hear the song. M. L. West 1990b: 149, proposing ἄγε καί, points out that the gods would then be the second group (after the Danaids themselves) to be exhorted with the word ἄγε: but this does not touch problem (1). Badham’s emendation ὄπ’ ἐμάν ‘my voice’ (object of κλύοιτ’) gives good sense but posits a difficult corruption (three separate letters misread).

631–2 διογενεῖς ‘of the family of Zeus’. As the head of this divine family, Zeus can be addressed as πάτερ ... θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων (*Cho.* 783–4) even though some of the major Olympians (Demeter, Hera, Poseidon) are his siblings rather than his children. The first syllable of διογενεῖς is to be scanned long, as in Homer (e.g. in the address formula διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν’ Ὀδυσσεῦ, *Il.* 2.173 etc.). It is striking that the Olympian gods are repeatedly asked in this ode to curb the activities of one of their own number, Ares (633–8, 664–6, 678–83).

εὐκταῖα: lit. ‘things said in prayer’ (in Soph. *Trach.* 239 it means ‘things promised in a vow’).

γένει ‘for my kin’, i.e. the Argives.

χεούσας: utterances are often in poetry said to be ‘poured out’, e.g. *Cho.* 449, A. fr. 36.5, *Soph. OT* 1219, *Pind. Pyth.* 8.64.

633–8 The sentence is an accusative + infinitive governed by εὐκταῖα χεούσας: ‘that lustful Ares, insatiate of the noise of war, he who harvests men in fields not meant for cropping (637–8n.), may never render this Pelasgian land a waste destroyed by fire’.

633–4 πυρίφατον ‘destroyed by fire’: -φατος (Indo-European *g^wh₁tos, from the same root as θείνω, ἔπεφνε, φόνος) originally meant ‘slain’ and could not then have been applied to the burning of a city, but it is unlikely that A. was aware of its etymology: he uses ἀρείφατος (originally ‘killed in war’) to mean simply ‘warlike, martial’ (*Eum.* 913, A. fr. 146b).

Πελασγίαν: the Danaids have not actually heard this name applied to the land of Argos, but its people have several times been called the Πελασγοί (253, 349, 616, 624). Argos or the Argolid is called Πελασγία in *Prom.* 860 (in reference to the Danaids’ murder of their bridegrooms) and *Eur. Supp.* 367, *Heracles* 464, *Or.* 960, *IA* 1498.

635–6 τὸν ἄκορον βοᾷς ‘insatiate of the <battle->cry’ (i.e. ‘who can never have his fill of fighting’) is a virtually certain emendation of M’s unintelligible τὸν ἀχόρον βοᾷν: it echoes the description of Ares in *Hes. Shield* 346 as ἀκόρεστος αὐτῆς.

κτίσαι: 140n.

μάχλον: μάχλος ‘lustful’ usually refers to sexual incontinence (e.g. *Il.* 24.30, *Hes. WD* 586), but A. uses it (fr. 325) of a vine that is growing out of control, which suggests that he regards it as a synonym of ὑβριστής (used of a vine in *Thphr. CP* 3.15.4, cf. *HP* 2.7.6).

Ἄρη: the first of four mentions of Ares in this ode, one in each of the four strophic pairs (cf. 665–6, 682, 702), as the Danaids pray earnestly that Argos may have the peace which their successful supplication has made impossible.

637–8 A battlefield is compared to a harvest-field in *Il.* 11.67–71, though there the reaping is done by the warriors themselves, as in *Eur.* fr. 373; this is the earliest text in which Ares ‘reaps’ the victims of battle (cf. later e.g. *Ap. Rh.* 3.1187).

ἀρότοις ... ἐν ἄλλοις ‘in other fields’ (for this sense of ἄροτος cf. *Od.* 9.122), i.e. in fields other than those in which harvesting is usually and properly done, with an implication of something sinister. Cf. *Dem.* 21.218 ‘if you punish [Meidias], you will be thought to be virtuous, upstanding men who hate wickedness, ἂν δ’ ἀφῆτε, ἄλλου τινὸς ἡττησθαι (sc. δόξετε)’ (i.e. by some improper factor such as bribery or intimidation), and *Eur. Heracles* 1238 κλαίω χάριν σὴν ἐφ’ ἐτέραισι συμφοραῖς (i.e. a fortune different from that which you had enjoyed previously). Many since Fraenkel (1950: 228 n. 1) have understood the idea to be that Ares reaps where

others have 'ploughed', with reference to the common metaphor whereby cultivation represents procreation (cf. *Seven* 753-4, *Soph. Ant.* 569, and the betrothal formula παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίῳ); but that would be trivially true of all deaths, not only deaths in battle.

639 οὖνεκ' 'because'. οὖνεκα (contracted from οὗ ἕνεκα), when used as a conjunction, originally meant 'on account of which, because of which', being preceded by a statement of the cause and followed by a statement of the consequence (so *Pind. Pyth.* 9.93, cf. *Od.* 3.61 where it means 'the thing for whose sake'). Already in Homer, however (e.g. *Il.* 1.111), the predominant usage, as here, is the converse, as a causal conjunction with the consequence preceding and the cause following. This use of οὖνεκα should be distinguished from its use as a preposition (or rather, normally, as a postposition), which is found only in Attic (188n.).

640 εὖφρον': there is no need to choose between the meanings 'kindly' and 'sensible' (378n.): in the Danaids' eyes, the Argives' decision was both these things.

ἔθεντο 'cast' literally refers to voting by ballot-tokens (whether laid on a table or dropped into an urn), as e.g. in *Ag.* 816, *Lys.* 13.37, 24.23, *Dem.* 19.311, but, like ψηφος (cf. 601n.), τίθεσθαι came to be used of any voting procedure (cf. *Eur. Or.* 756, *Dem.* 19.65).

641 is in substance repeated in the antistrophe (652-3).

ἱκέτας Διός 'suppliants under the protection of Zeus [Hikesios]' rather than 'suppliants at a sanctuary of Zeus' (as in *Eur. Hcl.* 70, *Thuc.* 1.103.3), since the sanctuary at which they had supplicated was a κοινοβωμία of all the gods. West's emendation ἱκετᾶν (with no punctuation after Διός) is designed to give τάνδ' (642) more work to do: 'this [i.e. our] pitiable flock of suppliants of Zeus' reads more smoothly than 'the suppliants of Zeus, this pitiable flock'.

642 ποιμέναν: ποιμνή and ποιμνιον may refer to flocks of sheep (*Eur. Cycl.* 26 etc.; cf. ποιμήν) or to sheep and cattle together (*Soph. Aj.* 42 etc., cf. 297), but not provably to a herd consisting of cattle only; there may nevertheless be a reminiscence of 351-3, where the chorus compared themselves to a heifer chased by a wolf.

ἀμέγαρτον: originally 'unenviable' (from μεγάριον), whence 'miserable, pitiable' (cf. *Eur. Hec.* 192, *Ar. Thesm.* 1049 [paratragic]).

643-5 μετ' ἀρσένων ... γυναικῶν again configures the dispute between the Danaids and their cousins as a gender conflict (531n.), something which is not necessarily in the Danaids' interest: if it is purely a question of gender, would not Zeus be expected to favour the male?

ψηφον ἔθεντ': 640n.; on the repetition, 52-5, 446-8-7nn.

ἔριν 'contention' can be used with reference to one side only in a quarrel, and is not necessarily pejorative; both these points are illustrated by

Il. 3.99-100 (Menelaus speaking) κακά πολλὰ πέπρασθε εἶνεκ' ἐμῆς ἔριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἀρχῆς. The Danaids, like Menelaus, would certainly insist that they and their father had not been responsible for the quarrel.

646-7 Δῖον ... πράκτορ' 'Zeus's avenger' (cf. *Eum.* 623-4 (Orestes) τὸν πατὴρ φόνον πράξαντα). This is evidently the ἀλάστωρ of 414-16 (note βαρύς 651 ~ βαρύν 415), here imaged as a bird (doubtless one of evil omen) who perches (ἐφίλει 651) on the roof of a house and brings a curse on it.

ἐπιδόμενοι 'taking note of, heeding'; the sense is rather similar to 531 τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν ... ἐπιδών 'paying regard to the women's side of the case', but the middle voice is used here because the Argives are heeding a potential danger to themselves.

ἀείσκοπον: this adjective ('ever on the watch') is not otherwise attested but is parallel to αἰφρουρός which was well enough established in fifth-century Attic to be used both of a perpetually flowering plant (Cratinus fr. 105.7) and in the *ad hoc* sense 'of perpetual imprisonment' (Soph. *Ant.* 892).

648-51 ὅν τις ἂν δόμος ... ἰαίνοιτο; for the rhetorical question within a relative clause cf. Soph. *OC* 1133-4, where Oedipus describes himself as a man ὃν τις οὐκ ἔνι κηλὶς κακῶν ξύνοικος; Soph. fr. 959.4. M's οὐτίς may well have resulted from a failure to perceive that the clause was a question.

ἰαίνοιτο 'would be gladdened': this verb is not otherwise found in tragedy (except for Phryn. trag. fr. 12, where its sense was apparently different), but was common in poetry from Homer to Pindar (*Olymp.* 2.13, 7.43; *Pyth.* 1.11, 2.90; fr. 122.20 Snell-Maehler). 'What house would be gladdened?' is a notable *meiosis* (356-8n.) for 'any house would be appalled'.

βαρύς: 413-15n.

652-3 in substance repeats 641-2, but adds that the Argives recognized *two* claims the Danaids had on them, as suppliants and as kinsfolk; cf. 618 ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἅμα, 632 γένει. Since ἄγνός is rare as an epithet of Zeus (see below), the double emendation ὁμαίμου (West; cf. 402n.) ... ἄγνούς (Schütz) is superficially tempting; but this would require us to suppose that, contrary to the normal tendency, two adjectives agreeing with adjacent nouns had been corrupted into agreement with non-adjacent nouns.

Ζηνὸς ἱκτορας: 641n.

ἄγνοῦ: ἄγνός 'pure, undefiled, free from pollution' is potentially an epithet of almost any deity, but is particularly associated with Artemis (144-5n.) and among male gods with Apollo (214n.); it is otherwise used of Zeus only in the Orphic hymns (20.1, 4), which use the epithet very indiscriminately. In *Danaids*, however (fr. 44.1), Aphrodite will apply it to

another sky-god, Uranus. It is appropriate here that those who respected the suppliants of a *ἀγνός* god should worship at καθαροὶ βωμοί (654-5).

654-5 τοιγάρτοι 'for that reason', 'that is why ...' (Denniston 1954: 566-8), an intensified form of τοιγάρ (309n., 656), occurs only here in tragedy (though Sophocles has several instances of its synonym τοιγαροῦν, e.g. *Aj.* 490) and is very rare in other poetry (Empedocles fr. 145 DK; Ar. *Ach.* 643). It strongly stresses the causal connection between the Argives' piety towards the Danaids and the purity of their altars – and therefore also the corollary that had they rejected the Danaids' supplication, their altars would have been polluted, we know by whom and how (625-709n.).

καθαροῖσι βωμοῖς 'by means of (i.e. by making sacrifices at) unpolluted altars': for the instrumental dative cf. *Il.* 9.112-13 ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπύθωμεν | δώροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσι τε μελιχίοισι, Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.16 κατὰ δύναμιν ἱεροῖς θεοῦς ἀρέσκεσθαι.

θεοῦς ἀρέσσονται: the middle voice of ἀρέσκω may govern either an accusative (as in the passages cited above) or (like the active of the same verb) a dative (Thgn. 762; Eur. fr. 948; Hdt. 1.8.1, 6.128.2) of the person(s) being propitiated.

656-66 = 667-77: metre

1 - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
2 - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
3 - ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ar</i> (= <i>ch ba</i>)
4 - ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ar</i>
5 - ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ar</i>
6 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>ch ia</i>
7 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>D ba</i>
8 - - - ∪ - -	<i>pher</i>
9 - - - ∪ - -	<i>pher</i>
10 - ∅ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>gl</i>
11 - ∅ - ∪ - -	<i>pher</i>

656 τοιγάρ: i.e. because they have behaved so well towards us. The particle links the ensuing prayer back to 639-53, with 654-5 treated as a parenthesis.

ὑποσκίων: their lips are shaded by their veils (120-1n.).

657-8 ποτάσθω: a reminiscence of the Homeric phrase ἔπεα πτερόεντα (cf. also τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος 'and she made no reply', *Od.* 17.57 etc.).

φιλότιμος: here 'eager to do honour'. This is the earliest certain occurrence of this adjective, which in the later fifth century and thereafter always means 'eager to receive honour'; in *Eum.* 1032 both senses may be present, since the Erinyes (or Semnai Theai) have promised to honour

the Athenians (*Eum.* 917) just as the Athenians will honour them (*Eum.* 807, 824, 833, 854, 868, 882–4, 891, 993, 1029).

659 λοιμός: a devastating epidemic, to be distinguished from the common run of endemic diseases (νούσων ... ἐσμός, 684): the Danaids juxtapose plague and war (661–6), the two agencies *invading from outside* that are most likely to decimate the population (and especially the young male population) of a city; a little later they will juxtapose endemic diseases and civil strife (679–83), two potent *internal* threats to Argive lives.

ἀνδρῶν is governed by κενῶσαι.

660 κενῶσαι must be optative (on its ending, see 588–9n.), not infinitive (κενῶσαι M), since its subject λοιμός is nominative; so too, therefore, is αἱματίσαι (662). A city or country is ‘emptied’ of men by war in *Pers.* 119, 549, 730, etc., and *Seven* 330, by plague in *Soph. OT* 29, 54–7.

661–2 ‘And may < > not make the ground bloody with the fall (death) of its natives.’ The context requires the missing word to be one meaning ‘war’ (and preferably implying that the war is against an external enemy, 659n.). In other circumstances < Ἄρης > would be the obvious supplement, but here it is ruled out by the presence in 664–6 of an elaborate phrase introducing Ares as if he had not recently been mentioned. That leaves, as probably the best available supplement, < δόρυ > ‘the spear’ as the typical battle weapon, cf. *Ag.* 517 στρατόν ... τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.

ἐπιχωρίοις: the adjective is necessary because, if war does come, *enemy* deaths are to be positively welcomed.

663–6 ἦβας δ’ ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον ἔστω: the Danaids are thinking of the culling of young manhood in battle (see following nn.), but their language could equally apply to the plundering of their own virginity; A. may well have had in mind *Pind. Pyth.* 9.109–11 (474 BC) (the suitors of Barce, daughter of Antaeus) χρυσοστεφάνου ... οἱ ἦβας καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ’ ἀποδρέψαι ἔθελον (there follows an account of how Danaus arranged the remarriage of his daughters!).

ἄνθος is often used by A. of ‘the young men of [a community], primarily in their capacity as soldiers’ (FJW) (*Pers.* 59, 252, 925, *Ag.* 197, all in contexts of death or tribulation).

ἄδρεπτον: this metaphorical use of the specific verb δρέπειν ‘pluck’ is not directly attested elsewhere in early poetry (though cf. A. fr. 100 ἄλλ’ Ἄρης φιλεῖ αἰεὶ τὰ λῶιστα πάντ’ ἀπανθίζειν στρατοῦ, *Soph.* fr. 724.4 Ἄρης γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν λωτίζεται), but it must have been familiar enough for its drastic misapplication in *Seven* 718 (ἄλλ’ αὐτάδελφον αἶμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις;) to be intelligible. For the related but distinct image of Ares or Death as a reaper cf. 637 θερίζοντα, 666 κέρσειεν.

ἔστω: the third-person imperative coming amid optatives (κενῶσαι, αἱματίσαι, κέρσειεν) is slightly surprising, but εἶη (Sommerstein 2008) is not an attempt at emendation but a mere error.

Ἄφροδίτας εὐνάτωρ alludes to the famous Homeric tale of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366). The relationship is irrelevant to the prayer but highly relevant to the Danaids, who thus seize an opportunity to disparage Aphrodite by recalling her association with ‘the god dishonoured among gods’ (Soph. *OT* 215).

βροτολοιγός is used in early poetry only as an epithet of Ares (*Il.* 5.31 etc., *Od.* 8.115, Hes. *Shield* 333, 425, Tyrtaeus fr. 19.4 West); this is its sole appearance in tragedy. It is echoed by ἀνδροκμῆς λοιγός (678–9, referring to civil strife, and followed by a mention of Ares, 682).

Ἄρης: the first syllable is long. This occasional Homeric licence (*Il.* 2.767, 5.31) is used frequently by A. in his earlier plays, in lyric (*Pers.* 85, 951; *Seven* 135, 344, 910) and also in iambs (*Seven* 244, 469), but only here in *Supp.* and never in the *Oresteia*; Sophocles uses it occasionally as late as *Electra* (96).

κέρσειεν (from κείρω) ‘cut down’; cf. 637 θερίζοντα.

ἄωτον ‘their finest’: ἄωτος (in archaic and classical texts it is sometimes provably masculine, e.g. Pind. *Olymp.* 5.1, and never provably neuter) is at home in Homer (where it means ‘extra-fine wool’) and in lyric; in tragedy it is found only here and as a probable emendation in *Pers.* 978 (also of a man killed in war).

667–75 The Danaids pray that the city of Argos may be, and continue to be (674–5), well governed, with its rulers showing piety towards the gods (667–9) and particularly towards Zeus Xenios, their own special protector now they have been given the status of μέτοικοι in Argos (609).

667–9 ‘And may the venerable elders have the altars at which they gather teem <with offerings (?)>.’ The mention of πρεσβυτοδόκοι ... θυμέλαι, altars ‘which receive elders’ (i.e. at which elders gather), evokes the idea of a council of elders, a βουλή or γερουσία, with a meeting-place in which there was a shrine at which the councillors performed appropriate rituals in honour of Zeus and perhaps other gods, as the Athenian βουλευτήριον contained a shrine of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia at which members of the βουλή offered prayers as they entered the building (Ant. 6.45); this shrine included an altar (Σ Aeschines 2.45) at which persons threatened by the council with death or torture sometimes sought sanctuary (Andoc. 1.44, 2.15; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.52–5). The text is corrupt, since the two third-person plural imperatives γεμόντων and φλεγόντων (M) cannot stand together; the form of it printed here is based on the assumption that φλεγόντων is a corruption of φλεόντων, from the rare verb φλέω ‘teem (with), abound (in)’ (Ag. 377, 1416), on which γεμόντων was originally a gloss later wrongly taken as a textual variant.

γεραροῖσι: γεραρός is in origin a derivative of γέρας, meaning ‘deserving honour, dignified, distinguished’ (*Il.* 3.170, 211); but from Ag. 721–2

εὐφιλόπαιδα καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον it is evident that A. also associated it with γέρων, γεραιός. In our passage both senses may well be present. The dative is quasi-possessive, ‘denot[ing] that something is at the disposal of a person’ (Weir Smyth 1956: 342 §1480): the altars, it is presumed, are within the council building or its precincts and are for the exclusive use of the council members.

†γεμόντων†, if a gloss (see above), must have replaced a word of the same metrical shape, probably an (instrumental) dative (e.g. θυηλαῖς ‘with sacrificial offerings’) or a genitive (cf. Weir Smyth 1956: 324 §1369) governed by φλεόντων. If φλεγόντων is retained, the most plausible emendation would be γέμουσαι (Kruse), which could have been corrupted by assimilation of endings (the prayer would then be for the councillors to have their altars ‘filled and flaming’); but γέμω normally takes a genitive (e.g. Ag. 613) or a dative (e.g. Archippus fr. 11) of that with which something is filled, and there would be a risk of γεραροῖσι being mistaken for such a dative, which would make ‘the unhappy elders constitute the burnt offerings’ (FJW).

670 τῶς: probably ‘in the same way’ (cf. 69): the governance of the city as a whole is to be marked by the same piety (671–3) as the activities of the councillors.

νέμοιτο ‘be governed’ (LSJ νέμω A.III.2); cf. *Prom.* 526, Hdt. 1.59.6.

671 σεβόντων: genitive absolute without expressed subject (123–4n.). The understood subject may be τῶν γεραρῶν (from 667) or τῶν πολιτῶν (from πόλις 670); the latter is more likely, since it was the Argive people, not a council, who gave the Danaids resident status.

672 τὸν ξένιον δ’ ὑπερτάτως ‘and (revering Zeus) Xenios (627n.) most highly’ should be taken as a parenthesis, since 673 is more apt to describe the activity of Zeus in general than merely his function as god of hospitality.

ὑπερτάτως: in classical Attic this form of the superlative adverb is very rare, occurring only in Soph. *OC* 1579 and possibly Eur. *Supp.* 967. Its presence in the scholiast’s paraphrase does not in itself prove that he or his source read it in the text; but sense requires an adverb, not an adjective – M’s ὑπέρτατον would give the meaning ‘and/but revering Zeus Xenios as supreme’, as if Zeus were not supreme in all his other aspects too – and metre requires a final syllable long by nature (ὑπέρτατον before ὅς would give a *brevi in longo*, implying a pause, and FJW point out that A. never has a pause before the colon D *ba*).

673 πολιῶι νόμωι echoes phonetically πόλις ... νέμοιτο (670), highlighting the relationship between the ‘hoary law’ of Zeus and the good governance of the city. The second syllable of νόμωι is shortened by *correptio epica* (538–46n.) before αἴσαν.

πολιῶι: this is the earliest passage in which *πολιός* 'white-haired' is used metaphorically to mean 'ancient' of something other than a person; cf. Eur. *El.* 701, Pl. *Tim.* 22b, also Ag. 750 γέρων λόγος, *Cho.* 314 τριγέρων μῦθος, A. fr. 331 γέρον γράμμα.

αἶσαν ὀρθοῖ 'keeps (its) destiny on the straight path' is ambiguous, perhaps designedly so: does it refer to Zeus's administration of the universe in general, or are the chorus saying that Zeus rewards the piety of the Argives by ensuring that *their* destiny follows a 'straight' (i.e. auspicious) path (cf. *Cho.* 584, *Eum.* 897)? And what if Zeus's universal laws make it impossible for him to allow the Argives to pursue safely the course into which the Danaids and their father have forced them?

674-5 τίκτεσθαι: the passive of *τίκτω* appears in classical Attic only here and in *Seven* 437.

ἐφόρους γὰς ἄλλους 'others to watch over the country', i.e. boys who will eventually become successors to the councillors spoken of in 667-9. The chorus of *Persians* say they were chosen by Xerxes χώρας ἐφορεύειν (*Pers.* 5-7).

676-7 One of the functions of Artemis was to protect women in childbirth (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 166-9); in this role she was sometimes called Ἄρτεμις Λοχία (Eur. *Supp.* 958, *IT* 1097; *IG* ii² 4547; cf. *λόχους* here). Here, as in *Hippolytus*, we are invited to contemplate the seeming paradox that one and the same goddess is a patron both of virginity (cf. 144-53, 1030-1) and of reproduction.

Ἄρτεμιν ... Ἑκάταν: Hecate was originally a distinct goddess, of Asian provenance, who had many functions including that of a 'nurturer of boys' (κουροτρόφος) (Hes. *Thg.* 411-52); in A.'s time she had not yet acquired sinister associations (they first appear, in connection with the figure of Medea, in Soph. fr. 535 and Eur. *Med.* 395-8), and as late as 411 BC women might make a sacrifice to Hecate the occasion for a party (Ar. *Lys.* 700-2). This is our earliest evidence for her identification with Artemis, also found in the fifth century in *IG* xii(8) 359 (Thasos, c. 450), *IG* i³ 383 col. ii fr. iv 124-6 (Athens, 429/8), Eur. *Phoen.* 109-10 παῖ Λατοῦς Ἑκάτα: this identification may have been facilitated by the epithets ἑκατος, ἐκάεργος, ἐκ(ατ)ηβόλος applied to Artemis' twin Apollo (Artemis herself is ἐκηβόλος in Soph. fr. 401). See Kraus 1960: 25-6, 86.

λόχους: although many derivatives of *λόχος* have meanings associated with childbirth, the noun itself has this sense only here and at Ag. 136 (in a sentence of which Artemis is the subject!).

ἐφορεύειν: on the repetition (674), see 52-5n.

678-87 = 688-97: metre

1 - ∞ - ∞ - - ∞ - ∞ -	2 doch
2 - ∞ - ∞ - -	ar

3	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	2 doch
4	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	ia _Λ ith
5	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	pher
6	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	pher
7	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	gl
8	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	pher

The almost wholly resolved dochmiacs in colon 3 are not rare in A., though in *Supp.* they recur only in panicked responses to the irruption of the Egyptians (833, 843 = 854, 891 = 901); nowhere else, however, does he use two of them in succession.

678-83 At first this will seem like a repetition of the earlier prayer against war (661-6); only with the penultimate word, ἐνδημον, does it become clear that this prayer is concerned specifically with *civil* strife.

678 ἀνδροκμής 'man-killing' (or in *Eum.* 248 'that would exhaust a man'), a variant on the Homeric ἀνδρόκμητος 'of a dead man' (*Il.* 11.371), is found only in A.'s later works (also *Cho.* 889, *Eum.* 956) and in Eur. *Supp.* 525; its synonym ἀνδροθνής is a hapax at *Ag.* 814.

679 λοιγός: the echo of βροτολοιγός (665) will encourage the hearer to take this word as referring to death by violence (*Cho.* 402; *Il.* 5.603, Pind. *Nem.* 9.37, *Isthm.* 7.28; Cratinus fr. 183) rather than to death by pestilence (*Il.* 1.67, 456).

680 δαΐζων 'smiting with slaughter'; this epic verb is found elsewhere in tragedy only in *Ag.* 208, *Cho.* 396 and Soph. *Aj.* 361 (συν-), all lyric.

681 ἄχορον ἀκίθαριν: as often, the absence of music and dance (symbolizing joy) implies the presence of grief; cf. *Ag.* 990, *Eum.* 332-3, and especially Soph. *OC* 1221-2 Ἄιδος ... μοῖρ' ἀνυμέναιος ἄλυρος ἄχορος. In the antistrophe the chorus wish that the Argives may utter a φῆμα φιλοφόρμιγξ (697).

682 δακρυογόνον 'generating tears' is found nowhere else.

Ἄρη: 635-6n. In this ode Ares is always something more than a mere metonym for 'war'; thus both here and in 702 the verb ἐξοπλίζειν evokes the image of Ares as a warrior in arms.

683 βίαν ... ἐξοπλίζων: cf. 99 βίαν δ' οὐτιν' ἐξοπλίζει. M's βοάν may be due to recollection of 635.

684-5 The powers of disease are imaged as a flock of birds (for ἐσμός cf. 223) which perch on the heads of their victims (as Ate does in *Il.* 19.93, and as the ἀλάστωρ-bird may perch on the roof of a house, 646-7n.). This idea may well be derived (so FJW) from the story of Pandora's jar of evils (Hes. *WD* 90-104), where the evils of life, among which νοῦσοι (92, 102) are prominent, are described as *flying* (ἐξέπτει, 99) out of the jar.

νοῦσων: this epic and Ionic form of νόσος is found only here in Attic; it is evidently chosen as part of the Hesiodic allusion mentioned in the previous note.

ἀπ' 'far from'. This use of ἀπό to refer to position rather than movement is fairly common in epic (e.g. *Il.* 22.454 αἱ γὰρ ἀπ' οὐατος εἶη ἐμεῦ ἔπος) and is occasionally found even in Attic prose (e.g. Thuc. 1.7 αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ (sc. πόλεις) ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὠικίσθησαν), but in tragedy it appears only here and at Soph. *OC* 900 σπεύδειν ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ('to gallop on a loose rein', lit. away from the rein).

686 Λύκειος: a title under which Apollo was worshipped in Argos (Soph. *El.* 6–7, Paus. 2.19.3) and elsewhere; his Argive sanctuary was sometimes said to have been founded by Danaus (Paus. 2.19.3–4), but this story, which involves a dispute over the throne of Argos between Danaus and Gelanor son of Sthenelas, is hard to fit into any plausible reconstruction of the Danaid trilogy. A. himself does not seem to have regarded Λύκειος as a distinctively Argive title: at *Seven* 146 he makes the Theban chorus pray for Apollo Lykeios' aid *against* an Argive army, and in *Agamemnon* (1257) the only person to use this title is the one non-Argive in the play (Cassandra). Various etymologies for the title were current in antiquity, but A. clearly associated it with λύκος 'wolf' (cf. also Soph. *El.* 6 τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ): at *Seven* 146, Apollo is asked to 'become Λύκειος' (i.e. wolf-like) to the enemy army, and at *Ag.* 1257 Cassandra's invocation of him is apparently prompted by a vision of a 'two-footed lioness' (i.e. Clytaemestra) who is sleeping with a wolf (i.e. Aegisthus). Apollo 'the Wolf-god' might be seen as a wolf-like predator (as *Seven* 146) or as the protector of flocks from wolves (as Soph. *El.* 6); in our passage, where a prayer to him is coupled with a prayer against diseases, he is probably being thought of as the bringer of plagues (as in *Iliad* 1 and probably *Ag.* 509–13) and being asked *not* to be 'wolf-like' towards young Argives. The prayer to Apollo parallels that to his twin sister Artemis in the preceding stanza (676–7).

687 νεολαῖαι 'the youthful part of the population' (from νέος + λαός), most probably denoting the young men as in *Pers.* 669 (cf. Phot. ν138 νεολαῖα· νέος λαός καὶ οὐ πάλαι εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγραμμένος). The prayer of 684–5 for freedom from disease is reinforced by a more specific petition that Argos be spared the premature (natural) death of its youth; cf. *Eum.* 956–7 ἀνδροκμήτας δ' ἁώρους ἀπεννέπω τύχας.

688–93 A prayer for the fruitfulness of the Argives' crops and animals, corresponding to *Eum.* 938–46.

688–90 'May Zeus ordain that the land bring crops to perfection, with fruit being borne in every season.'

καρποτελῇ (a hapax) = καρπὸν τελοῦσαν (LSJ τελέω 1.a.5).

τοί is relatively rare in commands and prayers (Denniston 1954: 545); in keeping with its origin as the dative of a second-person pronoun, it can generally be taken as equivalent to 'I/we pray you', but like that English

phrase it often does little but add emphasis, and it can be used, as here, in a prayer or injunction couched in the third person (cf. *Pl. Rep.* 4.438a μήτοι τις ... ἡμᾶς ... θορυβήσῃ).

ἐπικραίνετω: in *Eumenides* (950, 969), since the Erinyes are goddesses, they can give effect to (ἐπικραίνειν) their wishes for the prosperity of a *polis* simply by uttering them; the Danaids can only request that Zeus do so. For the patterns of usage of this verb, and its construction with an object and predicative adjective in the sense ‘ordain that *x* [here ‘the land’] is [or: shall be] *y* [here: fruitful]’ see 11–12, 13nn.

φέρματι: lit. ‘that which is borne’, here referring to the fruit of the soil, in *Ag.* 118 (its only other attestation) to the offspring of animals.

πανώρῳ: i.e. every crop ripening well and healthily in its own due season (another hapax).

691–2 πρόνομα ‘that graze their way forward’, specifying those kinds of domestic livestock (βοτά) that live entirely or almost entirely on grass and typically advance steadily across a field, cropping the grass as they go, i.e. cattle and sheep – a characteristic that generated a metaphorical use of the verbs προνέμεσθαι and ἐπινέμεσθαι to mean ‘advance relentlessly’ (*Soph. El.* 1384, *Hdt.* 5.101, *Thuc.* 2.54.5). Herodotus (4.183.2) speaks of North African cattle which are, contrariwise, ὀπισθονόμοι, walking backwards as they graze because their downward-pointing horns prevent them from walking forwards! Simelidis (2003; 2005), on the basis of the only other attestation of the adjective πρόνομος (Gregory of Nazianzus, in *Patrologia Graeca* xxxvii 1538.14), where it means something like ‘elite’, suggested that the Danaids’ wish was for *the best* of the Argive flocks and herds to be prolific, so that their quality would steadily improve (cf. *Pl. Rep.* 5.459a–b); but πρόνομος with the meaning Gregory gives it is probably a back-formation from προνομία ‘privilege’, a word not attested in this sense before Roman times.

τοῖς ‘for them’ (dative of advantage). M’s meaningless reading βρότατος suggests that once again (cf. 389n.) the pronominal function of the article was not recognized by copyists.

τελέθῳ: τελέθω, used in epic as a synonym of γίγνομαι or εἶμι, is found in A. and Euripides in lyrics, anapaests and hexameters (1040; *Ag.* 100, 467; *A. fr.* 168.24; *Eur. Med.* 1096, *Andr.* 782).

693 τὸ πᾶν: 594n.

θάλοιεν ‘may they flourish, may they thrive’ is a highly plausible emendation of M’s nonsensical λάθοιεν; this aorist of θάλλω is very rare in archaic and classical texts (only *h.Hom.* 19.33 θάλε (indic.) and perhaps the gloss θάλωμεν· βλαστήσωμεν in Hesych. θ69), but it survived to appear in the Septuagint (*Wisdom* 4.4) and the New Testament (*Phil.* 4.10).

694–7 A prayer that when the Argives sing (with instrumental accompaniment, cf. 697 φιλοφόρμιγξ) in honour of the gods who have given them prosperity (cf. 693), they may be free of pollution (696 ἀγνῶν) and their language appropriate (694 εὐφημον). This coda contains multiple echoes of 652–8 (ἀγνοῦ 653, καθαροῖσι βωμοῖς 654–5, στομάτων 657, φιλότιμος 658).

694 εὐφημον: i.e. such as may move the gods to continue and augment their favours. In lyrics one might have expected the ‘Doric’ form εὐφamos (and similarly φάμα in 697), cf. *Eum.* 1035, 1039 εὐφameῖτε: but (-) φημ- is quite well attested in tragic lyrics (it is unanimously transmitted at *Soph. OC* 132, *Eur. Alc.* 1005, *Hipp.* 158, 575, *Hec.* 181, *Tro.* 1072, *Ba.* 70).

695 μοῦσαν θείατ’ ‘make song’, τίθεσθαι being used as ποιεῖσθαι might be in prose (LSJ τίθημι C 4); cf. *Pers.* 143, *Ag.* 1570, Solon fr. 1.2 West ὠιδὴν ἄντ’ ἀγορῆς θέμενος. For μοῦσα = ‘song, poetry’ cf. *Eum.* 308–9 μοῦσαν στυγεράν ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκηκεν, *Pind. Nem.* 3.28. The third-person plural optative middle ending -ατο (from proto- or pre-Greek *-ητο) is normal in tragedy (cf. 754; contrast 36 ὄλαιντο), but evidently confused a copyist who turned θείατ’ into the nonsensical and unmetrical θεαί τ’.

ᾄδοι: this is the only occurrence of the Homeric word ᾄδός ‘singer, poet’ in A., but Sophocles (*Trach.* 1000, *OT* 36) and Euripides (five times in *Heracles* alone) use it both in lyric and in spoken verse. Here there is an echo of the Homeric phrase θεῖος ᾄδός (*Od.* 1.336, 8.43, etc.).

696–7 ἀγνῶν ... ἐκ στομάτων: cf. *Eum.* 287–8 καὶ νῦν ἀφ’ ἀγνοῦ στόματος εὐφῆμως καλῶ | χώρας ἄνασσαν τῆσδ’ Ἀθηναίαν. See also 653, 654–5nn.

φερίσθω φῆμα φιλοφόρμιγξ: the φ-alliteration is reinforced by the two μ’s – five of the last six syllables begin with a labial consonant.

φιλοφόρμιγξ: the voice and the lyre are ‘friends’ because they are working (literally) in harmony to a common goal. Similarly the voice is ‘partner’ (σύνδικος, συνάγορος) of the lyre in *Pind. Pyth.* 1.1–2, *Nem.* 4.5.

698–703 = 704–9: metre

1	υ – – – υ – υ – –	ia _Λ ith
2	υ – υ – – υ – υ – –	ia ith
3	υ – υ – – υ – υ – –	ia ith
4	υ – υ – – υ –	ia _Λ ia
5	υ – υ – – υ –	ia _Λ ia
6	υ – υ – – υ – υ – –	ia ith

This is the first strophic pair since the *parodos* (154–61 = 168–75) that is entirely in (syncopated) iambic rhythm; this rhythm will reappear in the next stasimon (776–824) and very frequently in the *Oresteia* where it has a strong association with ‘the theme of continuing crime and necessary punishment’ (Scott 1984: 135).

698–709 The Danaids' last prayer is that the sovereign Argive people (699) may govern the city wisely, and in particular that they may (1) protect the rights of individual citizens (698), (2) seek peaceful solutions, whenever possible, to disputes with other states (701–3), and (3) give due honour to the city's gods (704–6) – the two latter being, as they finally note, two of the three traditional 'unwritten laws' (707–9n.). The manner in which this last point is expressed seems to place undue and irrelevant emphasis on the duty of honouring parents (707 τὸ ... τεκόντων σέβας); this may be designed to remind us that in the sequel the Danaids will honour their father to excess (by committing murders at his instigation) and in so doing break both the other two 'unwritten laws', offending at least three gods – Aphrodite, Zeus and Hera: cf. 1034–5, *Eum.* 213–15 – and injuring their Argive ξένοι (hosts) by inflicting pollution on them.

698–9 'May the people, who hold sway over the city, on behalf of the citizens guard their rights well.'

τ' εὖ τὰ τίμι' ἀστοῖς: on this emendation, which is less bold than it may seem, see M. L. West 1990b: 150–1.

τὰ τίμι' = τὰς τιμάς: cf. Pind. fr. 221 Snell–Maehler, where τιμαί (metrically impossible in dactylo-epitrite) was emended by Boeckh to τίμια. (This sense of τίμια is not otherwise attested in pre-Hellenistic texts.) A citizen's τιμαί are the rights and powers whose loss would make him ἄτιμος (614n.). The root of τιμή reappears in 706 and 709 (cf. also 705 τίσιεν).

ἀστοῖς: i.e. to each individual citizen.

τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει: another indirect reference to δημοκρατία (604n.). King Pelasgus has not been mentioned in this ode, and will not be mentioned again until he returns to the scene at 911 (see 835, 905nn.); Danaus and his daughters look for protection to the Argive people (739–40, 746–7, 774–5) and the gods (732–3, 754, 808–24, 885–902).

τὸ δάμιον: 370n.

τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει: for the relative τό see 170–1n.; for κρατύνω + accusative, 255n. The form πτόλις is used by A. and Euripides (never by Sophocles) when, and only when, it is metrically necessary, i.e. after a short vowel.

700 προμαθίς: this feminine adjective ('foresighted, prudent'), if correctly restored, is a hapax. It is probably an *ad hoc* coinage based on προμηθής. That adjectives in -ής, -ές do not otherwise, in classical Greek, have feminine counterparts in -ίς (FJW) is not of much significance, in view of the wide range of adjective types that do have such counterparts.

εὐκοινόμητις 'scheming skilfully for the common good'. For the triple compound with εὐ- cf. Ag. 721 εὐφιλόπαιδα (also, with the contrary prefix, *Eum.* 387 δυσοδοπαίπαλα). Compounds of three fully lexical elements are

not found in tragedy (contrast e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 966 σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι, σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται).

ἀρχά ‘government’.

701 εὐξυμβόλους ‘in a spirit of readiness to reach agreement’, cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.5 (opp. δυσσύμβολος, *ibid.* 2.6.3). In classical Greece, the term ξύμβολα (or ξυμβολαί) most often denotes interstate treaties regulating the adjudication of disputes between citizens of the two contracting states (see Gauthier 1972, MacDowell 1978: 220–1), but these are unlikely to be referred to here, since such private disputes would not normally threaten to provoke war. The reference must rather be to disputes between states themselves, which might result in armed conflict or might be settled by negotiation and, if necessary, arbitration (703n.).

702 πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη: i.e. before (or instead of) going to war; see 682, 683nn.

703 δίκας ... διδοῖεν: in the language of fifth-century treaties, δίκας διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι means ‘submit a dispute to arbitration’ (cf. Thuc. 1.85.2, 1.140.2, 1.144.2, 4.118.8, 7.18.2). Δίκας reappears (this time as genitive singular, as the name of a goddess) in the same position in the antistrophe (709).

