

A Commentary on the Herakleidae of Euripides

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ABSTRACT

The commentary is composed of two parts, Introduction and Commentary proper (including a Metrical Appendix). The Introduction discusses the legends, the date of the play, the treatment of the legends by Euripides, the suspected mutilation of the text, the themes of the play, and the transmission of the text. It is argued that the text is substantially correct and unrevised, and that the "episodic" nature of the play is satisfactorily explained by the main theme, Athens' successful defence of suppliants against an arrogant invader of Attica, a theme full of rapid action far removed from the plots of Euripides' "psychological" dramas. The date is established as Spring 430 B.C., just prior to the second invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian forces. Therefore much emphasis is evident in the play on the correct behaviour of the Athenians, their suppliants and particularly that of Iolaos as opposed to that of Eurystheus and his herald.

The Commentary owes much, as all commentaries must, to the work of previous editors, in particular to that of A.C. Pearson whose edition of the Herakleidae in 1907 is the latest of that play in English. Apart from the essential treatment of grammatical and syntactical

difficulties, the Commentary is concerned with dramatic interpretation and with contemporary Athenian attitudes to morality. The text on which the Commentary is based is, for reasons of convenience, that of G. Murray (Oxford Classical Texts, 1901), but I have discussed in the Commentary many emendations of my own and of others which I believe should be incorporated in any future revision of the text. The work of G. Zuntz on the Byzantine Transmission of the plays of Euripides (v. Bibliography) has formed the basis of my attitude to the text.

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE LEGENDS

The main sources besides the play itself for the battle of Eurystheus against the Herakleidae are as follows:-

1. Pindar P.9.79 ἔγνον ποτὲ καὶ Ἴολκον οὐκ ἰτμήσαντ' ἄνιν
ἐπτάπυλοι Θῆβαι· τόν, Εὐρυσθέος ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν ἔπραθε φασγάνου ἄκμῃ,
κρύψαν ἐνερθ' ὑπὸ γένυ διφρηλάτῃ Ἀμφιτρυῶνος γάματι.

Schol. ad loc. ὁ γὰρ Ἴολκος τεθνηκώς, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν Εὐρυσθέα
ἐξαιτούμενον παρ' Ἀθηναίων τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ ἐπαπειλοῦντα πόλεμον,
εἰ μὴ δώσουσιν, εὗρατο ἄναβιῶναι (νεῖ, ut alijs schol., ἐπὶ κίαν ὤραν
ἤβησαι), καὶ ἄναβιός ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Εὐρυσθέα καὶ πάλιν τέθνηκεν.
οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πιθανώτερον ἔλκουσι τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὅτι γέρον ὦν ἠὔρατο
ἀνηβῆσαι, καὶ τελέσας τὸν ἴολκον εὐθέως ἐτελεύτα.

(For the tomb of Iolaos cf. Pi. O.9.98; I.1.16; Arr. Anab.

1.7.7. For Iolaos as a Theban hero cf. also Pi. I.5.32

ἐν δὲ Θῆβαις ἵπποσῶς Ἴολκος γέρας ἔχει.)

2. Apollodoros 2.8 Μεταστάντος δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἰς θεοῦ οἱ
παιδὲς αὐτοῦ φυγόντες Εὐρυσθέα πρὸς Κήρυκα παρεγένοντο ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους
ἐκδιδόναι λέγοντος Εὐρυσθέως καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντος ἰδεδοίκεσαν,
Τραχίνα καταλιπόντες διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔφυγον, διωκόμενοι δὲ ἦλθον εἰς
Ἀθήνας, καὶ καθεσθύντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέου βωμὸν ἤξιον βοηθεῖσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυσθέα πόλεμον ὑπέστησαν, καὶ τοῦς

μεν παῖδας αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἰφιδάμαντα Εὐρύβιον Μέντορα
 Περιμήτην ἀπέκτειναν. αὐτὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα φεύγοντα ἐφ' ἄρματος
 καὶ πέτρας ἤδη παρῖππύοντα Σκειρυνίδας κτείνει διώξας Ἄλλος, καὶ
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν Ἀλκμήνην δίδωσιν. ἡ δὲ κερκίσι τοῦ
 ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐξώρυσεν αὐτοῦ.

3. Pherecydes (Antoninus Liberalis Met.33). Μετὰ τὸν
 Ἡρακλεῖον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισμὸν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐξέλεσας αὐτοῦ
 τὸν παῖδα τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευεν. οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδες καταφυγόντες
 πρὸς Δημοφῶντα τὸν Θησέως ἠύκωσαν τὴν τετράπολιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς.
 Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀθήνας πόλεμον πρόελεγεν τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ μὴ τοῖς Ἡρακλεῖδας ἐξελάσωσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι
 τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπολέγονται, Εὐρυσθεὺς δ' ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει μαχόμενος, ἡ δὲ πληθὺς
 ἐτραπίη τῶν Ἀργείων. Ἄλλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἡρακλεῖδες καὶ <οἱ>
 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀποθανόντος Εὐρυσθεὺς κατοικίῳσονται πάλιν ἐν Θήβαις.

4. Hecataeus of Miletus (ps.-Longinus περὶ ὕψους 27)

Κῆρυξ δὲ ταῦτα δευτέρως ποιούμενος αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖς Ἡρακλεῖδας
 ἐκχωρεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν δυνατὸς εἶμι λήγειν. ὣς μὴ ὦν αὐτοὶ τε
 ἀπόλησθε καὶ ἐμὲ τρώσητε, εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ δῆμον οἴχεσθε.