704 οἱ γὰρ ἔχουσιν: cf. 23 ὧν πόλις, ὧν γῆ. In principle ‘those who possess the land’ could be either the gods or the Argives, but the position of this phrase, adjacent to θεούς, favours the former alternative (see also 705n.).

705 ἐγχώριοι: M’s original reading ἐγχωρίοις, and its corrected reading ἐγχωρίους, are both unsatisfactory. The original reading would overlap with πατρώιας (a ritual that is ‘native’ is likely also to be ‘ancestral’) and is easily explicable as a corruption by assimilation to the four dative plurals that follow. If, on the other hand, we accept ἐγχωρίους, we are virtually forced to take οἱ γὰρ ἔχουσιν as referring to the Argives, which is the less natural construal (704n.), since if taken as referring to the gods it would make ἐγχωρίους redundant. Blaydes’ ἐγχώριοι escapes this dilemma.

πατρώιας: the point is probably that by maintaining the traditional rituals the Argives will be doing what is pleasing to the gods.

706 δαφνηφόροις: laurel as a religious symbol was primarily associated with Apollo, and in conjunction with πατρώιας it would make Athenians think of their cult of Apollo Patroios (cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 55.3; see R. Parker 2005: 16–17, 404); but there is no reason why Apollo should be singled out here for special mention, and laurel was also used in the cult of other gods, especially Dionysus (*h. Hom.* 26.9; Paus. 8.39.6).

βουθύτοισι: i.e. with magnificent sacrifices, the ox being the largest sacrificial animal; cf. *Cho.* 261 βουθύτοις ἐν ἡμασιν.

707-9 The phrase τρίτον ... ἐν θεσμίσις Δίκας introduces the idea of three great divine laws (sometimes called the 'unwritten laws') which are binding on all humanity whether or not they are explicitly set out in the law code of a particular community. The triad of laws is differently formulated in different sources; it always includes the duties of honouring the gods and honouring parents, but the third law varies (e.g. 'refrain from incest', Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.20; 'respect the dead', Lyc. *Leocr.* 94, 97; 'obey the laws common to all Greeks', Eur. fr. 853; 'reciprocate friendship and benefactions', [Arist.] *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1421b35-1422a2). In A. (*Eum.* 269-72, cf. *Eum.* 538-49) the third commandment is to respect the rights of ξένοι, and this version of the triad also appears in Ar. *Frogs* 145-50, where those who had violated these three laws are said to be wallowing in mud and dung in the underworld. This form of post-mortem punishment featured in the teaching of the Eleusinian Mysteries (M. L. West 1983: 23-4), and the *Frogs* passage cited is almost directly followed by a description of the happy afterlives of (virtuous) Eleusinian initiates (*Frogs* 154-8), so it is highly likely that this version of the 'unwritten laws' also formed part of Eleusinian doctrine, and it is not surprising that it should have been adopted by the Eleusinian poet A. See Thomson 1966: II 200-2; de Romilly 1971: 26-38, esp. 36-7.

707 τὸ ... τεκόντων σέβας 'the reverence due to parents'; cf. *Eum.* 545 τοκέων σέβας.

708 τρίτον: probably 'together with two other laws', as in the common phrase τρίτος (or πέμπτος, etc.) αὐτός (Ar. *Wasps* 301, Thuc. 1.46.2, etc.). The point will not be that the other two laws are more important than that of revering parents (as Sommerstein 1977: 75-6) but merely that they exist alongside it as part of the 'ordinances of Dike'.

τόδ': after a slight pause at the end of 707, 'a pronoun in apposition [to the subject] is used to signal that it is complete and the sentence is moving on' (M. L. West 1990c: 8, discussing *Pers.* 308-10).

θεσμίσις: a word that can confer particular solemnity on the laws it is used to describe; cf. *Ag.* 1563-4 μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα, θέσμιον γάρ, *Eum.* 490-1 (read νόμων θεσμίῳ), A. fr. 281a.18, [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 16.10 (opening of a sixth-century Athenian law against tyranny) θέσμια τάδε Ἀθηναίων ἐστὶ καὶ πάτρια. It was originally an adjective, but is often, as here, used as a noun.

709 Δίκας: so in *Eum.* 539 a warning to obey the 'unwritten laws' is introduced by the injunction βωμὸν αἰδεσθαι Δίκας.

γέγραπται: these laws may be 'unwritten' on earth, but they are written in heaven.

μεγιστοτίμου: a unique word to mark the unique status of Dike. In *Seven* 662 (cf. *Cho.* 949) she is the virgin daughter of Zeus; in A. fr. 281a.10 + 21 she sits on, or next to, his throne and records men's transgressions on his tablets.

710–75 In this scene there occurs a *περιπέτεια* comparable in some ways to the abrupt change of direction at *Seven* 653 when Eteocles learns that the gate whose defence he has reserved for himself is being attacked by his brother. In both cases the new development strikes the characters in the drama like a bolt from the blue, though the audience, with their knowledge of the underlying myth, will have expected something of the kind to occur sooner or later. Until now, since their arrival at Argos, everything has gone well for Danaus and his daughters: their supplication has been successful, they have been accepted as *μέτοικοι*, and the Argive people have committed themselves to defend them under all circumstances. They are also confident of the favour of their ancestor Zeus, to whom they have twice prayed (29–39, 524–30) that he may overwhelm and sink the ship that is carrying their cousins across the sea in pursuit of them. Now their father, who has been keeping a lookout from the elevated sanctuary (713) sees ‘the boat’ approaching the shore, at the head of a considerable fleet (721). He is still sure that the gods and the Argives (cf. 698–9n.) will keep him and his family safe, but he is unable to calm the fears of his daughters, which are vividly expressed in every utterance they make in this scene and in their ensuing ode (776–824). After his first long speech (710–33) the scene takes an *epirrhematic* form: the chorus have each time two iambic trimeters (probably spoken by their leader) followed by a short lyric mainly in dochmiacs, and Danaus replies with two trimeters of attempted reassurance (predicting at 760–1, with a confidence that will prove misplaced, that in the event of war the Argives will be easily victorious). This pattern is broken at 764, just as the chorus are beginning what would have been their third strophic pair, and in a second *rhesis* Danaus first assures his daughters (with equally misplaced confidence) that it will take their enemies a long time to get ashore (764–72), and then restates (772–5, cf. 726) his intention to go to the city and return with (evidently armed) assistance; meanwhile his daughters must ‘not ignore the gods’ (725, 773), meaning (cf. 731) that they should take sanctuary again if necessary should an Egyptian ‘herald or embassy’ (727) arrive and try to seize them. This foreshadows what is to follow, but in a misleading way: the Egyptian herald and the men accompanying him are far cruder and more violent than any ‘herald or embassy’ would be expected to be, they ignore the sanctity of the shrine, and when a rescuing force arrives it is led by Pelasgus and Danaus is not with it (his daughters have to ask Pelasgus to send him to them, 968–70).

There are obvious parallels between this scene and 176–233. For a second time Danaus, watching from the elevated shrine, sees a formidable force gradually coming into view (713–23, cf. 180–3), and for a second

time he advises his daughters about seeking protection at the sanctuary, and tells them that they can rely on the support of the gods and should behave with σωφροσύνη and ἡσυχία (724, cf. 198-9). But then the force was coming from the city; now it is coming from the sea; then it could reasonably be expected to be friendly if approached respectfully (191-203, 232-3), now it is implacably hostile; then the Danaids were calm and cooperative (and their words were all spoken iambs), now they are terrified; then they actually took up station at the sanctuary and their father stayed with them there, now he goes off to Argos while, for the time being, his daughters remain in the *orchestra*.

710 φίλαι: only here does Danaus address his daughters thus; by doing so he emphasizes his closeness to them at a moment when he is about to reveal appalling news.

712 νέους: 342n.

713 ἱκεταδόκου 'that receives suppliants': it received the Danaids and their father before, and may receive them again (731) – as proves to be the case.

σκοπῆς 'lookout post' (in 786 σκοπαί functions as an abstract noun, 'lookout'). A. always uses σκοπή where other tragedy, and poetry generally, prefers σκοπιά (but σκοπή also appears in *trag. adesp.* 639.24 and probably in *Ion* fr. *trag.* 47).

714 τὸ πλοῖον 'the boat'. Neither the Danaids nor the audience need ask what boat is meant; it is the one that has been in the girls' minds all along – the ὄχος ταχυήρης of the Aegyptiads (32), the μελανόζυξ ἄτα that Zeus was asked to destroy (530). For the time being it seems as though this ship – the only pursuing ship that has previously been mentioned – has sailed and arrived alone, but at 721 we learn that others are following it, and the use of definite articles (τᾶλλα πλοῖα ... ἡ 'πικουρία) shows that, to Danaus at least, this was not unexpected.

οὐ με λανθάνει: in effect a double negative, = 'is clearly visible'.

715-16 Danaus mentions three features of the ship which would be particularly conspicuous when seen from a distance – the sail, the side-screens and the painted eyes on the bows (see following notes). That these features are singled out for their conspicuousness gives 715-16 enough semantic coherence to permit the waiving of the normal rule that when a negated verb (here οὐ με λανθάνει) is in construction with two or more conjoined noun phrases not forming a semantic unit, the connecting particles are themselves in negative form (e.g. οὔτε ... οὔτε ... οὔτε rather than τε ... καὶ ... καὶ as here). That the three features are to be taken together as a single unit is further suggested by the singular verb λανθάνει.

715 στολμός ... λαίφους: either a periphrasis for λαῖφος 'sail' (cf. στολμός/στολμοὶ πέπλων = πέπλοι, *Cho.* 29, *Eur. Alc.* 216, *Andr.* 148) or 'the furled sail' (lit. 'the furling of the sail') (723n.). M's στολμοί,

governing the singular λαίφους (contrast *Cho.* 29), would have to denote the brailing lines (723n.) (so FJW), but there is no evidence for such a usage of στολμός (an exclusively tragic word, and elsewhere always abstract), and the ropes would be much less obvious to the eye than the sail itself.

παραρρύσεις ‘side-screens’, curtains of linen or leather stretched along the sides of ships to protect the oarsmen against foul weather and enemy missiles; this was a regular item of equipment for Athenian warships, which were supposed to have four of them, two of each type (*IG* ii² 1611.244–9, 1612.73–9, etc.; see Morrison et al. 2000: 150). The fact that the approaching ship is equipped with such screens indicates that it is a warship. The normal term for the screens is παραρρύματα (*Xen. Hell.* 2.1.22 uses the non-technical term παραβλήματα): παράρρυσις is found only here.

716–18 The ship is spoken of almost as if it were a living being: possessed of senses (it ‘sees’ the way ahead and, literally, ‘hears’ the helm: 716 βλέπουσ’, 718 κλύουσα; see also 717n.) and in purposeful, well-guided motion, it seems scarcely less hostile to Danaus and his family than the men it bears.

716 ὄμμασιν: eyes were often painted on the bows of ships (many images showing them are catalogued and illustrated by Morrison and Williams 1968; see especially plates 13, 14d, 21e).

717 οἶακος εὐθυντήρος: the tiller by means of which the helmsman moved his steering-oar (πηδάλιον); see Morrison et al. 2000: 173–4, 218–20. The phraseology used here endows the tiller itself with agency, eliding the man who worked it. There may possibly be a reminiscence of the marvellous self-guiding ships of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.559–66) which had no helmsman and no steering-oar either.

ύστάτου ‘right at the rear end’, following πρῶιρα πρόσθεν, emphasizes the distance between the tiller and the prow whose direction it controls.

718 ἄγαν καλῶς ‘very well’ (cf. *Ag.* 1254 καὶ μὴν ἄγαν “Ἑλλην” ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν), probably with a suggestion that from the Danaid family’s point of view the ship has kept her course altogether *too* well.

κλύουσα ‘obeying, answering’.

τῶς ἄν οὐ φίλη ‘as if unfriendly <to us>’ (lit. ‘as an unfriendly one would’, understanding κλύοι): the ship, thought of as an animate being (716–18, 717nn.), seems eagerly set on reaching Argos, and capturing the Danaids, as quickly as possible. For the relative adverb τῶς cf. *Seven* 637, *Ag.* 242, *Soph.* fr. 431; see Diggle 1996: 4.

719–20 The men on board the (leading) ship can now be seen. Since this is the ship that was spoken of in 29–36 and 524–30 (714n.), the audience will assume that these men are the sons of Aegyptus, and may expect (wrongly) that they will appear on stage later in the play (in fact it is quite

possible that, perhaps with the exception of Lynceus, the Aegyptiads were never seen alive throughout the trilogy; see Intr. §3).

μελαγχίμοις: this adjective is in origin a compound, its second element cognate with **χειμών**, presumably used in the first place to describe dark storm-clouds, but by A.'s time it had long since become a slightly more intense poetic synonym of **μέλας**. The Danaids are also dark-skinned (70–2, 154nn.), but it would seem natural to Greeks that males of the same ethnic and climatic background should be darker still; when the Egyptian posse arrive there may well be enough of a colour difference between them and the Danaids to help suggest, in combination with their aggressiveness and their apparently broken Greek, that the attackers are more 'alien' and 'savage' than the attacked.

λευκῶν ἐκ πεπλωμάτων: i.e. only partly covered by their garments; cf. Eur. *Ion* 1208–9 **γυμνὰ ... ἐκ πέπλων μέλη**, *IT* 1404–5.

ἰδεῖν: final-consecutive infinitive (79–80n.).

721 τᾶλλα πλοῖα: the definite article shows that Danaus is not surprised to see that 'the boat' (714) is being followed by others; this has not been mentioned previously in the play, but Danaus and his daughters have never denied that there is a risk of war if they are granted asylum (as Pelasgus saw already at 342), and that implies that if the Aegyptiads come to Argos, they will come with enough ships to transport a considerable army.

ἡ ἑπικουρία 'the supporting force', i.e. the army (Egyptians and possibly others) which the Aegyptiads have brought with them to back their claims. In Homer the Trojans' **ἐπικούροι** are their foreign allies (cf. Thuc. 7.59.1), and in classical Greek **ἐπικούροι** are often mercenaries (e.g. Hdt. 1.154, Hermitippus fr. 63.18), but in *Pers.* 731 the Queen laments the loss of the **ἐπικουρία στρατοῦ** that had been furnished by the people of the Persian capital.

722 εὐπρεπτος '<is> conspicuous' agrees with the nearer of the two subjects (**ἐπικουρία**).

ἡγεμῶν 'the leading ship'.

723 στείλασα λαῖφος 'after brailing up her sail': the sail was shortened by pulling it up towards the yardarm with brailing lines (**κάλως**) 'made fast to the bottom edge of the sail and pass[ing] up [its] forward face ... through rings at certain intervals, then over the top of the sailyard and aft to the helmsman, who is thus able to brail up the sail without moving from his seat' (Morrison and Williams 1968: 56; see also Morrison et al. 2000: 176–8, 223–6, 257–8). The verb **στέλλειν** is used in the same sense (in a simile) in Eur. *Hec.* 1081–2; in comedy and prose the term is **συστέλλειν**.

παγκρότως 'with all oars', more specifically with all three levels of oarage actively rowing (the ship is assumed, anachronistically, to be a

trireme, this being the type of naval vessel with which Athenians were familiar); a trireme with only one or two levels manned was μονόκροτος or δίκροτος (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.28). If even the final row-in (see Morrison and Williams 1968: 204; cf. *Od.* 15.495–8) is being done on full power, it suggests that the Aegyptiads are determined not to waste a moment before attempting to seize the Danaids, making it extremely urgent that Danaus should ask as quickly as possible for military protection.

724 ἡσύχως ... καὶ σεσωφρονισμένως: Danaus gave his daughters similar advice at 198–9, but then the objective was to persuade suspicious strangers to take a friendly attitude, and what was to be avoided was undue forwardness and assertiveness (cf. 194–7, 200–3). This time they will be dealing with implacable and violent enemies, and what is to be avoided is panic.

725 πρὸς πρᾶγμ' ὀρώσας 'concentrating on the matter in hand': for this sense of ὀρᾶν πρὸς τι cf. Eur. *fr.* 286b.1–3, 917, for (τὸ) πρᾶγμα = 'the important thing', 'what matters', 'what is relevant', cf. Eur. *Ion* 1569, Men. *Epitr.* 347, Pl. *Gorg.* 457e, Dem. 54.26.

τῶνδε ... θεῶν will be accompanied by a gesture towards the divine images in the shrine.

μὴ ἀμελεῖν 'not to forget', i.e. they should again take sanctuary in the shrine if necessary; he repeats this injunction at 730–1. The sequence μὴ ᾱ- is to be pronounced as one syllable ('synizesis' or 'synecphonesis'); cf. 773, *Eum.* 85–6, 691, and see M. L. West 1982: 13–14.

726–8 That Danaus here says 'I will come back' (ἥξω) implies that he makes as if to depart; but he almost immediately perceives that his daughters are badly frightened (729), and in the end he will not leave until 775, after elaborately arguing that an immediate enemy assault is unlikely (764–72) and repeating his injunction μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν (773).

συνδίκους 'men who will support your cause'; the word properly denotes an advocate or supporting speaker in a lawsuit (e.g. *Eum.* 579) but is here used metaphorically (as in Eur. *Med.* 157 Ζεὺς σοι τάδε συνδικήσει).

γὰρ ἄν: there is a case for γὰρ εἰ, which would be closer to M's γὰρ ἦ: it would require the (reasonable) assumption that Danaus interrupts himself on perceiving how terrified his daughters are, but it is not clear what he would have been about to say.

κῆρύξ τις ἢ πρέσβη: is Danaus assuming that the Aegyptiads will begin by making a diplomatic approach (as this phrase implies) or that they will use force immediately (as the language of 728 implies)? The apparent inconsistency may suggest that he is torn between the desire to calm his daughters' fears and the need to prepare them to face the worst. It proves to be surprisingly accurate: a herald does come – but he and those with him attempt to seize the Danaids by force, and that before the herald has

fulfilled his proper function of conveying a message to the Argive authorities (which he can hardly be said to do until 924).

πρέσβη is most probably to be taken as a synonym of **πρεσβεία** 'embassy', perhaps coined *ad hoc* for metrical convenience; an embassy normally consisted of several envoys, and the participial and appositive phrases of 728 are accordingly plural. The word can hardly be the plural of **πρέσβος**, which at *Pers.* 623, *Ag.* 855, 1393, denotes senior and respected persons (and which is not found in any other author), since (1) Danaus would be unlikely to apply this honorific term to enemies who he expects may use violence and (2) when **πρέσβος** is used elsewhere of a group of persons (*Ag.* 855, 1393) it is singular.

ἄγειν: 612n.

ρύσιων ἐφάπτορες: 315n.

729 ἄλλ' οὐδέν ἔσται τῶνδε virtually contradicts 727-8; it is the first of a long series of reassurances by Danaus which have little effect on his daughters (and which will be belied by events).

μὴ τρέσητε echoes 711.

νιν may either be masculine plural (referring to the men described in 727-8) or neuter plural (with **τῶνδε** as its antecedent); the latter usage is rare, but found in *Soph. El.* 436, 624, *Eur. Andr.* 19, fr. 506.3.

730 ἄμεινον: 188n.

εἰ βραδυνοίμην 'if I should be slow'; cf. *Seven* 623 (of a warrior) **χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται**, *Soph. OC* 1628. The active (**βραδύνοιμεν** M) would be equally correct (cf. *Soph. Phil.* 1400, *Pl. Rep.* 7.528d), but the first person plural would be ambiguous (it might refer to Danaus alone, or it might include the Argives he intends to bring back with him).

βοῇ 'in raising my cry for help': for this sense of **βοή** cf. *Ag.* 1349, *Eur. Tro.* 999, and see Taplin 1977: 218-21.

731 ἀλκῆς 'protection' (352n.), viz. that afforded by the sanctity of the shrine (cf. 831).

732 θάρσει is repeated in 740, and Danaus uses other second-person singular forms at 754 and 772-3 (despite (ῶ) **τέκνα** 739, 753). In the parallel scene in *Seven* Eteocles begins by addressing the chorus in the second person plural but uses the singular at the end of his first speech (201-2), as here, and again at 223, 232, 236-8, and consistently in 246-81. See Kaimio 1970: 214-18, 222.

χρόνωι: the idea that divine retribution, though it may be delayed, is sure to come is a leading theme of the *Oresteia* (Sommerstein 1989: 179, calling this the 'mills of God' theme, lists 17 relevant passages); cf. also *A.* fr. 281a.21-3.

τοι: 88-gon.; here, as often, it marks the citation of a widely accepted generalization (cf. 1047, *Pers.* 706, *Seven* 438, *Ag.* 1304; see Denniston 1954: 542-3).

κυρίῳ ... ἐν ἡμέραι 'on the appointed day'. In A. fr. 281a.23 Dike says that she opens the tablet recording a man's transgressions [?εὔτ' ἄν φέρ]ηισφιν ἡμέρα τὸ κύριον: cf. also Ag. 766-7 ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλῃ φάος τόκου, *Eum.* 543 κύριον μένει τέλος. The adjective κύριος is usually of three terminations, but of two in Eur. *Hclld.* 143 and Arist. *Pol.* 1306b20-1.

733 This lapidary line may prove ironic, if by the end of the trilogy Danaus himself is seen as having paid the penalty for dishonouring Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite (698-709n.; see Intr. §3).

θεοὺς ἀτίζων: by forcing a woman into marriage against her will and that of her κύριος (227n.) and/or by violating a sanctuary.

τις βροτῶν 'everyone' (LSJ τις A.II.2); cf. *Pers.* 497, *Cho.* 59, 633, *Eum.* 756.

734-61 An epirrhematic passage (348-417n.): in each of its four sections (making two strophic pairs) the chorus(-leader) speaks two iambic trimeters, there follows a short lyric (predominantly dochmiac), and Danaus replies with two trimeters. His reassurances have no effect; his daughters are as frightened at the end as they were at the beginning. The nearest parallel to this structure is the long *amoi-baion* between Cassandra and the chorus in Ag. 1072-1177, where the chorus, having answered Cassandra's lyrics with spoken couplets through four strophic pairs (1072-1113), in the fifth follow the spoken couplet with a lyric, predominantly dochmiac (1114-18, 1130-5), and then (from 1140) shift entirely to lyric, while Cassandra moves in the opposite direction, with each lyric stanza after 1136 being *followed* by a spoken couplet.

734-5 νῆες ὥς ὠκύπτεροι ἤκουσι can be understood either as (1) 'because the swift-winged ships have arrived' (taking ὠκύπτεροι as attributive) or (2) 'so swiftly have the ships arrived' (taking the adjective as predicative). In view of the following sentence (1) is preferable (despite 1046 ταχυπόμποισι διωγμοῖς): it is the fact of the fleet's arrival, not the speed of it, that has terrified the Danaids, because they assume it portends an imminent attack on themselves. They did not pray that their cousins' voyage should be a slow one: they prayed that it should *never* reach its destination.

ὠκύπτεροι: a ship's 'wings' may be sails (e.g. *Prom.* 468, Eur. *Hipp.* 752-3) or oars (e.g. Eur. *IT* 1345-6, *Od.* 11.125; in Ag. 52, conversely, birds are said to 'row with their oarage of wings'); here they are probably to be understood as oars, since, as FJW show, there was a strong tendency to associate warships (715n.) with oar propulsion and vice versa.

μῆκος ... οὐδὲν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνου 'there is no <great> length of time in between', i.e. between the arrival of the fleet and the time when an attack can be expected. Danaus will do his best to convince his daughters that there *will* be a substantial delay (764-72).

736–8 = 743–5: metre1 ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ – ◡ – 2 *doch*2 ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – 2 *doch*3 ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ – ||| *ia doch***736–7** περίφοβόν ... τάρβος: lit. ‘a very fearful fear’.

ἐτητύμως ... ὄφελος εἴ τί μοι ‘<as to> whether <there is> any benefit to me from my far-running flight’; for the indirect question depending on an expression denoting fear cf. 73–6n.

πολυδρόμου φυγᾶς: cf. 350 φυγάδα περίδρομον. The Danaids did not flee on foot, but a ship can be said θεῖν or δραμεῖν (Soph. *Aj.* 1083, Ar. *Eccl.* 109, *Il.* 1.483, *Od.* 13.86, 88, Thgn. 856; cf. Men. *Sam.* 206 δρόμου καλοῦ).

738 παροίχομαι ‘I am undone.’ In view of the echo in 786 οἶχομαι φόβῳ, it is likely that παροίχομαι here, like παραπολεῖ in Ar. *Wasps* 1228, is ‘merely an intensified form of the simplex’ (Biles and Olson 2015: 442). FJW take the meaning to be ‘I am beside myself, out of my mind’, understanding e.g. φρενῶν, but the (rare) use of παρέστηκα in a similar sense (Hippocr. *Epist.* 17.273) is not a true parallel, being parasitic on the common synonym ἐξέστηκα.

739 τελεία ψῆφος: cf. 601 παντελῆ ψηφίσματα.

740 θάρσει: 732n. The treatment of the chorus as plural (τέκνα) and singular in the same sentence, here and in 753–4, is paralleled e.g. in *Eum.* 179–84, 794–6; see Kaimio 1970: 223–4.

μαχοῦνται: but will they fight *successfully*? In his next three responses (746–7, 753–4, 760–1) Danaus offers three reasons for believing the Argives will be victorious (their physical toughness; their enemies’ impiety; their superior diet), but his daughters (rightly) are not persuaded.

περί ‘for’, governing a genitive identifying that which is at stake in a fight or a war (LSJ περί A.11.1).

741–2 ‘The crazed family of Aegyptus are abominable, and have an insatiable appetite for battle.’ The word-order shows that μάργον is attributive and the other two adjectives predicative.

ἐξῶλες: this adjective is at home in curses, whether formal and solemn (as in the oath taken by the successful party in a homicide trial, Aeschines 2.87) or colloquial (Ar. *Peace* 1072, Men. *Sam.* 367); from ‘utterly destroyed’ it then also comes to mean ‘deserving utter destruction, damnable, abominable’ (Eup. fr. 51, Ar. *Eccl.* 1053, [Dem.] 58.63). It occurs only here in tragedy.

μάργον: μάργος usually connotes ‘a violent appetite for something’ (FJW), in A. always for fighting (*Seven* 380 μάργος καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος, 687; fr. 99.30, 281a.31) – as the context requires here – or for doing harm in other ways (*Eum.* 67). It can also refer specifically to sexual lust (e.g. Eur. *El.* 1027, Thgn. 581), and this idea may be secondarily present here, as it certainly is in 758 (cf. 755–6 οὐ μὴ ... ἡμῶν χεῖρ’ ἀπόσχονται).

μάχης τ' ἄπληστον: an adaptation of the Homeric phrase μάχης ἀκόρητος (*Il.* 13.621, 639, 20.2; cf. 7.117, 12.535).

καὶ λέγω πρὸς εἰδότα implies that Danaus already has experience of the Aegyptiads' battle-lust; see Intr. §§2, 3.

743 δορυπαγεῖς (~ πήγνυμι, cf. ναυπηγός) 'made of timbers fastened together'. This is the only pre-Hellenistic compound of δόρυ in which it does not mean 'spear': δορυπαγεῖς (Weil) has been a popular conjecture, but δορυ- in compounds always retains its dative-instrumental case function, and δορυπαγεῖς would therefore mean, implausibly, 'fastened together with lengths of wood'.

κυανώπιδας 'with dark blue eyes' (716n.).

744 νῆας: this Homeric form is found elsewhere in tragedy only in Eur. *IA* 254 (also lyric, in a passage designed to recall the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships). Cf. 766–7n.

ᾧδ' 'hither', a sense found only here in A. but common in Sophocles (e.g. *Trach.* 402, *OT* 7) and occasionally found in other Attic texts (Ar. *Birds* 229, Pl. *Prot.* 328d).

ἐπικότῳ τάχει 'with wrathful speed', the epithet being transferred from the Aegyptiads (or their semi-personified ships, cf. 716–18nn.) to the phenomenon that makes their anger manifest; for a similar transfer cf. *Prom.* 600–1 <Ἡρας> ἐπικότοισι μήδεσι. M has reversed the order of τάχει and κότῳ: perhaps one of these was omitted in an ancestor of M and restored in the wrong place.

745 πολεῖ: third-declension forms of πολύς, in cases beyond the nominative and accusative singular, are common in Homer and appear occasionally in tragic lyrics (Ag. 723, (?)1453; Eur. *IT* 1264, *Hel.* 1332); the dative singular, however, is attested only here.

μελαγχίμῳ: 719–20n.

ξύν: 243n.

746 πολλούς picks up πολεῖ (745): the Danaids need have no fear of a large Egyptian army, because a large Argive army will come to defend them.

747 βραχίον': probably singular (-να) rather than dual (-νε); the latter is attested only in Aelian fr. 110 Hercher. Paired body parts can be referred to in the singular in descriptions of the physical attributes of an athlete (Ar. *Wasps* 1193) or of a horse (Xen. *On Horsemanship* 1.11–12).

κατερρινωμένους 'made into hide (ρίνός)', i.e. 'made leathery' (toughened, and also darkened to match in this respect the μελάγχιμος στρατός). M's κατερρινημένους would mean 'filed down' (cf. Ar. *Frogs* 902), which would not be a likely effect of exposure to the sun and might well, inappropriately, suggest weakening.

749 οὐδέν: cf. *Eum.* 38, Soph. *Aj.* 1231, *Phil.* 951, 1030, 1216, fr. 583.1.

οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἄρης: cf. *Ag.* 78 Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώραι, *Soph. El.* 1243-4 ὄρα ... κὰν γυναιξὶν ὥς Ἄρης ἔνεστιν (truer than Orestes knows, since Electra had been prepared to avenge her father's death even if she had to do so entirely alone, 1019-20).

750-2 = 757-9: metre

1 $\bar{\cup} \cup - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$ 2 *doch*
 2 $\cup - - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$ 2 *doch*
 3 $- \cup - \cup - - |||$ *ar* (= *doch* -)

The antistrophe is full of lexical, syntactic and semantic echoes of the strophe (οὐλόφρονες ~ περίφρονες; δυσάγνοις φρεσὶν ~ ἀνιέρωι μένει; comparison to ravens ~ comparison to dogs; two participles governing genitive plural, negated by οὐδέν, describing the Aegyptiads' impiety). Both consist of a series of adjectival phrases functioning as a sentence, with both the subject (the Aegyptiads) and the verb (εἰσί) left to be understood.

750 οὐλόφρονες 'malignant': οὐλόφρων (found only here) is a variant of epic ὀλοόφρων (e.g. *Il.* 2.723, *Od.* 1.52) on the model of οὔλος, οὐλόμενος beside ὀλοός, ὀλόμενος.

δολιομήτιδες 'full of deceptive wiles' is a metrically convenient alternative to the epic δολόμητις (which A. uses at *Pers.* 93). We do not see the Aegyptiads in this play, but to judge by the behaviour of their agents, they are more given to violence than to trickery; the connotations of the Homeric adjective were doubtless coloured by the fact that the only human beings to whom it is applied in the epics are the murderers of Agamemnon, Aegisthus (*Od.* 1.300 etc.) and Clytaemestra (*Od.* 11.422).

751-2 δυσάγνοις φρεσὶν 'in their unclean minds', probably to be taken with βωμῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν. The connotations of δυσάγνοις include both sexual violence and blood-pollution (cf. 226-8).

κόρακες: carrion-eating birds had a reputation for stealing sacrificial meat or offal from altars; the birds most often mentioned in this connection are the kite (*Ar. Peace* 1099-1101, *Birds* 891-2) and the raven (*Ar. Peace* 1125, cf. Cratinus fr. 76). The raven is probably chosen for mention here partly because it was black (cf. 719, 745, 888), partly because it was loathed for its habits of feeding on human corpses (whence the imprecation οὐκ ἐς κόρακας;) and pecking out eyes (*Ar. Birds* 1612-13). In *Ag.* 1473-4 Clytaemestra is said to be standing over her husband's body 'like a loathsome raven'.

ὥστε 'like' here follows the noun to which it links as in *Ag.* 1671, *Cho.* 421, in both of which however ὥστε is followed by further words attached syntactically to the noun.

βωμῶν: such as the κοινοβωμία (222, cf. 190, 372) at which they have been advised to take sanctuary.

753-4 This argument ignores the possibility that *both* sides in the quarrel have offended the gods (698-709n.).

ταῦτ' ὦ is not a breach of Porson's law (198-9n.), since the law does not apply when the final *metron* begins with a monosyllable or, as here, an elided disyllable (M. L. West 1982: 84-5).

τέκνα ... σοί: 740n.

σοί τε καὶ θεοῖσιν 'to you *and* the gods', 'to the gods as well as you', the emphasis being on the second of the paired items; cf. *Eum.* 713 χρησμούς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διός, and see Denniston 1954: 515.

ἐχθαιοῖατο: 695n.

755-9 Since, as Danaus himself has said (732-3), divine punishment is often delayed, and in view of the Aegyptiads' hybristic character which makes it unlikely that they will be deterred by medium- or long-term consequences, the fact that by seizing the Danaids from sanctuary they will incur the gods' hostility is not likely to be of any immediate benefit to their victims. The threatened laying of violent hands on the Danaids (οὐ μὴ ... χεῖρ' ἀπόσχωνται) stands in sharp contrast with the beneficent laying of Zeus's hand upon Io, of which we have heard so much (Gruber 2009: 256).

755 οὐ μὴ + subjunctive makes a strong negative statement ('they certainly won't keep their hands off us'); see Weir Smyth 1956: 404-5, 626.

τριάινας probably covers all the divine attributes borne by the images in the sanctuary, of which the trident (218) is singled out as the largest and most conspicuous. An English speaker in a comparable situation might say colloquially 'tridents and things'.

θεῶν σέβη 'the awesomeness of the gods'. This is the only occurrence of a plural of σέβας: it is formed on the model of βρέτη (*Pers.* 809; *Seven* 96, 185, 212) from βρέτας, and its use here emphasizes the multiplicity of the gods whose honour the Aegyptiads can be expected to set at naught.

757-9 See 750-2 = 757-9n.

757 περίφρονες 'arrogant'; cf. *Ag.* 1426. This adjective, originally a term of praise meaning 'very intelligent' (it was Homer's regular epithet for Penelope), had its meaning changed by association with ὑπέρφρων (*Seven* 387, 410); similarly περιφρονεῖν, once 'think carefully about' (*Ar. Clouds* 741), came to mean 'despise' (*Thuc.* 1.25.4; *Ar. Clouds* 225-6 plays on the two senses). See Fraenkel 1950: III 670-1.

ἀνιέρωι μένει 'by their impious spirit'; μένος in A., when used with reference to a person, is usually close in meaning to θυμός, cf. *Cho.* 455, *Eum.* 832, 840.

758 μεμαργωμένοι: cf. 741 μάργον Αἰγύπτου γένος.

κυνοθρασεῖς (the singular is κυνοθρασής, cf. *Theocr.* 15.53 κυνοθρασής): dogs were proverbially shameless (cf. *Il.* 3.180, *Od.* 19.91, *Ar. Wasps* 1401-2).

759 ἐπαῖοντες ‘paying heed to’ (lit. ‘listening to’), cf. Eur. *Heracles* 773.

760 φήμη ‘a saying’; cf. Eur. *El.* 818. The saying is not attested elsewhere, but the wolf could be regarded as an honourable beast (though far inferior to the lion, cf. *Ag.* 1258–9) and Solon (fr. 36.26–7) could compare himself to a courageous wolf surrounded by a pack of dogs. Children could be given names comparing them to wolves (Lycophron, Autolycus, etc.) but not names comparing them to dogs. On the other hand a single dog could protect a flock of sheep from marauding wolves, and a demagogue like Cleon in the fifth century (Ar. *Knights* 1014–35, *Wasps* 894–972), or Aristogeiton in the fourth, could call himself the κύων τοῦ δήμου (cf. Ar. *Wasps* 952–5, Xen. *Hipparch.* 4.19, [Dem.] 25.40). See Mainoldi 1984: 180.

λύκος: the wolf was an emblem of Argos (perhaps because of its important cult of Apollo Lykeios: 686n.) and appears regularly on its coins (Kraay 1976: 96 and pl. 16 no. 287). Did the Argive soldiers of Pelasgus’ escort bear this emblem on their shields? If so, Danaus’ argument is analogous to that of Eteocles in *Seven* 508–20 (Hyperbius will defeat Hippomedon because Zeus, displayed on Hyperbius’ shield, defeated Typhon, displayed on Hippomedon’s). Contrast 350–5 where the Aegyptiads are themselves likened to a wolf from which a heifer (the Danaids) begs the herdsman (Pelasgus) to rescue her.

761 The chauvinistic sneer at the alleged inferiority of Egyptian diet is echoed in Pelasgus’ disparagement of beer (in comparison, by implication, with wine) in 952–3. It is of course absurd, implying as it does that Egyptians ate no cereal foods.

βύβλου: this is the only known instance of the cluster βλ failing to ‘make position’ (i.e. to ensure that the syllable leading up to it is scanned long) except where it follows a morphological boundary (after the augment, or a prefix, or a word-break). However, in the genuine plays and fragments of A. there is no place where βλ provably *does* ‘make position’, so it is possible that A. was more permissive in this respect than later Athenian dramatists.

καρπός ‘edible product’ (not ‘fruit’; the papyrus plant does not produce one); it was in fact the root and lower stalk of the papyrus plant that (some) Egyptians used as food (Hdt. 2.92.5), chewing it to extract the juice and then spitting it out (Thphr. *HP* 4.8.4).

οὐ κρατεῖ ‘does not (cannot) defeat’. It is not clear whether κρατεῖ should be seen as echoing κρείσους (cf. 596n.).

στάχυν ‘the ear of grain’, a metonym for cereals (especially wheat and barley) as the staple foods of Greeks.

762–3 ‘We must take care they do not triumph [lit. ‘must guard against their victory’], because they actually have the tempers of wanton,

impious beasts.' The Danaids brush aside their father's not very convincing citations of proverbial or quasi-proverbial wisdom: these principles, they in effect say, even if valid, apply only to normal human combats, not to these allegedly bestial enemies. They had made a similar point to Pelasgus at 511.

ὥς καὶ ... ἔχόντων: the genitive causal participial phrase either depends on κράτος, or else it is a genitive absolute with the subject left unexpressed (but easily understood from the context). The use of ὥς καὶ with such a phrase is parallel to the later prose use of ἅτε καί, e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.37 'the Thebans willingly sent troops to serve under Teleutias ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ'. See Denniston 1954: 297–8.

ματαίων 'wanton', 'outrageously lustful' (198–9n.).

κνωδάλων 'brute beasts'; in A. the term is used either to contrast beasts with humans (1000, *Cho.* 601), or to imply that an animal or species is dangerous (264, *Cho.* 588), or to stigmatize satyrs (A. fr. 47a.775) or even the divine Erinyes (*Eum.* 644) as subhuman. All three of these connotations are appropriate here.

ὀργάς 'tempers, dispositions' (LSJ ὀργή 1).

ἔχόντων was probably misplaced in a (perhaps distant) ancestor of M, and then unthinkingly 'corrected' to ἔχοντες to mend the metre, to the disastrous detriment of syntax and sense. Of proposed emendations that retain the transmitted word-order, ἔχοντας (Turnebus) leaves κράτος without a construction, while ἔχοντος (Bothe) makes the Danaids say that papyrus stalks have the temper of savage beasts.

κράτος picks up, and contradicts, οὐ κρατεῖ (761) and perhaps also κρείσσους (760).

764–75 Danaus tries to reassure his daughters that they have nothing to fear by arguing that it will take a long time for their enemies to make sure their ships are safe (764–70) and that until they had done so, it would not be wise to land a force (771–2). Recognizing, however, that the girls *are* afraid (773 ταρβοῦσα), he reminds them that they can take sanctuary if necessary (ignoring their justified apprehension that their enemies will not respect the sanctuary: 751–2, 755–9) and departs for the city where he will request military protection.

764–5 οὗτοι ταχεῖα ... οὐθ' ὄρμος: as in 754, the emphasis is on the second of the paired items, which is the one relevant to the current situation: the meaning is in effect 'just as it takes time to get a fleet to sea, so it takes time to bring it to land'. For οὗτοι ... οὐτε cf. Soph. *Aj.* 428–9 (M. L. West 1990b: 151): οὐδ' (M) would make the second item an addition or afterthought to the first.

στολή is used here, uniquely, in the abstract sense 'despatch, sending out'.

ῥμος ‘the business of anchoring’; cf. Hdt. 7.194.1, Theocr. 13.30.

765–6 οὐδὲ ... ἐνεγκείν ‘nor <is it a quick matter> to bring to shore the mooring-cables that ensure safety’ (lit. ‘the safety provided by mooring-cables’). The scholiast’s **πείσματα σωτήρια** could be paraphrasing either **πεισμάτων σωτηρία** (Turnebus; printed by FJW and by Sommerstein 2008) or **πεισμάτων σωτηρίαν**; but it is more plausible to say that it takes time to bring the cables to shore (where they must somehow be made fast) than to say that the cables, once made fast, will take time to bring the ships to shore.

πεισμάτων: Danaus assumes that the ships will cast anchor in water of sufficient depth and then moor themselves with long cables from the stern (cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.436, *Od.* 10.95–6); see Morrison and Williams 1968: 56–7. The adverse (onshore) winds that detained Agamemnon’s fleet at Aulis were ‘unsparing of ships and πείσματα’ (*Ag.* 195).

766–7 οὐδ’ ... παραυτίκα ‘nor are the custodians (lit. shepherds) of ships immediately confident in their anchors holding’, i.e. they fear that the ship may drag its anchor with possibly disastrous results.

ἐν here denotes the circumstance giving rise (or rather failing to give rise) to a feeling of confidence; cf. *Eum.* 996 χαίρετε χαίρετ’ ἐν αἰσιμίαισι πλούτου, *Ag.* 418–19 ὁμμάτων δ’ ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶσ’ Ἀφροδίτα.

ἄγκυρουχίαις: going by the normal usage of adjectives and nouns in -οῦχος (e.g. κληιδοῦχος, πολιοῦχος), an adjective *ἄγκυροῦχος would almost certainly have meant ἄγκυραν ἔχων, and therefore ἄγκυρουχία should refer not to the holding of the ship by the anchor (as in Thgn. 459 οὐδ’ ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν) but to the holding of the anchor by the sea-bed.

ναῶν is the normal genitive plural of ναῦς in A., νεῶν being used only where metre requires the first syllable to be short; it is used once by Sophocles (fr. 432.10) and several times by Euripides. See Björck 1950: 101–3.

ποιμένες: adapted from the Homeric formula ποιμένα λαῶν, and in turn imitated by Soph. fr. 432.10 ναῶν ... ποιμαντῆρσιν. In *Eum.* 911 a grower of tree-crops (grapes, olives, figs) is called a φιτυποίμην.

768 ἄλλως τε καί ‘especially’, a prosaic expression, found otherwise in tragedy only at Soph. *El.* 1324, where Electra is trying to sound formal and distant because she fears an enemy is within earshot.

ἀλίμενον χθόνα: where there was great danger of the ships being blown ashore and wrecked, as had happened to a large number of Persian ships anchored off Cape Sepias in 480 BC (Hdt. 7.188). If the Danaids’ landing-place was the marshes of Lerna (31n.), the nearest harbour was Nauplion on the opposite (east) side of the Argolic Gulf.

769 εἰς νύκτ’ ἀποστείχοντος ἡλίου: this rather vague indication of the time of day (late afternoon) is ignored in subsequent scenes; we should

not ask, for example, whether the confrontation between Pelasgus and the Herald, or the Danaids' entry into Argos, take place after dark. It may be otherwise with the similar indication of time at *Cho.* 660–2, since in the *Oresteia* the idea of killing by night is thematic (Sommerstein 1992 = 2010c: 143–63). See Donelan 2014, esp. 544–5.

φιλεῖ 'tends to', 'is apt to' (LSJ φιλέω II 2).

770 ὠδῖνα 'anguish'; cf. *Cho.* 211.

771 οὕτω marks the drawing of a specific inference (regarding the Aegyptiads' fleet) from the general propositions set out in 764–70; cf. *Eum.* 736–40 'I have no mother, and favour the male in all things except marriage: οὕτω (sc. in the present dispute) γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόνον | ἄνδρα κτανούσης'.

ἄν ... ἄν: cf. 227n.; here ἄν is attracted both to the verb and to the negative, whose company it often keeps.

οὐδ' ... ἐκβασίς στρατοῦ 'not even the *disembarkation* of an army' (sc. much less an actual attack).

772 καλή should be taken as predicative: a premature landing would not be 'good', 'a good idea'.

πρὶν ὄρμῳι ναῦς θρασυνθῆναι 'before the fleet had become confident in its berthing' (ὄρμῳι is an instrumental dative specifying the cause of its confidence). Not only the actions but the feelings or mental qualities of the men of a naval force may be spoken of as those of the ships; cf. e.g. *Thuc.* 3.36.2 προσξυνελάβοντο ... τῆς ὀρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι.

ναῦς appears in the scholiast's paraphrase, and is clearly what he read in his text (ναῦν M).

773–5 seems to echo the content of 724–6, one phrase (μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν) being repeated verbatim. This helps to confirm that a line (or possibly two) has been lost after 773, in which Danaus said something like 'I will go to the city, and return as soon as possible'; πράξας ἀρωγὴν (774) will have agreed with the subject of this sentence.

773 φρόνει 'have the wisdom to ...'; cf. *Eum.* 988 ἄρα φρονούσιν γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς ὁδὸν εὕρισκειν;

μέν should logically have followed σύ (to contrast Danaus' recommendation to his daughters with his own intended action), but it has to be postponed (so also at 197) to accommodate an unrelated δέ.

ὥς ταραβοῦσα: ὥς marks the participle as causal: Danaus at last recognizes that he has been unable to calm his daughters' fears.

774 πράξας 'having successfully secured'; cf. *Pind. Nem.* 5.34–6 κατένευσέν ... Ζεὺς ... ὥστ' ἐν τάχει [Πηλέα] ... τινὰ Νηρείδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν, *Dem.* 18.162 βουλομένους πράξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν.

οὐ μέμψεται: another *meiosis* (356–8, 648–51 nn.): 'they will not blame me' implies 'they will praise me – and grant my request'.

775 Cf. 606 ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαι με γηραιῶι φρενί. That was Danaus' reaction to the successful persuasion of the Argives by Pelasgus; now he expects to persuade them successfully himself. When he eventually returns (980) we shall find that he has persuaded them beyond our expectations and been granted a personal bodyguard (985-8).

εὐγλώσσωι φρενί: probably 'a mind with an obedient tongue', i.e. the tongue is not ἔξω φρενῶν (Pind. *Isthm.* 6.72) but communicates the mind's thoughts faithfully (cf. *Ag.* 1028-9 προφθάσασα καρδία γλῶσσαν ἄν τὰδ' ἐξέχει), speaking to the point and not wandering, as old men (like the Homeric Nestor) may do, into garrulous irrelevance; possibly 'a mind with a tongue that speaks skilfully' (but – at least before the days of sophistic education – skilful speech was not thought to be confined to, or even typical of, the young, as witness Diomedes' elaborate apology for making a proposal, *Il.* 14.110-27, and the Athenian rule that men over 50 had priority in debate, Aeschines 1.23).

Danaus departs by Eisdos T.

776-824 The Danaids now have nothing between themselves and their enemies except the protection afforded by the sanctuary (which they fear with good reason their pursuers will not respect: 751-2, 755-6) and their father's promise to summon assistance (which may well not arrive in time), and they give full voice to their terror and near-despair. Half of the first strophic pair (779-82, 788-91) and the whole of the second (792-807) are taken up with wishes for death in various forms, which will be preferable to the forced marriage that now seems the only alternative; their revulsion from such a marriage is so great that they would even prefer to be left unburied and eaten by dogs and birds (800-1). Only in the last strophic pair (808-24) do they appeal again to Zeus, who had so singularly failed to heed their earlier prayers – and this appeal too is in vain, being answered only by the arrival of the enemy. The promise of Argive assistance is never mentioned at all, nor will it be until moments before the assistance actually arrives (905).

The metre of this song is iambo-trochaic almost throughout, with a notably high frequency of resolution (seven times in eight *metra*) at the beginning of the third strophic pair (808-11 = 817-20; there is only one resolution in the rest of the song, at 806 in the antistrophe only).

776-83 = 784-91: metre

1	υ - - - υ - υ - υ -	<i>ia</i> , <i>lek</i>
2	υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ -	3 <i>ia</i>
3	υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ -	3 <i>ia</i>
4	υ - υ - - υ -	<i>ia</i> , <i>ia</i>
5	υ - υ - υ - υ -	2 <i>ia</i>
6	υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ -	3 <i>ia</i>
7	υ - υ - - υ - υ - -	<i>ia ar</i>

776–83 The Danaids wish for an escape, either below ground (776–8) or far above (779–83); the same pair of fantasy wishes appears in Eur. *Hec.* 1099–1106, *Ion* 1238–9, etc.; see Barrett 1964: 397. In all the Euripidean passages, however, the upward flight is explicitly or implicitly a winged one; here, on the other hand, it is to be ἀτερθεν πτερύγων, not to become like a bird but to become like smoke and be annihilated (ὀλοῖμαν), foreshadowing the wishes for death in the next three stanzas.

776 βοῦνι: 117–19n. The added letters τι in M are a misreading of the Π of πάνδικον.

πάνδικον ‘with every justification’, cf. *Cho.* 241 ἡ δὲ (Clytaemestra) πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται. The Danaids have a duty in justice to revere the land of Argos because it is their ancestral home; there may be an implication (reinforced by Ἀπίας χθονός, 777–8) that the land has a corresponding duty to provide them with a safe refuge.

σέβας ‘object of reverence’; cf. *Cho.* 158 κλύε δέ μοι, σέβας (addressing the ghost of Agamemnon).

777–8 τί πεισόμεσθα; ‘what is going to happen to us?’

Ἀπίας χθονός: 117–19, 262–70nn. The genitive is partitive, depending on ποῖ, as in the common expression ποῦ γῆς; ‘where on earth?’

κελαινὸν ... κεῦθος suggests a deep cave; cf. *Eum.* 1036 (the cave-sanctuary of the Semnai Theai). In tragedy κεῦθος is found only in lyrics and anapaests, κευθμών taking its place in spoken verse.

εἰ ‘if by any chance’, ‘in the hope that’ (Weir Smyth 1956: 533 §2354).

779–83 The wish to be turned into smoke is not found elsewhere in surviving tragedy, but its appearance in a paratragic passage of comedy (*Ar. Wasps* 324) shows that tragic poets of the 420s were still using it. This passage may have been in Euripides’ mind when he composed *Tro.* 1320–2 (Εκ.) κόνις δ’ ἴσα καπνῶι πτέρυγι πρὸς αἰθέρα ἄιστον οἴκων ἐμῶν μεθήσει. (Χο.) ὄνομα δὲ γὰρ ἄφανές ἐστίν ...

779 μέλας is an epithet of smoke at *Seven* 494 and Eur. fr. 781.255, 257; attempts have been made, unnecessarily, to find a special point to its use here (e.g. that it will make the Danaids invisible against Zeus’s dark thunderclouds). See also 88–90n.

780 νέφεσσι: for the Homeric/Aeolic dative plural ending see 88–90n.

γειτονῶν: γειτονεῖν (*Pers.* 311, *Soph. OC* 1525; cf. 286 above) is preferred in tragedy to the everyday Attic γειτνιᾶν which is found only in the satyric *Ichneutae* (*Soph. fr.* 314.238).

Διός: Zeus in Homer is νεφεληγερέτα, κελαινεφής (*Il.* 1.397), etc.

781–3 τὸ πᾶν ‘utterly’ (592–4n.) can be taken either with ἄφαντος or with ὀλοῖμαν.

ἄφαντος ἀμπετῆς αἰδνός: A. uses an asyndetic series of three adjectives beginning with ἀ- at *Ag.* 768–70, *Cho.* 54–5, but in each case the adjectives

are all compounds with α privative. Here, by contrast, the middle adjective, ἀμπετής (for the apocope of ἀνα- see 351–3n.), differs from the first and last both morphologically and semantically (the other two being near-synonyms). Other instances of α-alliteration in A. are collected by FJW.

αἰδνός: M's -αισδός is probably a conflation of αἰδνός and αἰστος: that the latter was originally a gloss on (or a banalization of) the former is suggested both by M's accentuation and by the rarity of αἰδνός, which in pre-Hellenistic poetry appears elsewhere only in A. fr. 407a, Hes. *Thg.* 860, and *PMG* 996.

ὥς κόνις: there is no tragic parallel for a wish to be turned into dust.

ἄτερθεν πτερύγων belongs logically with ἀμπετής, though the word-order makes it virtually impossible to take them together syntactically. The phrase seems to be used solely because escapist wishes to fly up to the sky normally do involve the acquisition of wings (776–83n.).

784–5 The restoration of the text adopted here assumes that (1) ἀλυκτόν 'escapable' (from the rare, mostly epic verb ἀλύσκειν, cf. *Pers.* 94, 101, *Ag.* 1299, 1615) was corrupted into its similar-sounding and more familiar antonym ἄφυκτον, (2) the poetic κελαινο- was displaced by its ordinary-language equivalent μελανο-, (3) κέαρ was similarly displaced by καρδία (and the now unmetrical φίλον dropped, a stopgap μου taking its place), (4) κελαινόχρων was 'corrected' to agree in gender with καρδία, and (5) κέαρ was later written in (perhaps in the margin) as a variant for 785, was wrongly taken as a variant for 784, and displaced the true reading there. If this is correct, the sense can be our only guide for restoring the last word of 784: κακόν is the least objectionable suggestion that has been made.

κελαινόχρων: the heart and other internal organs could be spoken of as turning black when affected by intense fear or other powerful emotions, perhaps because blood was thought to flow towards them from the surface regions of the body which could consequently be seen to turn pale (this was the explanation given by Arist. fr. 243 Rose = 761 Gigon); cf. *Pers.* 114–15 μελαγχίτων φρήν ἀμύσσεται φόβωι, *Cho.* 413–14 σπλάγχνα δέ μοι κελαινοῦται. It is striking that the Homeric phrase φρένες ... μέλαιναι is used only of persons gripped by a strong emotion (*Il.* 1.103–4 = *Od.* 4.661–2; *Il.* 17.83, 499, 573). See Irwin 1974: 135–55, esp. 151–2.

πάλλεται 'is quivering' (566–7n.): cf. *Cho.* 410 πέπαλται δ' αὐτέ μοι φίλον κέαρ.

φίλον: the Homeric use of φίλος with body parts, e.g. in the formula φίλον ἦτορ (LSJ φίλος I 2c), pointing to the essential and intimate bond between them and the whole person.

786 πατρός σκοπαὶ δέ μ' εἶλον 'my father's lookout has caught me', i.e. caused me to be caught: believing their capture to be virtually inevitable,

they speak of it as if it were already an accomplished fact, just as a person facing apparently certain death or ruin may say *ὄλωλα*. Of course Danaus' 'lookout' was not actually the cause of his daughters' plight, only of their being forewarned of it; but it was his announcement of the arrival of the enemy fleet that changed their mood in a moment from confidence to terror.

σκοπαί: surprisingly, this seems to be the only surviving pre-Hellenistic instance of *σκοπή* in the abstract sense 'watching', with the possible exception of *trag. adesp.* 639.44.

οἶχομαι φόβω: 738n.

787-91 'Since the conversation with the King [in 455-65 the Danaids'] situation has changed so completely that suicide [by hanging] is no longer an offensive weapon for them but their only means of escape' (FJW).

787-8 *μορσίμων βρόχου τυχεῖν ἐν σαργάναις* 'to meet my fate in the plaits of a noosed rope'. With M's reading, *μορσίμου*, the meaning would have to be 'to happen <to be> in the plaits of a deadly noosed rope', and *τυχεῖν* (sc. *οὔσα*) would then be inappropriate in describing, from the Danaids' point of view, a situation which had not 'happened' to them but which they had chosen for themselves.

μορσίμων: cf. Eur. *Held.* 615 *μόρσιμα δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν θέμις*.

σαργάναις: *σαργάνη* (which, if correct, occurs only here in tragedy) appears to mean basically 'something plaited', most often denoting a wicker basket; but Σ *Seven* 346 and Hesychius σ197, τ188 indicate that it could also refer to other artefacts which could be described, in a broad sense, as plaited, such as fetters or a hunting-net. The sixteenth-century emendation *ἀρτάναις* is transmitted in a similar context at 160, and the initial σ in M looks as if it was added after the line had been written; but *βρόχου ... ἀρτάναις* would be tautological.

789-90 *ἀπεικτόν* 'such as one would pray to be spared', i.e. 'abominable'; cf. *Ag.* 638, *Cho.* 625. The adjective can be interpreted either as restrictive, referring to a particular category of men (viz. the Aegyptiads), or as non-restrictive, implying that contact with *any* man would be loathsome; see Intr. §§3, 5. The phrase *δαίκτορος ... γάμου* in the antistrophe (798-9) is ambiguous in the same way.

χριμφθῆναι 'touch (even) lightly', i.e. 'approach sexually' (cf. Hdt. 3.85.3, 4.113.1).

791 *πρόπαρ* 'before that', 'first', a sense attested only here; in its other archaic and classical occurrences (*Ag.* 1019, Hes. *Thg.* 518, Eur. *Phoen.* 120) *πρόπαρ* is a local preposition ('in front of').

Αἴδας: this is the only occasion when A. uses the trisyllabic Homeric form of the name of the underworld god (*Seven* 868 is spurious), and in view of *αἰδνός* (782) it is more than possible that he is playing on the

already current interpretation of the name as 'the Invisible One' (cf. already *Il.* 5.845).

ἀνάσσοι: a woman who died unmarried was said to have become the bride of Hades (Soph. *Ant.* 816; Eur. *Or.* 1109, *IA* 461; see Seaford 1987, Rehm 1994). Normally *ἀναξ* and *ἀνάσσειν* are not used to refer to the relationship of husband and wife, but the Herald will tell the Danaids that they will soon have their cousins as *ἀνακτες* (906), and they themselves have spoken of marriage, in even more extreme terms, as if it were slavery (335).

792-9 = 800-7: metre

1 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 3 *ia*

2 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 3 *ia*

3 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 2 *ia*

4 - ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *lek*

5 - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *lek*

6 - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *lek*

7 - ~ - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ || *lek*

8 - - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ||| 2 *ia*

In 799 (colon 8) *καρδιᾶς* is scanned as two syllables only (68-76 = 77-85n.).

792-9 The chorus again (cf. 779-83) express the wish to rise up among the clouds, and at first it seems that they long to *sit* (*θρόνος* 792) on some lofty spot and watch from above as the snow falls below them; but after they have specified with no less than six adjectives (*λίσσας ... γυπιάς*) the rock to which they desire to ascend, they reveal with the words *βαθὺ πτώμα* that they would ascend to it in order to leap to their deaths before the hated marriage can take place (note the repetition of *πρίν* 789, 798).

792 *πόθεν ... μοι γένοιτ' ἄν αἰθέρος* 'where in the sky might I find ...?': *πόθεν ἄν γένοιτο* is virtually equivalent to *εἴθε γένοιτο*. Such interrogatively expressed wishes are most often introduced by *πῶς* (e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 388-91, Eur. *Alc.* 864), but *πόθεν* is found in comedy (e.g. Ar. *Peace* 521-2).

αἰθέρος: partitive genitive. Strictly *αἰθήρ* means '[that which] lies above and beyond the medium in which we live, between this medium and the sky' (Dover 1968: 135).

θρόνος evokes the idea of a chair set on a lofty mountain-top that reaches almost to heaven, like the throne of Zeus on Olympus.

793 *πρὸς ᾧ* 'near to which': *πρὸς ᾧ* (M) gives no satisfactory construction or sense. The corruption will have been due to the much greater familiarity of *πρὸς* + accusative compared with *πρὸς* + dative, especially in later Greek where the accusative was coming to be the sole case used after prepositions (Horrocks 1997: 122).

χιών ύδρηλά γίγνεται νέφη ‘the wet clouds turn into snow’. In M χιών and νέφη have changed places (probably a case of *simplex ordo*: 432n.) and δ’ has been added to avoid the hiatus νέφη ύδρηλά. The thought and language are close to a doctrine ascribed to the sixth-century natural philosopher Anaximenes (test. 7 DK): γίνεσθαι ... χιόνα ... ὅταν αὐτὰ ταῦτα [sc. τὰ νέφη] ἐνυγρότερα ὄντα πῆξιν λάβηι.

794–7 The accumulation of adjectives qualifying the same noun is an Aeschylean mannerism of which this is the most extreme example; cf. 112–14, *Pers.* 854–6, *Seven* 610, *Ag.* 154–5, *Eum.* 381–4. The six adjectives (only the first two of which are found in any other surviving text) all emphasize in various ways the loneliness and inaccessibility of the crag; three of the adjectives have the rare feminine ending -άς (gen. -άδος).

λίσσάς: a standing epithet of πέτρα both in tragedy (Eur. *Andr.* 533, *Heracles* 1148) and (in the form λισσή) in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 3.293). Its meaning was disputed among ancient scholars, but Aristotle (cf. *HA* 491b6, 8) clearly understood it to mean ‘smooth’ or ‘bare’.

αἰγίλιψ is another Homeric epithet of πέτρῃ (e.g. *Il.* 9.15); the epic singers may not have known or cared about its meaning (see Hainsworth 1993: 61), but ancient scholars took it to mean ‘avoided <even> by goats’ (the mountain-roaming animal *par excellence*). This is the only occurrence of the adjective outside of epic.

ἄπρόσδεικτος ‘which no one can <even> point at <let alone actually reach>’: the crag is invisible from any place ordinarily trodden by human feet.

οἰόφρων, lit. ‘lonely-minded’, surprisingly personifies the rock, perhaps in preparation for its role as a witness (796) to the singers’ fall: no (other) living being will be present (the vultures – cf. next note but one – may nest in the vicinity but must normally fly elsewhere to feed). Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 859–65 where Ajax, about to end his life and isolated by his choice from all his family and followers, addresses his final farewells to the light of day, the lands of Salamis and Athens, and the springs, rivers and plains of Troy.

κρεμάς ‘overhanging, beetling’.

γυπιάς ‘the haunt of vultures’, which νεοττεύει ... ἐπὶ πέτραις ἀπροσβάτοις (so that it was even claimed by some that no one had ever seen a vulture’s nest: Arist. *HA* 563a5–11). The vulture was also the archetypal scavenger of unburied corpses (e.g. *Il.* 4.237; cf. 800–1).

βαθὺ πτώμα ‘a fall into the depths <below>’.

μαρτυροῦσα ‘which would bear witness to’: the participle is subordinated to the potential optative of 792 and is therefore itself potential.

798–9 δαΐκτορος ... γάμου: 789–90n. There is a further ambiguity of which the Danaids are as yet unaware: when the dreaded marriage does come about, it will indeed be lethal – but not to them.

βίαι καρδιᾶς ‘against my heart’s will’.

800–1 One of several tragic passages that echo *Il.* 1.4–5 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν | οἰωνοῖσί τε δαῖτα (so Zenodotus, cited by Athenaeus 1.12e–13a: Aristarchus, and the later vulgate after him, preferred the feeble οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι). Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 829–30, *Ant.* 205–6, Eur. *Ion* 504–6. Everywhere else, however, the fate of being left unburied to be devoured by scavenging birds or beasts is a horrendous one which one may wish or decree upon an enemy, or may (like Ajax) pray to be spared oneself; only here is it treated as the lesser of two evils.

ἔπειθ’: i.e. after death.

ἔλωρα: plural of ἔλωρ ‘prey’; the Homeric ἐλώρια is plural of the by-form ἐλώριον.

δεῖπνον is used of the feeding of animals in *Ag.* 137, *Il.* 2.383.

802–3 That death can be a liberation or escape from the evils of life is a tragic cliché, e.g. A. fr. 255, 353, Soph. *Trach.* 1164–73, fr. 698, Eur. *Held.* 595–6; though several Aeschylean passages state that death gives no escape from punishment of grievous wrongdoings (228–31, 415–16, *Eum.* 175, 339–40).

ὁ γὰρ θανών: τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν (M) would require ἐλευθεροῦται to be taken as middle with an object understood, which would be without parallel.

φιλαιάκτων κακῶν: evils that are intimately associated with lamentation (cf. 68–9n.).

804–5 ἐλθέτω μόρος: again unconsciously ironic (798–9n.).

κοίτας γαμηλίου: as often in tragedy (cf. 141–2 εὐνὰς ἀνδρῶν), the marital bed stands for what takes place in it.

τυχών ‘befalling <me>’ (LSJ τυγχάνω A.1.2).

806–7 ἀμφυγᾶς τίς ἔτι πόρον τέμνω ‘what path of escape can I still now cleave?’ (τέμνω is deliberative subjunctive). M, or rather its ancestor, has suffered a double corruption: first (probably) the interrogative word was transposed to its ‘normal’ place at the beginning of the sentence, then the Γ of ΑΜΦΥΓΑΣ was misread as Τ and the resulting nonsense ‘corrected’ into two Greek words which, however, gave neither metre nor meaning.

ἀμφυγᾶς = ἀναφυγᾶς (cf. *Cho.* 943, and for the apocope 351–3n.).

τίς ἔτι πόρον τέμνω recalls 545 διατέμνουσα πόρον. Io, on her way to Egypt, had ‘cloven’ the waters of the ‘Bosporus’ as a swimming cow; the Danaids, escaping from Egypt to Argos, have cloven a much greater expanse of water on shipboard – but now there is no hope of escape any longer (ἔτι) (cf. 777–8, 784).

γάμου λυτῆρα ‘that will release me from wedlock’ (equivalent to γάμου με λύσοντα): cf. Eur. *Med.* 369 χθόνα σωτῆρα κακῶν ‘a land that will keep you safe from trouble’, Eur. fr. 146.2–3 γάλακτος ... σκύφος πόνων ἀναψυκτῆρ ‘a bowl of milk to give him refreshment after his exertions’.

808-16 = 817-24: metre

The analysis is at several points uncertain owing to corruption in the strophe and/or the antistrophe.

1	υ - υ - - υ υ υ	2	ia
2	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2	ia
3	υ υ - υ υ -	2	ia
4	υ υ υ - υ υ -	2	ia
5	υ - υ - υ - υ -	2	ia
6	- υ - υ - υ -	ch	ia
7	- υ - υ - -	ar	
8	- υ - υ - -	ar	

808-10 Restoration of the text here can only be tentative, though we can be fairly confident that the three cola are all iambic dimeters, and a scholium on 808, *ἐαυταῖς δὲ παρακελεύονται* ('they are encouraging one another'), supports the restoration of the first word as an imperative. The insertion of the gloss *μέλη* into the text may have been partly responsible for the loss of *θεαῖς*.

808-9 *ἰύζετ' ὀμφάν* 'raise a crying voice'; cf. *Pers.* 280-1 *ἰυζ(ε) ... βοᾶν δυσαιανῇ*, 1042 *ἰυζε μέλος*. The verb is probably derived from the interjection *ιού* (cf. *αἰάζω*, *οἰμώζω*, etc.).

οὐράνια λιτανά 'prayers that reach heaven' is in apposition to *ὀμφάν*. The neuter plural *λιταν(ά)* is a probable restoration in *Seven* 102 (*λιτάν* codd.); its precise meaning there is uncertain owing to an apparent lacuna adjacent to it, and it occurs nowhere else except in a fragmentary papyrus hymn of the Roman period (*PSchubart* 12.7), though its derivative *λιτανεύειν* is as old as Homer. In origin it is probably an adjective (and the scholia here gloss it with *λιτανευτικά*), but the neuter plural could be used as a noun meaning 'prayers' just as *βία* (812) can be used as a noun meaning 'violence'.

θεοῖσι καὶ <θεαῖς>: Bamberger's supplement has the great merit of explaining the presence of *καὶ*. The mention of goddesses is particularly appropriate for the Danaids, who earlier sought the special protection of Artemis (144-53, cf. 1030-1).

810 *τέλεια δὲ πῶς πελόμενά μοι;* 'but finding fulfilment for me how?' The participial phrase is attached to *λιτανά*. Even an appeal to the gods cannot assuage the feelings expressed in earlier despairing questions (777-8, 792, 806-7).

811 *†λύσιμα μάχιμα δ'†*: attempts at emendation of this phrase must start from the second scholium, whose gloss *ἀτάραχα* makes it highly likely that the commentator had *ἄχιμα* or *ἄχειμα* in his text (*χειμών* and derivatives can be glossed with *ταραχή* and derivatives: cf. Hesychius α8837, χ264, χ271). Neither *ἄχιμος* nor *ἄχειμος* is attested; the former has

parallels in δύσχιμος and μελάγχχιμος (719–20n.) – though both are semantically much more remote from χειμών than ἄχιμα would be; the latter has none. We could then (1) read with Friis Johansen (ap. FJW) λύσιμά μ' ἄχιμά τ' ἔπιδε 'watch over me in a liberating and storm-free way' (for the adverbial use of the neuter plural adjective cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4.39 φθονερά ... βλέπων, and 821 below), or alternatively (2) treat the two adjectives as qualifying λιτανά (in which case 810 would have to be regarded as a parenthesis) and read e.g. λυσίκακ' (West, cf. Σ λύσιμα τῶν κακῶν and Thgn. 476) ἄχειμ' '(prayers) that bring release from troubles and freedom from storms', with ἔπιδε beginning a new sentence. Alternative (1) would probably be more intelligible in real time, but ἄχιμα remains suspicious; the scholiast who read ἄχ(ε)ιμα may well have been commenting on an already corrupt text. As it is quite uncertain whether we should punctuate before or after the problem phrase, no punctuation has been inserted here in the text.

ἔπιδε 'watch over me'; cf. 1, 145, 531, 1030.

πάτερ: addressed to Zeus (592–4n.).

812–16 βίαια 'violence'. At Athens there was a type of lawsuit called the δίκη βιαίων (Harpocr. β12, cf. Dem. 37.33), which may have been used particularly in cases of rape (Todd 1993: 276–7; 2007: 20 n. 79, 130–1). The word is repeated at the same position in the antistrophe (821): the Danaids wish to impress as strongly as possible on Zeus the nature of what they are threatened with. The Egyptians will apply the term unashamedly to their own actions (863).

μή φίλοις ... ὄμμασιν: whereas he was asked to look on the Danaids and their father πρευμενοῦς ἀπ' ὄμματος (210); cf. also *Cho.* 810–11 ἰδεῖν φίλοις ὄμμασιν.

ἐνδίκως: cf. *Eum.* 1022–5 'I will escort you to your new home, accompanied by my temple-servants, δικαίως', *Soph. Aj.* 1108–10 τόνδε δ' ... ἐς ταφὰς ἐγὼ θήσω δικαίως: the speaker declares how (s)he intends to act, or (as here) requests another to act, and ends the sentence by affirming that such action is in accordance with justice.

σεβίζου δ' ἰκέτας σέθεν: 83–5n. For the transitive use of σεβίζεσθαι cf. 922, *Cho.* 912; it is probably not found outside A. (in *Soph. OC* 636 the reading is uncertain).

γαιάοχε: in Homer γαιήοχος is an epithet of Poseidon only (cf. *Seven* 310); it was originally γαιάφοχος (*IG* v(1) 213.9), probably meaning 'he who carries the earth', 'he on whom the earth rides', from the root of Latin *ueho* and of ὄχος 'vehicle, esp. chariot', reflecting ancient Near Eastern cosmologies in which the earth floated on water (a major source of the ideas of the first Greek cosmological theorist, Thales; cf. Thales testt. 12, 14 DK, and see Kirk et al. 1983: 89–93). In Attic poetry, on the

analogy of πολιοῦχος etc., the adjective came to be associated with the root of ἔχω, understood as 'possessor of the earth' or 'possessor of the land', and applied to other deities such as Zeus or Artemis (Soph. *OT* 160).

817-24 The Danaids have repeatedly indicated (743-4, 750-2, 755-9, 762-3) that they expect their cousins will come in person to seize them by force (whereas Danaus had thought they would send 'a herald or an embassy', 727), and this stanza is based on the same assumption, leading the audience to expect a scenario rather different from what actually ensues.

817-18 Either (with Friis Johansen's supplement) 'The family of Aegyptus, intolerable with its male wantonness, is advancing upon us' or (with Page's) 'The family of Aegyptus is thoroughly intolerable with its male wantonness.' The transmitted text makes neither metre nor sense. The Aegyptiads are referred to in a collective neuter singular (γένος ... Αἰγύπτιον) in these lines but in the masculine plural in 819-21; this makes it likely that 817-18 is a sentence on its own. If, as is likely (808-10nn.), 818 was originally an iambic dimeter, it is now two syllables short; furthermore ὕβριν has no construction, and the repetition in γένος ... ἀρσενογενές is highly suspect. The latter two problems can be solved by Bothe's and Page's emendations creating a dative (instrumental) phrase ὕβρει ... ἀρσενογενεῖ (probably depending on δύσφορον), which will recall several previous passages (29-30, 426, 487, 528) in which the *hybris* of the Aegyptiads is specifically linked to their masculinity.

Αἰγύπτιον 'of Aegyptus' (not 'Egyptian': 4-5n.), a derivative formed on the analogy of Homeric expressions such as Τελαμώνιος Αἴας.

δύσφορον: cf. 513, 834, *Seven* 657, *Eum.* 376.

ἀρσενογενεῖ: cf. 28 τὸν θηλυγενῆ στόλον.

819-21 μετὰ ... διόμενοι: both δίομαι (found only in A. outside epic) and the 'tmesis' (use of a separate prepositional adverb where classical Greek would normally have a verbal prefix) are Homeric reminiscences; they appear together again in *Eum.* 357 ἐπὶ τὸν, ὦ, διόμεναι. A compound *μεταδίομαι is not attested, but μεταδιώκω is fairly common (in prose only). The reference is both to the former pursuit across the sea (evoked by φυγάδα: the Danaids are not at present in flight) and to the attack on land now supposed to be imminent (δρόμοισι can apply to both: 736-7n.).

με is object both to μετὰ ... διόμενοι and to λαβεῖν (821).

μάταισι πολυθρόοις 'in their clamorous lustfulness' (198-9n., cf. 762). The root θρο- is a favourite with A., who uses it 17 times in his extant plays (once more in *Supp.*, at 973). The Aegyptiads have not previously been described as 'clamorous'; the expression serves to prepare for the noisy irruption of their agents.

βίαια: here an adverb (811n.), 'by force'; contrast 812.

δίζηνται: this verb, frequent in epic, lyric and Herodotus (also Heraclitus fr. 101), occurs only here in classical Attic, where its place is normally taken by the cognate ζητέω.

822-4 σὸν ... ἐπίπαν 'is entirely yours'; cf. *Pers.* 42-3 οἷτ' ἐπίπαν ἡπειρογενὲς κατέχουσιν ἔθνος 'who completely control the mainland race' (see Garvie 2009 ad loc.).

ζυγὸν ταλάντου 'the beam of the balance': 403n.

τί δ' ἄνευ σέθεν θνατοῖσι τέλειόν ἐστιν; almost exactly repeated in *Ag.* 1487 τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;

ἄνευ σέθεν: i.e. unless you are willing that it should be so; cf. *Eum.* 895 ὥς μή τιν' οἶκον εὐθeneῖν ἄνευ σέθεν.

τέλειόν: with allusion to Zeus's title τέλειος (*Ag.* 973. *Eum.* 28; *SEG* xxi 541 III 40-1).

825-910 Now the Danaids' fears become fact, as their enemies burst on the scene from Eisodos S – not, as they had expected (817-24n.), the sons of Aegyptus themselves, but their herald (though see the last paragraph of this note), accompanied (though Lionetti 2016 implausibly denies this) by a posse of (apparently) native Egyptians, some of whom may be carrying ropes or fetters (873n.); that the Aegyptiads are not present is confirmed by the Herald's statement at 906-7 that the Danaids 'will soon be seeing' them. The girls immediately flee to the shrine (832), but the Egyptians order them to go at once to the ship, and make it clear that, if necessary, they will seize them from the sanctuary itself (859-63, 884, 893-4, 903-4, 909-10). No such sacrilege is actually committed, since immediately before Pelasgus' arrival (909-10) it is still only being threatened; but the menace, and the brutality of the Egyptians, is powerfully expressed in the brusqueness of their language, and was doubtless expressed even more powerfully by the choreography.

M has no speaker-indications in the first half of the scene (825-71), and in the scholia it is assumed that the Danaids sing the whole of this passage; but its content makes it obvious that it must be divided between them and their would-be captors, and except in the badly damaged passage 825-35 the assignment of lines between the antagonists presents no difficulty. In 825-71 everything is sung; thereafter the scene becomes epirrhematic, with the Danaids continuing to sing while the representative of their enemies responds in short speeches (at first of three lines, later of two).

In the epirrhematic section, it is now agreed that the speaker for the enemy side is a herald (cf. 727); he identifies himself as such at 931, but will have been recognized immediately by his distinctive staff (220n.; often carried by Hermes in art, e.g. Boardman 1975 pl. 61.2, 88). In 825-71, however, it is much more likely that the Egyptian voice is that

of the men accompanying the Herald, forming a secondary chorus (the first of two in the play; see Intr. §9). The most important arguments in support of this view are (1) the sharp stylistic contrast between the crude language of the lyrics, full of repeated words, and the well-formulated Greek of the Herald's spoken verses, and (2) the near-certainty that the Egyptians dance (since the Danaids are sitting down, 852, cf. 189, 208, 365) and 'if they are a dancing chorus, it would be strange if they did not also sing' (M. L. West 1990b: 153). Sandin 2007: 212 suggests that the Egyptian chorus sing only in the astrophic section (up to 842) and that the Herald then takes over; he finds the responding passages (847–53, 859–65) more 'civilized' than the astropha, but their style is virtually identical to that of 836–42, and while the Herald will later speak of dragging off the Danaids by their clothes (904) or their hair (884, 909), he never in his spoken verses threatens to make them bleed as in 847 (cf. 840). The Egyptians were most likely equal in number to the Danaids (12); cf. 234n.

Their language is often at 'the edge of intelligibility' (Bowen), and this can hardly be entirely due to textual corruption, since the Danaids' lyrics in most of this section (843–6, 854–7, 866–71) present far fewer problems. Rather, A. seems to have striven to characterize them as 'barbarian' by making them speak a crude form of Greek (as well as by their appearance, and by some of the content of their songs, e.g. the threat of decapitation at 840), and this crude Greek posed exceptional difficulties for later copyists.

At any rate, corruption is worse in this scene than in any other part of the play, and in several passages the original text is virtually beyond recovery. Metre is often of little assistance: 825–42 is apparently astrophic, and in 847–53 = 859–65 there is hardly a colon whose metrical structure can be confidently restored. In order to avoid printing long stretches of obelized nonsense, I have been slightly more indulgent towards conjectural restorations in this scene than elsewhere.

I have assumed above, with the majority of scholars, that the Herald enters together with the other Egyptians; but there is a good case for the view of Collard 2008: 91 that he enters only after 871, shortly before he first speaks. The very *raison d'être* of a herald is to speak on behalf of those who have sent him, and there is no parallel in tragedy for a herald arriving on a mission and remaining silent while others voice his message; and the silent presence of the Herald would contribute nothing to the effect of, and might be a distraction from, the verbal, musical and choreographic confrontation between the Danaids and the Egyptian chorus.

825–35 In this section M makes no attempt to provide a continuous text; evidently an ancestor had suffered damage at this point, and no second copy was found from which it could be supplemented. The

manuscript presents 17 or 18 fragments, ranging in length from 2 letters to 5 words; when 2 or more fragments are written on the same line, gaps are left between them. Some of the scholia may have been written before the text was damaged, notably one on 829 (οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσασα, ἀλλ' αὐτόπτης γενομένη βοῶ), but others look like attempts to explain the text as we have it. It is clear that the section begins with the long-feared arrival of the enemy (ὁ ὁ ο ἄ ἄ ἄ – so M – must mark the moment, whoever utters it); that the Danaids flee to the sanctuary (832 βαῖνε φυγαῖ πρὸς ἄλκάν); and that they cry out to the 'lord of the land' (Zeus or Pelasgus?) for protection (835). All else is obscure. See M. L. West 1990b: 153-7 for a confessedly speculative attempt at restoration.