5. Diodorus 4.57 Μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλείου τοίνυν ἀποθῆσιν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ κατώκουν ἐν Τραχίνι παρὰ Κήυκι τῷ βασιλεῖ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλου καὶ τινῶν ἑτέρων ἰδρωθέντων, Εὐρυσθεὺς φοβηθεὶς μὴ πάντων ἐνηλίκων γευμένων ἐκπέσει τῆς ἐν Μυκῆναις βασιλείας, ἔγνω τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου εἶς ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος φυγαδεῦσαι. διὸ Κήυκι μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ προηγόρευε τοῦ τε Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τοῦ Λικυμνίου παῖδας ἐκβαλεῖν, ἔτι δὲ Ἴόλιον καὶ τὸ σύστημα τῶν Ἡρακλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλεῖ συνεστρατευκότων, ἢ ταῦτα μὴ ποιοῦντα πόλεμον ἀναδέξασθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν θεωροῦντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄξιόμαχους ὄντας Εὐρυσθεῖ πολέμιον, ἔγνωσαν ἑκουσίως φεύγειν τῆς Τραχίνος. ἐπιόντες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας ἐδέοντο δέξασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοῦ συνοίκους. μηδεμίαν δὲ τολμήσῃς ὑποδέξασθαι, μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιείκειαν προσεδέξαντο τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου. κατώκισαν δὲ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν συμφυγόντων εἰς Τρικώρυθον πόλιν, ἣτις ἐστὶ μία τῆς ὀνομαζομένης τετραπόλεως. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ἑπάντων τῶν Ἡρακλείου παίδων ἠνδρωμένων, καὶ φρονήματος ἐμφυομένου τοῖς νεανίσκοις διὰ τὴν ἀφ' Ἡρακλείου δόξαν, ὑφορώμενος αὐτῶν τὴν αὔξησιν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, βοηθούτων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, προστηγόμενοι τὸν Ἡρακλείου ἰδελφίδου Ἴόλιον, καὶ τούτῳ τε καὶ Θησεῖ καὶ ἄλλῳ τὴν στρατηγίαν παραδόντες, ἐνίκησαν παρατᾶσαι τὸν Εὐρυσθεῖα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην πλείστοι μὲν τῶν μετ' Εὐρυσθεῖος

κατεκόπησαν, αὐτοῖς δ' ὁ Εὐρυσθέης, τοῦ ἄρματος κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν
 συντριβέντος, ὑπὸ ἄλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐνηρέθη. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ
 υἱοὶ τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως πάντες κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐτελεύτησαν.

6. Strabo 8.6.19, p.377. Εὐρυσθέης μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας εἰς
 Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλκον, βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων,
 ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα Γαργηττοῖ ταφῆναι,
 τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν Τρικουρύθῳ, ἀποκοψάντος αὐτὴν Ἰόλκου
 περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακκρίαν ὑπὸ ἀμαξίου. καὶ ὁ τόπος καλεῖται
 Εὐρυσθέως κεφαλὴ.

7. Pausanias 1.32.6 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι πηγή καλομένη
 Μακκρία, καὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ Τίρουθος ἔφευγεν
 Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήρυκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίσσεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχίνος.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐς ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτησε τοῦ παῖδας Εὐρυσθέως,
 ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος Ἰσθμειανὸν τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ
 Θησέα οὐκ ἔδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἰκέται πρῶτον
 τότε Πελοποννησίοις ποιῶσι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ
 ἐκδόντος ἀγοῦντι Εὐρυσθέα. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἕνεσθαι χρησμοῦ τῶν
 παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρεῖναι τῶν Ἡρακλέους τινὰ ἐθειλοντὴν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε
 οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσι. οὐταῦθα Μακκρία Δηλιανείρας καὶ Ἡρακλέους
 θυγατέρας ἀποσφάλας ἑαυτὴν ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
 τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' αὐτῆς.

8. Pausanias 1.44.10 Προελθούσι δὲ εἰς τὸ πρόσω (κ. τῶν Σκιρωνίδων πετρῶν) μνημα ἔστιν Εὐρυσθέως. φεύγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδας μάχην ἔποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰσολάου λέγουσιν.

(Other authors mention the simple fact of successful aid by Athens to the Herakleidae against Eurystheus: e.g. Hdt. 9.27; Lys. 2.11; Fl. Mx.229B; Isoc. Paneg.56ff.; Philip.34; Archid.42; Panathen.194; D. 18.186; 60.8.

Isoc. Paneg.60 adds of Eurystheus that εἰς τοσαύτην κατέστη μεταβολὴν ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου (κ. Ἡρακλείου) γενόμενος ἐπονειδίστως τοῦ βίου ἐτελεύτησεν, a statement probably derived from the account in the play of Euripides itself, i.e. the murder of Eurystheus at the instigation of Alkmene.

V. also Freller-Robert, Gr. Myth.2.653ff.).

A general account of the legend, compiled from the above authorities, would run as follows:

"After the apotheosis of Herakles the Herakleidae fled from Eurystheus to Ceyx king of Trachis. When threatened by Eurystheus Ceyx sent the Herakleidae to Athens for their protection. The Athenians settled them in the

Tetrapolis region of Attica and refused to hand them over to Eurystheus. In the subsequent battle between Athens and Argos the forces of Eurystheus were defeated and Eurystheus himself was killed."

The divergencies of the individual accounts may be tabulated thus:-

	<u>King of Athens</u>	<u>Killer of E.</u>	<u>Manner of E's death</u>
Pindar	_____	Iolaos	Head cut off.
Apollodoros	_____	Hyllos	Caught in his chariot at the Scironian Rocks; head cut off by Hyllos and given to Alkmene, who mutilates it.
Pherecydes	Demophon	_____	On the field of battle.
Diodoros	Theseus	Hyllos	Chariot wrecked in the rout; killed by Hyllos.
Strabo	_____	_____	On the field of battle.
Pausanias	Theseus	Iolaos	Killed by Iolaos at the Scironian Rocks while fleeing after the battle.

In the play of Euripides the Herakleidae come to Demophon, king of Athens, as suppliants. Demophon is ready to resist Eurystheus on their behalf but the oracles demand the sacrifice of a noble maiden before battle. Demophon says that he will neither sacrifice his own daughter nor compell any of his citizens to offer their daughters. Thereupon a daughter of Herakles offers herself for sacrifice. Her offer is accepted, and in the subsequent battle the Argives are defeated. Eurystheus is pursued in his chariot by Hyllos and a miraculously rejuvenated Iolaos, captured at the Scironian Rocks, brought back alive, and handed over to Alkmene, who declares her intention of killing him. Eurystheus declares the Athenians free from pollution by his death, and prophesies that he will protect Athens when the descendants of the Herakleidae invade Attica in the future. The Athenians must bury him in front of Athene's temple at Pallene.

It seems clear that in the time of Euripides there were several versions of the story. The oldest authority is Pindar (P.9 was composed in 474 B.C.), but he gives no details of the story. The testimony of Pherecydes (Eusebius gives his date as 456 B.C.) as paraphrased

by Antoninus Liberalis (a 2nd Century A.D. mythographer) is a brief and concise outline only. In the absence of the Iolaos of Sophocles and with a few fragments only surviving from the Herakleidae of Aeschylus it is impossible to assess how far the other authorities might have drawn on these two plays: certainly there are three incidents in the play of Euripides which are not reported in the authorities:- the daughter of Herakles (except in Paus. 1.32.6); the rejuvenation of Iolaos; the capturing alive of Eurystheus. These, which will be discussed in Section 3 of the Introduction, show at any rate that the accounts in the other authorities are not derived directly from Euripides. However, before the treatment of the legend by Euripides is examined the date of the production of his play must be established.

2. THE DATE OF THE PLAY

Before Euripides' treatment of the legends can be discussed it is essential that the date of the production of the play be established.

The conclusions reached by Zielinski (Frag.ii.133-240) and Ceadel (CQ, xxxv(1941), 66-89) in their attempts to date the plays of Euripides by metrical analysis of the structure of the iambic trimeters have been generally accepted. Zielinski (op. cit. 239-9) places the *Hekle* between *Med.* (431) and *Hipp.* (428), while Ceadel (loc. cit.74) suggests the year 430. Zuntz (Pol. Plays 83ff.) argues convincingly for the spring of 430. He bases his argument on the prophecy of Eurystheus (1034ff.) that, when buried at Pallene, he will be a most bitter enemy to the descendants of the Herakleidae when they come "hither" (*δῆρῶ*) with a great army. The Spartans in their invasion of Attica in the summer of 430 must in fact have passed Pallene when moving from the Thriasian Plain on their way south into the Paralian land as far as Laurium (Thuc. 2.47.2; 55.1; 57; 3.26.3). In their invasion in 431, of course, the Spartans had moved off from the Thriasian Plain N.E. to Acharnae and then on to link up with supplies from Boeotia (Thuc. 1.125.2;

2.19.1). So the prophecy of Eurystheus could have been effectively stated only in a play produced before the second invasion in the summer of 430, and as Zuntz remarks (Pol. Plays 85): "it presages the failure of the coming Spartan invasion".

(From a statement by Istros (Schol. ad S. OC 701) and Ephorus (Diod. 12.45) that the Tetrapolis was spared by the Spartan invaders because of its association with the Herakleidae, coupled with the remark by Thuc. 3.26.3 that the invaders of 427 ravaged all the land that they had omitted to do in previous invasions, Wilamowitz (KS I.5.79) infers that the play must have been produced in the years 429-427. However, as Zuntz comments (Pol. Plays 84 and nn.) there is no reason for the exclusion of 430 and "no unambiguous evidence that the Tetrapolis suffered in 427, while Istros suggests that it was spared throughout the war.")

Some further evidence that the play was produced in the early years of the Peloponnesian War is afforded by the possible parody of Hkld. 1006 by Ar. Vesp. 1160 (v. Commentary) and also the remark of the Schol. ad Ar. Eq. 214 τάρτατε καὶ χόρδου ὄμοσ τὰ πρᾶγματα - παρωδήσει γὰρ τὸν Ἰαμβόν ἐξ Ἡρακλειδῶν Εὐριπίδου. The Vespae was produced in 422 and

the Equites in 424. (However, there is no line in the
Hkld. as we have it which remotely resembles Ar. Eq.214:
v. Intro. 4.)

3. THE TREATMENT OF THE LEGENDS BY EURIPIDES

Euripides has skilfully selected and combined the legends available to him and made innovations to produce an account of personal and city virtue triumphant, and of the discomfiture of an aggressor, enlivened with the noble sacrifice of a maiden, the savage treatment of a captive general, of which Athens is completely blameless, and with a prophecy of the fate in store for future Spartan invaders of Attica.

It is clear that even if he wished Euripides could not dispense with the strong tradition that the Tetrapolis region was the original setting of the legends. Further, as Zuntz notes, (Pol. Plays 103 and nn.) it is likely that the region was the original home of Theseus. Moreover, Hdt. 6.108, 116 and Paus. 1.32.4 mention the temple of Herakles in Marathon, and Pausanias states that the worship of Herakles as a god began there (cf. also Isoc. 5.33; Aristid. 40.11.) (For the *Ἡρακλείαια*, the games in honour of Herakles, held there cf. Pi. O.9.89; Schol. ad O.13.110; P.8.79).

So while Euripides nominally preserves this tradition (cf. 32, 80) he leaves little doubt in the minds of his audience that it is the city of Athens to which the

Herakleidae have come. The temple before which the scene is set (33, 55, 70, 79, 102, 238) is specified as that of Zeus Agoraios (70), which was certainly in Athens itself (cf. CIA 1.23; Ar. Eq.410; Hsch. s. *ἀγοραίου*). The chorus are clearly Athenian (cf. 358ff.; 748ff.). Demophon appears only a little later than the chorus on hearing Iolaos' cries for help (120ff.) and invites Iolaos into his palace, which is quite clearly near at hand, while he himself goes to make preparations (340ff.). So the centre of the city of Athens is very near the scene of the play.