Metre: only a few of the fragments can be analysed with any approach to confidence. 827 (τῶν πρό, μάρπτι, κάμνοις), if sound, is an ithyphallic (– ∪ – ∪ – –). In 829, 830 and 833 there are sequences that look like dochmiacs (ἰὰν ἀμφαίνω, ∪ – – – –; βιάϊων ἐμῶν, ∪ – – ∪ –; βλοσυρόφρονα χλιδαῖ, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ –), while 832, 834 and 835 are aristophaneans (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –) which often serve as clausulae in a dochmiac context (cf. 396 = 406, 680 = 690, 752 = 759) and three of which appear in succession in 658-60 = 669-71.

825-826b The scholiast takes ὁ ὁ ο ἄ ἄ ἄ to be a cry of alarm by the Danaids. Merkelbach 1974: 7 sees it rather as a 'cry of the chase' by their would-be captors, and West compares Soph. fr. 314.176 ὕ ὕ ὕ, ψ ψ, ᾗ ᾗ (cf. also the μυγμοί and ὦγμοί of the Erinyes in *Eum.* 117-30). The fragments that follow probably also belong to the Egyptians: τῶν (827) requires an antecedent of some sort, and the Egyptians may have ordered the Danaids to go to the ship, as they and the Herald will repeatedly do hereafter (828a n., 836, 842, 848n., 852, 861, 882-3, 903).

ὅδε: if uttered by the Egyptians, this pronoun will refer to themselves (cf. *Ag.* 1438), and ἐγώ may have followed in the lost portion of the line.

μάρπτις 'seizer' (from μάρπτειν) is a unique formation (one would have expected *μάρπτης) but is guaranteed by its repetition in 827.

νάϊος ... γάϊος: for these two adjectives cf. 719 and 156 respectively. The scholiast's paraphrase ('who was previously on board ship but has now come on land') is probably only an attempt to make coherent sense of the transmitted words, but may nevertheless approximate to the meaning of the original text.

827 evidently belongs to the Danaids, and gives reasonable sense: 'before that [i.e. before you force us to go to the ship], abductor, may you wear away!' In at least two respects, however, the line is textually suspect (see below).

πρό must be taken as a preposition in 'anastrophe', i.e. following its case; but for this particular preposition the only parallels are epic passages where πρό governs not the genitive but the locative in -θι, e.g. ἱλιόθι πρό (*Il.* 8.561). A. may, however, have regarded these as a sufficient precedent.

†κάμνοις†: the scholiast interprets this as θάνοις, but (as that form itself suggests) this meaning would normally require an aorist, not a present – the present of κάμνειν means ‘toil, be weary, be sick, be in trouble’. Italic 1955, probably by accident, reports the word as κάμοις, but then supplementation would be needed to create a recognizable lyric colon (e.g. κάμοις <σού> making a pherecratean). One would certainly expect the Danaids to wish for the immediate death of their enemies, which is the only way they can be saved unless help arrives soon from Argos, and in what follows they repeatedly do hope that the Egyptians may perish (854-7, 867-71, 876) or wish they had perished already (843-6).

827a *ιόφ*: the scholia take this as a parenthetical (*διὰ μέσου*) interjection imitating the sound of spitting, but it could also be the remains of a form of *ιοφόρος* ‘venomous’ (cf. Opp. Cyn. 3.433, 441; Ael. NA 9.4); at 895-6 the Danaids compare the Herald to a snake (cf. also 511).

828 *ομ*[: nothing can be made of this, nor can we confidently say to whom it should be assigned (though FJW make the plausible point that if 828a belongs to the Egyptians they are not likely to have been given a single-line utterance); West’s statement that ‘it is difficult to make [the fragment] ... into anything other than a case of *δύμα*’ is valid only if 828a is spoken by the Danaids.

828a *αὐθι καββασ* [‘going down immediately’, sc. to the ship: *καββ* was restored long ago (M has, impossibly, *κάκκας* ‘of shit’) on the basis of the scholiast’s gloss *κατακάσεις*, a non-existent word which was seen to be a corruption of *καταβάσεις* or *καταβάς εἰς*. For the apocope cf. Ag. 1553 *κάππεσε κάτθανε*. In view of the seven subsequent occasions on which the Egyptians or the Herald order the Danaids to go to the ship (825-826a n.; they add ‘quickly’ *vel sim.* in 836, 861 and 883), it is likely that they are speaking here (and therefore that the original text had *καββᾶσ(α)* or perhaps *καββάση*, cf. 861). West, contrariwise, reads the masculine participle *καββάς* and gives the line to the Danaids, who would be telling the Egyptians to leave them and return to their ship, and he was followed by Sommerstein 2008; but such a demand would be feeble beside the Danaids’ repeated wishes for their enemies’ death (827n.) and, in the improbable event that it was obeyed, it would not preclude a renewed attack (indeed when Pelasgus tells the Herald *κομίζου δ’ ὡς τάχιστ’ ἐξ ὁμμάτων*, 949, the response is a declaration of war).

829 The scholiast’s paraphrase (‘No longer as having heard from my father, but having seen for myself, I cry out’) points strongly to *νῦ[ν]* as a restoration of the mutilated fragment *νυ*. The first two words of the next fragment, *δυῖαν βοᾶν*, were brilliantly recognized by M.L. West (1990b: 156) as the remnants of [*εἰ*]*δυῖ* ‘knowing’ and of the rare noun *ἰάν* ‘a cry’ (cf. *Pers.* 937), which would very likely have been glossed by

βοάν. At *Pers.* 937 a gloss (ἰαχάν) on ἰάν was apparently mistaken for a variant and found its way into the text nearby (940); at Eur. *Hipp.* 584 the same gloss displaced ἰάν in the archetype of the medieval MSS (ἰάν has survived in a papyrus).

ἀμφαίνω 'I make manifest', i.e. 'I utter'; cf. Ar. *Birds* 744-5 μελέων ... νόμους ἱεροὺς ἀναφαίνω, *Eum.* 568-9 σάλπιγξ ... γήρυμα φαίνεται, *Od.* 8.499 φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν.

830 While the presence of serious corruption is obvious, the phrase φροίμια ... πόνων βιαίων 'a prelude to violent sufferings' is likely to be basically sound; φροίμιον in particular is a favourite word with A. (*Seven* 7; *Ag.* 31, 829, 1216, 1354; *Eum.* 20, 142). I have argued elsewhere (Sommerstein 2010b: 16-17) that A. may have written ὁρῶ φροίμιον πράξαντας πόνων βιαίων ἐμοί (three dochmiacs), 'I see men who have performed a prelude to violent sufferings for me'. M. L. West's suggestion (1990b: 156) that πράξαν conceals προξένωι, referring to Pelasgus, is unacceptable: at no time do the Danaids show any appreciation of the dangers to which the Argives are exposing themselves on their behalf, and between 734 and 911, in particular, they think only of their own peril.

831-2 Presumably reacting to some threatening movement or gesture by the Egyptians, the Danaids utter a cry of alarm and rush to the sanctuary.

ἦέ· ἦέ: this vocalization is found only in A. In *Pers.* 569 = 577 it is one of three interjections (along with φεῦ and ὀἶ) expressing grief for those who perished at Salamis (and similarly in *Seven* 966 = 978 it is part of a lament); in *Pers.* 651 = 657 it adds force to the chorus's appeal for Darius to rise from the underworld. Here it should most probably be taken as an expression of terror; it would also function as a cry for help (cf. Taplin 1977: 218-20), were there any potential helpers within hearing.

βαῖνε: the members of the chorus are urging each other (Kaimio 1970: 132); cf. *Eum.* 255 ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖ· λεῦσσε τό<πο>ν πάνται.

ἀλκάν: the protection provided by the sanctuary (cf. 731).

833-4 The two neuter plural adjectives clearly refer to the Egyptians, but they require a noun; this noun will be the subject of the singular verb χλιδαῖ. M. L. West's supplement (1990b: 156) <κνώδαλα γὰρ τάδε> supplies what is needed. The Aegyptiads are compared to κνώδαλα in 762, and they or their agents are compared to various kinds of hostile creatures in 751, 758, 885-6; the adjective βλοσυρός is applied to lions at Hes. *Shield* 175, to a sow at Phocylides fr. 14.3, 5 West (1978), and βλοσυρῶπις to a Gorgon at *Il.* 11.36.

βλοσυρόφρονα 'savage-minded'; βλοσυρός (properly 'shaggy') when used of animals or monsters (as in the passages cited just above) could have a meaning close to 'ferocious'.

χλιδαῖ is here almost equivalent to ὑβρίζει: cf. Soph. *OT* 883-91 where the man who is 'unafraid of justice, with no respect for the abodes of the gods', and is prepared to 'lay hands on the untouchable', is cursed δυσπότημου χάριν χλιδαῖς.

δύσφορα: cf. 818.

ναῖ κἄν γαῖ: cf. 826a-b.

835 γαῖ' ἄναξ 'lord of the land'. The scholia take the addressee to be Pelasgus, but the chorus do not otherwise appeal to him or the Argives until 905, and here they may well rather be addressing Zeus (cf. 811-24, 885-92, 902), who is supreme among the 'assembled gods' whose sanctuary they have now reoccupied (cf. 208-11).

προτάσσου 'be our defender' (lit. 'take and maintain [n.b. present tense] a post in front of us'). For the military language cf. 216 παρασταίη πρόφρων (Apollo).

836-42 There is considerable ground here for suspicion that the Egyptians are being made to speak broken Greek. Two badly-needed finite verbs are absent, in ὅπως ποδῶν (see below) and in the following sentence – in fact the only finite verb in the passage is the imperative σοῦσθε, which is used four times; the particle οὐκουν is repeated; there is no connective between the τιλμοὶ καὶ στιγμοὶ and the ἀποκοπὰ κρατός, which strictly speaking ought to imply, absurdly, that the two expressions were equivalent; and the Egyptians use two different non-Greek words for 'ship' (βᾶρις and ἀμᾶς).

836-42: metre

1	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>gl'</i>
2	- - - - -	3 <i>an</i> _Λ
3	∪ - - ∪ ∪ ∪ - - -	2 <i>doch</i>
4	- ∪ - ... (?)	(?)

The metre seems to be as eccentric as the language. The first three cola are of entirely different types (aeolic, anapaestic, dochmiac) which are not normally found together. In the third, πολυαίμων is probably to be scanned as three syllables only, the ∪ being treated as non-syllabic (68-76 = 77-85n.); the quantity of the first syllable is uncertain, but in *Pers.* 1038 δῖαινε δῖαινε πῆμα, πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι, where the underlined iota is treated as non-syllabic, the preceding syllable must be scanned short. The metre of the fourth colon is quite uncertain; to restore any recognizable structure at all would require fairly drastic emendation, e.g. σοῦσθε σοῦσθ' ἐπ' ἀμᾶδ' <ἀπ>ολούμεναι giving *gl'* as in colon 1.

836-7 σοῦσθ' 'get moving!': this imperative of σοῦμαι (a contracted by-form of σέομαι) is at home in orders to soldiers (*Seven* 31, Soph. *Aj.* 1414) or in shooing animals (Ar. *Wasps* 209, Philocleon treated like a house-sparrow, cf. 207; *ibid.* 458, the chorus treated like wasps).

βάρειν: βάρεις was originally an Egyptian word denoting a Nile riverboat (Hdt. 2.41.5, 2.60.1, 2.96.5; see Lloyd 1976: 273, Pomey 2015: 164–6). In tragedy it is the word that barbarians in general use to denote any watercraft whatever; it is applied by Persians both to their own warships and to those of the Greeks (*Pers.* 55, 1076), by Trojans (or their allies) to the Achaean fleet (Soph. fr. 517), and by Greeks to non-Greek ships generally (Eur. *IA* 297). Here (also 873, 882) the Egyptians use the term to denote their own seagoing ships.

ὅπως ποδῶν: normal Greek would be ὅπως ποδῶν ἔχετε ‘as fast as your feet can carry you’; cf. Hdt. 6.116.1 ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα, Pl. *Gorg.* 507d (see Weir Smyth 1956: 336 §1441).

838–9 οὐκουν οὐκουν: the repetition of the particle is unique; in the parallels cited by FJW (*Seven* 93 τίς ἄρα ... τίς ἄρ’, *Prom.* 887 ἦ σοφός ἦ σοφός) what is repeated is a key word of the sentence with a particle attached to it. It is not clear (cf. 300n.) whether we should read οὐκουν (making the sentence formally a question) or οὐκοῦν (making it a statement of intent): M, for what it is worth, has the latter accentuation, but the interrogative form would perhaps convey the greater emphasis and menace (cf. Denniston 1954: 432, 440) – if, that is, the melody made it possible to distinguish between the two forms at all. The -ουν element of the particle probably implies that there was a pause after 836–7, with the Egyptians waiting for the Danaids to obey their order, and that 838–9 is a response (‘in that case ...’) to their silent refusal to do so.

τιλμοί τιλμοί: we must understand γενήσονται – an ellipsis that normal Greek would never allow. The Danaids’ hair will be torn out when they are dragged off by it (884, 909).

στιγμοί ‘tattooings’: the Danaids will be treated as recaptured runaway slaves (cf. 918); for the practice of tattooing slaves for this or other delinquencies, cf. Ar. *Birds* 760, Aeschines 2.79, Herodas 5.65–79.

840–1 This is the only moment at which the Danaids’ enemies actually threaten to kill them. Since this is radically incompatible with their cousins’ wish to marry them, the threat must be taken either as a bluff designed to terrify the Danaids into surrender (a bluff bound to fail, since they have repeatedly shown that they prefer death to submission), or merely as evidence of the Egyptians’ irrational bloodthirstiness.

φόνιος in A. can either be of two terminations, as here (*Cho.* 836), or of three (*Cho.* 312, 400; *Eum.* 317).

ἀποκοπὰ κρατός: beheading was an abomination to Greeks (cf. *Eum.* 188, Hdt. 7.238), though a regular method of capital punishment among the Persians (*Pers.* 369–71, Hdt. 7.35.3, 8.90.3, Xen. *Anab.* 2.6.1). In one version of the Danaid myth the sisters decapitated the corpses of their bridegrooms, displayed the heads to their father, and subsequently buried

them separately from the bodies (Paus. 2.24.2, cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.5); if this story was known in A.'s time, it may be ironically alluded to here – the Egyptians would be threatening the Danaids with the very fate that was later to be inflicted on their masters.

842 †*ὀλόμεναι ὀλόμεν'*†: *ὀλόμενος* in tragedy, like *οὐλόμενος* in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 4.92), can mean 'accursed', and sometimes (e.g. Soph. fr. 185 *ὀλόμενε παίδων, ποῖον εἴρηκας λόγον*;; Eur. *Hel.* 232, *Or.* 1364) it is tantamount to an imprecation ('damn you/him/it!') or to *κακῶς ὀλούμενος* (Soph. fr. 764.1; Eur. *Held.* 874, *Cycl.* 474, fr. 915.1): it seems to be used thus here, and perhaps also in the desperately corrupt 865.

ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα 'to the boat'. The copyists, here and at 847, were baffled by the unfamiliar word and seem to have substituted the only similar word they knew, *ἀμίδα* 'chamber-pot' (cf. 828a n.). Two lexica, however (Hesychius α3404, *Et. Mag.* 75.22), record an accusative form *ἀμάδα* (*sic.* ἄμαλα Hsch., but that is not a possible accusative singular) meaning *τὴν ναῦν*, used by A., and Hesychius specifies the play as *Proteus* (fr. 214), which significantly was set in or near Egypt. Evidently fifth-century Greeks knew this word as a term for a type of boat in some foreign language (not necessarily Egyptian, cf. 836-7n.; no similar word meaning 'boat' is known from surviving Egyptian texts, the closest being *mḥnt* 'ferryboat'). The smooth breathing is guaranteed by the preceding *ἐπ-* (not *ἐφ-*) and the long second syllable, a little less securely, by the metrical responsion in 847 = 859.

843-65 In this section there is clear strophic responsion between the Danaids' two short stanzas (843-6 = 854-7), and this makes it likely that the Egyptians' stanzas (the last two they sing) were also in responsion, though if so, textual corruption has almost completely obscured it.

843-6 = 854-7: metre

1	- ∪ ∪ ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
2	- ∪ - ∪ -	D
3	- ∪ - ∪ -	D
4	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - -	D <i>ia</i> _Λ

It will be seen that the opening dochmiac is of a form that can be made into a hemiepes (D) simply by prolonging its fourth syllable. The pause after this dochmiac (which has to be posited because the last syllable, -τον, is *brevis in longo*) is unusual, particularly since there is no syntactic break either in strophe or antistrophe; the nearest parallel in A. is *Eum.* 840-1 = 872-3 codd. πνέω τοι μένος | ἅπαντ' ἀ τε κότον.

843-6 The Danaids wish that their earlier prayers had been granted and that the Egyptians' ship had gone down before reaching Greece. In their next two stanzas (854-7, 866-71) they wish for this to happen on the *return* voyage.

843 πολύρυτον 'abundantly flowing'. The form with single ρ is necessary for responsion: πολύρρυτον (M) is the more regular formation, but cf. *Seven* 939 φονορύτῳ (Triclinius' metrical correction: the older MSS have -ρρ-).

844 ἀλμάεντα 'briny'; the adjective does not occur elsewhere. The Doric alpha is restored by M. L. West (1990a: xxvi) on the analogy of αἰχμάεντα and ἀχάεις, which survived in a minority of MSS at *Pers.* 137 and *Seven* 915 respectively.

845 δεσποσίῳ ξὺν ὕβρει 'along with your masters' arrogance', i.e. 'along with your arrogant masters'; cf. *Cho.* 770 δεσπότου στύγει 'to our loathsome master'. The adjective δεσπόσιος, though of perfectly regular formation, is not otherwise attested except in grammatical texts (and in the Spartan term δεσποσιοναύτας for a category of freed helots: Myron *FGrH* 106 F 1); A. could have written δεσποσύνῳ (*Pers.* 587, *Cho.* 942) but presumably wanted the effect of the rare word.

846 γομφοδέτῳ ... δόρει: lit. 'bolt-bound timber', i.e. 'ship whose hull has been bolted together' (cf. 440 γεγόμφωται σκάφος). For δόρυ meaning 'ship' cf. 135, 852, 1007, *Pers.* 411, *Ag.* 1618, *Pind. Pyth.* 4.27. The conjunction of δόρει with the abstract ὕβρει would be a rather harsh zeugma but for the fact that δεσποσίῳ ... ὕβρει means in effect 'your hybriotic masters' (see above).

847-53 = 859-65: metre

There is not one colon in which the strophe and antistrophe, as transmitted, are in precise metrical correspondence. Sometimes the strophe yields (or is reasonably restorable to yield) credible metre and sense, sometimes the antistrophe, and at least once (colon 2, 848 = 860) both are too badly corrupt for anything to be said with confidence about their metre. Very unusually, there seems to be a pause after every colon; at any rate there is hiatus or *brevis in longo*, in strophe or antistrophe or both, at the end of cola 1, 3 and 6, and probably also 2 (nothing can be said about colon 5, whose end is lost in both stanzas).

1	υ - υ - υ - -	υ D -
2	desperatus	
3	υ - - υ - υ - - υ -	2 doch
4	υ - υ - υ -	doch
5 (ant.)	υ - υ - - υ - υ <- υ ->	3 ia
6 (str.)	- υ - υ - υ -	lek
7 (str.)	υ - υ - υ - υ -	2 ia

On the restorations of 848 and 860 suggested in the apparatus, the structure of colon 2 would be

- υ - υ - υ - υ -	cr doch
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847 δῖαιμον ἔσω σ' 'I will cause you to sit all bloody'. A restoration along these lines is indicated by the scholiast's paraphrase ἡμαγμένον καθίζω σε: his error of gender (it is of course the Danaids who are being threatened) is probably due to a failure to distinguish properly the two voices in this scene (M nowhere in the lyrics recognizes the Egyptians as a separate singing entity); cf. 853n.

δῖαιμον: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 656, of a mourning woman 'making her nails δῖαιμον' by tearing her cheeks. M's text could be read as αἶμον' with the same meaning (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 90 – probably not by Euripides, but no later than the fourth century), but exact correspondence with the antistrophe can be restored by supposing ΔΙ to have dropped out before ΑΙ.

ἔσω (*sed-sō), the etymologically authentic future of ἵζω (a reduplicated present, *si-sd-ō) (Barrett 1964: 160), is found only here in its uncompounded form; the compound καθέσω has survived, in a rather similar expression (κλάοντα καθέσω σ'), in the Cairo papyrus of Eupolis' *Demes* (Eup. fr. 99.110).

ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα: 842n.

848 The first ten letters of M's nonsensical ηουδουπια τάπιτα can be read, with only one change, as ἦ (interrogative particle, cf. *Ag.* 269, 276, 942) σὺ δουπιᾷς; The verb (not otherwise attested) would be a desiderative in -ιάω (Weir Smyth 1956: 246 §868) derived from δουῖπος 'a loud, dull sound' and hence cognate with δουπεῖν, which often refers to the heavy fall of a slain warrior as in the Homeric formula δούπησεν δὲ πεσών (e.g. *Il.* 4.504) and sometimes virtually bears the meaning 'die violently' (*Il.* 13.426, 23.679). Thus this sentence would mean 'do you want to be killed?' Telling against this restoration is the fact that -ιάω verbs are very rare in tragedy – though A. is quite capable of using forms of expression primarily associated with comedy (Sommerstein 2002a; see also 911, 925nn.), including φυσιάω (and derivatives) three times in the *Oresteia* (*Ag.* 1389; *Eum.* 53, 248), and this might be thought appropriate to these crude and violent Egyptians.

M's remaining letters, ἀπιτα, are understood by the scholiast, impossibly, as a syncopated form of ἀπιδόντα. Weil's ἀπιτέα 'you must depart' gives reasonable sense and metre (cretic + dochmiac), but as FJW point out, the letter-sequence πιαταπιτα suggests that there may have been a mechanical duplication (they compare the duplication of βαθρεῖας in the antistrophic verse 860).

849 μεθίσθαι 'let go of', i.e. 'abandon'; cf. Eur. *Or.* 172 μεθεμένα κτύπου.

The rhythm of the three surviving words, and comparison with the antistrophe (861), strongly suggest that this line should be dochmiac and therefore that two syllables are lost at the end. A verb is also required to govern the accusatives in 850; the only alternative would be to retain

βία(ι) in 849 and have μεθέσθαι govern the accusatives – and even if the latter construction is legitimate (see Mastronarde 1994: 295–6) βίαι μεθέσθαι would make little sense. There are few possible supplements of appropriate meaning and metrical form; M. L. West 1990b: 158 suggested <σβέσον> ‘quench’.

850 ἶχαρ ‘desire, longing’ (the scholia say it means ἐπιθυμίαν), cognate with ἱκανάω (Herodas 7.26; a probable variant for ἰσχ- in *Il.* 23.300, *Od.* 8.288) and ἱχαίνω (Callim. fr. 178.22 Pfeiffer). The only ‘longing’ the Danaids have at this moment is to stay where they are.

φρενί †τ’ ἄταν†: the scholiast (ἶχαρ εἶπεν τὴν ἄτην τῆς φρενός) seems to have taken this phrase as in apposition to ἶχαρ, which implies that he read γ’ rather than τ’. So far as sense goes, ἄταν would be acceptable, meaning here ‘disastrous delusion’ (cf. Sommerstein 2013a: 6–7); but – – ~ – – is not a legitimate form of dochmiac (M. L. West 1982: 109). We need a word of the form ~ or ~ ~ that means something like ‘disease’: West’s ἄσαν, despite his gloss ‘sickness’, is not wholly satisfactory, since its meaning is more precisely ‘distress’, and not even these Egyptians would pretend that the Danaids would be *happier* if they surrendered.

851 †ἰὼ ἰόν†: to judge by the antistrophe, this is a corrupt relic of what was once an iambic trimeter (which perhaps began ἰὼ ἰὼ, cf. 125); restoration is sheer guesswork, particularly as the line seems to have been syntactically independent of what precedes and follows it.

852 ἱδρανα ‘the place where you are sitting’ (cf. 103).

κί’: 504n.

δόρυ: 846n.

853 ἀτίετ’(ε) ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐσεβῶν ‘you who are given no respect in a city of pious men’. So the scholiast evidently understood the transmitted letters; his explanation is μήποτε (‘perhaps’) <μή?> μετέχων τῆς τιμῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν εὐσεβῶν (for the gender error cf. 847n.). The implication that it would be impious for the Argives, or any other community, to support the Danaids’ cause is *prima facie* outrageous: it was precisely because of their pious reverence for the power of Zeus Hikesios (note 671 Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων; also 340–1, 419) that the Argives agreed to give Danaus’ family asylum and, if necessary, military protection. And yet we shall see later in this play (1030–42), and more fully in *Danaids* (cf. fr. 44), that the family are themselves seriously deficient in piety towards one important deity, Aphrodite. The hybristic Egyptians have, indeed, no right to utter such a condemnation, which would be much more strongly applicable to themselves; but the condemnation itself will prove not to be entirely without validity.

854–7 Having counterfactually wished in 843–6 that their enemies had perished at sea before reaching Argos, the Danaids here and in 866–71 wish for them to perish on the voyage back to Egypt.

854 ἴδοις: M's (ε)ἴδοι is unacceptable. Throughout 825–81 the Danaids *address* the enemy confronting them in the second person singular (827, 846, 867, 877); thereafter they cease to do so because they are invoking the aid of third parties (Zeus and Earth in 884–902 and probably also 908, Pelasgus and the Argives in 905; see 905–10, 908nn.). An alternative emendation, ἴδοιμ' (Butler), must be ruled out because there is a metrical pause at the end of 843 = 854 (guaranteed by a *brevis in longo* in 843).

855 ἀλφεισίβοιον ὕδωρ 'the water that produces cattle', i.e. that of the Nile; its water was believed to promote human and animal fertility, including multiple births (Arist. *HA* 584b30–1, Arist. fr. 284 Rose = 280 Gigon, Thphr. fr. 159 Wimmer; cf. *Pers.* 33–4), and Egyptian cattle were markedly larger than Greek (because they had more and better grazing, according to Arist. *HA* 606a21–9; cf. 558 Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος). The epithet, on the lips of the Danaids, will inevitably make us think of Io. A. has re-etymologized it; in Homer (*Il.* 18.593, cf. *h.Aph.* 119) ἀλφεισίβοιος is an epithet of maidens who bring cattle (or property valued in terms of cattle) to their families by way of bride-price.

856–7 ἐνθεν ... θάλλει 'whence (i.e. thanks to which) life-generating blood increases and flourishes in men'. This is possibly our earliest source for the belief that semen was a derivative of blood; this belief is otherwise first attested in Diogenes of Apollonia in the third quarter of the fifth century (fr. 6 DK), later becoming part of Aristotle's theory of reproduction (*GA* 726b3–9), but it may well have had much older roots, of the nature of folklore rather than philosophy.

ἀεξόμενον: ἀέξω is a Homeric variant of αὔξω found occasionally in tragedy, mostly in lyrics (Soph. *Aj.* 226, Eur. *Hipp.* 537; cf. *Ag.* 697 ἀξιφύλλους) but in iambics at A. fr. 451n.5.

ζώφυτον is a synonym of φυσίζοος (584); this is its only pre-Hellenistic attestation.

859–60 †ἄγχιος ... γέρον†: no sense can be got out of the transmitted text. Of two scholiastic notes, one is merely an attempt at a grammatical construal of the transmitted words, except that it apparently (with the now familiar confusion of gender; cf. 847, 853nn.) takes ἄγχιος to mean ἀναξία, probably a stab in the dark. The other note explains βαθυχαῖος as μεγάλως εὐγενής because there existed a word χαοί meaning εὐγενεῖς: this word appears in Theocritus (7.5 χαῶν τῶν ἐπάνωθεν 'the nobles of old') and the

cognate χάϊος (same meaning) is used by Spartan characters in Ar. *Lys.* 90 and 1157, while Hesychius (χ220) has an entry χάσιος· ἀγαθός, χρηστός. It is thus reasonable to suppose that βαθυχάϊος (or perhaps rather, following the indications of the scholiast and the MSS of Theocritus, βαθύχας) means something like ‘of long and noble pedigree’; Tribulato 2013 argues that it originally meant ‘descended from primeval Χάος’, the ultimate ancestor of all the gods (Hes. *Thg.* 116). The rest is guesswork, but West’s ἄρειος ‘a warrior’ for ἄγειος (M. L. West 1990b: 157) is attractive, and a trace of it may lurk in βαθρείας below. West’s restoration of 860 (*ibid.* 159–60) to give the sense ‘owner of powerful hands’ (A. often uses words meaning ‘lord’ or ‘master’ in this way; cf. *Pers.* 378, *Seven* 27, *Cho.* 188, and see M. L. West 1997: 545–7) is even more speculative, though it fits the context well.

861 ἐν ναϊ ναϊ βάσῃ ‘you will be travelling in the ship, the ship’; cf. Eur. *IT* 1109 (also with reference to enslaved women), *Il.* 2.509–10, 12.16, *Od.* 1.211. The loss of ἐν in M is a simple case of haplography (omission of one of two successive, identical letters); the preposition is required both by usage and by the dochmiac metre.

τάχα ‘soon’, cf. 883 ὅσον τάχιστα, 906, 910 ὀξύ. There may be an ironical point, given that τάχα can also mean ‘perhaps’: the Danaids will never in fact embark for Egypt, nor will their cousins.

862 θέλεος ἀθέλεος ‘willingly or unwillingly’. Neither of these words ever occurs elsewhere, and while expressions meaning ‘whether you like it or not’ *vel sim.* are common (e.g. *Seven* 427–8, Soph. *Phil.* 1298, Ar. *Lys.* 939) the juxtaposition of the two alternatives in asyndeton is also unique. It is not to be ruled out that A. has here again deliberately made the Egyptians speak unidiomatic (but perfectly intelligible) Greek.

863 βίαι βιάται πολλά ‘many things are effected forcibly by violence’: for the passive of βιάω cf. Hdt. 1.19.1, 7.83.1 (the passive of its synonym βιάζω is frequently used, see LSJ βιάζω 1). The Egyptians are saying, brutally, that it is futile to complain about being subjected to violent coercion because violent coercion is a commonplace thing (a parallel argument is used at 1050–1 in an attempt to reconcile the Danaids to marriage). Others (including Sommerstein 2008) have preferred to take βιάται as middle (as in *Ag.* 385) with βία (sic) as its subject, but this involves personifying βία without the contextual support present in Hes. *Thg.* 385 (list of the children of Styx) or *Prom.* 12 (address to a character on stage).

φροῦδα < – υ – >: if the text of 863, so far as it survives, is fundamentally sound, the line can hardly be other than an iambic trimeter, and in that case a word or words of cretic shape must have been lost at the end. West’s suggestion (M. L. West 1990b: 159) φροῦδα < δὴ τὰ σά > would mean ‘your hopes are gone’, ‘your cause is lost’.

864–5 Except for the first word, which should probably be βᾶτε ‘go!’ (cf. 836, 842, 852, 882, 903), these lines are corrupt beyond repair, and the

scholia this time give no assistance. Some words, however, seem to be more or less sound, and from these we can roughly infer the tone and content of the passage. The Danaids were apparently described as βαθύμιτροι, which in view of [Hes.] fr. 1.4 μίτρας τ' ἄλλύσαντο (said of the women who became paramours of gods) is likely to be a synonym of βαθύζωνοι (*Pers.* 155, *Il.* 9.594) 'with deeply receding girdles', i.e. 'slim-waisted' (Garvie 2009: 99); cf. *Il.* 4.137, 5.857, where the μίτρη is apparently a piece of armour protecting the abdomen. The words κακά and ὀλόμεναι (842n.) point towards 'some vocative phrase, presumably not complimentary' (M. L. West 1990b: 160). West may be right to suppose that παθῶν conceals some form of παρθένος. The remaining word, παλάμαις, must be under suspicion of being a doublet of δυσπαλάμω (867) and of usurping the place of some other word in 865.

866–71 = 876–81: metre

1	υ – υ –	ia
2	– – – υ – υ – –	hipp
3	υ – υ – –	io _Λ io
4	υ – – υ – – υ – – υ – –	4 io
5	υ – υ – –	io _Λ ba

Note that 5 is identical with the last six syllables of 2, while the first three syllables of 2 could be heard as a contracted ionic. In 1 it has been assumed that αἰαῖ, οἰοῖ are to be scanned υ – with internal epic correption (cf. *Pers.* 1039, where this scansion is required by responsion).

This is the first appearance in *Supp.* of the ionic metre with its strong 'oriental' overtones (Dale 1968: 120, 124; E. M. Hall 1989: 82–3; L. P. E. Parker 1997: 63), a foretaste of its dominance in the exodos (1018–61). We cannot, of course, tell how it was deployed elsewhere in the trilogy.

867 εἰ γάρ introduces a wish also at *Seven* 550 and *Cho.* 345. The Homeric form αἶ γάρ, conjectured here by Weil, is not securely attested in tragedy, but it is tempting (especially in view of M's καί) to restore it here as an epicism, echoing αἰαῖ αἰαῖ.

δυσπαλάμω 'in such a way that it is hard to find a contrivance (sc. to save yourself)', i.e. 'helplessly'.

868 δι' ἀλίρρυτον ἄλσος should be construed with ἀλαθείς.

ἀλίρρυτον: lit. 'flowing with salt water'.

ἄλσος 'level expanse' (508n.), applied to the sea also in *Pers.* 111 (cf. poetic Latin *aequor*).

869–70 Σαρπηδόνιον χῶμα: the sandy delta of the river Calycadnus (now the Göksu) in Cilicia (Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 33, Strabo 14.5.4). There was a rocky headland of the same name on the Aegean coast of Thrace (Eudoxus fr. 305 Lasserre, cf. Eustathius on *Il.* 24.79 (vol. iv p. 872 van der Valk)); both were mentioned in different plays by Sophocles (the Thracian in fr. 46, the Cilician in fr. 637). The Cilician location was later believed to have been named after the Trojan War hero Sarpedon,

but it is nowhere near his homeland of Lycia, and it cannot be shown that any such aetiology existed in A.'s time; the Thracian cape was associated with another hero of the same name (Σ Ap.Rh. 1.216). It is assumed that the ship would take a coastwise route to Egypt so far as possible, as ancient navigators often preferred to do; it has sailed along almost the whole south coast of Asia Minor, and would have continued to Egypt either along the Syrian coast or via Cyprus. It is not clear why this particular spot has been chosen for the wished-for shipwreck: possibly it had acquired notoriety at the time of production as the scene of one or more recent disasters, or possibly it is chosen because of its remoteness both from Greece and from Egypt.

χῶμα πολύψαμμον 'great heap of sand'.

ἀλαθείς 'caused to wander' (sc. from the desired course).

871 Συρίαισιν αὔραις: in this part of Cilicia the coast faces south-east, towards northern Syria, so that a wind from the direction of Syria could drive a ship on to a lee shore. For the naming of a wind after a place lying in the direction from which it blows, cf. Ag. 192 πνοαὶ ... ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι, 1418 Θρηκίων ἀημάτων, Hdt. 7.189.2 Ἑλλησποντίην. M's reading, if interpreted as εὐρεΐαισιν 'easterly', would give appropriate sense but creates metrical difficulties in the antistrophe: it would require that the second syllable of ἀποτρέψειεν (880–1) be scanned long despite the 'weak cluster' -τρ-, for which (at word boundary or after a prepositional prefix) there is no sure parallel in A. except *Eum.* 378 ἐπὶ κνέφας (dactylic) (see Fraenkel 1950: III 826–7: Sophocles and Euripides use this licence a little more freely).

after 871 The Herald may enter at this point (825–902n., last paragraph); at any rate this is where he begins to speak, and his spoken verse and well-formulated sentences contrast markedly with the disjointed language of the Egyptians' lyrics. He does not describe himself as a herald, nor does anyone else, until 931, but he will be instantly recognized as such by his distinctive staff (220n.). The business of heralds was to convey messages officially between states or between representatives of state authority, and their persons were sacrosanct even in time of war: the outbreak of a war was marked by the fact that the opposing sides 'no longer communicated with each other except through heralds' (Thuc. 2.1). In the present case, Argos and Egypt are not yet at war, but they will be if the Argives refuse the demand to surrender the Danaids and resist the attempt to seize them by force. See Mosley 1973: 84–9.

882–4 Oberdick's transposition of the Herald's first two utterances (cf. 93–5n.) is a great improvement: the Herald first issues his order, then (872–3) comments on the futility of the Danaids' disregard of it.

882 ἀμφίστροφον is evidently, as the scholia imply, an adaptation of the Homeric epithet ἀμφιέλισσα (*Il.* 2.165, etc.); the exact meaning of the

latter is obscure (suggestions have included ‘curved at both ends’, ‘curved on both sides’, ‘turned by oars on both sides’), but the best explanation is that of Morrison and Williams 1968: 45 (cf. *ibid.* 47, 133–4) that it meant ‘twisted at both ends’ with reference to ‘the horn-like ornament of bow and stern ... which is such a constant feature of all Geometric representations [of ships]’ and which underlies the formula νεῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων ‘ships with upstanding horns’ (*Il.* 18.3). For A. ἀμφιέλισσα was probably no more than an ornamental epithet, and he adapted it to iambic verse by replacing -έλισσα with another element, of suitable metrical shape, which also meant ‘twist’.

883 ὅσον τάχιστα is apparently not emphatic enough, and the demand for speedy compliance is repeated in negative terms (μηδέ τις σχολαζέτω).

884 Lit.: ‘for dragging shows no reverence at all for hair in any way’, i.e. if you do not comply at once, you will be dragged off by the hair without scruple or mercy. The Herald thus repeats in more elegant language the crude threat of τιλμοὶ τιλμοὶ made by his heavies at 839.

οὔτοι: M’s οὔτοι is open to the objection that ‘the regular order is οὐ γάρ τοι’ (FJW): the sequence γάρ οὔτοι is not found in tragedy or Aristophanes (and Denniston 1954: 544 cites only this passage as an instance of it). In *Prom.* 1026 μή τι has become μή τοι (breaking Porson’s Law (198-9n.)) in M and some other MSS. The reading of Par. 2886 (early sixteenth century) is probably a mere lucky error.

ἄζεται: this verb, whose proper application is to the reverence mortals have for gods or for the sacred (cf. 652), draws attention to the fact that to drag the Danaids away from the sanctuary would be an act of sacrilege – something, as we shall soon find, that does not concern the Herald at all (893–4, cf. 922–3).

876–81 The text here is in a truly desperate state, and all we can say with confidence is that the Danaids are laying emphasis on the Herald’s ὕβρις and most likely wishing for his death (at least once and possibly twice). The passage is fully discussed by M. L. West 1990b: 160–3; one of his suggestions is brilliant (880–1n.), but several of the rest are highly speculative.

877 λύμας εἶθ’ ὑπὸ γαῖ σὺ λάσκοις ‘I wish you would shout out your insults beneath the earth’, i.e. in the land of the dead; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 653–4 (addressing Antigone’s fiancé) μέθες | τὴν παῖδ’ ἐν Ἀΐδου τήνδε νυμφεύειν τινί. This is the most persuasive conjecture yet made, and it is supported by the rough breathing on ὑπο (sic) in M, but there remain difficulties with it: (1) λύμη is not generally used of injurious or insulting words (but cf. Ar. *Birds* 100–1 which must refer to Sophocles’ *description* of the metamorphosed Tereus, since he can hardly have appeared on the tragic stage in the form of a hoopoe); (2) in A. εἶθε always stands first (though it is postponed at least three times in Euripidean lyrics: *Tro.* 207,

Hel. 1478, *Phoen.* 163; also *Andr.* 862 codd.). The scholium εἰς ὑπὲρ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πρεσβεύει is of no use for the restoration of the text: either it is a desperate attempt to make sense, any sense, of the transmitted letters, or else it has been displaced and properly belongs to the first utterance of the Herald.

878–9 Nothing can be made of this, except that βρυάζεις ‘you are swelling’ (or some other form of this verb) would be appropriate to the context: Hesychius (β1220–1) glosses different parts of βρυάζω as τρυφᾷ ‘luxuriates’ and γαυριᾶν ‘to strut, pride oneself’.