Thus Euripides keeps the traditional Tetrapolis region as the point of entry into Attica by the Herakleidae, but treats the region as border country (38, 257) through which they have passed to claim sanctuary at a temple in, or near, the city of Athens. He wishes to make it plain that it is Athens which is under attack by an invading army because she has given refuge to the Herakleidae. When Demophon speaks of the *πεδία γῆς* (393) he means the Thriasian Plain, and the *λεπταία ὄρεύη* (394) where Eurystheus and his army are positioned ready to advance into Attica is the Kerata Mountains between Megara and Attica (v. Commentary ad 393ff.), i.e. the route taken by Pleistoanax

in 445 and by Archidamus in 431 (from the direction of Cenoe in N.W. Attica).

However, Euripides was faced with the geographical difficulties of the legend transmitted by Strabo, Apollodorus and Pausanias (v. supra). After the battle Eurystheus is, according to Apollodorus and Pausanias, pursued to the Scironian Rocks and killed there, where his tomb is. Apollodorus adds that his head was cut off and brought back to Alkmene who savagely mutilated it. Strabo says that he fell in battle, his head was buried in Tricorythos, his trunk in Gargettos. Euripides boldly welded together the different accounts: Iolaos in the chariot of Hyllos, after the rout of the Argive army, sees Eurystheus near Pallene, pursues him and captures him near the Scironian Rocks, and has him brought to Alkmene (843ff.). Eurystheus commands the Athenians to bury him before the temple of Athene at Pallene (1030ff.). Gargettos is of course situated quite near Pallene where there was a temple of Athene (cf. also Hdt. 1.62). So Euripides has preserved the legend of a chase from a battle in the Tetrapolis to the Scironian Rocks, but rejected the story of the death of Eurystheus there, and modified the account of his burial at Gargettos and

Tricorythos to associate him with the temple of Athene, city-goddess of Athens, at Pallene; his real innovation here is of course the prophecy by Eurystheus that he will vent his anger upon the descendants of the Herakleidae when they come to Pallene, an innovation which, as discussed above, makes sense only if the date of the play is 430.

Euripides makes no mention of how the army of Eurystheus moved from the Kerata Mountains to Pallene. This is the main weakness in his handling of the legend. But in the rapid movement of the play it is unlikely that an audience would be aware of any awkwardness: they hear of an exciting battle, a chase, a capture, and then of an encouraging prophecy, all within the general framework of a legend of the defeat of an invading Argive army and its commander. Questions of strategy would surely not arise in their minds.

Euripides avails himself of the legend of the dismemberment of the body of Eurystheus and the mutilation of the head by Alkmene. He hints that Alkmene will wreak her vengeance on the body (1050: v. Commentary) after she has had Eurystheus put to death. He thus has

the Athenians defeat the invader and Iolaos capture his persecutor, while Eurystheus declares the piety of Athens in sparing his life (1012), absolving the Athenians from the blood-guilt of his murder by Alkmene and promising to them his aid after death against the descendants of the Herakleidae (1030ff.). Accordingly, this modification by Euripides of the legend in that he has Eurystheus captured alive, serves to contrast the humane behaviour of the Athenians with that of Alkmene, from whom the contemporary Spartans were descended. Euripides wishes also to show Eurystheus behaving nobly in defeat (983ff.), contrary to what the audience had been led to expect (cf. especially 458, 813ff.) in contrast to Alkmene's cruelty in her hour of triumph.

That it is the Theban hero Iolaos, not the Heraklid Hyllos, who is the main character of the play is of course deliberate selection by Euripides. Apart from the dramatic possibilities of an old and persecuted hero proving victorious over his enemy after a miraculous rejuvenation, Euripides would certainly not wish to show a Heraklid, an ancestor of the Spartans, as playing the main part in the capture of an invader of Attica. Although Hyllos and Iolaos pursue Eurystheus, the Messenger describes

Iolaos as the actual captor of Eurystheus and as the one who brings him back in triumph (859ff.). However, Euripides does concede to Hyllos some bravery and nobility (802ff.). But he arranges for him to be absent from the supplication of the Herakleidae (45).

The rejuvenation of Iolaos clearly offered Euripides an opportunity to show virtue triumphant. Iōlaos prays (851ff.) to Hebe (wife of Herakles, 915) and Zeus to become young again for one day; his wish is granted and the chariot in which he rides with Hyllos is attended by two stars, Hebe and Herakles. The differing accounts of the scholia ad Pi. B.9.79 (v. Section 1) seem to point to this legend of Iolaos existing before Euripides, especially as both accounts describe Iolaos as dying after his achievement, whereas he lives on in Euripides - at least he is still alive in 936. However, Euripides has the Messenger relate the actual rejuvenation as hearsay: "What followed I relate hearing from others, but up to this point from personal observation." (847-8). Furthermore there is no other account of such rejuvenation in the other authorities. But the mention by Ovid Met.9.397 (*nam limine constitit alto/paene puer dubiaque tegens lanugine malas/ora reformatus primos Iolaus in annos*) with its absence of detail seems to point to a pre-Euripidean account.

It is very probable that "Makaria" was an invention of Euripides. Wilamowitz (KS I.4 = Index Sch. Gryphsw. 1882, iii - xvi) carefully and exhaustively examined the evidence. His arguments can be summarised as follows. Paus. 1.32.6 mentions that Makaria is a fountain in Marathon of which this story is told: Makaria, daughter of Herakles by Deianira, killed herself because of an oracle and so secured victory for Athens and her name for the fountain. Strabo 8.377 simply mentions the fountain Makaria as being near the place in Tricorythos where Iolaos cut off the head of Eurystheus. Plut. Pelop.21 mentions Makaria in a list of persons who were sacrificed. She is named in a list of *φιλῶσαίβοι* (Westermann, Mythogr.345) as offering herself for sacrifice on behalf of her brothers, and by the Paroemiographers in connection with the proverb *βλάτ' ἢ μακάρων* (v. Wilamowitz, op. cit. for details) which is interpreted by them as referring to the casting of flowers upon her body after sacrifice (probably suggested to them by the account of the funeral of Polyxena in E. Hec.573). In none of the many references to the Athenians and the Herakleidae (v. Intro 1, sub fine) is her name mentioned. More importantly, her actual name is never mentioned in the play itself: one can be sure that if there were a daughter with the name of Makaria in the legends available to Euripides, he

would not have missed the opportunity of dwelling at length on the etymology of her name.

It is quite probable that the spring in the region associated with the Herakleidae came later to be associated with Euripides' invention of a daughter of Herakles who offered herself for sacrifice to save her brothers.

It is clear that Euripides chose Demophon and Acamas as rulers in Athens at the time of the supplication of the Herakleidae instead of Theseus in order to make a neater chronological parallel between the sons of Theseus and the sons of Herakles (cf. esp. 211, 919ff.).

4. THE SUSPECTED MUTILATION OF THE PLAY

It appears that G. Hermann was the first to suspect that play as it exists in our mss. was incomplete. He is quoted in the edition of Matthiae, vii. p.257 as follows: "Fabulae extrema pars videtur intercidisse, in qua fieri non poterat quin de Macaria referretur, eaque res solitis celebraretur lamentis. Potuerunt in ea fabulae parte locum habere duo isti trimetri, quos Stobaeus in Floril. Tit. lxxix (Stob. 79.2) ex Heraclidis affert. Quamquam in ed. Trincav. omissum est fabulae nomen." Kirchhoff (Euripidis Trag. ii (1855), 496, note on 627) suggested that after 629 a speech had been lost describing the sacrifice of Makaria, followed by a *κομμός* of Alkmene and a choral ode. Wilamowitz (KS I.5 = Hermes 17 (1882) 337-364) went even further: rejecting the idea of an accidental loss of several pages which would involve the remarkable coincidence that an epeisodion, *κομμός* and stasimon occupied a number of whole pages in the hypothetically mutilated ms., he posited a deliberate attempt by a "regisseur" of the period c.380-330 B.C. to shorten the play and rewrite part of the remainder, albeit clumsily, to patch over the missing portion.

Any theory of the mutilation of the play, deliberate or otherwise, depends on two factors: firstly, the statement in the (incomplete) hypothesis to the play *ταύτην μὲν οὖν εὐγενῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν* ; and secondly, the fragments found in the florilegia (quoted by Murray, OCT, at the end of his text of the play), which, while attributed to the Hkld., are not found in the mss. of the play, together with Schol. ad Ar. Eq.214 (quoted above in Intro. 2) who states that the line of Ar. is a parody of a line from the Hkld. of E., to which there is nothing similar in our mss.

Zuntz (CQ xli, 1947, 46-52) argues convincingly (esp. op. cit. 46-48) that these fragments are almost certainly not from the Hkld., though so attributed. As one would expect from florilegia they are quite general statements of kind which could certainly not suit a description of the sacrifice of Makaria or indeed any comment upon it, concerned as they are with the subject *de colendis patribus*. The exception, Stob. 7.9 (N.854), which does refer to sacrifice is in fact attributed to *Εὐριπίδης Ἡρακλεῖ (Ἡρακλείδαις Nauck)*. As for the supposed parody by Ar. Eq.214, at the most this might be evidence for a few missing lines in our mss. and could not be used in support of any theory of wholesale loss of text

or deliberate excision.

The statement in the hypothesis needs a little more consideration. Zuntz (*Pol. Plays*, 129ff., esp. 134; also *Transmission*, 140ff.) has shown that the type of hypothesis prefixed to the *Hkld.* is drawn from a "Tales from Euripides" which are "not designed to introduce the reader to the plays. They are meant as substitute for the plays" (*Pol. Plays*, 135). Pfeiffer (*Hist. of Class. Schol.*, 195, n.4) and Barrett (*E. Hipp.*, *Addenda*, p.431) give further details of papyrus fragments of the 1st and 2nd Cent. A.D. of such a collection. Pfeiffer (*loc. cit.*) considers that the age of such compilations must have been later Hellenistic.

Hypotheses of this kind are quite factual, but peculiarly liable to textual corruption and incomplete tradition, perhaps not too surprising in view of their original purpose for something distinct from the plays themselves. (Cf. the hypotheses of *E. Ba.* 6, 16; *IT* 2; *Ion* (incomplete); *Hipp.* 13-14.). Zuntz (*CQ* xli, 1947, 48) draws attention to some peculiarities in the hypothesis to the *Hkld.*, but the real point at issue is what is meant by the statement in the hypothesis "they honoured her as she died nobly"? That statement and the following

one, αὐτοὶ δὲ clearly represent a clumsy attempt to summarise 630 - 798. If the reference to the honours paid to the dead Makaria is to be taken as proof of an original description of her sacrifice, then αὐτοὶ δὲ could equally well be used to suggest that 630 - 798 are interpolated! But certainly τῶν γε μὴν means no more than it states: the Athenians honoured the dead Makaria; which they certainly did (cf. 568, and the whole tone of 621ff.). As Zuntz remarks (CQ xli, 1947, 49), it looks as if the last two sentences of the hypothesis have been clumsily composed to replace the final summary of the original.

Zuntz (op. cit.) has other convincing arguments to urge against the theory of Wilamowitz, but the key to the proper understanding of the play is given by Pflugk (Proem. to Hkld. 4): "...eo animo ad talia accedamus, quasi spectamus fabulam, non quasi legamus." The play is packed with action, incidents, themes (v. next section) and nowhere hardly is there a pause in the action. The story is of the defeat and humbling of a bullying and arrogant invader of Attica. The sacrifice of Makaria is merely an incident in this most "episodic" of plays. To dwell on this would have meant the holding up of the

flow of action to lay stress ^{on} a portion of the play, i.e.
the actual sacrifice, especially as Makaria, as Wilamowitz
himself believed, was an invention of Euripides himself.