880–1 ὁ μέγας Πότμος ‘great Destiny’, in effect a masculine equivalent of μοῖρα. The same phrase occurs in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.86), who personifies πότμος at least seven times, usually as a source of (esp. athletic) success; but cf. *Nem.* 6.4–7 ‘we do not know, by day or by night, what line πότμος has prescribed as the end of our race’. In Soph. *Ant.* 1345–6 the shattered Creon, in the last words he utters, says that Potmos has ‘leapt upon [his] head’; in Soph. *OC* 1323 Polyneices wonders whether he is the son of Oedipus or of τοῦ κακοῦ πότμου. Here the word was apparently corrupted to the more familiar ποταμός (a similar corruption nearly caused εὔποτμον to be lost from the manuscript tradition at *Ag.* 246) and this was then, inevitably, glossed by Νεῖλος (still in the scholia), which finally, like so many glosses, found its way into the text. Νεῖλος is wholly inappropriate to the context: rivers were gods, sometimes gods of considerable power (as, for example, Achilles discovers in *Il.* 21.120–382), and the Nile was the eldest of these children of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *Thg.* 338), but (1) the Nile would be the very last god to whom the Danaids would be likely to appeal for protection against Egyptians, and (2) in any event a river-god would not normally be expected to exercise his power at such a great distance from his home.

ὑβρίζοντα is object to ἐπιτρίψειεν and itself governs ὕβριν as internal accusative (cf. A. fr. 179.2, Eur. *Ba.* 247). In M it is followed by σε, but this probably infiltrated the text from the scholia (it may well be significant that M does not mark -τα with the acute accent required before an enclitic); the pronoun is not necessary, and creates metrical difficulties (cf. 871n.).

ἐπιτρίψειεν ‘(may it) crush’. See M. L. West 1990b: 162; ἀποτρέψειεν ‘may it avert’ would be a little anticlimactic coming after the Danaids’ repeated wishes that their enemies should perish (or that they had already perished). The verb ἐπιτρίβειν, frequent in comedy, is very rare in tragedy, but cf. Soph. *Aj.* 103, where Ajax describes Odysseus as τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος.

ἄητον, if correctly restored, is a rare Homeric adjective, applied in a hostile tone by Athene to the θάρσος of Ares in *Il.* 21.395 and also,

in a slightly different form, describing Hephaestus (πέλωρ αἴητον) in *Il.* 18.410. From these passages one might reasonably infer that the word meant ‘monstrous, gigantic’, and we are in fact told that A. used ἀήτους to mean μέγας (A. fr. 3; there, as here, the adjective is two-termination). M’s reading presumably reflects an earlier αἴστον, but that would only be acceptable if ὕβριν were emended.

872–5 See 882–4n.

872–3 This appears to be the only instance in genuine Aeschylus (*Seven* 1045 is spurious) of the use of the imperative to tell a person ‘you can do so-and-so as much as you like, but it won’t make any difference to what happens’; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1037–9, *OT* 426–8, Ar. *Wasps* 603–4.

872 ἰυζε: 808–9n.

λάκαζε ‘shout’, cognate with λάσκω, ἔλακον: found otherwise only at *Seven* 186 and Hesychius λ179.

κάλει θεούς: so far as we can tell, since the arrival of the Egyptians, the Danaids have explicitly invoked only one divine being, Πότμος (880), though they will presently be calling on Earth (890, 900) and Zeus (892, 902; probably also 885 πάτερ).

873 ‘For you will not jump out of the Egyptian boat.’ How can the Herald be so sure? It would be perfectly easy, and an obvious move, for the Danaids – who we know would prefer death to marriage with their cousins – to avoid that marriage by a leap to a watery grave. Their captors could prevent this only by chaining them, or tying them up, during the voyage; but it is very doubtful whether it would be understood, from the Herald’s words alone, that this is what they intend to do. Perhaps then some of the Egyptians are holding fetters, which they brandish when the Herald speaks these words.

{**874**} This half-line (ἰυζε καὶ βόα) appears to be a variant of 872 with λάκαζε replaced by a gloss βόα (cf. Σ 872 μάτην λήκει καὶ βόα).

875 makes no sense as it stands, but the poetic οἰζύος ‘of grief’ is not the kind of word that gets into a text by accident, and πικρότερ’ ‘bitterer’ is also likely to be fundamentally sound. West’s suggestion (in his apparatus) <αὖθις δὲ καὶ> πικρότερον ἀχῆσεις νόμον ‘hereafter you will sing an even bitterer song’ (for ἀχέω, Attic ἡχέω, used transitively in approximately this sense, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 866–7, Eur. *Ion* 883–4, and the spurious *Seven* 867–8) gives very suitable sense but does not account for οἰζύος: my modification of it (see apparatus) is open to the objection that a connective particle would be expected (though cf. 907).

885–92 = 895–901: metre

In an ancestor of M the ends of lines 896–8 appear to have been illegible (cf. 825–35n.), but what survives of 896 points strongly to an iambic

dimeter, and the next two cola are shown by the strophe to have been dochmiac.

1	⚭ - ∪ - ∪ ⚭ ∪ -	2 <i>ia</i>
2 (str.)	∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	2 <i>ia</i>
3	∪ ∪ - ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
4	∪ ∪ - ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
5	∪ ∪ -	<i>ia?</i>
6	- - - - ∪ -	?
7	∪ ∪ ∪ -	<i>doch</i>
8	- - - -	<i>doch</i>

Colon 5, being an interjection, may be *extra metrum*. Colon 6 is corrupt and its restoration uncertain (see 890n.).

885 At this point the Herald and his men apparently begin to advance steadily (cf. 887 βάδην) towards the Danaids' place of refuge; by 895 they have come distinctly nearer (πέλας), by 903 the Herald is close enough for his threats of immediate violent action to be credible. This increases still further the Danaids' agitation, and it is now they who repeat words and phrases (887 ὄναρ ὄναρ, 890 = 900 μᾶ Γᾶ μᾶ Γᾶ) and use abnormal Greek (890, 892nn.); and for the first time since 835 they appeal directly for divine support.

πάτερ: although it was Danaus who advised his daughters to seek the protection of the sanctuary if necessary (725, 731, 773), they are much more likely here to be addressing Zeus. The singular βρέτεος, to which both M's and Eustathius' readings point, shows that they are invoking the aid of one deity, not of the ἄγῶνιοι θεοί collectively (contrast θεῶν 725, 773), and they address Zeus by name in 892 = 902. Danaus is not otherwise mentioned between 786 and 969.

βρέτεος: 428-30n.; the ending is uncontracted here as in 463 (contrast βρέτη *Pers.* 809, *Seven* 185).

ἄρος 'advantage' (Hesychius α7370, Eustathius on *Od.* 1.346 (vol. 1 p. 65 Stallbaum)) is found only here in an actual literary text; it is presumably from the same root as ἄρνυμαι 'gain'.

886 If this colon is an iambic dimeter (885-92n.) it must have lost three syllables, and this inference is confirmed by the position of μ', which is needed as object of ἄγει but must have been preceded by at least one other word in its sentence. West's supplement <βίαι δέ> is one possibility; another might be a nominative referring to the Egyptians or the Herald.

ματᾶι 'is fruitless'; cf. *Eum.* 142 ἰδώμεθ' εἴ τι τοῦδε φροιμίου ματᾶι (said of a dream which may or may not have been genuinely prophetic). M reads, and the scholiast (βλάπτει) evidently read, ἄτᾶι 'damages, ruins', a verb not otherwise found in literature in the active voice though well attested in the passive (e.g. *Soph Aj.* 269, *Ant.* 17); 'but the Danaids surely cannot say that the sanctuary afforded by the divine statues

is *harming* them' (M. L. West 1990b: 164) – it is not as though they could have found some safer refuge elsewhere. A similar corruption has occurred at *Cho.* 74 (and there too it is the already corrupt reading, ἄταν, which is explained by the scholiast).

μ' ἄλαδ' ἄγει: they are not actually being taken away yet, but it is clearly about to happen very shortly.

887 ἄραχνος: a sinister creature, to which Clytaemestra is compared in *Ag.* 1492 = 1516. The comparison here may be partly suggested by the Egyptians' black limbs (719–20n.; cf. 888 μέλαν). This is the only certain literary attestation of ἄραχνος (though cf. Hesychius χ346): the normal forms are ἀράχνης (-ου) and ἀράχνη.

βάδην 'step by step'.

888 ὄναρ: the idea is either (1) that this is an experience almost too horrible to be real, a living nightmare, or (2) that the Egyptians, who have just been compared to giant spiders, resemble the monstrous chimeras sometimes seen in dreams, which portend 'disease or insanity' according to Hippocr. *On Dreams* 93; cf. Artemidorus 2.13 (on spiders and scorpions), 2.44, 4.47, and the parodic dream-narrative in *Ar. Frogs* 1331–7.

μέλαν: in addition to referring to the appearance of the Egyptians, this also suggests the sinister nature of the 'dream'; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 71 μελανοπτερύγων ... ὀνείρων, *Ar. Frogs* 1332–7 δύστανον ὄνειρον ... μελανονεκυείμενα. For Hippocr. *On Dreams* 91, anything black seen in a dream is a sign of 'disease and danger'.

889–92 = 899–902 For the refrain (ἐφύμνιον), see 1–175, 112–21nn.

890 = 900 μᾶ here evidently means 'mother'; in Hellenistic poetry (*Theocr.* 15.89, *Herodas* 1.85) it is an expressive interjection used by women.

Γᾶ: at 118 = 130 and 776, the γᾶ invoked by the Danaids was the soil of Argos (the land of their ancestors); here, while such a reference need not be excluded, Γᾶ is also the supreme chthonic goddess. Such a double identity is again present in *Seven* 16 and 69: Eteocles exhorts the Thebans to defend their city, the altars of its gods, their children, and γῆι ... μητρί, φιλτάτῃ τροφῶι, and later prays to Zeus, Ge and the πολισσοῦχοι θεοί.

†βοᾶν†: one would expect a word meaning something like 'enemy' or 'assailant', but none has been suggested that could plausibly have been corrupted into βοᾶν. The apparently simple solution of reaccenting the transmitted letters (βοᾶν) runs into difficulties whether we take βοᾶν φοβερόν to mean (1) 'the fearsome shouting' or (2) 'one fearsome in his shouting': against (1), φοβερός is never elsewhere a two-termination adjective; against (2), one would expect φοβερόν to be supported by a noun (e.g. ἄνδρα); against both, it is not the Egyptians' shouting but their violence against which the Danaids need protection. Deep corruption is further indicated by the fact that 890 = 900 as transmitted conforms to

no recognized metrical structure. The crux must at present be regarded as incurable.

892 = 902 πα̃ was apparently read by the scholiast (ὦ πάτερ Ζεῦ γῆς παῖ): as a hypocoristic alternative to πάτερ it is not directly attested, but several lexa (the oldest being Orion 136.16) report a Syracusan dialect word πα̃ς = πατήρ, of which πα̃ would be the vocative. M's βα̃ could only be explained as an abbreviation of βασιλεῦ, for which there are no parallels or analogies: the corruption may have been due to the presence of the sequence -οβ- both immediately above (φοβερόν) and immediately below (φοβοῦμαι).

Γᾱς παῖ: Rhea, the mother of Zeus, was often identified with the Asiatic mother-goddess Cybele, who in turn was sometimes identified with Ge (as in Soph. *Phil.* 391–4 ὄρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾱ, μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, ᾱ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν ... νέμεις; see Schein 2013: 192). In the ordinary divine genealogy (e.g. Hes. *Thg.* 126–38 + 453–7) Zeus was *grandson* of Ge.

893–4 This is the Herald's retort to the Danaids' invocation of Earth and Zeus: these Greek gods have no power over an Egyptian! Danaus and his daughters have consistently honoured the gods of Argos and Greece, whom they identify with the Egyptian gods familiar to them (see especially 206–23). The Herald impiously refuses to do so, as foreshadowed earlier (notably in 755–9); he will in effect repeat the statement at 922, and will not dispute Pelasgus' comment (923) that he is declaring his complete lack of respect for the gods of Argos.

894 One reveres, and makes offerings to, the gods in gratitude for favours they have conferred (*do quia dedisti*) or in the hope of future favours (*do ut des*) or both. The Herald, regarding the Greek gods as completely alien to him, neither acknowledges nor expects any favours from them, and therefore considers himself to owe them nothing. With this line cf. *Cho.* 908 (Clytaemestra to Orestes) ἐγὼ σ' ἔθρεψα, σὺν δὲ γηράναι θέλω.

οὐδὲ γηράσω τροφῇ 'nor shall I grow old on their nurture': the Herald presumes that he will shortly be returning to Egypt (with his masters and their unwilling brides) and will have nothing more to do with Greeks or their gods. M's text, οὐδὲ γήρασαν, could be redivided either (1) as οὐδ' ἐγήρασαν 'nor did they cause me to grow old' (?) or (2) as οὐδ' ἐγήρασ' ἄν 'nor would I have grown old'; (1) implies a causative use of the aorist of γηράσκω for which there is no evidence, and both imply that the Herald is an old man – most improbable in view of 909, where he threatens to personally drag off at least two of the Danaids. The corruption was due to assimilation of the ending to that of the neighbouring verb ἔθρεψαν.

895 μαιμαῖ: in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 5.661, 670) this verb describes a warrior, or sometimes his weapon, bursting with eagerness for violent action (in [Theocr.] 25.252–3 it is used of a lion), and that sense is appropriate

here too, as it is in the verb's only other certain appearance in tragedy, Soph. *Aj.* 50 χεῖρα μαιμῶσαν φόνου.

πέλας: 885n.

δίπους: i.e. in human form; so Clytaemestra is called a δίπους λέαινα (*Ag.* 1258).

ὄφις: another sinister creature (cf. 264–7, 511), after the spiders of 887; snakes and (poisonous) spiders are coupled in Pl. *Euthyd.* 290a and [Dem.] 25.96 (where the speaker's opponent is called 'a man who is a snake by nature'). Clytaemestra is compared to a snake at *Ag.* 1233, *Cho.* 248–9, 994–5, 1047; Orestes becomes the snake to which she dreamed of giving birth (*Cho.* 523–50, 928), and the Erinyes, who according to Apollo 'were born for evil' (*Eum.* 71, cf. 125), are described as festooned with snakes (*Cho.* 1049–50).

896–8 All we can confidently say about these mutilated lines is that (1) the second and third, when complete, were dochmiac (cf. 887–8) and (2) the passage continued the likening of the Egyptians to dangerous animals.

ἔχιδνα is more specific than ὄφις, denoting a viper, the only snake known to Aristotle that bore live young (*HA* 490a25; actually most vipers are ovoviviparous, i.e. they produce yolked eggs which hatch within the female's body). The ἔχιδνα had a reputation for being exceptionally venomous (*Cho.* 994–5, *Hdt.* 3.109, Pl. *Symp.* 218a) and a habit of hiding under rocks (Arist. *HA* 599b1–2), and it is therefore probably to be identified with the nose-horned viper (*Vipera ammodytes*), which favours rocky habitats and is now reckoned the most dangerous of the major European snake species (it 'caused regular human deaths before modern treatment was available' (Arnold 2002: 235)).

δάκος: any dangerous creature, from a snake (*Cho.* 530) to the Sphinx (*Seven* 558).

903 τις 'referring obliquely to a definite person [or persons] ... is primarily menacing' (Bond 1981: 260); cf. *Seven* 402, Soph. *Aj.* 1138, *Ant.* 751, Ar. *Frogs* 552, 554, Thuc. 4.68.6 (addressed to the citizenry of Megara) εἰ ... μὴ πείσεται τις, αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἔσεσθαι.

αἰνέσας: 245n. At this point, and when coupled with the Herald's threat to tear off the Danaids' clothes (904) and drag them by the hair (909), his use of language implying that their gender is irrelevant strikes a chilling note.

904 Lit. 'rending will take no pity on the workmanship of your garment', i.e. 'your finely made garments will be ripped without mercy', a formulation closely parallel to that of 884.

χιτῶνος: both men and women normally wore an inner and an outer garment, and the χιτῶν was the inner one. The outer garment was usually draped, and even if belted (457n.) it would probably pull off if an

attempt was made to drag the wearer off by it; the χιτῶν was secured by pins and would be likely to tear if pulled hard, especially if made of fine fabric (see Stone 1981: 155, 170). This would leave parts of the body shamefully exposed in a manner grossly unbecoming a free woman; in New Comedy the tearing of clothes can feature in a narrative of rape (Men. *Epitr.* 486–90).

905–10 It is clear that there has been some displacement in the text, since 906–7 is a retort to 908 (ἄνακτας responding to ἄναξ), not to 905. But should we exchange the Herald's two couplets (906–7 and 909–10) or the chorus's two brief lyrics (905 and 908)? The latter solution is preferable (so Bowen and Citti–Miralles, against West and Sommerstein 2008). The Herald makes two explicit threats of brutal violence (903–4, 909–10), and the Danaids' cry at 905 (particularly δάμναμαι) indicates that he and his men are on the point of putting them into effect; yet at the moment of Pelasgus' arrival, as 925 shows, they have not yet actually laid hands on the girls. Pelasgus' intervention ought therefore to follow 905 + 909–10 directly: to have 908 + 906–7 in between, reverting from physical menace to verbal sparring, would anticlimactically lower the temperature of the confrontation.

908 = 905: metre

υ – υ – υ – υ – – υ – ||| 2 ia ^ ia

908 ἄεπτ': probably 'dreadful (treatment)'. Hesychius (α1357) glosses ἄελπτοι (sic) as δεινοί, citing it from A.'s *Proteus* (fr. 213), and seems to identify the adjective with the Homeric ἄαπτος (which is used only as an epithet of the hands of a warrior or a god); it is not clear whether this identification is correct, or with what verb A. associated the adjective (perhaps εἰπεῖν, with the sense 'unspeakable'?). A further complication is the use of the same adjective, or a homonymous one, in Ag. 141 to describe very young lion-cubs, which notoriously are not fierce or fearsome (cf. Ag. 717–26): the scholia there, not altogether convincingly, derive it from ἔπεσθαι and take it to mean 'unable to follow their parents', i.e. helpless.

ἄναξ: with the transposition adopted here, the addressee will be Zeus (cf. 902) – which may add a further touch of hybris to the portrayal of the Herald, whose reference to πολλοὺς ἄνακτας can be seen as implying a claim of quasi-divine status for the Aegyptiads; if 908 was preceded by 905, the addressee would be Pelasgus.

906–7 The Herald disdainfully echoes the chorus's ἄναξ, in a manner reminiscent of comic retorts such as Ar. *Thesm.* 850–3 τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην μιμήσομαι. ... – ... πικρὰν Ἑλένην ὄψει τάχ'. The same trope will soon be used by Pelasgus to the Herald (951–2).

ἄνακτας: either (1) = δεσπότης (cf. Ag. 35), for the Herald regards the Danaids virtually as their cousins' property (918, 924n.), or (2) 'princes' (cf. Pers. 968, *Seven* 921, Soph. *OT* 85, Isoc. 9.72).

θαρσεῖτ' 'have no fear, don't worry' (sarcastic); cf. Soph. *Ant.* 559, where Antigone tells Ismene that she has what she wanted (viz. life) and therefore has nothing to grieve over, ignoring Ismene's own statement that she has no wish to live without her sister (548).

οὐκ ἐρεῖτ' ἀναρχίαν 'you will not speak of a lack of rulers'. This is the earliest direct attestation of the abstract noun ἀναρχία, but the adjective ἀναρχος is as old as Homer (*Il.* 2.703, 726), and ἀναρχία itself had probably long been part of the Athenian political vocabulary (it figured in the inscribed list of archons for two years in the early sixth century when no archons were elected owing to factional dissension: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 13.1). 'Anarchy' was always regarded as a very bad thing (cf. Ag. 883, *Eum.* 526-7, 696-7, Soph. *Ant.* 672-5) – but so, in Athenian eyes at least, was its polar opposite, despotism (cf. *Eum.* 526-7, 696-7), and the Aegyptiads' governance of their cousins most certainly will be despotic.

905 Having thus far addressed only the gods, the Danaids now make a desperate appeal for Argive aid. (This is not to be confused with the assault victim's appeal for witnesses, exemplified by Ar. *Wasps* 1436, Men. *Sam.* 576, etc.; no assault has yet taken place – see 905-10n.). It is, of course, dramatically appropriate that the call should be made just before the aid arrives (see Taplin 1977: 218-21), but it is more than possible that we are meant to understand – and perhaps are shown, through the Danaids' attitudes and gestures – that they can now see an Argive force approaching along Eisodos T. This force will still have been out of sight of most of the audience; possibly they were given an audible indication of its proximity by the sounding of a trumpet (cf. *Pers.* 395, Eur. *Hcl.* 831, *Phoen.* 1102, 1378). A trumpet is sounded in *Eumenides* (cf. *Eum.* 567-9) to mark the opening of Orestes' trial, and (offstage, as it would be here) at some point in the final scene of Euripides' *Troades* (cf. *Tro.* 1265-8) as a signal that the women must go to the ships.

ἰὼ πόλεως ἄγοι πρόμοι: cf., in a similar situation, Soph. *OC* 884 ἰὼ πᾶς λεώς, ἰὼ γὰρ πρόμοι.

ἄγοι πρόμοι: the two words are virtually synonymous (for ἄγος see 248n.) and, as in Soph. *OC* 884, the plural is surprising; we may note, however, that since the report of the assembly meeting (600-24) Pelasgus as an individual has not been mentioned, and that Danaus, when last on stage, had promised that assistance would be provided by 'the Argives' or 'the city' (739-40, 774-5; cf. 726, 746-7).

δάμναμαι 'I am being overpowered' is again premature (cf. 886n.); understandably so, since otherwise the cry may come too late to be of any use.

909-10 Cf. 838-9, 884nn. The couplet confirms that up to this point no actual attempt at physical seizure has been made.

ἔλξειν ἔοιχ' ὑμᾶς: as informal spoken English might put it, 'looks like I'm going to be dragging you', a very thinly disguised threat.

ἐπισπάσας κόμης 'pulling you by the hair'; cf. Eur. *Andr.* 402 (ἀπο- LP), 710, *Tro.* 882, *Hel.* 116. The genitive denotes the part touched or seized (Weir Smyth 1956: 321 §1346); with ἀποσπάσας (so in effect M) it would normally be a genitive of separation, suggesting the improbable meaning 'pulling you away from your hair'.

ἐπεὶ οὐκ is scanned ~ – ; this 'synizesis' is found five times in Sophocles (*Phil.* 446, 948, 1037; *OC* 1436; fr. 524.3) but never in Euripides and only here in A.

ὀξύ 'sharply, clearly' can be applied to hearing (e.g. *Il.* 17.256) as well as to vision (*Il.* 17.675, Ar. *Lys.* 1202). The Herald affects to believe that the Danaids' failure to obey him is due to deafness; cf. *Seven* 202 ἤκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας, ἢ κωφῇι λέγω;

911–53 Just as the Herald and his men are about to lay hands on the Danaids, Pelasgus arrives by Eisodos T with armed soldiers, probably again numbering 12 (234n.); the group will divide when Pelasgus departs at 974, some being left behind to guard the Danaids (954n.), but will be restored to full strength when Danaus enters at 980 with the bodyguard which he has been granted by the Argive assembly (985–8). There are probably thus now, with Pelasgus and the Herald, 38 persons on stage, a number comparable to that of the participants in the final procession of *Eumenides* (at least 40, reckoning by the detailed listing in Sommerstein 1989: 278).

For the intervention of a rescuer coming to the aid of one or more *dramatis personae* in peril cf. *Eum.* 397 (Athena), Soph. *OC* 887 (Theseus), Eur. *Hclld.* 73 (chorus), *Andr.* 545 (Peleus), *Heracles* 523 (Heracles) and, in comedy, Ar. *Ach.* 572 (Lamachus). A variant on the pattern appears at Ag. 1654, where Clytaemestra (already on stage but silent since 1576) intervenes to prevent what would have been a one-sided and bloody confrontation between the chorus of elders and Aegisthus' guards. In another variant a cry for rescue is raised but not answered (or not answered in time), as by the children of Medea (Eur. *Med.* 1277–8) or by the chorus of Ar. *Wasps* (408–14). See Taplin 1977: 218–21. In the present case we had been led (726, 774–5) to expect that it would be Danaus who came with armed force to his daughters' rescue; but Pelasgus, representing the people of Argos, makes a much more impressive advocate and defender of their cause. For this scene represents the implementation of the Argive assembly decree reported in 600–24 (cf. 942–5): Pelasgus speaks not in his own name (indeed he refuses to identify himself, 938) but in that of the Argive people. At the same time, in full conformity with the decree, he says only that the Danaids may not be taken *against their will*; the Herald,

or his principals, are free to seek their consent to the proposed marriages, and may take them if that consent is given (940-1). Also in conformity with the decree as reported, he says nothing about war, and it is left to the Herald to state that the rejection of the Egyptian demand is tantamount to a declaration of war (950).

911 οὗτος 'here, you!', a colloquial form of address (Dickey 1996: 154-8). In comedy, where it is very frequent, its primary function is to gain the addressee's attention. In tragedy it is much rarer (in A. it is found only here) and often implies contempt: contrast Oedipus' greeting to Creon on the latter's first entrance (Soph. *OT* 85 ἀναξ, ἐμὸν κήδευμα, παῖ Μενοικέως) with his οὗτος σὺ at *OT* 532 when he believes that Creon has conspired to usurp his throne. A herald would normally be addressed as κῆρυξ (*Ag.* 538, 617; *Eum.* 566); at Soph. *Trach.* 402 Heracles' herald Lichas is addressed as οὗτος by the man who is about to expose him as a liar.

τί ποιεῖς; is likewise colloquial; in Aristophanes it follows οὗτος (or αὐτή) six times (e.g. *Clouds* 723, 1502), in tragedy it does not occur at all as a direct interrogative except here.

ποίου: ποι- is here scanned short, as τοι- can be in τοιοῦτος (e.g. *Ag.* 315) and τοιόσδε (*Seven* 27); there is no exact parallel in tragedy (so this may be yet another touch of colloquialism), but cf. Ar. *Wasps* 1369 τῶν συμποτῶν κλέψαντα; - ποῖαν αὐλητρίδα; and *PMG* 889.1 (a skolion) εἶθ' ἐξῆν ὁποῖός (ῶ -) τις ἦν ἕκαστος.

φρονήματος 'purpose' (101-3n.).

912 ἀνδρῶν stresses the masculinity and, by implication, the martial qualities of the Argives (cf. 952-3); this is no 'city of women' (913).

χθόνα is here a virtual synonym of πόλιν, denoting the civic community (it is the people, not their territory, that the Herald is treating slightly); cf. *Seven* 109 θεοὶ πολιόχοι χθονός, 634, [1007, 1015], Eur. *Tr.* 4-6 'since Apollo and I built a wall ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωϊκὴν χθόνα'.

913 ἀλλ' ἦ (where ἦ is the interrogative particle) 'giv[es] lively expression to a feeling of surprise or incredulity' (Denniston 1954: 27); it is usually found in immediate response to something said by another, but the proposition entertained 'may equally well ... dawn on [the speaker] in the course of his own thought, in which case ἀλλ' ἦ can come in the middle of an utterance' (Barrett 1964: 327, on Eur. *Hipp.* 858-9; cf. Eur. *Hel.* 490, *Ba.* 922). In our passage, as ἀνδρῶν (912) shows, it is a mere pretence on Pelasgus' part that the idea has only just occurred to him that the Herald is taking the Argives for 'women'.

γυναικῶν: he means 'cowards' (cf. Eur. *Med.* 248-9, 263-4), as the Argive elders and Orestes do when they call Aegisthus a 'woman' (*Ag.* 1625, *Cho.* 304-5).

914 Pelasgus apparently assumes that the Herald has the same chauvinistic contempt for Greeks that Greeks often had for 'barbarians'.

κάρβανος: 117-19n.

ἐγχλῖεις 'luxuriate at the expense of', i.e. bask in your imagined superiority to; this compound of χλῖω (236n.) is found only here in surviving texts.

915 ὠρθῶσαι: the scholiast's paraphrase εἰς ὀρθὴν ἦλθες 'you have gone the right way' shows not only that the verb he read was second person (ὠρθῶσα, unmetrically, M) but also that it was intransitive, which ὠρθῶσας (Robortello, Turnebus) could not be. That the scholiast paraphrased a perfect tense by an aorist need occasion no surprise: FJW show that this was common, e.g. Σ *Cho.* 880 (text: διαπεπραγμένωι) τῶι σφαγέντι.

916-29 Throughout this stichomythia the Herald maintains his demand and Pelasgus his refusal, which the Herald finally says he will report to his superiors (928). However, Pelasgus does emerge as the winner of their verbal conflict. When he accuses the Herald of showing contempt for the gods of Argos (923), the latter in reply reiterates his intention of seizing the Danaids, patently unconcerned about the fact that this would be a gross act of sacrilege; but when Pelasgus in vigorous and even vulgar terms (925n.) tells him that any attempt at seizure will be resisted by force, the Herald does not make the attempt, and from then on his departure, empty-handed, is only a matter of time.

916 τῶνδ': i.e. of my actions.

ἐμοί: dative of agent.

δίκης ἄτερ specifies more closely the kind of ἀμπλάκημα that is relevant; very similar is Soph. *Ant.* 743 οὐ γὰρ δίκαιά σ' ἐξαμαρτάνονθ' ὀρῶ.

917 ξένος ... εἶναι 'how to be an alien', i.e. how to behave when in a state not one's own (ξένον παρ' ἀστοῖς ὡς διαιτᾶσθαι χρεών, as it is expressed by Theseus in Soph. *OC* 928 after he has told Creon that 'if I had come into your country, I wouldn't drag off or abduct anyone, even if I had the strongest right in the world to do so, without the consent of the ruler of the land, whoever that was'; similar sentiments are expressed in Eur. *Hcl.* 360-70).

μέν ... πρῶτον implies that Pelasgus is going to make a second point, probably to be introduced by δέ and probably to do with the Herald's violation of sanctuary. In fact it is the Herald who first introduces a religious issue (920), and Pelasgus' accusation of sacrilege comes by way of a response to him.

918 The Herald replies (in similar terms to comparable characters in other suppliant plays: Soph. *OC* 831-2, Eur. *Hcl.* 175, 267) that he is legitimately repossessing his (i.e. his principals') runaway slaves (335-6, 838-9nn.); but even apart from any question of asylum or sacrilege, it was plainly unacceptable for persons to be seized and taken away abroad on

the mere say-so of their foreign captor that he was, or represented, their legal owner. A similar scenario is said by Herodotus (3.137) to have been played out a generation before in the southern Italian city of Croton. Democedes, physician to Darius I, had persuaded the King to make him the leader of a reconnaissance mission for a possible invasion of Greece, but he got rid of his Persian minders at Taras and, as he had planned from the start, returned to Croton, his home town. The Persians followed him there and seized him, but some Crotoniates rescued him. The Persians protested that 'a man belonging to the King has become a runaway, and you are helping him to abscond', and threatened dire consequences for Croton, but they had to leave without Democedes.

τᾶμ' ὀλωλόθ' 'my property, which has been lost': he speaks of the Danaids as if they were merchandise (cf. Eur. *Hcll.* 175).

εὐρίσκων ἄγω 'I was engaged in finding, and now I am taking'; the present participle represents an imperfect, as in *Pers.* 266-7, Soph. *Ant.* 164-9 ὑμᾶς ... τὰ Λαΐου σέβοντας εἰδῶς ... ἀεὶ κράτη ... (καὶ) ἀμφὶ τοὺς κείνων ἔτι | παῖδας μένοντας ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν (all the rulers mentioned are dead), OC 1565-6 πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ... πημάτων ἰκνουμένων πάλιν σφε δαίμων δίκαιος αὖξοι, Thuc. 1.2.1 (Goodwin 1912: 47-8).

919 Pelasgus puts a question which he is sure the Herald cannot answer. In the parallel passages (917n.) it is assumed that the proper person for a foreigner to approach, if he is seeking permission to seize an alleged fugitive slave, is the local ruler; Pelasgus knows that he himself has not been approached, but affects to be wondering if the Herald may have sought permission from some other Argive πρόξενος (238-40n.) – something which he certainly cannot really believe, given the unanimous vote of the Argive assembly (607) and the unlikelihood that a party landing on a marshy shore (31n.), some distance from the city, would conveniently run into one of the leading citizens there. Had a πρόξενος been approached, he would presumably have conveyed the Egyptians' request to his king; his equivalent in A.'s time might have taken action through the lawcourts on behalf of the foreigners.

εἰπών: sc. to seek permission.

920 The Herald gives the unexpected reply that he has indeed secured permission from a πρόξενος, namely Hermes. He cannot be using the word πρόξενος in anything resembling its proper sense: even were we to grant that a god might function in that role, the πρόξενος acting for a foreigner must belong to the community into which the foreigner has come, and the Herald has already said (893) and will shortly be confirming (922) that he does not respect the gods of the Greeks. From this it follows (1) that he can only be using πρόξενος in the vague sense of 'one whose patronage permits a foreigner to take action which would otherwise be forbidden to him', (2) that he is referring to the Egyptian Hermes

(i.e. Thoth, 220n.), here probably assumed to be the patron of heralds like his Greek counterpart, and (3) that he is claiming a divinely-bestowed right to seize his ‘lost property’ wherever he may find it, regardless of the local law. A. will neither have known nor cared whether such a right was recognized in Egypt, any more than he knew or cared whether Egyptian law permitted a man to compel his nearest female relative to marry him (387–91n.); his concern is to portray the Herald as contemptuous alike of Greek laws and Greek gods.

μεγίστῳ προξένῳ is in apposition to Ἑρμῇ ... μαστηρίῳ. The genitive plural is preferable to προξένῳ (so in effect M, an easy corruption by assimilation to the surrounding datives) as making it plain that Hermes is being described not merely as ‘a very great πρόξενος’ but as the greatest there could be.

μαστηρίῳ ‘god of searching’, from μαστήρ ‘searcher’ (162–3n.). This is not a known Greek cult-title of Hermes, and it is significant that ἔρμαιον meant something that was found *without* being searched for; probably μαστηρίῳ is to be understood as the Greek translation of a (supposed) title of the Egyptian ‘Hermes’. In the fourth century, and perhaps already in the fifth, there were Athenian officials called μαστῆρες whose function was to seek out and confiscate the property of persons who had been sentenced to exile for life (Hypereides fr. 133 Jensen; cf. Photius μ130).

921 Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 992 θεοὺς προτείνων τοὺς θεοὺς ψευδεῖς τίθης.

εἰπών: 919n.

922 Cf. 883.

923 οἱ δ’ ἐνθάδ’ οὐδέν ‘and the <gods> here <are> nothing’. For οὐδέν = ‘worthless’ see 749n.; cf. also Men. *Epitr.* 276–7 (of trinkets left with an exposed baby) μικρὰ ... ἦν ταῦτα καὶ λῆρός τις, οὐθέν.

ὥς ἐγὼ σέθεν κλύω: an English speaker might say ‘from what I’m hearing from you’. Pelasgus has not, of course, actually heard the Herald say that the gods of Argos are ‘nothing’, but he has correctly interpreted what he did hear the Herald say; cf. *Prom.* 977 κλύω σ’ ἐγὼ μεμηνότ’ οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον (Prometheus has just said that he hates all the gods because they have treated him unjustly). The Herald in effect acknowledges this by changing the subject. M’s reading κάτω, corrected by an unknown sixteenth-century scholar, is due to a majuscule corruption (KATΩ for KΛΥΩ).

924 The Herald challenges Pelasgus to perform the act known in Athens as ἐξαίρεσις (or ἀφαίρεσις, cf. 932) εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, whereby if A was attempting to seize B, claiming that B was his slave, a third party could prevent the seizure (pending a trial of the issue) by asserting that B was in fact free; cf. Isoc. 17.14, Lys. 23.9–12, and see Harrison 1968: 178–9, 221, MacDowell 1978: 80, Todd 1993: 187, Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005: 292–300. If Pelasgus refuses the challenge, the Herald will have his prey; if he accepts it, that will be a *casus belli*, as the Herald will make plain

in 934-7. He and his men (who are almost certainly not equipped for armed combat) will not themselves attempt a forcible abduction against Argive military opposition.

ἄγοιμ' ἄν 'I am minded to take them away', an understated assertion of intent.

τις: 903n.

τάσδε would in prose have been the object of ἄγοιμ' ἄν, unless the conditional clause had been placed first in the sentence.

925 Pelasgus replies in vigorous and very undiplomatic terms. To assault a herald was a serious offence (see n. 'after 871'), but the Athenian Demophon makes a similar threat in a similar situation, though the chorus beg him not to carry it out (Eur. *Hclld.* 270-3; 270 κλαίων ἄρ' ἄψηι τῶνδε κούκ ἐς ἀμβολάς is a close paraphrase of the present line), and that herald too backs down. Probably in both passages we are to understand that the king is confident he will not need to implement his threat; here this confidence is signalled by the use of the optative, implying that violence on the Herald's part, while possible, is unlikely.

κλαίοις ἄν 'you'll wail', i.e. 'you'll have painful cause to regret it', a slightly more urbane variant of the common comic expression κλαύσει (cf. Ar. *Clouds* 933 κλαύσει, τὴν χεῖρ' ἣν ἐπιβάλλῃς) and, like it, a threat of violence; both in tragedy and in comedy this and similar expressions with parts of κλαίω are often used, as here, as *counter-threats* (Eur. *Hclld.* 270, *Hipp.* 1086, *Andr.* 758-9). They are not otherwise found in A.

οὐ μάλ' εἰς μακρὰν 'at no very distant time', i.e. (by *litotes*, 356-8n.) 'very shortly': εἰς (or ἐς) μακρὰν appears nowhere else in tragedy; in comedy cf. Ar. *Wasps* 453-4, Men. *Sam.* 718. On οὐ μάλα see 470n.

926 ἤκουσα seems here to imply 'I take note of your insolence'.

927 γάρ '<No,> for' (Denniston 1954: 73-4).

ξενοῦμαι 'extend hospitality to, treat according to the laws of hospitality', a rare sense, found next in Ap.Rh. 1.849; A. uses the passive in *Cho.* 702 and (κατ-) 706.

τοὺς θεῶν συλήτορας: in prose or comedy the term would be τοὺς ἱεροσύλους. Similar expressions are found in the parallel Sophoclean and Euripidean scenes (Soph. *OC* 922, Eur. *Hclld.* 243-4). To seize suppliants from a sanctuary is thus considered tantamount to temple-robbery, a crime so heinous that those convicted of it were forbidden to be buried in Athenian soil (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.22). The noun συλήτωρ is found only here before Nonnus, but cf. Eur. *Heracles* 377 συλήτειραν.

928 As at 924 (923n.), when the Herald is accused of impiety he changes the subject and announces the action he intends to take next. This time he abandons his threat to seize the Danaids immediately (which could not have been carried through in the face of armed opposition: 924n.) and says he will report the refusal of his demand to the sons

of Aegyptus (with the implication, which he will presently spell out, that they will bring armed force of their own to bear).

λέγοιμ' ἄν: M reads λέγοις ἄν, probably the result of a copyist's eye or mind wandering to 925, and shown to be wrong by 930–3, where the Herald asks what *he* should say when reporting back to those who sent him.

929 ἀβουκόλητον 'of no concern': βουκολέω 'tend cattle' can have the metaphorical sense 'care for, concern oneself with' (Ag. 669, *Eum.* 78, Ar. *Wasps* 10, Hesychius β908).

φρονήματι 'mind'; cf. *Prom.* 376, Telecleides fr. 15, *com. adesp.* 620, Hdt. 9.54.

930–3 The Herald – who has only just (928), and then only indirectly, told Pelasgus on whose behalf he himself is acting – now demands to know the identity of the person who has prevented him from seizing the Danaids and the authority by which he has done so (932n.). Evidently, as on his previous appearance (234, 246–8nn.), Pelasgus' clothing and accessories are not such as to make it obvious (at least to an Egyptian) that he is a king.

930 ὥς ἄν ... ἐννέπω: the final clause depends semantically on the implied 'performative' verb 'I ask you'.

931 τορῶς: 196n.

932–3 Lit. 'how and by whom shall I say that I come having been deprived of this band of women who are their cousins?', i.e. when I return to the Aegyptiads without them, who should I say prevented me from taking them, and by what authority?

932 πῶς, like πρὸς τίνας, is to be taken with ἀφαιρεθείς. The Herald obviously cannot be asking Pelasgus *in what way* he was prevented from seizing the Danaids, since he knows that already; he must mean something like 'by what recognized procedure' or 'by what authority', and that is how Pelasgus understands him when he answers by referring to the Argive assembly's decree (942–5).

φῶ: deliberative subjunctive.

ἀφαιρεθείς will again remind Athenians of the procedure of ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν (924n.); it is here slightly tendentious on the Herald's part – the Danaids have not been 'taken away' from him, since they had never been in his possession. The verb ἀφαιρῆν frequently takes a double accusative of the thing taken and the person from whom it is taken, and when it is used in the passive, the latter becomes the subject while the former remains in the accusative (LSJ ἀφαιρέω III 1).

933 αὐτανέψιον: the Aegyptiads' claim is that as the Danaids' closest kinsmen they have the right under Egyptian law to take them in marriage regardless of their or their father's wishes (387–91n.). The Herald does not explicitly assert the claim, but leaves it to be inferred from this single

word; it is as if he took it for granted that Egyptian law would be known everywhere and could be enforced anywhere without regard for local law.

στόλον: 2n.

934–7 In classical Athens (and doubtless, with local variations, in many other Greek communities), if an ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν (924n.) was challenged by the person claiming to have been robbed of his slave (henceforth ‘the claimant’), the issue would be decided by a court trial. If the claimant lost, the alleged slave was free. If the claimant won, he would recover not only the slave but (probably) a sum of money as compensation for having been wrongfully deprived of his/her services, and his opponent (the man who had asserted the slave was free) would have to pay a fine to the state as well ([Dem.] 58.21). See Scafuro 1997: 400–1, Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005: 298–9. The Herald warns Pelasgus that his ἀφαίρεσις of the Danaids, if persisted in, will result not in litigation and the payment of damages, but in war and in many deaths – belying the Danaids’ prayer (701–3) that the Argives may settle their disputes with foreigners by peaceful means. Pelasgus will make no direct reply to this warning, or threat, but he makes a very powerful indirect reply by making it clear that he is not afraid of war (938–9) and insisting that the Argive resolve never to surrender the Danaids is immovably fixed (942–5); this prompts the Herald to make what is in effect a declaration of war (950–1).

934 δικάζει: Ares is imaged as a judge in *Seven* 414, 941–5. As the gnommic aorist ἔλυσεν (936) shows, the Herald is here describing the ways of Ares (i.e. the nature of war) in general; the threat that war will be the result of continued Argive defiance is clear, but remains implicit.

ὑπο ‘through the agency of’; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 391, Eur. *Andr.* 561–2.

935–6 τὸ νεῖκος ... ἔλυσεν: cf. *Seven* 941–4 λυτὴρ νεικέων ... σίδαρος.

λαβῆ: ‘taking, receipt’ of compensation (934–7n.); not bribery (as Bowen), which would be more likely to prolong than to settle a dispute. This noun (usually ‘handle’ or ‘grip’) is not otherwise attested in classical Greek in the simple abstract sense of τὸ λαμβάνειν, but cf. ἐπιλαβάς (432) and the equally unique λαχαί from λαγχάνειν (*Seven* 914).

πάρος: before the dispute is settled (by the victory of one side or the other).

937 (καὶ) ἀπολακτισμοὶ βίου ‘kickings-away of life’, i.e. dying convulsions such as those of Eurymachus whose death is described in slow motion in *Od.* 22.82–8, ending (86–8) ὁ δὲ χθόνα τύπτε μετώπῳ | ... ποσὶ δὲ θρόνον ἀμφοτέροισι | λακτιζὼν ἐτίνασσε· κατ’ ὀφθαλμῶν δ’ ἔχυτ’ ἀχλὺς.

938–9 Pelasgus scornfully refuses to identify himself, while making it clear that he is quite prepared to meet the Egyptians on the field of battle. Apart from showing his contempt for the Herald’s demands (see also below on ξυνέμποροι), his refusal to give his name has a constitutional and political implication: he has not acted, and is not speaking, as an

individual, even a royal individual, but as the mouthpiece of the Argive people who have made their decision and will abide by it.

ἐν χρόνῳ: 138n.

μαθὼν εἶση: why should the outbreak of war (which is what Pelasgus is evidently contemplating) result in the Egyptians' learning his name? Among possible explanations are the following. (1) If the Egyptians are defeated (as Pelasgus is, or professes to be, confident will be the outcome), those who survive will become slaves to the Argives and will come to know well the names of their masters. (2) Pelasgus' name is also that of his people (250-3 etc.) and might therefore be uttered as part of their war-cry and/or of their commander's exhortation (cf. *Pers.* 402 ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε, *Eur. Hcl.* 828-9, 841, *Hec.* 929-32, *Hel.* 1593).

ξυνέμποροι 'fellow-travellers'. If this refers to the Aegyptiads (as it almost certainly does, since the Herald asked for Pelasgus' name in order to be able to report it to them, 930-3), it is contemptuously dismissive; elsewhere in tragedy this term almost always refers to a subordinate or subordinates (*Cho.* 208, 713; *Soph. Phil.* 542; *Eur. Hel.* 1538, *Ba.* 57) and never to a superior.

940-1 With three separate expressions (ἐκούσας ... κατ' εὖνοιαν φρενῶν ... εἴπερ εὐσεβῆς πίθοι λόγος) Pelasgus emphasizes that the Danaids may be taken in marriage if, and only if, they freely consent; this possibility has not been mentioned previously, but it is not inconsistent with the assembly decree (which mandated resistance only if force was used against the refugees, 612) and provides, in theory, an opening for a peaceful solution (only in theory, because nothing that Pelasgus, or we, have heard from the Danaids gives the slightest suggestion that they would ever consent to marry their cousins; Pelasgus is aware of the improbability of a reconciliation, as the optative πίθοι shows). It also foreshadows things that will be said later (1038-40, A. fr. 44) about the importance, in the realm of Aphrodite, of persuasion and of mutual desire. It is worth noting that Pelasgus speaks only of securing the consent of *the Danaids themselves*, with no mention of their father: not all male Greeks, all the time, thought of a woman as an object to be traded from one οἶκος to another without regard for her own wishes.

κατ' εὖνοιαν φρενῶν: lit. 'in accordance with a favourable feeling of their minds', i.e. because they come to be favourably disposed towards you.

941/2 The μέν of 940 has no δέ or equivalent to respond to it; moreover, τοιάδε (942), a demonstrative which when 'initial [and] asyndetic ... invariably refers backward in tragedy' (FJW), implies that Pelasgus' previous words have reflected the essential content of the assembly decree, and yet these words, as transmitted, speak only of permitting the Danaids to be taken if they consent, and make no mention of the decree's crucial

provision, that no one will be allowed to take them *without* their consent. Hartung was therefore probably right to posit a lacuna (probably of a single line) in which Pelasgus told the Herald this (see apparatus for an *exempli gratia* supplement).

942–3 **δημόπρακτος**, found nowhere else, is an alternative to δημόκραντος (Ag. 458), used here because κέκρανται will follow later in the sentence.

μία ψῆφος must here mean ‘a unanimous vote’, i.e. a decision in which the whole people voted (as the English idiom has it) ‘as one man’. There seems to be no parallel for this earlier than Heliodorus (4.21.2 ταῦτα μιᾷ ψήφῳ καὶ χειρὶ τῇ πάντων ἐκράτησεν), and μία ψῆφος is much more often used in the almost opposite sense of ‘a majority of one’ (Eum. 751, Eur. Ion 1223, Dem. 21.75, etc.); but the phrase’s other sense, ‘a single act of voting’ (Ar. Lys. 270, Xen. Hell. 1.7.34, Isaeus 6.4, etc.) would be pointless here when there was only one decision to be made, and we must accept that in A.’s time it could be used to denote unanimity.

ἐκδοῦναι: 341n.

944–5 **στόλον γυναικῶν** echoes the Herald’s words of 933.

τῶνδ’ ἐφήλωται τορῶς γόμφος διαμπάξ: lit. ‘the bolt of these things has been nailed down piercingly, right through’, i.e. this decision is as firmly fixed as an object is fixed to a wall when a large nail is hammered right through it and deep into the wall. If some more specific picture is being evoked, it should perhaps be that of a dedication nailed to the wall of a temple (cf. Ag. 577–9) rather than (as E. G. Turner 1952: 9, followed by Bowen and Citti–Miralles) the public posting of the text of a decree; the latter image would be incongruous when Pelasgus is just about to disparage written communication of decisions as inferior to oral (946–9).

τορῶς is used exceptionally in its strict etymological sense of ‘piercing’ (cognate with τόρος, τέρετρον ‘borer’; cf. also the similar use of διάτορος in Prom. 76, Soph. OT 1034); its more usual sense (196n.) is probably based on its metaphorical application to a penetrating voice or sound.

ὥς is commonly used (where normal Attic prose would have ὥστε) to introduce consecutive (result) clauses by A., Sophocles, Herodotus and Xenophon (Goodwin 1912: 232–3).

ἀραρότως: strictly ‘in the manner of something firmly fixed’; cf. Eur. Med. 1192.

946–9 It is at first sight surprising, in the light of contemporary Athenian practice, that Pelasgus should thus disparage writing as a means of communication. Athens had had a written code of laws since the seventh century (when Dracon’s laws on homicide, and probably on other subjects, were published on ἄξονες: IGi³ 104.10), and decrees of its assembly were displayed on πινάκια (Plut. Per. 30.1) and often also on stone. The reference here, however, is specifically to a *message* delivered on behalf of

a state to another state or to an individual; and there is a clear allusion to the only passage in the Homeric epics in which a written message appears to be mentioned, *Il.* 6.168–9, where Proetus sends Bellerophon to Lycia bearing *σήματα λυγρά*, | *γράφας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῶι θυμοφθόρα πολλά* (the three underlined words are echoed in 946–7), namely a message asking the Lycian king to put him to death. The contrast being made here is one between secrecy and openness. Pelasgus could have given the Herald a message written on a (folded) wooden tablet or a rolled and sealed papyrus sheet and addressed to the sons of Aegyptus, so that its contents would be secret until they opened it; he chooses instead to deliver the message orally, in public, to the Herald himself. Two other ideas may be present also: (1) secret written messages were associated with tyrants and absolute monarchs, as in the story of how Darius procured the death of Oroetes (*Hdt.* 3.128.2–5) (see Steiner 1994: 127–85, esp. 150–2, 177–9); (2) there may be a chauvinistic note in the reference to the Egyptian papyrus plant (761n.).

946–7 *ταῦτ* refers to the whole of Pelasgus' statement to the Herald (940–5); see previous note.

ἔγγεγραμμένα ... κατεσφραγισμένα: FJW claim that in most of the Aeschylean passages in which two successive lines end with identical sequences of two or three syllables, the rhyme 'discreetly underlines an affinity or contrast in their semantic content'; not all the instances they cite are clear cases, but cf. *Cho.* 6–7, 900–1.

948 *ἐλευθεροστόμου* implies a contrast with some other person or persons who do not have freedom of speech – most probably the Herald, who can only speak his masters' mind, not his own; so Prometheus calls Hermes Zeus's *τρόχης* (*Prom.* 941), *διάκονος* (942), *ὑπηρέτης* (954), *λάτρης* (cf. 966).

949 *κομίζου* 'get yourself', a notably brusque expression; cf. *Ag.* 1035, *Prom.* 391, *Soph. Ant.* 444, *Eur. Phoen.* 593.

ἐξ ὀμμάτων 'out of my sight'; cf. *Eur. Alc.* 1064, *IA* 743.

950 *σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἤδύ*: the Herald attempts to pin responsibility for the coming war on Pelasgus and the Argives, even suggesting that they are positively eager for a conflict (contrast 741–2). This is the best correction of M's unmetrical *ἴσθι μὲν τάδ' ἤδη*. Many editors have adopted Cobet's *ἔοιγμεν ἤδη* (and *ἄρεϊσθαι* – which does seem to have been an ancient variant, to judge by M^{PC}'s *ἔρεισθε*), but this is not satisfactory, since the first person plural makes the Herald accept either sole or joint responsibility for a war which, in his and his masters' eyes, has been caused by the Argives' rejection of a lawful demand.

πόλεμον αἵρεσθαι νέον: what Pelasgus feared (342, 439) has come to pass.

951 The Herald sees the war as a conflict between males (the sons of Aegyptus) and females (the Danaids, on whose behalf the Argives will be fighting); at the same time his words also impute unmanliness to the Argives (cf. 913). Paradoxically, while the Aegyptiads will indeed be victorious over the male Argives (at least to the extent of compelling the Danaids to accept the hated marriages), they will then be ambushed and killed by women.

952–3 As the Herald leaves, with the other Egyptians, by Eisodos S, Pelasgus casts these lines ‘at [his] departing back’ (Taplin 1977: 221–2). This is the only certain example of this phenomenon in A., though the warm farewell of fr. 36.2–4 may well be another instance; it is common in later tragedy and comedy, e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1161–2, Eur. *Med.* 623–6, Ar. *Clouds* 1256–8, 1302–3, Men. *Sam.* 682 (Taplin gives a fuller list). His gibe at Egyptians’ preferred beverage recalls Danaus’ gibe at their dietary habits (761).

τοὶ ‘I tell you’ (370n.).

ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ: an alcoholic beverage made from barleycorns, i.e. beer (cf. Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 323b, Hdt. 2.77.4), later called ζῦθος by Greeks (first in Thphr. *CP* 6.11.2). For Greeks, whose drink was wine, beer-drinking was an uncouth barbarian habit (also associated with Thracians, e.g. Archil. fr. 42 West, Soph. fr. 610), and it is not surprising that Greek chauvinism sometimes saw it as an unmanly habit (as some Greeks still do); it is probably meant to sound absurd that the Thracian Lycurgus ‘boasts proudly in the *men’s* banqueting-room’ that he drinks beer out of the dried skulls of his enemies (A. fr. 124). This is the only occurrence of κριθή in tragedy; the word may have had ribald connotations, for it was one of numerous slang terms for ‘penis’ (cf. Ar. *Peace* 964–7, *Birds* 505–7). A. can hardly have been unaware that πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ was susceptible of an obscene interpretation (referring to *fellatio*), particularly since Archilochus (fr. 42) had already compared a fellating woman to a barbarian sucking beer through a straw; he is making Pelasgus send the Herald on his way with the grossest ethnic insult he can contrive. There is a comparable obscenity in Ag. 1442–3 when Clytaemestra calls Cassandra a shipboard whore (ναυτίλων ... σελμάτων ... ἱστοτριβής) and a probable *double entendre* in the same speech when she speaks of Aegisthus ‘lighting a fire on my hearth’ (1435–6). See Sommerstein 1993b and 2002a: 154–6.

954–65 With the immediate threat to the Danaids removed, Pelasgus gives instructions for them to go with an escort (954n.) to the city. This seems to foreshadow an immediate *exodos* of the chorus and the end of the play, but in fact the *exodos* will be delayed by the return of Danaus. Most of Pelasgus’ speech is actually devoted to the question of the Danaids’ future place of residence, an issue that reappears in 971 and 1009–11 and is

then left unresolved; probably its full significance became apparent later in the trilogy (957–61n.).

954 φίλοις ‘friendly’. Many editors, including West, have adopted Schütz’s conjecture φίλαις, referring to the serving-maids mentioned in 977–9, but quite apart from the severe difficulties posed by those lines (966–79, 977–9nn.) there are strong reasons to retain the transmitted reading: (1) the passage mirrors 492–9, where Danaus, likewise about to go into Argos, asks to be accompanied by ὀπάονες to ensure his safety; (2) ὀπάων is elsewhere nearly always masculine (*h.Dem.* 440 is the only exception); (3) the phrase θράσος λαβοῦσαι, and the emphasis in 955–6 on the protection that the walls of Argos will afford, show that Pelasgus is much concerned to make the Danaids feel secure, and in all the circumstances (a virtual declaration of war, and an attack already having been made on them) the best way to make them feel secure is an immediate explicit promise of an armed escort.

ὀπάουσιν: these will be some (probably half) of the soldiers who entered with Pelasgus at 911; see 234n.

955 θράσος ‘confidence’; cf. 505, *Pers.* 394, *Ag.* 993, 1437.

εὐερκεῖ ‘well enclosed, well protected’, from ἔρκος ‘fence, barrier’, an epic and lyric word (e.g. *Il.* 9.472, *Hes. WD* 732, *Pind. Olymp.* 13.109) found only here in tragedy.

956 πύργων ‘walls’, cf. *Seven* 216, 234, 314, 763, etc., *Ag.* 827.

βαθείαι: βαθύς is interchangeable with ὑψηλός in *Od.* 9.239 ~ 184–5 (of the wall surrounding a courtyard): a high wall can be seen as ‘deep’ if one is looking down at, or up from, its foot.

957–61 (+ 958) With the transmitted sequence of verses, Pelasgus appears to be offering a choice of two kinds of accommodation, one of which is subdivided: (1) ‘public’ accommodation (957), of which no further details are given; (2) accommodation in premises belonging to Pelasgus himself, which can either be (a) shared ‘with many others’ (960) or (b) separate (961). When Danaus speaks about the matter (1009–11), however, he mentions only a straight two-way choice (οἴκησις ... διπλῇ, 1009) between accommodation offered by Pelasgus and by ‘the city’, nothing being said about the question of shared versus separate housing. Sandin 2002 suggested taking ἐνθ’ (959) as a demonstrative (rather than a relative) pronoun, referring to the ‘public’ housing only, and reading εἰ δ’ ἐκεῖ in 960 where ἐκεῖ refers to the accommodation provided by Pelasgus. This reduces 957–61 to a simple two-way opposition (shared housing in public premises vs. separate housing in royal premises), but it would be unintelligible both to the Danaids and to the theatre audience, with ἐνθ’ referring to the remoter of the two options (957) and not to the nearer (958), while ἐκεῖ, whose normal affinity is with the remoter of two possible antecedents, has to be taken with the

nearer. The same goal can be achieved, without these difficulties, by means of Burges' transposition of 958 to follow 961: 'there is plenty of public housing, where you can live together with many others; or if you prefer, you can live separately – I have ample housing of my own'. See Sommerstein 2010b: 18–20.

Why is so much interest taken in the question how the Danaids will be accommodated in Argos? It leads to nothing within this play, where the issue is not even decided. Presumably the matter was of importance later in the trilogy, most probably in connection with the only event we know of that is likely to have taken place within the Danaids' residential accommodation, namely the murder of their bridegrooms. The murder-plot might well be hampered if there were other people living in the same building, and we may reasonably guess that the option of μονόρρυθμοι δόμοι was chosen. It does not follow, of course, that the Danaids or their father anticipated the multiple murder so long in advance, and another motive has in fact been provided for the choice. Danaus' intense concern for his daughters' chastity (991–1013), which they fully share (1014–17), will be better served by separate housing (cf. Seaford 2012: 139–40): a public guest-house (see next note) would cater mainly for travellers, and these would almost always be male.

957 δώματ' ... τὰ δῆμια: buildings owned by the community and used for the accommodation of visitors, like the one erected in the 420s by the Spartans amid the ruins of Plataea (Thuc. 3.68.3). Such public guest-houses already existed when the *Odyssey* was composed (*Od.* 20.264), and in *Cho.* 660–2 the disguised Orestes indicates that if not received as guests in the palace he and his companion will seek lodging ἐν δόμοισι πανδόκοις ξένων.

959 ἐνθ' 'where', cf. *Pers.* 803, *Ag.* 1379, *Cho.* 318, *Eum.* 22 (LSJ ἐνθα II 1).

ἔστιν ὑμῖν 'it is possible for you', 'you may'. M's word order could be kept if it were safe to suppose that A. used the form ὑμῖν (with short ι), common in Sophocles; but no dramatist other than Sophocles is known to have used this form (or its first-person counterpart ἡμῖν) in iambics.

εὐτύκους 'well prepared' (for your reception): in A. and elsewhere this adjective always means 'prepared, ready' (cf. 974, 994, *Seven* 147 τόξον εὐτυκάζου); there is no need to posit a sense 'well-built' (= εὐτυκτος), as LSJ do for this passage alone.

960 εἰ δέ τις μείζων χάρις: sc. γίγνεται σοι οὕτως, 'if it gives you any greater gratification'.

961 μονορhythμούς, found only here, must evidently be understood as contrasting with πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων: possibly then 'of a unique form' (cf. LSJ ῥυθμός v, vi; note A. fr. 78 ἐν τριγώνοις ... ῥυθμοῖς 'with a triangular pattern'), i.e. specially suited for your exclusive use.

958 ‘For (see Denniston 1954: 169–70) I also am not housed on a mean scale.’

οὐδ’ ... σμικρᾷ χερὶ suggests the open hand of a generous giver; cf. *Cho.* 256–7, *Soph. El.* 457–8, 1377–8, *Eur. Med.* 612 ἀφθόνωι δοῦναι χερὶ. In this case the donor is presumably the Argive δῆμος. Homeric kings were given a τέμενος of rural land (e.g. *Il.* 12.313–14, 18.550–60, *Od.* 6.293–4), and they also had an urban demesne sufficient for the erection of an imposing palace. Pelasgus, as the ruler of all Greece (254–9), might reasonably be supposed to have a palace as large as that of Priam (*Il.* 6.244–50), which (with its ancillary buildings) had 62 bedrooms for his children and their spouses alone.

962 τούτων: i.e. from among the possibilities of accommodation summarized in 957ff.

τὰ λῶιστα καὶ τὰ θυμηδέστατα: the use of the superlative (rather than the comparative) shows that the Danaids are not merely being offered the choice between ‘public’ and ‘royal’ housing, but are being invited to choose the very best accommodation available within whichever category they prefer.

θυμηδέστατα ‘most pleasing to your hearts’. This adjective is otherwise confined to epic (once only in Homer, *Od.* 16.389), though its derivative θυμηδία is found in comedy (Eupolis fr. 174) and is frequent in Hellenistic and later texts.

963 πάρεστι is probably parenthetical (‘it is open to you to do so’, ‘you are free to do so’); one would expect γάρ (as in Anacreon *PMG* 429), but it is not essential. The alternative would be to punctuate only after πάρεστι and to make τούτων ... θυμηδέστατα its subject; but it is somewhat unnatural for Pelasgus to say ‘the accommodation most congenial to you is available’, when it cannot be known what accommodation is most congenial to the Danaids until they make their choice.

λωτίσασθε ‘take your pick of’; cf. *Soph.* fr. 724.4 Ἄρης γὰρ οὐδέν τῶν κακῶν λωτίζεται (conj. C. Keil, Conington: λογίζεται vel ληΐζεται fontes) and Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα ‘the choicest men of Greece’ (*A.* fr. 99.17, *Eur. Hel.* 1593). *A.* may or may not have supposed that this word was cognate with λῶιστος (962).

προστάτης ‘protector’. The Danaids have been given the status of μέτοικοι (609, cf. 994), and at Athens (and apparently in many other *poleis*) every metic had to have a citizen registered as his πρόστατης (see MacDowell 1978: 76–8, Todd 1993: 197–9). It is not clear what duties (if any) were incumbent on a πρόστατης, but he would no doubt normally in practice befriend the metic and help him in any business which a citizen could handle more effectively than a foreigner. A metic would try to choose for this role a citizen of as high a repute as possible (cf. *Isoc.* 8.53); the Danaids have the best Argive πρόσταται they could ever have wished

for – the king and the whole people, who will also serve as προστάται in the word's other sense of 'champions, defenders' (LSJ προστάτης III 1, cf. *Seven* 396, 408, 798).

964–5 ἦδε κραίνεται ψῆφος (cf. 943 ψῆφος κέκρανται) 'this decree is being fulfilled' (cf. *Seven* 549, 802). Pelasgus and the Argives have already acted to make the decree effective, by thwarting an attempt to seize the Danaids and arranging for them to be conducted to the city by an armed escort, and they will continue to do so.

τί τῶνδε κυριωτέρους μένεις; 'why do you wait for <protectors> more authoritative than these?' To do so would of course be absurd, since no more authoritative protector could possibly exist. Pelasgus had instructed the Danaids to go (with an escort) into Argos (954–6), but they have so far made no move even to leave the sanctuary, and Pelasgus' question implies that they have no good reason to hesitate. In the anapaests that follow they explain their reason: they do not want to enter the city, and choose their place of residence, without first receiving advice from their father.

966–79 This anapaestic passage presents some serious problems (see Taplin 1977: 222–38).

(1) Pelasgus, a major character, apparently exits without a word, which is abnormal in A. and in tragedy generally.

(2) The chorus's opening lines (966–70) are explicitly addressed to Pelasgus, and they are followed by sentences, explaining their request for Danaus to be sent to them, which must also be addressed to the king. Pelasgus therefore cannot make his exit (by Eisodos T) until after 974, yet Danaus must have completed his entrance (also by Eisodos T) before beginning to speak at 980: it would be difficult to avoid having them meet within the view of some spectators. There is no parallel in tragedy for such a rapid sequence of exit and entrance via the same eisodos. Nor is there any dramatic gain in thus departing from the anticipated scenario (968–9) whereby Pelasgus goes into the city and sends Danaus back (with an escort) to speak with his daughters. A. could have avoided these difficulties by writing a song (not necessarily a long one) for the chorus, which would be deemed to cover the time required for a journey to Argos and back, as 524–99 covers the time required for the same double journey plus the assembly meeting.

(3) In 977–9 we suddenly find that the Danaids have with them a group of maidservants, whose presence on stage at this point raises insuperable difficulties (977–9n.).

Problems (2) and (3) can both be solved if we assume, broadly following Taplin, that 977–9 are a later insertion which has taken the place of a normal choral song; as to how such an insertion might have come about, see 977–9n. Problem (1) may not be a problem at all. There is another

silent exit of a major character in this very play, that of Danaus (probably the most important individual character in the trilogy as a whole) at 503; and there is a remarkable parallel in *Eumenides*, where the role of Apollo – whose testimony and eloquence have been crucial in securing the narrow acquittal of Orestes – ‘ends so unimpressively that from the text it is impossible to tell where he makes his exit; he simply evaporates’ (Kitto 1961: 87). It may well be relevant that Pelasgus will probably not be seen again in the trilogy (see Intr. §3).

The Danaids must at some point have descended from the sanctuary to the *orchestra*, and if there was originally a full strophic song before Danaus’ entry, it would be convenient for them to descend before this song began, as they did before the stasimon 524–99. They could hardly, however, descend while speaking to Pelasgus, since this could be confusing – the movement might suggest that they were complying with Pelasgus’ instructions, at the same time that their words indicated that they were not complying. Probably therefore they descended (no doubt chanting some further anapaests) after Pelasgus’ exit.

The anapaests that survive, and the speech Danaus makes on his arrival (980–1013), help to re-establish him as the βούλαρχος (970, cf. 11) of the refugee band, after a long period during which he has taken hardly any initiatives: first his daughters postpone any decision about their choice of accommodation until they can consult him, then he gives them strict instructions about their behaviour (though not explicitly about their accommodation!).

966 ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι: 626n.

βρύοις ‘may you teem with, have abundance of’; cf. Ag. 169, A. fr. 350.6, Eur. fr. 1086.

967 διε Πελασγῶν ‘glorious one of the Pelasgians’ is modelled on the very common epic formulae διὰ θεάων and διὰ γυναικῶν. In Homer the adjective δῖος can be applied to almost anyone, including an oxherd (*Od.* 21.240), the murderess Clytaemestra (*Od.* 3.266) and a horse (*Il.* 8.185); in tragedy it is extremely rare except in the sense ‘of Zeus’ (4, 41, etc.), the only other instances being *Prom.* 88 (αἰθήρ) and *Soph. Phil.* 344 (Odysseus). This form of address would thus probably be felt here as charged with epic dignity and as highly honorific, but it need not be taken as implying a quasi-divine status for Pelasgus (contrast 980–2n.).

968 πρόφρων: 1, 349nn.

969 εὐθαρσῇ, echoing θράσος λαβοῦσαι (955), is evidently meant as a hint that Danaus should be given an armed escort, as he was when Pelasgus sent him *into* Argos in an earlier scene (492–503).

πρόνοον ‘a man with foresight’; the adjective is rare, being found in archaic and classical texts (except as a proper name) only in *Soph. Aj.* 119 (in the comparative, προνούστερος) and *Hdt.* 3.36.1.

970–1 βούλαρχον: 11–12n.

τοῦ γὰρ προτέρα μῆτις ‘for his is the first devising’, i.e. ‘for it is for him to plan in the first place’ (implying ‘and our decision will be in accordance with his advice’). This neutral use of μῆτις, which normally has connotations of underhandedness and deception (60–1n.), is found in Pindar, who applies the term to his own poetic skill (*Olymp.* 1.9, *Nem.* 3.9) and also in Soph. *Ant.* 158 (referring to the as yet unknown business on which Creon has called a council meeting); but the theatre audience will inevitably be reminded of the cunning scheme that Danaus will later devise for the murder of his sons-in-law.

δῶματα ναίειν: an epic phrase, cf. *Il.* 2.854, *Od.* 1.51 etc.; it recurs (also in anapaests) in Eur. *Alc.* 867.

975–6 ‘with good repute, and without angry speech by the native people’: the Danaids wish to choose their place of residence in such a way that they will neither be suspected of improper behaviour, nor arouse resentment among the Argives (as they might if, for example, their accommodation was markedly superior to that of most citizens). This interpretation assumes that 975–6 belong immediately after 971. They do not fit at all well in the place where they are transmitted, after 974. On the one hand, 974 is a paroemiac and εἶη δὲ τὰ λῶιστα reads like a concluding remark (cf. 454, *Ag.* 20, 121, 138, 159, 217, 854, *Cho.* 868), and these two factors together make it unlikely that 975–6 continues the same sentence; on the other hand, if 975–6 is the beginning of a new sentence, that sentence would continue with 977–9, and – quite apart from the very doubtful authenticity of 977–9 – it would be ‘absurd ... that the distribution of the maidservants among the Danaids ... [should be said to be] important for the latter’s good reputation and for the absence of angry words from the people’ (FJW).

ἀμηνίτωι: ἀμήνιτος occurs more often in A. (*Ag.* 649, 1036; probably also *Eum.* 481, cf. Σ) than in all other poetry combined (Archil. fr. 89.10 West; Achaeus fr. 15). Later it became a favourite with Plutarch, who uses it ten times.

βάξει λαῶν ἐγχώρων: if the text is sound (apart from the necessary correction of M’s ἐν χώρῳ) this is the only instance in tragedy of an all-spondaic paroemiac in non-lyric anapaests (see Dodds 1960: 241). It can easily be normalized by adding <τῶν> (Hermann), but since paroemiacs ending with two spondees are in any case rare (there are at most eight in all surviving tragedy, among them *Supp.* 7), it is only to be expected that all-spondaic paroemiacs would be even rarer.

976/972 Regardless of whether or not the transposition discussed in 975–6n. is accepted, most editors (though not Sommerstein 2008) have felt it necessary to posit a lacuna before 972. With the order of verses adopted here, such a lacuna could only be avoided if καὶ in 972 is

emended to *καὶ* 'even if' (Schwerdt), which would give us a rather harsh asyndeton (one would expect *γάρ*). Probably only a single dimeter has been lost; its meaning may have been something like 'for although the people are pious ...'. This would not be inconsistent (as FJW and Bowen object) with the concern about Argive xenophobia expressed in the next sentence, any more than Danaus' extravagant praise of the Argives in 980-1 is inconsistent with his (and their) fear that hostile elements might assassinate him (987-8, cf. 495-9); see also below on *πᾶς τις*. A people fundamentally welcoming towards foreign refugees may easily turn against them if the refugees give, or are perceived as giving, cause for resentment (cf. 975-6n.); and the Danaids have already embroiled Argos in a dangerous war of which its people were apparently given no warning (600-24n.).

972 τόπος: i.e. Argos. In A. (who is the earliest author to use the word) *τόπος* (or its plural) can already refer to an area of any size, from the cave-sanctuary of the Semnai Theai (*Eum.* 1023) to the whole of Greece (237; *Pers.* 790, 796) or Africa (*Eum.* 292).

πᾶς τις: a generalization which (like the similar generalization in 994-5) is not meant to be taken with absolute literalness; the Danaids would certainly not, for example, wish to make this accusation against Pelasgus himself. Similarly it is not literally true that *everyone* sympathizes with the underdog (489), or casts erotically charged glances at attractive young women (1004-5), or makes a display of sympathetic sorrow while not actually feeling any (*Ag.* 790-2).

ἐπειπεῖν 'ascribe'; the corresponding present *ἐπιλέγειν* is similarly used in Arist. *EN* 1106b9-11, *Pol.* 1323b11-12.

973 ἄλλοθρόοις 'speakers of a foreign language'; cf. *Ag.* 1200. *Od.* 1.183, *Hdt.* 1.78.3, 3.11.1; Sophocles, however, seems to treat the word as a by-form of *ἀλλότριος* (*Trach.* 844, *Phil.* 540).

974 εὐτυχος 'ready' (959n.).

εἴη δὲ τὰ λῶιστα: 86-7, 454nn.

Pelasgus now departs by Eisodos T, accompanied by some (most likely half) of his soldiers, the others remaining to guard the Danaids (234, 954nn.) who must now have descended from the sanctuary. In the original production this movement may have been accompanied by further chanted anapaests and was almost certainly followed by a full strophic choral song (966-79n.).

{977-9} These lines do not belong here, or anywhere in this play. They tell us of the presence on stage of a group of maidservants, apparently equal in number to the Danaids themselves, since Danaus has allotted them *ἐφ' ἐκάστη* as (part of) their marriage-portion (*φερνή*, a frequent

tragic substitute for the everyday word *πρῶξ* 'dowry'). The passage raises insoluble difficulties.

(1) When have these servants come on stage (Taplin 1977: 232–5; Lionetti 2016: 80–2)? If they have only just entered, where have they been till now, and why have they arrived unsummoned? If they entered with the Danaids at the beginning of the play, how comes it that their presence has been totally ignored by everyone (including Pelasgus, anxious though he is to have the fullest information about the newcomers), and the audience left mystified as to who they are? In *Agamemnon*, when Agamemnon arrives home, nothing is said by anybody for 167 lines (783–949) about the woman sitting beside him; but for anyone who knows the basic myth, a woman coming back from Troy with Agamemnon can be no one but Cassandra. In Euripides' *Suppliants*, the chorus (the mothers of the Seven against Thebes) are accompanied by female servants (72, 1115) and also by a group of boys (the sons of the Seven, the future Epigoni) who remain inactive until they leave the scene at 954 to take part in the funerals of their fathers (they return with the ashes at 1123); but attention is drawn to these groups at an early stage (the servants in 71–8, the boys in 106–7) when both are clearly identified. Neither of these plays, therefore, provides an adequate parallel for what we would have to assume for *Supp.* if the maids were on stage from the start. The instruction given to them in 977–9, moreover, implies that till now they have been grouped separately from the Danaids; does that mean that they were left exposed and vulnerable when the Danaids took sanctuary at 226ff. and again at 831–2?

(2) If Danaus has already designated a *φερνή* for his daughters, that implies that he is contemplating a future marriage for them, presumably in Argos; yet there is no hint of this in the 34-line speech by him which, in our text, immediately follows this passage, and to whose subject it would be highly relevant.

If this passage was not originally part of *Supp.*, how and why did it come to be inserted? Taplin (1977: 228–9) is probably right to suppose that the insertion was somehow connected with a later production in which *Supp.* was performed alone, without the rest of the trilogy; a similar separate production appears to have been the occasion for the remodelling of the ending of *Seven* (Taplin 1977: 169–91; Sommerstein 2010a: 90–3). He may also have been right to suggest (1977: 229 n. 1) that the passage has been transferred from a later point in the trilogy; it could, for example, have formed part of the preparations for a wedding procession, the bridegrooms being either the sons of Aegyptus (if *Egyptians* was the second play of the trilogy) or Argives (at the end of *Danaids*); see Intr. §3. The interpolator may have wanted to swell the size and impressiveness of

the final procession, and perhaps (in accordance with the taste of later generations), by removing the choral song that once stood here (966–79n.), to reduce somewhat the very high proportion of lyric to spoken verse in the play; and the business of creating a new choral formation, with each of the maids placed next to her mistress, may have been spun out to provide a credible interval between the departure of Pelasgus and the arrival of Danaus.

979 **θεραποντίδα φερνήν:** *θεραποντίς* occurs nowhere else, and it is not clear (and makes little difference) whether it is to be taken as a feminine adjective (like *βασιληῖς* ‘royal’ in Eur. *Hipp.* 1281), giving the sense ‘a dowry in the form of a servant’, or as a noun, giving the sense ‘a servant as dowry’. The odds are perhaps slightly in favour of the former, since for the noun *θεραπαινίς* may have been available (it is first attested in Pl. *Thet.* 174a). It was common for a bride to be given one or more maidservants as part of her marriage portion (cf. Dem. 27.46, 45.28).

Danaus enters from Eisodos T with an escort of Argive soldiers (985). This entrance ‘mirrors’ the entrances of Pelasgus with armed men at 234 and 911 (contrast 600 when Danaus arrived alone): the same soldiers who had previously guarded Pelasgus now guard Danaus and his daughters, and it is now Danaus’ words that sway the Argive assembly (983–8).

980–1013 The return of Danaus was in effect pre-announced in 968ff., but his daughters had expected to receive advice from him about their choice of accommodation in Argos, and the actual content of his speech will come as a surprise. The question of accommodation is mentioned only briefly (1009–11), and no explicit recommendation is made, though one may be implied (957–61, 1009–11nn.). The speech is mainly concerned with two other matters. Danaus begins (981–90) by lavishing the most extravagant praise on the Argive people (980–2n.) for their loyalty to the refugees’ cause and for granting him a bodyguard; the latter favour might well be felt by the theatre audience to have sinister overtones (985n.), particularly if versions of the myth already existed in which Danaus later seized, or was awarded, the rulership of Argos (Intr. §2). The rest of his speech (991–1013) is a passionate (and unnecessary, cf. 1014–17) appeal to his daughters to guard their chastity, at all costs, since otherwise they will put themselves and their father to shame (996, 1008) and frustrate the purpose for which they had fled from Egypt in the first place (1006–7). This passage may reveal much about the structure and plot of the trilogy (Intr. §§3, 5); it also has a thematic significance of an ironical kind. Danaus is eloquent (998–1005) on the universality of sexual desire among beasts and birds as well as humans, and he mentions (1001) that it is divinely inspired. Does that not imply that he is setting himself, and encouraging his daughters to set themselves, in opposition to nature and

the gods? We shall soon hear other voices suggesting as much (1034–51, 1059–61) and, in *Danaids*, the principle will be confirmed, and extended yet further, by Aphrodite herself (A. fr. 44).

Bowen, focusing on the presence of the Argive soldiers and regarding 991–1013 as largely meant for their ears, speaks of Danaus ‘describ[ing] his daughters’ charms in language appropriate to a pimp’ (Bowen 2013: 338) and argues that he is aiming to set up marriages between them and the Argives in the expectation that the Aegyptiads would not then wish to ‘fight for second-hand wives’ (*ibid.* 342). The Argive soldiers, however, are as yet mere ‘spear-carriers’ (δορυφορήματα, to use the later Greek theatrical term) who have done nothing throughout the play except obey orders, and nothing in 991–1013, not even a demonstrative pronoun, refers directly to them. Bowen’s interpretation requires that Danaus be understood, both by his daughters and by the theatre audience, to mean the opposite of what he is saying; but his daughters proceed to assure him (1016–17) that they will not change their previous attitude, and their many previous utterances have given no indication that there could be any marriage to anyone which they would find congenial.

980–2 The statement that the Argives deserve to receive prayer, sacrifice and libations as if they were gods is of course hyperbolic, but even as hyperbole it is unique in tragedy; there is a Homeric formula θεῶι ὥς εὐχετοώμην *vel sim.* (*Il.* 22.394, Trojans to Hector; *Od.* 8.467–8, Odysseus to Nausicaa, as having saved his life; *Od.* 15.181, Telemachus to Helen; cf. *Od.* 13.230–1, Odysseus to an unknown young shepherd who is in fact Athene), but nobody (even in comedy) speaks of offering sacrifice or libation to humans – the nearest approach in any classical text is Pl. *Phdr.* 251a (the lover *would* sacrifice to his παιδικά, as if to a divine image, *if* he were not afraid of being thought insane). In one sense at least the Argives have deserved this degree of praise: they have granted every request that Danaus or his daughters have made, whereas the gods did not grant their request to ensure that the Aegyptiads did not reach Argos.