5. THE THEMES OF THE PLAY

The basic theme of the play is stated in the first lines of the prologue spoken by Iolaos: the truly *δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος* goes unrewarded while his opposite is *ἀδύτων ἄριστος*. Iolaos has always acted in accordance with *αἰδώς*, i.e. the code of conduct which the *εὐγενής* must always follow, and yet he has been constantly harassed by Eurystheus because of his protection of the Herakleidae and has suffered exile and the threat of death since the apotheosis of Herakles. But he triumphes finally, since he meets with a city whose ruler respects the same code as he (236ff.), and with the help of the miraculous intervention of the gods he shows that *δίκη*, the way of *αἰδώς*, has prevailed over its opposite, *βία*.

The sacrifice of Makaria is prompted by her *αἰδώς* also, stemming from her *εὐγένεια* (509-513, 526-7, 537-8), but in shocking contrast is the behaviour of Alkmene, who is so maddened by her desire for revenge that she is determined not only to murder a man whose life has been spared by her benefactors and who can do her no further harm but also to expose his dead body to mutilation (1050). Euripides seems to be suggesting here that she is breaking

the moral code proper to her noble descent just as Eurystheus himself had done, and to be hinting that her descendants, the contemporary Spartan invaders of Attica, will suffer for this just as Eurystheus has suffered. The noble conduct of Eurystheus when brought before Alkmene serves to underline her vindictive cruelty. Virtue has triumphed, the arrogant oppressor has been humbled, now should be the time for mercy.

Throughout the play there is much expressed and implicit praise of Athens. Apart from the obvious laudation (e.g. 38, 69, 198-9, 358-9) there is the appeal by the Chorus to Athene (770 - 783) to remember her festival held at Athens and drive out the invader, and the claim that Athens knows "the path of righteousness", proved by the defeat of the Argives (901 - 909). It is stressed that Athens is the only city to hear the appeal of the suppliants (31, 305-6). She also magnanimously spared Eurystheus (961ff.) and is quite innocent of his subsequent death; in fact, Eurystheus promises to be the protector of Athens against the descendants of the Herakleidae (1012-3, 1030ff., 1054-5).

So, after a brilliantly managed succession of exciting incidents, the struggle between the herald of Eurystheus

and the aged Iolaos, the quarrel between Demophon and the herald, the offering of herself for sacrifice by Makaria, the humour of the aged Iolaos pathetically determined to join the battle, the description of the battle itself followed by an account of the miraculous rejuvenation of Iolaos and his capture of Eurystheus, the nobility of Eurystheus when faced with the rage of Alkmene, the audience would be left with feelings of pride in their city of Athens, disgust for Alkmene's treatment of the captive, and hope for the failure of the coming Spartan invasion.

6. THE TEXT

The text on which the Commentary is based is that of Murray (OCT 1902). I have indicated at the appropriate places in the Commentary where I would diverge from him.

The Hkld. is one of the so-called "Alphabetic Plays" of Euripides, which survive in a single medieval ms. (L) and its copy (for these plays) (P), written in the early 14th Century. Details of these mss. are as follows:-

L = Laurentianus 32.2 (For the Hkld. 89r - 96v)

P = Palatinus 287 and Laurentianus Conv. Spppr. 172

(i.e. two parts of the same ms. which became separated.)

(For the Hkld.1-1002, Palatinus 203r - 211v; 1003-end, Laurentianus 1r.)

Zuntz (Transmission, esp. 13ff.) has materially established that for these alphabetic plays P is a copy of L. The corrections and metrical comments which appear in L (apart from the corrections by the scribe himself) were shown by A. Turyn (The Byzantine Tradition of Euripides, 1957) to be those of the Byzantine scholar Demetrius Triclinius. (For their partial appearance in P v. Zuntz, Transmission, esp. 16ff.), Thus what is designated by Murray as L², 1, is in fact the work of

one man, Demetrius Triclinius, in his separate revisions of the ms.

The practical conclusions from the work of Zuntz and Turyn for an editor of an alphabetic play are that P can be ignored and that knowledge of Triclinius' methods (v. esp. Zuntz, Transmission 193ff.) enable a correct assessment of the value of his work to be made, especially that which concerns the lyric parts of the play. (Cf. esp. Hkld. 608, 629; v. Zuntz, Transmission 84 and my Commentary ad loc.). Only rarely (as noted in the Commentary) does Triclinius introduce a genuine ancient variant - drawing this not from the exemplar of L, but from an even older copy, which Zuntz terms the "Eustathius copy" (Transmission 198).

COMMENTARY

THE PROLOGOS

1 - 72

Iolaos is discovered as a suppliant before the altar of a temple with around him the younger male children of Herakles (10, 40). He begins immediately with the keynote of the play: the unjust man prospers, while the just man does not, as he can vouch for by his own experiences. Because of his principles (αἰδώς , 6) and his relationship to Herakles he shared danger with him, and now that Herakles is dead he is protecting his children from injury by the king of Argos, Eurystheus, who by means of his herald, pursues them from land to land as they try to gain sanctuary, and by threatening with the power of Argos the cities to which they appeal has them driven out. Now, finally, they have come to Athens, to the Tetrapolis region on the borders of Attica as suppliants to the two sons of Theseus. Alkmene, the aged mother of Herakles, is looking after the daughters of Herakles within the temple, while Hyllos and the older sons have gone to look for another asylum if they are expelled from Attica.

Suddenly, (47), Iolaos sees the herald of Eurystheus approaching; the herald tries to make Iolaos leave the altar, and eventually forcibly drags the children from him, pushing him to the ground.

2. There are two interpretations of this line:-

- (a) "The just man is born for the good of others."
- (b) "One man is by nature just to others."