εὐχέσθαι: specifically ‘make prayers of *thanksgiving*’, as in the three *Odyssey* passages cited above and Ag. 317, Eur. *El.* 415, 764.

σωτήρες sc. εἰσιν, an unusual ellipsis when the clause has no expressed subject. The divine epithet σωτήρ (26n.) is applied to humans in Ag. 897 (insincerely), *Cho.* 1073 (hesitantly) and *Cho.* 264.

οὐ διχορρόπως ‘unquestionably’ (605n.).

983–4 ‘They heard (received) from me what had happened in a manner that was friendly to their kinsfolk and bitter towards your cousins.’

τὰ ... πραχθέντα: strictly speaking this should refer to the report that Danaus was intending to make to the Argives when he left the scene at 776 (cf. 775 ἄγγελον); at that stage he could tell them of little more than the arrival of the Egyptian fleet. This, however, is quite old news

now, and the report earned more than just a favourable reception from the Argives – it prompted the very effective intervention of Pelasgus. Moreover, the Argives' indignation against the Aegyptiads (984 πικρῶς) is more likely to have been aroused by a report of the brutal violence of their agents than by a report of their mere arrival. Probably therefore the audience are expected to take it for granted that, in a matter not essential to the working of the plot, Danaus knows what they themselves know (cf. 1009-11n.).

ἐγγενεῖς ... αὐτανεψίοις: by referring to his family as 'kin' to the Argives, Danaus ignores, as his daughters had ignored (e.g. 402-3, 651), the fact that Aegyptus and his sons are kin to the Argives in the same degree as they themselves are – but a moment later he inadvertently reminds us of that fact by referring to the Aegyptiads as 'own cousins' to his daughters. Doubtless A. chose the word precisely for this reason in preference to e.g. Αἰγύπτου γένει (335, 741).

985 ὁπαδούς: in A. ὁπαδός appears to be a synonym of ὁπάων (954n.), and its derivative ὁπαδεῖν (Ag. 426) means 'accompany'; in Soph. (*Trach.* 1264) and Eur. (e.g. *Med.* 53, *Hipp.* 108, *Heracles* 950) the word means 'servant'.

δορυσσοῦς: here (cf. 182) the word is equivalent to δορυφόρος (*Cho.* 769). Both the word itself, and the award of an armed personal bodyguard to an individual, would have a sinister ring to fifth-century Athenians, who would associate both with tyrants (such as Aegisthus, *Cho.* 769); cf. especially Hdt. 1.59.4-5, where it has to be pointed out that the bodyguard assigned to Peisistratus were not δορυφόροι (carrying spears) but κορυνηφόροι (carrying clubs), also Eur. *El.* 616, Ar. *Knights* 447-9, Hdt. 5.92η.3, 7.154.1, Thuc. 6.56.2, Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.23, Pl. *Rep.* 8.567d, Arist. *Rhet.* 1357b30-6. It is all the more remarkable that such a guard should be voted to Danaus when he is not even an Argive citizen. This passage has often been seen as foreshadowing a later assumption by Danaus of monarchical power, perhaps after the death of Pelasgus in battle (Intr. §3).

987-8 For Danaus' fear of assassination cf. 495-9: now his enemies are on Argive soil, and might be able to infiltrate the city and kill him, or bribe one or more Argives to do so. Peisistratus was said to have secured a bodyguard by appearing in the Agora with a self-inflicted wound and pretending to have narrowly survived an attempted assassination (Hdt. 1.59.4).

δορικανεῖ (the second element is from κείνω 'kill') is a brilliant correction of M's meaningless δόρυκ' ἄνη(-μέρωι); the adjective is otherwise unknown, but cf. Ag. 1168-9 θυσίαι ... πολυκανεῖς 'sacrifices in which many beasts were slaughtered'. It is surprising that Danaus speaks of a death 'by the spear': he is too old to go into battle (and anyway a death in battle

did not cause pollution: R. Parker 1983: 113 n. 37), and a spear is not a suitable weapon for an assassin. Possibly δόρυ, like ἔγχος and βέλος (e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 658), is being used in the extended sense ‘weapon’.

λάθοιμι: what Danaus fears is not that his death will go ‘unnoticed’ (Bowen) but that his assassin will catch him unawares (cf. ἀέλπτως and Soph. *Phil.* 505–6 τὸν βίον σκοπεῖν ... μὴ διαφθαρεῖς λάθῃ); it would be very much more difficult to do so if he was surrounded by guards.

ἄχθος αἰείζων: the burden of the guilt and pollution of having failed to protect the life of a suppliant and guest; so Pelasgus had warned (618–20) that to spurn the Danaids’ supplication would be an ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς. Both are exaggerating: it is doubtful whether any blood-pollution was considered to be wholly beyond purification – a purifying ritual was found even for the sacrilegious murder of the Cylonian conspirators at Athens (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 1; Plut. *Sol.* 12.6–9).

988/9 In the text as transmitted, the μήτε of 987 has no second μήτε to respond to it, and it is therefore almost certain that something has been lost. M. L. West (1990b: 165) suggested that τιμιωτέραν ἑμοῦ, which gives poor sense where it stands in 990, had migrated to that place from the end of the lost μήτε-clause, the sense of which might have been ‘nor [might] any other of the citizens, save the king himself, have a more honourable station than I’. This would probably require a two-line lacuna, making the second μήτε-clause the same length as the first.

989–90 This sentence ‘rings’ with 980–2, repeating that Danaus’ family ought to give high honours to the Argives because of what the Argives have done for them. As transmitted, it lacks a main verb to govern σέβεσθαι, and West supposes that this verb (which would probably have been χρή or χρεών) was lost when τιμιωτέραν ἑμοῦ intruded into 990 (see previous note). The verb was formerly often restored by reading in 989 τοιῶνδε <δεῖ> τυχόντας (Lincke); but in A.’s time δεῖ did not denote obligation or duty, only lack or necessity (as 390, 407, 450, 765).

τυγχάνοντας ‘since we are receiving’: the participle is present because the benefits are continuing to be conferred and some of them (e.g. accommodation, and protection by means of full-scale warfare) have yet to be received.

ἐκ πρυμνῆς φρενός ‘from the bottom (lit.: remotest part) of our hearts’, the opposite of ἀπ’ ἄκρας φρενός ‘from the surface of our hearts’, i.e. with feelings that are merely superficial (*Ag.* 805).

χάριν σέβεσθαι ‘give reverence in the form of gratitude’, ‘give grateful reverence’, χάριν being a variety of the internal accusative; FJW compare Soph. *Ant.* 514 δυσσεβῇ τιμαῖς χάριν ‘give honour in the form of a favour that is impious’, Eur. *Or.* 828–9.

†**τιμιωτέραν ἑμοῦ**†: 988/9n. West’s tentative restoration, τιμίαν ἡμᾶς χρεών (he accents ἡμᾶς; see Barrett 1964: 425, Probert 2003: 150–1), is

designed both to supply the missing main verb (see above) and to be vulnerable to the corruption that apparently occurred (the scribal eye wandering from τιμίαν to a similar word two lines above). Possibly a pronoun (e.g. αὐτοῖς) denoting the recipients of the reverence is more needed than one denoting those who confer it.

991-5 Danaus begins the second, admonitory section of his speech by reminding his daughters that people are very ready to believe the worst of immigrants (cf. 496-9, 972-4) and that their reputation (and his) will depend on their behaviour; these general propositions serve as introduction to his plea to them (996-1009) not to behave in a manner which will put their father to shame.

991 τοῦτο, unlike ταῦτα (M), often looks forward to something that will be spelled out directly afterwards (here to 993; cf. *Pers.* 333, *Seven* 579, *Cho.* 93, 933, *Eum.* 333); an exclusively forward-looking use of ταῦτα is not securely attested in tragedy (in a passage like *Seven* 183, cited by Bowen, ταῦτ' refers not only to what Eteocles will say in 185-6 but to the behaviour already being displayed by the chorus).

μέν is probably to be paired with δ' (996), the contrast being between the general principles enunciated in 991-5 and their application to the particular case of the Danaids (ὕμᾱς).

γράφασθε: sc. on the tablets of your mind (179n.).

992 σωφρονίσμασιν: cf. Aristarchus trag. fr. 3 ὦ θάνατε, σωφρόνισμα τῶν ἀγνωμόνων. Danaus enjoined his daughters to behave σεσωφρονισμένως at 724 (cf. also 198n.). The word will be echoed in 1013, where however τὸ σωφρονεῖν has a much narrower meaning than in the earlier passages.

993 ἀγνῶθ' ὁμίλον is, in terms of sense though not of syntax, the subject of ἐλέγχεται. It has been 'raised' to become an accusative phrase in the main clause, in a manner parallel to the so-called 'I know thee who thou art' construction (named for Mark 1.24 = Luke 4.34) in indirect questions; cf. e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 837-8 μαθεῖν ἐμέ ... ὥς διόλλυμαι, *Eur. Hipp.* 1251 τὸν σὸν πιθέσθαι παῖδ' ὅπως ἐστὶν κακός. Failure to understand this construction may well have been partly responsible, at different times, for M's readings ἐλέγχεσθαι and ὁμίλος (the latter corrected by the hand that copied the scholia).

ἐλέγχεται 'is tested'.

994-5 πᾶς: 972n.

ἐν 'in regard to' (LSJ ἐν 1 7).

μετοίκωι: 609n.

γλῶσσαν εὐτυκον φέρει κακήν 'has an evil tongue ready for use', i.e. is ready to use harsh words. For φέρειν with body parts cf. e.g. *Cho.* 581 γλῶσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν, *Soph. Trach.* 967 ἄψοφον φέρει βάσιν, *Eur. Phoen.* 1531 ἀλαδὸν ὄμμα φέρων: φορεῖν is generally more frequent in this usage,

but φορεῖν is found in A. only in the passive (meaning ‘be carried along by the wind’: *Seven* 362 and, metaphorically, 819).

τό τ’ εἰπεῖν εὐπετές μύσαγμα ‘and it is easy to utter an expression of disgust’, sc. against a metic. The noun μύσαγμα occurs only here in literary texts (it is found in *PGM* 4.2572, 2641 Preisendanz, apparently meaning ‘dung’, and in a corrupt entry in Hesychius, μ1959), but its approximate meaning is evident from its connection with μυσάττομαι ‘be disgusted (with), show disgust (at)’ (Eur. *Med.* 1149, Hippocr. *On Diseases* 2.48, Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.5).

πως ‘<it is> somehow <the case that>’ often serves (rather like που) to ‘hedge’ a generalization; cf. *Cho.* 958, *Prom.* 224–5, Eur. *Hipp.* 436.

996 ἐπαινῶ ‘I advise’ (cf. *Seven* 596) or, better, ‘I request’ (cf. *Cho.* 581). In the latter passage the verb governs a dative (as its prose synonym παραινῶ normally does), but in an almost identical injunction at *Cho.* 555 (the two passages ‘ring’ at the start and end of Orestes’ speech) the simplex αἰνῶ takes an accusative, so there is no need to emend ὑμᾶς (ὕμῃν Hartung).

μὴ καταισχύνειν ἐμέ: here and in the ‘ringing’ passage 1008–9 Danaus seems distinctly more concerned with his own reputation than with that of his daughters.

997 ὦραν ‘youthful beauty’. In comedy ὠραία is the adjective appropriate to an exceptionally attractive woman (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 291, *Eccl.* 696).

ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς ‘turned-towards by people’, i.e. ‘which makes people turn their heads’. Since the head-turners will almost certainly all be male, the phrase may suggest that the speaker does not think of women as fully human, a prejudice that lies closer to the surface in Ar. *Thesm.* 683 γυναῖξί καὶ βροτοῖς (sung by a chorus of women!).

998–1005 The reference to fruits in 1001 shows that 998–9 (tender fruit is attractive to beasts and men alike) introduces and summarizes the content of two parallel sentences (1000–2 and 1003–5), their parallelism marked by καὶ ... καί, which respectively describe the susceptibility of beasts and birds, and of humans, to sexual desire; hence the ‘fruit’ is metaphorical, representing the female body (animal or human, as the case may be) as an object of enjoyment; see 998nn.

998 τέρειν’ is more appropriate to adolescent girls (cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 515, Archil. fr. 196a.6 West, Hipponax fr. 119 West) than to fruit, which normally becomes tender only when fully ripe.

ὀπώρα ‘autumn fruit’ – which in this context carries an echo of ὦραν above – can denote the beauty of a young woman (Chaeremon trag. fr. 12) or of an adolescent boy (Pind. *Nem.* 5.6, *Isthm.* 2.4–5; Plut. *Mor.* 752a); in Ar. *Peace* Opora, a sort of Olympian *hetaira* (*Peace* 848–50), becomes the bride of the play’s hero, the vine-grower Trygaeus, and in the fourth

century an earthly *hetaira* of the same name (whether real or fictitious) was the title character of a comedy by Alexis (see Arnott 1996: 496–501).

999 **δέ**, if correct, is ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ (958n.); but as FJW point out, the omission of a pronominal object is rare in A., and σφε (507n.) may well be right. The asyndeton would be unobjectionable: ‘asyndeton is common when the second sentence amplifies or elaborates the first’ (Barrett 1964: 163).

κηραίνουσι ‘violate’. **κηραίνω** (from κήρ ‘death’) properly means ‘destroy, annihilate’; in *Eum.* 127–8 Clytaemestra’s ghost complains that Sleep and Toil, conspiring together, ἐξεκήρανεν μένος of the Erinyes. Here its meaning appears to be coloured by association with the adjective ἀκήρατος which can mean (inter alia) ‘undestroyed’ (*Ag.* 661, of the only ship to survive a storm), ‘unplucked, unharvested’ (*Ibycus PMG* 286.3–4 παρθένων κῆπος ἀκήρατος, *Eur. Hipp.* 73, 76), and ‘sexually pure’ (*Eur. Tro.* 675, *Or.* 575).

τί μὴν; whatever was the original function of the particle μὴν in this expression (on which see Denniston 1954: 333–4), in classical Attic it had come to mean ‘what else?’, i.e. ‘that is obviously true’ (cf. *Ag.* 672, *Eum.* 203). Plato in his later dialogues uses it regularly as one of the numerous ways for his yes-men characters to say ‘yes’.

1000–3 **καὶ ... καὶ** ‘both ... and’.

1000–1 ‘Cypris (Aphrodite) proclaims (advertises) winged and ground-walking (sc. female) creatures as “juicy fruits”.’ The syntactic analysis of these lines is difficult. M. L. West (1990b: 166) thought the connection could only be explained by taking 1000 to be ‘one of A.’s hanging nominatives’ (446–8–7n.), but he noted that it would be an abnormal instance of that phenomenon, since elsewhere in A. such nominative expressions always include ‘a participle ... or some other predicative element ... such that the phrase could be replaced by a conditional or temporal [clause]’. Rather, we must take κνώδαλα to be the object of κηρύσσει, with καρπώματα στάζοντα as a second accusative with predicative force (Weir Smyth 1956: 362 §1613).

κνώδαλα: 762–3n.; here it merely means ‘non-human creatures’.

πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ: cf. *Cho.* 591 πτανά τε καὶ πεδοβάμονα. For πεδοστιβῆ ‘treading on the ground’, cf. *Pers.* 127 πεδοστιβῆς λεώς ‘infantry’.

στάζοντα ‘dripping <with juice>’, i.e. ripe; cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 229–30 οἶνα θ’ ἄ καθαμέριον στάζεις (of a miraculous vine that produced ripe grapes every day), also *Eur. Andr.* 533–4.

κηρύσσει ‘advertises as available’ (LSJ κηρύσσω 111).

1002 If the latter part of this desperately corrupt line has been correctly restored by West, then since Aphrodite is proclaiming the female animals to be ‘juicy fruit’ (1001), it must be the males that she is seeking to ‘madden with desire’, and it would greatly ease intelligibility if this were made

clear in the first half of the line; however, no emendation of the nonsense offered by M has been suggested that comes near achieving the double goal of acceptable sense and an explanation of the corruption. West's ingenious proposal κᾶωρα μωλύουσ' ἄμ' 'and at the same time softening up the less ripe' divides the females into two categories (ripe and unripe) while failing to specify which category the Danaids are being compared to, and leaves the males entirely unmentioned (whereas in 999 and 1004-5 they have the more active role); furthermore, μωλύω when it has a living being as object normally refers to a change that *diminishes* the creature's health or vigour (Talbot and Sommerstein 2006: 313-14, on Soph. fr. 693).

†κᾶλωρακωλύουσανθ†: of the three lexical roots that appear in this letter-sequence, at least two are corrupt. In pre-Hellenistic Greek, compound adjectives meaning 'having a beautiful x' are formed with καλλι-, not καλο-; and κωλύουσα can only be kept if the following words can be stretched or emended into yielding the meaning '(preventing them) from resisting desire' – which again (cf. above) eliminates all direct reference to the males.

ὥς 'so as to' (consecutive): 944-5n.

μαίνειν could have become μένειν (M^{pc}) by an easy phonetic error. The active of μαίνω is rare in classical Greek (which mostly prefers ἐκμαίνω, e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1229, Ar. *Eccl.* 966 Κύπρι, τί μ' ἐκμαίνεις ἐπὶ ταύτῃ;), but the aorist ἔμηνε appears several times in fifth- and fourth-century texts (first in Eur. *Ion* 520).

ἔρωι: ἔρος, common in epic and lyric and used six times by Euripides, is not found (unless here) in the undisputed works of Aeschylus (only in *Prom.* 903). Its absence may well, however, be accidental; it appears just once in Sophocles (*El.* 197). In any case there are many Homerisms which A. uses once only.

1003 χλιδᾶσιν εὐμόρφοις 'beautiful luxuriance, luxuriant beauty', probably with special reference to hair (cf. A. fr. 313, Soph. *El.* 52, Eur. *Phoen.* 223-4).

ἐπι 'on account of' (LSJ ἐπί B.III.1).

1004-5 The man's admiring glance is perceived by the woman and charms her heart (note θελκτήριον). In Soph. fr. 474 Hippodameia describes in rather similar terms the effect on her of Pelops' glance, which, she says, has 'roasted' her (ἐξοπτᾷ) and kindled in her a desire that matches his.

παρελθών 'as he passes by'.

ὄμματος ... τόξευμ': cf. Ag. 240 ἄπ' ὄμματος βέλει, 742 ὀμμάτων βέλος.

ἔπεμψεν: gnomic aorist. For πέμπω used of letting fly a missile cf. Hes. *Thg.* 715-16, *h.Hom.* 27.5-6; in these passages, as here, it carries (unlike the more common (ἄφ)ίημι) an implication that the missile finds its target.

ἡμέρου νικώμενος: the passive of νικάω is quite often construed with a genitive (LSJ νικάω II 3), probably on the analogy of ἡττάομαι.

1006–7 The danger against which the Danaids have been urged to guard is that of (consensual, cf. 1004–5n.) seduction by Argive men; the danger which they crossed the sea to escape was that of forced marriage to their cousins. These two dangers are here treated as one and the same, when their only common feature is the loss of virginity contrary to Danaus' wishes. See Intr. §§3, 5. It is striking that Danaus, who in 996 had admonished his daughters as ὑμᾶς, now shifts to the first person plural (he will return to the second person in 1012–13); this comes at a moment when he is particularly conscious of the threat to his own reputation (and perhaps even to his life; see Intr. §§2, 3).

πρὸς ταῦτα 'in view of this' (249n.).

ὦν ... οὔνεκ': for the long interval at which the postposition follows its case cf. *Pers.* 337–8 πλήθους μὲν οὖν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἑκατι βαρβάρων | ναῦς ἄν κρατῆσαι, *Soph. OT* 857–8, *El.* 578–9, *Eur. Med.* 1367, *Hec.* 25, and see Finglass 2007: 115.

πολύς πόνος, πολὺς δὲ πόντος: a remarkable combination of anaphora (πολύς ... πολὺς), assonance, fivefold alliteration (counting πάθωμεν just before), and near-hendiadys (since the family's toils and troubles in escaping from the Aegyptiads have *consisted* chiefly in the long sea voyage). It may have been partly inspired by two notable, and related, passages at pivotal moments of the *Odyssey*, 1.3–4 πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, | πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, and 13.90–1 (see below).

ἡρόθη: the ship cuts a furrow in the sea, cf. *PMG* 939.16–17 ἄλοκα Νηρεΐας πλακὸς τέμνοντες (of dolphins) and, parodically, *Ar. Birds* 1400 ἀλίμενον αἰθέρος αὔλακα τέμνων. Here the use of this verb creates a zeugma (since it makes no sense with πόνος as subject), as its near-synonym πείρων 'piercing, cleaving' does in *Od.* 13.90–1 ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, | ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων.

δορί: 846n.

1008–9 ἡμῖν: the bare personal pronoun can be used as a reflexive (Weir Smyth 1956: 304 §§1222–4), but in view of ἐχθροῖς ἐμοῖς and of 996 it is more likely that ἡμῖν refers to Danaus alone.

ἐχθροῖς ἐμοῖς: it is probably futile to ask who these might be (obviously the Aegyptiads – or their hirelings, 987–8n. – cannot be meant, since they would not be pleased to learn that the women whom they had demanded as brides were no longer virgins). Danaus is merely being made to speak on the basis of the normal Greek assumption that *everyone* has enemies who wish him harm and on whom he, correspondingly, will try to inflict what harm he can; see Dover 1974: 180–4, Blundell 1989: 26–59.

πράξωμεν ‘effect, bring about’; cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 5.8 ποθεινὸν κλέος ἔπραξεν, Dem. 18.162 πράξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν ‘to establish this friendship’ (with Thebes).

1009–11 The Danaids had asked for their father to be sent to them so that he could give them advice on their choice of accommodation (968–71); now at last he comes to this topic, but he hardly does more than repeat what his daughters already know, adding only that both the housing options are offered rent-free. On the relationship between his presentation of the options and that given by Pelasgus in 957–63, see 957–61n. Danaus does not offer any explicit advice at all on choosing between the options. The meaning of his final comment, εὐπετῇ τάδε, is unclear. Is he saying (1) that the matter is ‘easy’ because both options are highly satisfactory and it makes little difference which is chosen, or (2) that the choice is easy because one option is clearly superior to the other? That he goes on immediately to conclude his speech by re-emphasizing the vital importance of preserving chastity (1012–13) may constitute a hint that (2) is meant and that segregated accommodation in royal premises should be preferred (957–61n.).

καὶ διπλῇ: καὶ emphasizes the numerical adjective, as if to say ‘we are not only offered accommodation, we are actually offered two varieties of it’; see Denniston 1954: 320. Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 3.9–10 ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν ἦτορ (i.e. Melissus is not only a victor, he is a two-time victor).

πάρα = παρέστι.

τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις δίδοι ‘and there is also another offered by the city’: καὶ ‘supplement[s] the adversative ... sense [of δέ] with the idea of addition’ (Denniston 1954: 305), cf. *Pers.* 296, *Ag.* 848.

δίδοι: the thematic inflection of δίδωμι as an -όω contract verb (and likewise of other -μι presents) is found in several dialects but is most common, from Homer onwards (e.g. *Il.* 9.164, 519), in Ionic; see Buck 1955: 125. It is found in Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.265, *Isthm.* 4.35), and once in fourth-century Attic comedy (Antiphanes fr. 154), but appears in tragedy only here.

οἰκεῖν: final-consecutive (79–80n.).

λάτρων ἄτερθεν ‘rent-free’: in effect they will have the status of guests rather than of lodgers. λάτρον (from which derive λάτρις, λατρεύειν, etc.) is much cited by grammarians as a synonym of μισθός, but occurs only here in pre-Hellenistic literary texts.

1012–13 echoes 991–2, but σώφρων is now being used in a different sense (see below).

φυλάξαι ‘keep, observe’ (imperative infinitive) (LSJ φυλάσσω B 3); cf. 179 and Soph. *Aj.* 781–2 πέμπει μέ σοι φέροντα τάσδ’ ἐπιστολὰς | Τεῦκρος

φυλάσσειν (instructions on no account to let Ajax leave his hut). Most recent editors have preferred the accentuation φύλαξαι (imperative middle) in the sense ‘bear in mind’, but in tragedy there is nothing closer to this than Soph. *El.* 1012, where it refers to keeping a secret.

ἐπιστολάς ‘injunction, command’ (the word is always plural in tragedy even when referring to a single order); cf. *Pers.* 783, *Prom.* 3, Soph. *OC* 1601.

τὸ σωφρονεῖν, when used in reference to women, often means ‘sexual continence’ (as ‘virtue’ once did in English); cf. e.g. Soph. fr. 682.2, Eur. *Hipp.* 413, 494, 1034, *Ba.* 314–18.

τιμῶσα τοῦ βίου πλείον will certainly be felt as ironic by those who know how well the Danaids (all but one) later proved that they valued their chastity above *other* people’s lives. They may also reflect that this mass murder showed its perpetrators to be very deficient in σωφροσύνη in any less restricted sense of that term (Zeitlin 1996: 130–1).

1014–17 The Danaids reassure their father that his evident anxiety is unnecessary, because they are determined to maintain their previous attitude – which, it is implied, guarantees that they will not be led astray by any man’s seductive glance (1003–5). This determination could be overridden only by some ‘new’ divine plan (1016). The Danaids, and we, will shortly (1034–42) be reminded that it is actually contrary to the *existing* divinely-mandated order of nature; and after this has been brought home to them by Aphrodite herself (A. fr. 44) they may, very late in the day, have changed ‘the former track of [their] mind’ and accepted marriage (Intr. §3).

1014 M marks change of speaker after, rather than before, this line; this weakens the conclusion of Danaus’ speech, spoils the framing ring-composition of 991–2 ~ 1012–13, and makes the δ’ of 1015 redundant. The error was probably due to the vocative πάτερ in 1015; the same vocative induced M to mark a change of speaker at 480, in the middle of a speech by Pelasgus.

τᾶλλ’: i.e. in all respects except that about to be mentioned; cf. *Eum.* 667–73 ‘τᾶλλα θ’ ὡς ἐπίσταμαι | τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεύξω μέγαν, and I sent Orestes here in order that he could make an eternal alliance between Argos and Athens’.

πρός ‘at the hands of’, indicating the agent (LSJ πρόσ A II 1).

1015 ὁπώρας: 998n.

εὐθάρσει: M here writes this as two words, but at *Seven* 34 (one of only two other passages in classical Greek where this verb, or phrase, is attested) most of the older MSS, including M, write εὐθαρσεῖτε as one word. I have preferred the single-word interpretation, partly because A. uses the adjective εὐθαρσής at 249 and *Ag.* 930, partly because at *Andoc.* 2.16 εὐθαρσεῖν,

the transmitted reading, is virtually certain to be right (in the Attic of the orators the two-word form would have been εὖ θαρρεῖν).

1016 θεοῖς: dative of agent.

1017 A person's φρένες can become διάστροφοι (*Prom.* 673, *Soph. Aj.* 447–8), metaphorically twisted or distorted out of their proper functioning, and one can therefore use the verb διαστρέφειν in relation to a person whose mind or character is thus twisted (so *Eur. fr.* 597). One can also speak of a change of mental attitude as a change in the 'track' (ἵχνος) that the mind is following, as in *Eur. Heracles* 856 ἐς τὸ λῶιον ἐμβιβάζω σ' ἵχνος ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ. Here we apparently have a blend of these two metaphors.

1018–73 Aeschylean finales (*exodoi*) vary enormously. In *Persians*, and (so far as we can tell) in the original script of *Seven*, the *exodos* was very long and entirely lyric; in *Agamemnon* (reckoning from the entrance of Aegisthus at 1577) there are no lyrics at all. But what all the six surviving genuine Aeschylean *exodoi* have in common is that each introduces an individual or collective personage that has not previously been seen or at least has not previously spoken, and whose introduction either is or involves a surprise for the audience. In *Persians* the new personage is Xerxes; in a sense the whole play has been a preparation for his return to Persia, but we had been led to expect that he would appear in new clothes supplied by his mother (*Pers.* 832–51) whereas he actually arrives in rags (1019, cf. 834–6). In *Seven* the new personage is the dead Polyneices, until then (while offstage) a feared and hated enemy, but now mourned on equal terms with his brother; in *Agamemnon* it is Aegisthus; in *Choephoroi*, the Erinyes (a very real presence, driving Orestes away in headlong flight, though only he can see them); in *Eumenides*, as here, it is an extra chorus – the female temple staff of Athena Polias, who escort the Erinyes (now the Semnai Theai) to their new sanctuary and sing the concluding lyrics. In *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*, whose endings are intermediate points in a connected trilogy, the *exodos* each time contains important elements pointing forward to the next play – in *Agamemnon* the hope for the avenging return of Orestes (*Ag.* 1646–8, 1667), in *Choephoroi* the role of the Erinyes and Orestes' intention to appeal to Apollo (*Cho.* 1029–39, 1059–60); but in each case further surprises are kept in reserve – there is no anticipation of the important part that Electra will play in *Choephoroi*, or of the role of Athena and Athens in *Eumenides*.

In *Supp.* the chorus begin (1018–33) as if they were about to depart for the city forthwith (their very first word is ἴτε); but then a second voice is suddenly heard and the movement is for the time being aborted. The second voice, the 'new personage', is probably (1034–51n.) a group which has been present, in whole or in part, during much of the play, but which has been silent and would have been expected to remain so, the

Argive soldiers who have at various times served as escorts and guards for Pelasgus and for Danaus, and who have now been instructed (954–5) to guard the Danaids on their journey into Argos; they become the play's third chorus. Aeschylus was notorious for sometimes keeping major characters, who would be expected to have much to say, silent for long periods (Ar. *Frogs* 911–26; see Taplin 1972); here he does the opposite, as he does in the *Oresteia* with Pylades and perhaps with Cassandra – keeping a minor personage silent so as to create the impression that they never will speak, and then unexpectedly making them speak (or sing) after all.

As an antagonistic pair of set speeches is sometimes followed by an altercation in stichomythia, so the contrasting sentiments of the two choruses in the strophic pairs 1018–33 and 1034–51 lead to a lyric altercation, in which the choruses address each other directly (as they had not done previously) and the Argives make clear their view that the Danaids are asking of the gods much more than the gods are likely to give (1056, 1059, 1061). It has no effect: in the final strophic pair (1062–73) the Danaids maintain their previous attitude unaltered – but we now know that those who have undertaken to fight for them are far from certain that they will be fighting in a righteous cause or one of which the gods approve.

Regardless of whether the next play was *Egyptians* or *Danaids* (see Intr. §3), this *exodos* can be seen to have foreshadowed the outcome of the war, which must have been such as to leave Danaus and his daughters with no chance of avoiding the marriages they so much detest. In the state of our knowledge it is more difficult to tell what it *fails* to foreshadow; but if *Supp.* was the second play of the trilogy and was immediately followed by *Danaids*, set on the morning after the wedding-night murders (A. fr. 43), one thing which must soon have become apparent, and for which there has been no preparation, will have been the defiance of Hypermestra and the disappearance of Lynceus.

1018–25 = 1026–33: metre

1	∪ – – ∪ – –	2 <i>io</i>
2	∪ – – ∪ – –	2 <i>io</i>
3	∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ – –	3 <i>io</i>
4	∪ – – – ∪ – –	<i>anacr</i>
5	∪ – – ∪ – –	2 <i>io</i>
6	∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ – –	3 <i>io</i>
7	∪ – – ∪ – –	2 <i>io</i>
8	∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	<i>anacr</i>

The anacreontic (or anaclastic ionic: 4, 8), which serves as a clausula to sequences of ionics, can be regarded as an ionic dimeter with the two middle syllables interchanged (sometimes, as in 4, the fourth syllable of an anacreontic is 'dragged'). It is noteworthy that 1052–61 has no

clausula, as if to suggest that the Danaids break off the lyric dialogue unfinished.

1018–61 constitute the only sustained ionic passage in *Supp.*, though ionics appeared briefly in 868–71 = 878–81 (see 866–71n.). The significance of this metrical choice – and of the fact that the Argives, starting a second strophic pair, use the same metre with its ‘unGreek, eastern, female’ connotations (Bowen 2013: 347) – would probably be more evident if we possessed one or both of the companion plays.

1018–19 ἴτε: to whom is this addressed? Not to the Argive soldiers, who are addressed first, and explicitly, in 1022, and are then asked to ‘accept’ the Danaids’ song (1022n.), not to take part in it. The members of a chorus can exhort one another to action in the second person plural (cf. 808 ἰύζετ’), but the chorus cannot here be addressing one another *exclusively*, since A. would then have had no reason to write γανόωντες rather than γανόωσαι. The second person plural must therefore refer either (1) to the Danaids plus their father (so Sommerstein 2008) or perhaps better (2) to all present. In either case the march to the city is being seen as a kind of religious procession in honour of the gods of Argos; the whole company will be ‘glorifying’ the gods by taking part in this procession, though only the Danaids (they assume) will be singing a processional hymn.

μάν (= Attic μήν) is used occasionally with imperatives, much like δῆ, in epic (*Il.* 5.765), tragic lyric (*Cho.* 963, *Soph. OC* 182), Doric mime (*Sophon fr.* 25), and Doric speech in Attic comedy (*Ar. Lys.* 183); see Denniston 1954: 331–2, Colvin 1999: 229.

ἄστυδ’, ἄνακτας: M’s ἄστυάνακτας will not do, since the ‘lords of the city’ would be identical with the gods described as πολιοῦχοι and would not include those who ‘dwell around the Erasinus’ outside the city: ἄστυ, unlike πόλις, almost always denotes the urban centre only. The corruption, an easy one anyway (omission of Δ before A), will have been further facilitated by the familiarity of Ἀστυάναξ as a proper name (the son of Hector).

ἄνακτας μάκαρας θεούς: ἄνακτες θεοί (or θεοί ἄνακτες) is found several times in poetry (*Od.* 12.290, Simonides *PMG* 523.2, *Pind. Olymp.* 10.49), while μάκαρες θεοί is very frequent in Homer and elsewhere. This combination of the two phrases occurs only here, but cf. 524–5 ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων μακάρτατε.

γανόωντες ‘glorifying’. In Homer (e.g. *Il.* 13.265), γανόων (from γανάω ‘glitter’) is intransitive; A. seems to be linking it with γανόω ‘cause to shine, delight, glorify’, which is otherwise found in pre-Hellenistic Greek only in the passive (*A. fr.* 78c.55 Radt = 91 Sommerstein, *Ar. Ach.* 7, *Pl. Rep.* 3.411a). M’s γανάεντες is impossible, since the syntax requires a participle, not an adjective; γανάοντες (Bothe) is ruled out because γανάω is never transitive in archaic or classical Greek, γανόοντες (Sidgwick) because

simple non-contraction in -ώ verbs is completely unexampled. The epic 'distraction' in γανόωντες, though more typical of -άω verbs, is sometimes found in Homer with -ώ verbs, e.g. δηϊόωντο (*Il.* 13.675).

1020-1 Cf. 23, an invocation of the gods of Argos ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ.

πολιούχους: both 'those who dwell in the city' (cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.559 οἱ δ' Ἄργος ... εἶχον) and 'those who protect the city'.

χεῦμ': χεύμασι (also referring to the rivers of Argos) occupies the same position in the antistrophe (1028).

Ἐρασίνου: the river Erasinus (mentioned only here in tragedy) rises near modern Kephalaria, south-west of Argos (the site was sacred to Dionysus, Paus. 2.24.6), and flows into the Argolic Gulf; if they landed at Lerna (31n.), the Danaids would have had to cross this river on their way to the city. Short as it is, the Erasinus has an abundant flow, fed by rich underground sources, and is still, as in antiquity (cf. Paus. 2.15.5), the only river in πολυδίψιον Ἄργος that does not dry up in summer (Tomlinson 1972: 10). The other notable river of Argos, the Inachus (497), flows past the city on the far (north) side.

περιναίουσιν: perhaps a reminiscence of Hes. *Thg.* 369-70: 'it is hard for any mortal to tell the names of all the world's rivers, οἱ δὲ ἕκαστα ἴσασιν οἱ ἄν περιναϊετάουσιν'.

1022 ὑποδέξασθε 'accept', i.e. 'hear with favour' (as representatives of Argos) (LSJ ὑποδέχομαι I 3): the song contains praise of the Argive people (1023-4) as well as of their gods, and such praise belongs most of all to those who are actually now guarding the Danaids. Not 'take up in turn' (LSJ IV 1): this sense of ὑποδέχομαι is not securely attested before Hellenistic times, and in any case it would not be relevant here – Argives do not need to be instructed to praise their own city.

ὄπαδοί: 954, 985nn.

1023-4 αἶνος ... ἐχίτω 'let praise enfold/clothe'. In early Greek a person's reputation may ἔχειν the person: cf. *Il.* 17.143 (κλέος ἐσθλόν), Hdt. 7.5.2 (λόγος ... ἀγαθός).

1025 προχοάς 'mouths', i.e. the streams of the Delta into which the Nile divides; cf. Solon fr. 28, Ar. *Clouds* 272. Possibly the Nile's multiple mouths are mentioned here to balance the multiple (even if mostly seasonal) rivers of the Argolid praised in 1026-9.

1026-9 may foreshadow the satyr-drama *Amydone* if, as is likely (cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 2.1.4; see Intr. §3), Amydone was waylaid by the satyrs when searching for water during a drought and rescued by Poseidon who revealed to her the springs of Lerna. One of the only two lines to survive from *Amydone* (A. fr. 13) contains an echo of 1047-51 below.

1027 *θελεμόν* 'tranquil'. This adjective occurs in literature only here and as an emendation in *Seven* 707, where the manuscripts read *θαλερωτέρω*(ι) (Par. 2886 has a corresponding corruption here) but the scholiasts mostly offer glosses like 'weaker', 'softer', 'calmer' (cf. Hesychius 0213-14).

1028 *πολύτεκνοι* here, abnormally but quite intelligibly, has the causative sense 'promoting fertility' (as the Nile did, 855n.). This property was attributed to many rivers and springs (or their indwelling nymphs), including the Inachus (A. fr. 168.16-25 Radt = 220a.16-25 Sommerstein); see Borthwick 1963: 231-6.

λιπαροῖς can mean either 'gleaming' (like skin anointed with oil) or 'rich, full of goodness' (cf. Dionysius *Periegetes* 221 *πιωτάτοιο* ... *Νεῖλου* with scholia; *λιπαρός* is used of rich soil in Solon fr. 43, Ar. fr. 112.2, etc., and probably in the famous eulogy of Athens, Pind. fr. 76 Snell-Maehler); neither sense need be excluded here, but the latter is probably uppermost in view of the following words.

1029 *τόδε* should be taken with the whole phrase *γαίας ... οὔδας*: cf. 260 *χώρας Ἀπίας πέδον τόδε*.

μειλίσσοντες 'softening' (lit. 'appeasing', i.e. making more tractable).

1030-3 With echoes of the *parodos* (144-53; also 1-2, see below), and in accordance with their declaration of 1015-17, the Danaids appeal for the support of Artemis and pray that they may be spared a forced marriage. In so doing, however, they refer to Aphrodite in a strongly negative context; they had done this once before (663-6n.), but this time they are saying it in the presence of men who have committed themselves to risk their lives on their behalf, and for the first time their hostility to Aphrodite and what she stands for meets with criticism.

ἐπίδοι ... στόλον: cf. 1-2 (where the appeal was to Zeus), 145 *ἐπιδέτω* (Artemis).

Ἄρτεμις ἀγνά: 144-5n.

οἰκτιζόμενα: cf. 209 *οἰκτιρε* (Zeus).

τέλος ... Κυθρείας: cf. *Eum.* 835 *γαμηλίου τέλους*, *Od.* 20.74 *τέλος θαλεροῖο γάμοιο* (scholia on both passages explain the phrases as equivalent to *γάμος*, and a similar gloss doubtless accounts for M's reading here); the sacrifices offered by or on behalf of a bride before her wedding were called *προτέλεια*. The transmitted reading *γάμος* gives an ugly tautology, since 'all *γάμοι* [belong] to Aphrodite by definition' (FJW).