In support of (a) Emsley quotes E. Alc. 685 *αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶτε
δυστυχῆς εἶτ' εὐτυχῆς ἔφυ*; IA 1386 *πᾶσι γὰρ μ' Ἕλλησι κοινὸν ἔτεκες,
οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνῃ*. (Ion 646, which he quotes, should not
be read *ἐμαυτῷ σῆν* (LP *ἐὰδ' ἐμαυτῷ σῆν*; Dindorf *ἐμαυτῷ σῆν μ'*,
Wakefield *μ' ἐμαυτῷ σῆν*) but *ἐμ' αὐτοῦ σῆν* (Badham),
which is "almost certainly right" (Owen ad Loc.), and
adopted by Murray.) None of these suggested parallels
seems at all convincing.

Reiske strongly felt the lack of a predicate to
ὁ μὲν δίκαιος πέφυκ' and believed that a line had dropped
out after 2, the form of which he suggested as *πρόθυμος*
(or *εὐχρηστος*), *εὐέντεκτος*, *οὐ κέρδη βλέπων*, as a
balance to 3 and 4. Zuntz (Pol. Plays p.109; CQ XLI
1947, p.50, note 1) supported Reiske on general and
stylistic grounds. He felt that one line describing
the just man is outbalanced by two and a half lines
concerned with his opposite. (V. infra).

Stobaeus 10.1 quotes these lines (1-4) but with
a few differences. (V. App. Crit.). This means that if
a line has been omitted, it must have dropped out before

the 6th Century. Whatever the source which Stobaeus used, it is clear that this did not contain the missing line: his variants are typical of intelligent memory which preserves the essentials but may slightly alter the details.

In support of (b) Ritchie (Authenticity of Rh. of E., p.207-208) has collected many conclusive parallels:

- Rh.395 and 423 *κοῦ διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Med.294 *χρή δ' οὐποθ' ὅστις ἀρτίφρων πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Hipp.1031 (*ὀλοίμην*) ... *εἰ κακὸς πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Ibid.1075 *καὶ μαρτυρήσασιτ' εἰ κακὸς πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Ibid.1191 *Ζεῦ, μηκέτ' εἴην, εἰ κακὸς πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Or.540 *ἐγὼ δὲ τᾶλλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Fr.325 (Danae) *κρείσσων γὰρ οὐδὲς χρημάτων πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.
 Fr.425 (Ixion) *ὅστις γὰρ ἀστῶν πλέον ἔχειν πέφυκ' ἄνηρ*.

He remarks that "this parallel has not been included in the collection of previous scholars, but it is remarkable the the phrase *πέφυκ' ἄνηρ* is confined to Euripides, who uses it as a formula for the end of the trimeter, *ἄνηρ* being superfluous to the sense." In his note 1, op. cit. p.208 he states: "That *ἄνηρ* does not belong to the subject is clear from the examples where the verb is in the first person. If in Hcl. 2-5

the antithesis as it stands appears trite, and its two members are of uneven size, this need not mean that something is missing. It is after all the second part of the antithesis that is to be illustrated in the following narrative, and the antithesis is merely a rhetorical device for giving this sentiment pointed expression."

The general sense will then be: "one man behaves as a man should towards others; another man looks only to gain, without consideration for anyone else, but the result is his personal profit." By implication in his recital of his service to Herakles, and his support of the Herakleidae, which resulted in his exile and pursuit by Eurystheus, Iolaos is showing what has happened to the *δικαίος ἀνὴρ*. Zuntz himself admits (Pol. Plays, p.109) that the contrast between "righteousness" and "self-interest" "dominates the whole play". So, in effect, the rest of the play supplies the "missing line".

τοῖς πέλαις : Pearson: "'others' generally, not limited to relatives or friends." V. Elmsley ad Med.85." V. Barrett ad E. Hipp.441 τῶν πέλαις : "other people". Cf. E. Med.86 ὡς πᾶς τις αὐτὸν τοῦ πέλαις μᾶλλον φίλει.

3. ἀνειμένον : "unrestrainedly pursuing gain".

For the literal use of ἀνείναι cf. S. Ant.579; El.516;

E. Andr. 598 and for the metaphorical use of the verb

as here cf. Hd.2.167 τούς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους

E.. Andr.727 ἀνειμένον τι χρῆμα πρεσβυτῶν γένος.

4. πόλει : public life contrasted with private

life; cf. E. Fr.425 (Ixion) ὅσῃ γὰρ ἀστῶν πλείον ἔχειν πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ,

οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται φίλοις τ' ἀμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει.

Fr.187 ἀργοῦ μὲν οἴκοις (ἀστοῖς Elmsley) καὶ πόλει γενήσεται, φίλοις δ' οὐδέϊ.

Fr.194 ὅδ' ἡσυχῆς φίλοις τ' ἀσφαλῆς φίλος πόλει δ' ἄριστος.

συναλλάσσειν : of social intercourse; cf. S. OT 1110,

1130. The man whose every thought is for his personal

gain cannot be trusted or relied upon.

5. αὐτῷ δ' ἄριστος : cf. E.Fr.194 (quoted on 4; "πόλει τ'

ἀρεστός scripserim" Nauck); Hel.1290 ἄριστα γὰρ σοι ταῦτα

πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνον ; X.Cyn.13.17 ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει

καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκείσῃ τῶν φίλων καὶ πολιτῶν.

For the structure of 4-5 cf. S. Ai.967 ἐμοὶ πικρὸς
τέθνηκεν ἢ κείνοις γλυκὺς — αὐτῷ δὲ τερπνός.

οὐ λόγῳ : "not by hearing from others, but by

personal experience", 6ff. Cf. A. Pr.336 ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ τεκμηρίομαι;

Hdt. 5.24 τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι, ἀλλ' ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθεῖν.

There is an implied *ἀλλ' ἔργω* . For the common antithesis in Greek literature between *λόγος* and *ἔργον* v. Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis*, esp. p.42ff.