Κυθρείας: at least since Hesiod (*Thg.* 192-8) this epithet of Aphrodite had been associated by Greeks with the island of *Κύθηρα* (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 833-4); neither name can be directly derived from the other, but both may have a common Semitic origin (Brown 1995: 245, 332; M. L. West 1997: 56-7).

Στύγιον πέλοι τόδ' ἄθλον 'may that prize be an underworld one', i.e. may either we (cf. 154–61, 455–67, 804–5, 873n.) or the Aegyptiads (cf. 29–39, 524–30) be dead before any γάμος occurs. The river Styx serves as a metonym for the realm of Hades in which it is located, as the rivers Cocytus and Acheron do in *Seven* 690 and *Ag.* 1160. The Danaids may be assumed to be hoping that their cousins will be killed in the coming war, and intending to end their own lives should the war be lost; but the audience know that this prayer will be fulfilled in a quite different sense. Burges' emendation and repunctuation Κυθερείαι στυγερὸν πέλοι τόδ' ἄθλον has been tempting to many, since if taken to mean 'may <the result of> this contest be hateful to Aphrodite' it would constitute a direct challenge to her authority and so appropriately provoke the assertion of that authority which follows; but unfortunately that sentence could also, and somewhat more easily, be taken as meaning 'may that prize be hateful to Aphrodite', which, far from challenging Aphrodite's authority, appeals to her to exercise it to prevent a forced marriage – as well she might, since in this trilogy she is the patron of sexual union *founded on mutual desire and consent* (A. fr. 44.1–2, cf. below 1040 θέλκτορι Πειθοῖ).

1034–51 We now hear a new voice that casts doubt on the whole position that the Danaids and their father have taken up, and on their prospects in the imminent war. These singers affirm the power of Aphrodite, which has behind it the authority of Zeus and of Hera (the patron both of marriage and of Argos); they note (1045–6) that there is some evidence that the gods are not, or not entirely, hostile to the Aegyptiads' enterprise; and they suggest (1047–51) that the Danaids may be taking a stand against destiny (τὸ μόρσιμον) and might be better advised to accept a less than ideal marriage as many other women have had to do. Their content and language are at several points reminiscent of the account of Aphrodite's birth in Hes. *Thg.* 190–206, especially 201–6: τίεται (1036) ~ τιμήν (*Thg.* 203), μοῖρ' (1041) ~ μοῖραν (*Thg.* 204), ἐρώτων (1042) ~ Ἔρος (*Thg.* 201), also αἰολόμητις (1036) ~ ἑξαπάτας (*Thg.* 205), Πόθος (1039) ~ Ἴμερος (*Thg.* 201), ψεδυραί (1042) ~ ὄαρους (*Thg.* 205).

Who are these singers? Our one manuscript gives no assistance; it indicates no changes of speaker at all between 1018 and 1073, even though 1052–61 is clearly an altercation between two opposing individuals or groups. The few scholia also show no sign of awareness that anyone but the Danaids is singing.

(1) The earliest modern view, first put forward by Hermann, is that the Danaid chorus divides into two semichoruses, which debate with each other. Since all but one of the Danaids will later take part in the murder of their cousins, one would expect that the debate would end with the 'dissident' semichorus being convinced and withdrawing their opposition;

instead the 'dissidents' get the last word in the debate (1061) and yet there follows a final strophic pair in which their objections are completely ignored. Either this final strophic pair was sung by the whole chorus (in which case half of them have abruptly changed their minds without having heard any further argument, joining in a prayer which they had criticized as 'excessive' a moment before) or it was sung by only half of them (in which case we would be left wondering how the other half were eventually won over). Furthermore, the singers of 1034–51 refer to the Danaids not as 'us' but as *φυγάδεσσιν* (1043), strongly suggesting that they are not Danaids themselves. These arguments tell even more strongly against the alternative version of this proposal (recently revived by Bednarowski 2011) whereby each stanza in 1018–51 is divided between the two semichoruses (the first semichorus singing 1018–21, the second 1022–5, and so on), thus making the position of *both* groups incoherent, and against the suggestion of Lionetti 2016 that 1018–51 + 1062–73 is all sung by the whole chorus.

(2) The language of 1043 also tells against the bold suggestion of Hester 1987 that the dissident voice is that of the later lone rebel Hypermestra. It is abnormal in tragedy for an individual to 'emerge' from the chorus in this way, within a play, but it could not be ruled out in principle; and in the final song Hypermestra might have made her non-participation obvious by means of the choreography. But such a unique device would need strong evidence in its support, and none pointing the other way.

(3) Taplin 1977: 232 suggested that the new voice might be that of Danaus; but (a) a Danaus as uncertain about the attitude of the gods as the singer(s) of 1034–51 are could not coherently be presented in the sequel as a plotter of mass murder, and (b) the presentation of his daughters would be equally inconsistent: they have obeyed him in all things up to now, regarding themselves as pawns on his gameboard (11–12n.), they will later (all but one of them) obey him to the point of murder, yet here they would be brushing his advice completely aside. This cannot be regarded as a serious option.

(4) Frequently since Kirchhoff the dissident voice has been attributed to the serving-maids of 977–9 (and this assignment is still defended by Nardiello 2007 and Gruber 2009: 263–9). In itself this would be a reasonable supposition: the maids, less directly threatened by the Aegyptiads than their mistresses are, might well be able to take a more objective attitude to the situation, and the Danaids would have no qualms about rejecting, and then ignoring, the advice of their own slaves. However, the proposal founders on the extreme difficulties posed by having these servants on stage at all (977–9n.).

(5) This leaves, as the only remaining possibility, the soldiers of the Argive escort, and this proposal, first made by Freericks 1883 (for 1034–42 only) and revived and extended by Friis Johansen 1966, is now widely accepted (see most recently Miralles 2011, Bowen 2013: 346–8, and Citti–Miralles). The Argives have committed themselves unconditionally to protecting the Danaids against forcible seizure, and have already proved their willingness to redeem this promise in action; but the commitment was made on the ground that the Danaids had been accepted as suppliants (cf. 616–20) and implied nothing about their view of the merits of the Danaids’ refusal of marriage (a subject not mentioned in Pelasgus’ assembly speech, to judge by Danaus’ report of it); we know, too, that Pelasgus had previously expressed doubts about the justice of their case (338, 344, 387–91). Much suffering and danger – to Argive lives and perhaps to the future of the city itself (cf. 399–401) – could be avoided if the Danaids would agree to marry their cousins voluntarily, and this possibility had been explicitly left open in Pelasgus’ response to the Herald (940–1). One should not be deterred from identifying the new voice as that of the Argive soldiers by the consideration that they might be thought to have the kind of ulterior motive about which Danaus had recently warned his daughters (996–1009): A. was aware of the risk that their words might be thus interpreted, and provided against it by making the soldiers refer to the apparently god-blessed voyage of the Aegyptiads (1045–6), showing that they consider *them*, if anyone, to be the destined (cf. 1047 μόρσιμον) partners of the Danaids. Nevertheless, if, as is likely (Intr. §3), the Danaids were finally (perhaps by order of Aphrodite) found new and more congenial husbands, these young Argives, who had been their protectors and defenders, would be ideal candidates.

The intervention of the Argive soldiers makes this the only known tragedy to have two singing subsidiary choruses. As so often, the *Oresteia* offers something fairly closely comparable: in addition to the main chorus (the Erinyes) and the chorus of Athena’s female temple staff who sing at the very end (1032–47), another group of similar size – the judges of the Areopagus Council, the onstage representatives of the citizenry of Athens – are present from line 566 to the end of the play, and although they remain silent throughout (perhaps to the surprise of many spectators), they have more impact on the plot than many a singing chorus, for they cast the votes which, together with that of Athena, decide the fate of Orestes.

1034–42 = 1043–51: metre

1	υ υ – – υ – – υ – –	3 <i>io</i>
2	υ υ – – υ – – υ – –	3 <i>io</i>
3	υ υ – – υ – –	2 <i>io</i>
4	υ υ – – υ – –	2 <i>io</i>

5	υ υ - - υ - - υ υ - -	3 <i>io</i>
6	υ υ - - υ - -	2 <i>io</i>
7	υ υ - - υ - -	2 <i>io</i>
8	υ υ - - υ - - υ υ - -	3 <i>io</i>
9	υ υ - υ - υ - -	<i>anacr</i>

1034 'But it is a wise rule not to neglect Aphrodite' – as the Danaids and their father seem to be doing. Danaus had himself advised his daughters (725) τῶνδε μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν, referring to the gods at whose sanctuary they had taken refuge; and if these were identical with the Twelve Gods worshipped at Athens (1-175, 189nn.), Aphrodite was one of them. For the construction (a noun phrase, usually infinitival, picked up by an appositional expression, including a form of ὅδε, which represents the phrase in a sentence of which it is the subject or object) cf. 708n., *Cho.* 59-60 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, | τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλεόν, 313-14; see M. L. West 1990b: 167-8.

οὐκ ἀμελεῖν: μὴ would be regular with an infinitive, but here οὐκ ἀμελεῖν is virtually a *litotes* for μέλεσθαι (a case of what Weir Smyth 1956: 610-11 calls 'adherescent' οὐ); cf. e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1131 εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔαις (= κωλύεις) θάπτειν παρών.

εὐφρων 'sensible' (378n.).

1035 **δύναται** 'she holds power'; cf. *Eum.* 950 μέγα ... δύναται πότνι' Ἐρινύς, Thuc. 4.105.1 πυνθανόμενος τὸν Θουκυδίδην ... δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν.

Διὸς ἄγχιστα evokes 'the traditional image of Zeus enthroned on Olympus ... and surrounded by those next to him in power' (FJW). In A. fr. 281a.10 Dike apparently claims to share a throne with Zeus (ἴζω Διὸς θρόνοισιν, cf. Hes. *WD* 259 παρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη), and in Ar. *Birds* 1754 Βασίλεια, whose marriage to Peisetaerus gives him possession of the thunderbolt and the power of Zeus, is called πάρεδρον ... Διός, as Themis is in Pind. *Olymp.* 8.21-2.

σὺν Ἡραὶ: Aphrodite is almost as close to Zeus as Zeus's own spouse Hera is. The triad of Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite appears again in *Eum.* 213-16, where Apollo is criticizing the Erinyes for slighting the importance of marriage, of which these three deities are represented as patrons.

1036 **αἰολόμητις:** Aphrodite is δολόπλοκος in Sappho fr. 1.2, δολομήδης in Simonides *PMG* 575, with reference to the seductive wiles with which she can 'beguile the minds even of the very intelligent', gods not excepted (*Il.* 14.215-16, *h.Aph.* 249-50). So in Hes. *Thg.* 205-6 she is patron of 'love-talk, smiles, *deceptions*, sweet delight, love-making and tenderness'.

1037 **ἔργοις ... σεμνοῖς:** ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης is a regular expression in dactylic poetry for 'sex' (corresponding to the prose term τὰ ἀφροδίσια) (Hes. *WD* 521, *h.Aph.* 6, 9. 21; cf. Semonides fr. 7.48 West ἔργον ἀφροδίσιον). The

epithet σεμνοῖς (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 99, 103) points to the awesomeness of the power that she – or the sexual impulse which she personifies – exercises over all living things (cf. 998–1005, A. fr. 44); but for the Danaids this epithet belongs only to Io (141) and Artemis (146–7n.).

1038–40 By naming Desire and (especially) Persuasion among the companions or ancillary deities of Aphrodite, the Argives make it clear that their reverence for her does not imply any toleration of the violent methods of the Aegyptiads. The close relationship of these concepts to Aphrodite's realm and to each other is expressed here by calling them her children, as Peitho (in the more sinister sense of 'temptation') is daughter of Ruin (Ἄτη) in *Ag.* 385–6, as Obedience is the mother of Success in *Seven* 224–5, and as Surfeit is the mother of ὕβρις in Solon fr. 6.3 West.

μετάκοινοι: this adjective occurs otherwise only in *Eum.* 351 (in the sense 'shared, in common') and 964 (in the sense 'sharers'); here it seems to mean 'partners, collaborators'.

Πόθος is named together with Aphrodite in Ar. *Peace* 456; he is one of the children (or effects) of Eros in Pl. *Symp.* 197d, and he appears frequently in art in amatory or Dionysiac contexts (Shapiro 1993: 110–24), usually accompanied by his near-synonymous alter egos Eros and Himeros, who according to Hes. *Thg.* 201–2 had been Aphrodite's constant companions from her birth. Other archaic poets had already made Eros a child of Aphrodite (Sappho fr. 198 LP, Simonides *PMG* 575).

ἄι ... οὐδέν ἄπαρνον τελέθει 'to whom nothing can be denied': this is not, of course, true of all persuasion (the singers' own attempt at persuading the Danaids to change their attitude will be an utter failure) or even of all amatory persuasion, but it is true, almost by definition, of persuasion by a lover who has the blessing of Aphrodite. Lynceus was probably the only such lover to appear in this trilogy, at least before the intervention of Aphrodite close to its end. The adjective ἄπαρνος is elsewhere always active ('denying', 'a denier'), but if A. had wanted it to be understood as active here he would surely have written οὔτις ἄπαρνος. On τελέθει see 691–2n.

θέλκτορι 'the charmer': θέλκτήριον appeared at 1004 in an erotic context, and at 1055 (where the context is not erotic) the Danaids will insist that they are uncharmable (σὺ δὲ θέλγοις ἄν ἄθελκτον). It is possible that the concept of θέλγειν featured prominently in *Danaids*: in *Prom.* 865, part of a passage (848–69) which is a virtual synopsis of the Danaid trilogy, Prometheus prophesies that 'desire will charm' (ἵμερος θέλξει) one of the Danaids (Hypermestra) into sparing her bridegroom.

Πειθοῖ: this personification, which appears here alone in *Supp.*, is employed elsewhere by A. in a variety of contexts, especially in the *Oresteia*: Peitho inspires the song of the Argive elders (*Ag.* 106), tempts

Paris to his ruin (*Ag.* 385, cited above), helps Orestes to deceive his father's murderers (*Cho.* 726), and finally enables Athena to conciliate the angry Erinyes (*Eum.* 885, 970; in an echo of the present passage, Athena calls Peitho 'the θελκτήριον of my tongue'). By the fourth century, and very likely earlier, there was a cult of Peitho at Athens (*Isoc.* 15.259), which may well already have been associated, as it had long been in Pausanias' time, with that of Aphrodite Pandemos (*Paus.* 1.22.3; cf. *IG* ii² 4583). At several places there were cults of Aphrodite Peitho (*Stafford* 2000: 115–17); for Sappho, on the other hand (*fr.* 200), as here, Peitho is daughter of Aphrodite. Πειθώ is often opposed to βία (e.g. *Lys.* 1.32, on seduction and rape; *Eur. Supp.* 347; *Ar. Lys.* 223–6; *Thuc.* 4.87.2; *Xen. Mem.* 1.2.10; *Pl. Rep.* 3.411d; *Arist. EE* 1224a39), an antithesis that has obvious thematic significance for the Danaid story (see *Zeitlin* 1986: 137–44) – though Peitho herself βιάται at *Ag.* 385. See further *Buxton* 1982; *Shapiro* 1993: 186–207; *Stafford* 2000: 111–45.

1041–2 'And also given to Aphrodite as her portion are Union (Ἀρμονία) and the whispering paths (or: caresses) of love-making.' The general sense of these lines is clear enough. In Aphrodite's realm, 'desire' and 'persuasion' are naturally followed by consummation, and that this is what is being spoken of here is confirmed by the naming of Aphrodite's third companion as Ἀρμονία – which can mean 'joining together' and is used by Empedocles (*fr.* 27, 122) to denote the force (also called Φιλότης) that unites the four elements into one sphere – and by the references to whispering (associated with copulation in *Theocr.* 2.140–3, 27.67–8) and probably to amatory τρίβοι, which may mean 'rubblings' (cf. *Ag.* 391), i.e. caresses. The details are more uncertain. M's reading (with the reviser's correction ἁρμονίαι) would mean 'And to Harmonia is given the whispering share of Aphrodite, and the paths of love-making.' This has two weaknesses. In the first place, the subject of the strophe is the power and attributes of Aphrodite, and we should not have Aphrodite herself (or even a 'share' of her) being treated as an attribute of Harmonia. And to say, in a context like this, that Harmonia has the 'whispering share' of Aphrodite is to say that lovers do not whisper to each other except during intercourse. The first problem can be solved if we follow the clue of *Hes. Thg.* 203–6, where it is said that the μοῖρα which Aphrodite possesses as her lot (ἔχει ἡδὲ λέλογχε) among mortals and gods comprises various love-related acts including τέρψιν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε: if we adopt Hermann's Ἀρμονία (hardly an emendation of M's corrected reading) and Hartung's Ἀφροδίται, our sentence becomes a virtual paraphrase of Hesiod's. The second problem can be dealt with by transferring the adjective 'whispering' from μοῖρα to τρίβοι, reading ψεδυραί (*Scaliger*); the placement of τ' after an adjective + noun phrase is rare but not unique (432n.), and it may be significant that M's ψεδυρα has no accent.

Ἀρμονία is the daughter of Aphrodite (by Ares) in Hes. *Thg.* 937, 975, and many later sources; from Hesiod onwards she is also the wife of the mortal Cadmus, but this is irrelevant here where she is being thought of purely as a personification.

ψεδυραί: ψεδυρός occurs only here in literary texts; the lexicographers (e.g. Hesychius ψ101) treat it as an alternative form of ψιθυρός. There was an Athenian sanctuary of Aphrodite Psithyros and Eros Psithyros (Cratinus fr. 386; Harpocr. ψ3; Hesychius α8769; *Suda* ψ98, 100), allegedly so named because worshippers whispered their prayers into the ear of the cult-image.

τρίβοι, if it does not mean 'caresses' (see above), probably means (metaphorically) 'paths' (LSJ τρίβος 1 2) – the journey of passion that lovers take together.

ἑρώτων 'of love-making': for this sense of ἔρως cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1205, Ar. *Wealth* 190 (see Sommerstein 2009: 86).

1043–4 φυγάδεσσιν: cf. 350, 420, 820. For the epic/Aeolic dative plural ending -εσσι(ν) see 88–90n.; it is not found with this particular noun in any other surviving text, but it might very well have occurred e.g. in a lost poem by the Mytilenean political exile Alcaeus.

ἔτι ποινάς: why the Argives fear that the Danaids may suffer 'punishment' (with repercussions for themselves) becomes apparent only in the following lines: the swift and safe voyage of the Aegyptiads (1045–6) suggests, though it does not prove, that in rejecting marriage to them the Danaids are defying destiny (1047) and the will of Zeus (1048–9). The point of ἔτι is 'that we have not seen the end of the story' (FJW – who do not adopt this emendation). M's ἐπιπνοίαι, whether taken as dative singular (as the accentuation implies) or as nominative plural, gives no satisfactory construction, and was early emended to ἐπιπνοίας (Turnebus). As a genitive singular this would give the sense 'for the fugitives from the <divine> on-breathing'; but it is very doubtful whether this could be understood. The only divine ἐπίπνοια of which we have heard in the play is that of Zeus which impregnated Io (17, 43, 577), and even on the most favourable assumptions, that is not what the Danaids will experience if they accept marriage to the Aegyptiads. West, in his apparatus, takes ἐπιπνοίας to refer to the influence of Aphrodite; but the Argives have just said that Aphrodite works through persuasion, and they know as well as we do that the Aegyptiads have thus far entirely relied not on πειθώ but on βία. Citti–Miralles take ἐπιπνοίας as an accusative plural meaning 'contrary winds', i.e. troubles, but they do not cite any parallel for such a sense.

κακά τ' ἄλγη πολέμους θ' αἱματόεντας: it is in fact the Argives themselves who are likely to suffer and bleed. There may, however, be an ironic

foreshadowing of other pain and bloodshed which the Danaids will not suffer but will inflict.

προφοβοῦμαι: the prefix is logically redundant, since all fear is anticipatory, but cf. *Seven* 332 προταρβῶ, Soph. *OT* 90 προδείσας, Hdt. 7.50.1 προδειμαίνοντα.

1045-6 The Danaids had raised this question in 734-5, terrified by the swift arrival of their pursuers (734 φοβοῦμαι, 736 περίφοβον ... τάρβος, 738 δείματι: cf. 1044 προφοβοῦμαι); their father had reassured them that the Argives would fight for them (739-40). Now the Argives themselves are fearful for the same reason. It is remarkable that the subject of this sentence (the Aegyptiads) is left to be understood, when the Aegyptiads have not been mentioned since their herald left the scene at 953. They are, however, in the Argives' minds as their adversaries in the 'bloody war' to which they have just been looking forward.

ἔπραξαν 'experienced', an extension of the use of πράσσειν with adverbs (e.g. εὖ, κακῶς) or neuter adjectives (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 302 πάντ' ἀγαθὰ πεπράγαμεν, Soph. *OC* 1704 ἔπραξεν οἶον ἤθελεν).

ταχυπόμποισι 'swift-spaced' evokes the idea of an (evidently divine) escort (πομπός) smoothing the path of the Aegyptiads and warding off the perils of the sea, as Hermes is instructed to escort and guard Orestes in his wanderings (*Eum.* 89-93: note πομπᾶϊος 91, εὐπόμπῳ τύχηι 93).

διωγμοῖς: 148n.

1047 That what is fated will happen is a cliché also found e.g. in *Seven* 281, Ag. 68, *Cho.* 103-4; here fate and the will of Zeus (or of the gods collectively) are treated as equivalent, as is usual in A. (*Pers.* 102, Ag. 1025-7, *Cho.* 306-7) except in *Eumenides* with its conflict between the Erinyes who claim to have the backing of μοῖρα (*Eum.* 173, 334-9, 392, 723-8) and Apollo who claims to be the spokesman of Zeus (*Eum.* 19, 616-21, 713, 797), a conflict that is finally resolved with Zeus and μοῖρα in harmony again (*Eum.* 1045-6).

τοί 'you know': 370n.

μόρσιμόν 'fated' has two particular resonances that are relevant here. On the one hand it has a special application to marriage: the institution could be thought of as under the patronage of the Moirai (*Eum.* 959-67, cf. 217) who might personally conduct the weddings of the gods (Pind. fr. 30, Ar. *Birds* 1731-6). This notion may be parodied or perverted in A. fr. 13 (from *Amymone*. Silenus to Amymone?). On the other hand μόρσιμος can also mean 'deadly' (787, Ag. 157, possibly also *Cho.* 103-4), and it may thus again ironically foreshadow the Aegyptiads' ultimate fate (as Cassandra's is foreshadowed in Ag. 1048).

1048-9 The Danaids have many times laid stress on the immense power of Zeus; they have shown some awareness of his inscrutability (87 + 93-5), as they will again (1057-8), but they have hardly ever entertained

the thought that Zeus might not favour their cause. If that were to be the case, the only option they could see left to them was death (154–75). The Argives can see another possibility.

παρβατός ‘not to be crossed’ (Bowen): παραβαίνω usually means ‘transgress’, but when Zeus’s mind is presently called ἀπέρατος we will realize that A. is here also glancing at the strict etymological meanings of παραβαίνω, ‘go beyond’ or ‘deviate from, by-pass’. For the apocope of παρα- see 351–3n.: A. uses it at least twice more in παραβαίνω and derivatives (*Seven* 744, *Eum.* 553, probably also *Eum.* 768).

ἀπέρατος ‘unfathomable’, lit. ‘such that one cannot get through to the far side’; cf. 1058 ὄψιν ἄβυσσον.

1050–1 ‘And this outcome in marriage would be shared with many women before you.’ To the point made in 1047–9 – that marriage between the Danaids and the Aegyptiads may be the will of Zeus (or, equivalently, of fate) and therefore unavoidable – is now added another: that if it did come to pass, it would only be something that many other women have had to endure in the past (the common consolation-motif *non tibi hoc soli*, more often found in relation to death or bereavement). The widely shared outcome cannot be ‘marriage’ as such, in view of the highly favourable tone in which Aphrodite is extolled in 1034–42; it must be ‘a marriage uncongenial to the woman’, which will indeed have been frequent in a society in which her consent was not required for a marriage to be valid and binding (see Intr. §5). This argument ignores the rights of Danaus, whose consent *would*, by universal Greek custom, have been required in order for a marriage to be possible; but the Danaids too make no mention of their father throughout 1018–73, and they have already made it clear (1014–17) that their determination is fixed and they have no need of his admonitions.

πολλᾶν: as FJW show, it is very doubtful whether M’s πόλλων could be made to yield an acceptable sense. The corruption would be a very easy one (assimilation of the ending to the nearby word γάμων).

γάμων ἅδε τελευτά ‘this outcome, namely marriage’: γάμων is a genitive of identity, specifying the precise meaning of the inexplicit word τελευτά (see Weir Smyth 1956: 317 §1322). At the same time the choice of τελευτά rather than τέλος (1030–3n.) will unintentionally remind us that the Danaids would rather die than accept these marriages.

πέλοι: understand ἄν from 1047 (1048–9 being parenthetical): ‘when an apodosis consists of several co-ordinate clauses with the same mood, ἄν is generally used only with the first and understood in the others’ (Goodwin 1912: 74), and this may apply though the clauses be separated by the reply of another speaker (*Pl. Rep.* 1.352e) and/or by a parenthetical sentence from the same speaker (*ibid.* 2.382d). See Sommerstein 1977: 78–9. Alternative explanations of the sentence are

all unsatisfactory. (1) If πέλοι were to be taken as a plain (non-potential) optative, the Argives would be expressing the *wish* that the Danaids should marry their cousins, which is incompatible with their very next utterance (1054). (2) The emendation πέλει (Bothe) would have to be understood in a future sense (and the scholiast's paraphrase is actually couched in the future indicative, suggesting that πέλει may have been an ancient variant), and the Argives would be making a firm prediction that marriage would be the outcome, when elsewhere in this passage they speak of it only as a possibility that cannot be ruled out. (3) There is no way to bring ἄν into 1050–1 except by altering some word which would not otherwise have been suspected.

1052–61 This altercation between two choruses has no exact parallel in tragedy, the nearest being the lyric dialogue (*amoibaion*) between the mothers and the sons of the Seven against Thebes in Eur. *Supp.* 1123–64 – though that has no antagonistic element; such exchanges more often occur between sections of, or individuals within, a single chorus, the most extensive example being *Seven* 875–1004. Antagonistic choruses are found in comedy in Eupolis' *Marikas* (fr. 193, cf. fr. 192.98–9, 117–20, 186; see Olson 2016: 121–88) and most notably in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (254–1042, after which they unite).

As throughout the *exodos*, M has no indications of speaker changes, but the assignment of verses can be made with some confidence. 1052–3 obviously belong to the Danaids, and 1054 is a reply to them. 1056 belongs to the Argives, since the Danaids would not need to tell them that they do not know the future, they themselves having admitted and indeed asserted this in 1043–51; also 1059, since it is only the Danaids who have been uttering prayers. From these assignments it automatically follows that 1055, 1057–8 and 1060 belong to the Danaids and 1061 to the Argives. Thus in strophe and antistrophe alike the Danaids have the first, second and fourth verses and the Argives the third and fifth: such strophic symmetry in speaker assignments is the regular practice in tragic *amoibaia*. It is noteworthy that the Danaids explicitly accept (1057–8) that the mind of Zeus is unfathomable – and then pray to him (1062–73) as if this had never been said; but this is not the first time that they have recognized his unfathomability (cf. 87 + 93–5) and then ignored it.

1052–6 = 1057–61: metre

1	~ – – ~ – –	2	<i>io</i>
2	~ – – ~ – –	2	<i>io</i>
3	~ – – ~ – –	2	<i>io</i>
4	~ – – ~ – –	2	<i>io</i>
5	~ – – ~ – –	2	<i>io</i>

1052 ἀπαλίσσαι: optative (588–9n.).

1053 *μοι*: the dative is regular with ἀλέξειν for the person from whom a threat is ward off (e.g. *Il.* 9.251), and this construction is here extended to the rare compound ἀπαλέξειν (perhaps on the analogy of ἀπαμύνειν, e.g. *Il.* 9.597), though in *Il.* 24.371 the beneficiary stands in the genitive.

1054 The Argives readily agree that if Zeus does prevent the unwanted marriages – which, things being as they now are, is equivalent to ‘if Argos is victorious in the impending war’ – that will be ‘best’ both for Argos and for the Danaids, who will be spared much distress. But, as μέν shows, that is not all they wish to say: it would appear that they were about to add something like ‘but it is far from certain that that is in fact the will of Zeus’ but are cut short by the Danaids. Such interruptions are of course common in spoken stichomythia, but they are often little more than a conventional device to maintain the alternation of verses (see Gross 1905: 87–92): here, on the other hand, the Danaids interrupt because they do not want to hear what they suspect the Argives are going to say next.

βέλτατον: this superlative, corresponding to the comparative βέλτερος (1069), is found only in A. (*Eum.* 487, fr. 132c.14).

1055 ‘You are trying to charm one who is uncharmable’: θέλκτωρ Πειθώ, ‘to whom nothing can be denied’ (1039–40), has met her match, it seems, in the Danaids. In the third play of the *Oresteia*, though, the implacability of the Erinyes is eventually broken down by Athena, at which moment (*Eum.* 900) they say to her θέλξειν μ’ ἔοικας: was the Danaids’ implacability similarly broken down by Aphrodite in the third play of this trilogy?

1056 δέ γ’ marks this line as a sharp retort (Denniston 1954: 153): cf. *Cho.* 921.

τὸ μέλλον: i.e. ὃ τι ... μόρσιμόν ἐστιν (1047).

1057 τί ... μέλλω ‘how can I ...?’ (lit. ‘why am I likely to ...?’), corresponding to the conversational use of τί οὐ μέλλει; *vel sim.* to make a strong affirmative statement (e.g. *Eur. Ion* 999; *Xen. Hell.* 4.1.6; *Pl. Rep.* 7.530a, 10.605c: LSJ μέλλω 1 f).

1058 ὄψιν ἄβυσσον: lit. ‘a bottomless view’ (accusative ‘in apposition to the sentence’, 443–5–4n.; cf. *Eur. Ba.* 1232 λεύσσω γὰρ αὐτήν, ὄψιν οὐκ εὐδαίμονα), i.e. a profundity so great as to defeat any attempt to perceive what lies at the bottom of it. The phrase evokes the image, previously used in 407–9, of an expert diver scanning the sea bottom; but the bottom of Zeus’s mind is beyond all human scanning (cf. 93–5, 1048–9).

1059 νυν ‘in that case’, ‘that being so’ (cf. *Ag.* 937, *Prom.* 915).

1060 καιρόν ‘target to hit’: cf. *Ag.* 365, 787, and the derivative καιρῖος used of wounds made in a vital spot (see further Barrett 1964: 231, Race 1981). The notion of καιρός is sometimes paired with the maxim μηδέν

ἄγαν (1061n.) (e.g. Thgn. 401-2, Critias fr. eleg. 7 West) or with τὸ μέτριον (1059), e.g. Eur. *Med.* 125-30.

1061 τὰ θεῶν 'in matters concerning the gods' (accusative of respect).

μηδὲν ἀγάζειν alludes to the maxim μηδὲν ἄγαν, ascribed to the Seven Sages (Pl. *Prot.* 343b) or to Chilon the Spartan (Critias fr. eleg. 7 West), which was inscribed on the temple at Delphi and is often cited from the archaic period onwards (Thgn. 335, 401; Pind. fr. 35b Snell-Maehler; Eur. *Hipp.* 265; Pl. *Charm.* 165a, *Menex.* 247e, *Phileb.* 45e; Arist. *Rhet.* 1395a22). The verb ἀγάζειν is only once attested elsewhere in a possibly relevant sense (Soph. fr. 968: ἀγάζεις meaning θρασύνεις) and may be an *ad hoc* coinage by A.

1062-73 Having just been advised (1059, 1061) to make their prayers moderate and not ask too much of the gods, the Danaids reiterate and expand the very prayer (1052-3) to which the Argives had taken exception, and this becomes the last utterance heard in this play. Its metrical pattern – mainly trochaic, and dominated by the *lekkythion* – is the same that they used at the end of the *parodos* (154-61 = 169-75), when they were trying to coerce Zeus by threats (154-61n.): nothing they have heard or experienced has had any effect on their attitude or mood. They refer once again to the story of Io, for the first time since 538-94, and seem to equate 'justice' (1071) with victory for the female in a war of the sexes (1068-9), a sentiment not likely to appeal to an overwhelmingly male (and ancient Greek) audience. At the same time their language begs some questions, as when they ask Zeus to 'deprive' them of the unwelcome marriages (1062-3n. ἀποστεροίη) and accept that their preferred choice, though a lesser evil than the alternative, is still an evil (1069-70).

1062-7 = 1068-73: metre

1	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>lek</i>
2	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>lek</i>
3	- ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ar</i>
4	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>lek</i>
5	- ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>cr lek</i>
6	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	<i>lek</i>

The pause after colon 2 is evidenced by the *brevis in longo* in δυσάνορα, that after colon 3 by catalexis; in both cases there is a syntactic break in the antistrophe only.

1062-3 ἀποστεροίη: (ἀπο)στερεῖν means, normally, either (1) to deprive someone (accusative) of something (genitive) which (s)he is entitled, and wants, to have, or (2) to improperly take, or fail to give, something (accusative) to which another person is entitled (the latter is the construction used here); the rare exceptions (e.g. Soph. fr. 863 φίλων

τοιούτων οἱ μὲν ἐστερημένοι | χαίρουσιν, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὖχονται φυγεῖν) are consciously paradoxical, and so is this one, where the strained language draws attention to the fact that the Danaids are praying that they may remain unmarried – ordinarily considered to be almost the worst fate that could befall a woman.

δυσάνορα ‘with evil men’: the adjective occurs nowhere else, but cf. Ag. 1319 *δυσδάμαρτος ... ἀνδρός*.

1064–5 δάϊον: in A. and elsewhere this adjective normally means ‘hostile’, which gives excellent sense here; but in A. fr.353a *βριθὺς ὀπλιτοπάλας, δάϊος ἀντιπάλοις*(1) it appears to mean ‘deadly’ (cf. epic *δηϊόω* ‘slay’) and this sense may be present here as an ironic secondary meaning.

ὅσπερ: Zeus ‘ought’ to help the Danaids because he is *the same god who* helped their ancestress (168–74, 524–99n.).

πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' εὖ ‘successfully released from her sufferings’ by restoring her to human form and to sanity, and ridding her of the gadfly (571–9nn.); the reference cannot be to her impregnation, which was not in itself a release from suffering (cf. 315n.). The Danaids do not, of course, care to recall that Zeus, by arousing the jealousy of Hera, had been the original cause of Io’s sufferings. For the middle voice of *ἐλύσατ'* cf. Hes. *Thg.* 528 *ἐλύσατο δυσφροσυνάων* (Heracles ending the torment of Prometheus by Zeus’s eagle).

1066 χειρὶ παιωνία may or may not already have been a tragic cliché in contexts of healing; it had certainly become one by the 420s when it was parodied in Ar. *Ach.* 1222–3 (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1345–6). In 586–7 Zeus is described as having put a stop to the νόσοι plotted by Hera.

κατασχεθῶν ‘restraining’ from her gadfly-driven flight (which still continued even after she had reached Egypt: 556–7, 562–4, 572–3); cf. 578 *παύεται*.

1067 εὐμενῇ βίαν κτίσας ‘making violence kindly’: cf. 576 *βίαι ... ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ*. On *κτίσας* see 140n.

1068–9 κράτος νέμοι γυναῖξιν: like the Herald (951), the Danaids view the coming conflict as a gender war.

τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ ‘the better part of evil’ seems more paradoxical in English than it would in Greek, which had a strong tendency to say ‘better’ rather than ‘less bad’ (and similarly with other comparatives, e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 1445 *ἀμαθέστερόν πως εἶπέ* ‘speak less cleverly’). Evil (misfortune) preponderates over good in all human affairs (see next note), but the Danaids desire an outcome that gives them as little of it as possible.

1070 τὸ δίμοιρον ‘the two-thirds’ has usually, since antiquity, been taken as an allusion to one of two rival interpretations of *Il.* 24.527–8 *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν ἕτερος δὲ ἔαων* (I have deliberately left this text unpunctuated). Does this mean

that Zeus has two jars of evils and another (third) jar of blessings, or does it mean that he has two jars only, <one> of evils and another of blessings? According to the A-scholia, Zenodotus insisted on punctuating after δίδωσι to exclude the first interpretation (and the even balance between good and bad fortune in 24.530 suggests he was right), but the ‘two jars of evils’ view had been adopted by τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων, i.e. by some poets after Homer – doubtless referring to Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.81–2), who said that the gods allot to mortals ἐν παρ’ ἑσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο, and probably to A. also. Plato, on the other hand, cites the Homeric passage (from memory?) with 24.528 in the form κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἑσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν (he still finds it theologically unacceptable). It is quite possible, however, that Pindar and A. were not thinking of the Homeric passage at all but of ‘a traditional proverb’ (Currie 2005: 392); in that case the dispute over the interpretation of *Il.* 24.528 may have originated in an attempt to make it agree with this piece of popular wisdom. It is striking, in any case, that the Danaids should express themselves thus pessimistically, when they had previously placed such great faith in Zeus and when they have received such strong support from the Argives.

αἶνῶ ‘I am content (with)’; cf. 903, *Eum.* 469. This verb governs both the preceding accusative and the following accusative + infinitive; this double construction is best exemplified by Bacchyl. fr. 4.61–8 Maehler = *Paeans* fr. 1.61–8 Irigoien τίκτει ... εἰρήνην μεγάλαν ὀρα πλοῦτον καὶ μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα δαιδαλέων τ’ ἐπὶ βωμῶν θεοῖσιν αἴθεσθαι βοῶν ... μηρί’ ... γυμνασίῳ τε νέοις αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν.

1071–3 δίκαι †δίκας† ἔπεισθαι ‘that < ... > should follow justice’ – the Danaids, as in many earlier passages (77, 168, 343, 384, 406, 437), being absolutely certain that justice is on their side. M’s δίκαι can easily be interpreted as the dative that ἔπεισθαι needs, but the following word, δίκας, is almost certainly corrupt; as FJW show, none of the known senses of δίκη in the plural (‘lawsuits’, ‘pleas’, ‘judgements’, ‘penalty’) would be appropriate here. Emendation to the singular (δίκην Haupt) would give satisfactory sense, δίκην denoting either the judgement of battle (appealed to, from the other side, by the Herald at 934–5) or the goddess Dike who will be sure to favour a just cause; but the corruption of this to δίκας is rather hard to account for. It is therefore a distinct possibility that δίκας may, by a thoughtless repetition of the root of the preceding word, have replaced some other accusative plural, e.g. τύχας ‘fortune, the result’ (Burges; cf. *Eur. Med.* 331, *Hipp.* 701, *Tro.* 1201).

ξύν ‘in accordance with’ (LSJ σύν A 6).

λυτηρίοις: two-termination, see 213n. The Danaids desire that Zeus should free them from their distress as he once freed Io from hers (1064–6). The adjective qualifies μηχαναῖς, as in *Eum.* fr. 646 πολλή μηχανή

λυτήριος, not εὐχαῖς: it is nevertheless surprising that A. should have thus juxtaposed two unrelated dative plurals.

μαχαναῖς: the 'Doric' $\bar{\alpha}$ is found in all authoritative MSS at *Seven* 134 (and nearly all at *Soph. Aj.* 181), the Attic η at *Pers.* 113 (and *Soph. Ant.* 349); on the principles enunciated by M. L. West 1990a: xxv–xxviii (see also Finglass 2011: 195) – that inconsistencies in the treatment of the same word are more likely to be due to copyists than to the poet, and that corruption of $\bar{\alpha}$ to η is more likely than the reverse – I have accepted Dindorf's restoration of $\bar{\alpha}$ here.

θεοῦ πάρα: in fact the Danaids will have to 'free' themselves (with their father's assistance) in a manner highly offensive to at least one powerful deity – and if this was the second play of the trilogy (*Intr.* §3), the next probably began with them already having done so.

All now depart by *Eisodos* T. The order in which they exit cannot be determined with certainty, but Bowen (on 1062–73) argues well that the Danaids should be clearly separated from their Argive escort, whose advice they have so utterly rejected. Probably the Danaids exit first and the Argives follow in their rear, that being the direction in which the enemy lie. We cannot tell whether Danaus (silent since 1013) went before, beside or after his daughters.

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