6. αἰδοῖ ; *αἰδώς* is here "self-respect", the principle of behaviour which makes a man *δίκαιος* . He would be ashamed not to act as he ought. His morality is based on what society would think of his behaviour; cf. also 28. This is the "Shame-Culture" described by Dodds (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, pp.17-18; v. also Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, p.155). For a full discussion of the meaning and implications of *αἰδώς* , v. Barrett ad *E.Hipp.*78, 244,333-5, 385-6, 772-5, 1258-9.

7. ἔξον : accusative absolute, a prose idiom common in E.; cf. *Med.*372; *Hipp.*1317; *Alc.*890; *Andr.*522; *IT* 688; *Hel.*1174; *HF* 938. It is not found elsewhere in tragedy with the possible exception of *S.Fr.*193.

8. πλείστων... εἷς : the *εἷς* reinforces the *πλείστων* ; the common idiom, "one person.....the most"; cf.

A. *Pers.*327 *εἷς ἄνθρωπος πλείστον πόνον ἐχθροῖς παρασχών.*

S. *Tr.*460 *πλείστου ἄνθρωπος εἷς Ἡρακλῆς ἔγχευε δῆ.*

E. *Or.*743 *ἢ πλείστου Ἀχαιῶν ἄλεσεν γυνή μία.*

E. *Rh.*946 *κατὰ πλείστον ἄνθρωπος ἓνα.*

X. *An.*1.9.22 *δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἷς γε ἄνθρωπος ἂν ἐλάμβανε.*

Ἡρακλέει : the regular dative of person with whom a thing is shared; cf. 627, 665. KG 425 A.1.

9. κατ' οὐρανὸν ναιέει : Iolaos already believes that Herakles is with the gods, Alkmene, overwhelmed by her afflictions, not until 871. (Cf. 910).

10. ὑπὸ πτεροῖς : the common metaphor of those under protection, as 239 νεοσσῶν ; E. Andr.441 νεοσσόν.

Tr.751 νεοσσὸς ἄσσι πτέρυγας ἐσπίτνων ἐμαί.

HF 71 οὐς ὑπὸ πτεροῖς σῶσω νεοσσὸς ὄρνις ὡς ὑφειμένῃ.

A. Eu.1001 Παλλίδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας.

11. αὐτὸς δεόμενος σωτηρίας : probably parodied by Ar.Ec.412
ὄρατε μὲν με δεόμενον σωτηρίας.

13. πρῶτον μὲν : according to Pearson answered by ἄλλ' of 14, but more probably by φεύγομεν δ' : the attempted murder is contrasted with the continuous flight.

14. εἰς ἔδραμεν : (εἰς ἔδραμον LP. Corr. Reiske).

The only instance of this word, or any other compound of διδράσκειν in tragedy, except for S. Ai.167 ἀπέδραν .

14-15. Tr. "We have lost our country, but saved our lives." Pearson says "home rather than citizenship",

but Iolaos argues (185-6) that Argos has no claim upon the Herakleidae because they are no longer citizens of that state - *ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἄργους οὐ μέτεσθ' ἡμῶν ἔστι.*

16. ἐξορίζοντες : in 257 *ἐξορίσει* is definitely transitive - "expell from your boundaries", and the difficulty here is the seemingly intransitive use of the active voice. Hence Barnes suggested *ἐξορισθέντες*, but as Elmsley remarked the present participle is required with *φεύγομεν* and *ἀλώμενοι*. For the simple verb, *ορίσω*, used intransitively, editors following Elmsley quote E. Med.433 *διδύμους ορίσασα πόντου πέτρας*. But Page ad loc. denies that a special meaning of "passing between" is required, and claims that the sense of "making a boundary" as in Hdt. 4.51 (*λίμνη*) *οὐρίσει τὴν τε Ἐκυβικὴν καὶ τὴν Νευρίδα γῆν* is all that is needed. This latter sense is also found in A. Supp.545 *πόρον κυματῶν ορίσει*, which Elmsley quotes as an example in support of the intransitive use here of *ἐξορίσω*.

Paley says: "properly: making one city after another a limit to our flight; the *ἐξ-* seems to carry out the force of the *ἀπο-*". In other words, the difficulty here lies in the compound.

Musgrave would understand a reflexive accusative with the participle, citing in support E. Cyc.166 βίψαι ; El.435 ἐπᾶλλε ; Ph.1117 κρύπτοντα ; to which Paley adds Alc.897 βίψαι . He could have added the very common "intransitive" use of βάλλειν in the phrase βάλλ᾽ εἰς κόρακας . Cf. also the use of αἴρειν (67 ἀπαίρ') . However, all these examples may be an illustration of the suggestion of Pearson here that all verbs expressing motion have a tendency to become intransitive.

Perhaps the meaning of the compound can be expressed here as "constantly moving from the borders of one city to those of another". For the sense cf. Pl. Ap.37D ἄλλην εἰς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀμειβομένην καὶ ἐλαυνομένην (In E. Hipp.1380 ἐξορίζεται (κικόν) is probably middle, and not passive, as LSJ, and means "comes out of its boundary"; v. Barrett ad loc.).

17. καὶ τόδ' : explained by 19ff., as the asyndeton makes clear.

18. ὑβρισμ'... ὑβρίσαι : for this kind of cognate acc. in E. cf. HF 708, 745; Supp.512; Hel.785; IA 961; Ba.247; (Also in Ar. - μανίᾳ μάνισθαι Thesm.793; λήρον ληρεῖν Thesm.880, Pl.517.)

19. ἰδρυμένους : sc. ἡμᾶς .

20. ἔξαίτεῖ: the technical verb corresponding to the noun ἔξαίτησις (extradition). D.49.55; IG II²457b19.

21. σμικρὸν: the LP reading σμικρὰν should be retained here. Eurystheus puts forward (a) the city of Argos as no mean city to have as friend or foe, (b) himself as enjoying great success. Wilamowitz suggested σμικρὸν on the basis of Kirchhoff's E.. Andr.86 emendation:

Ἑρμιόνη γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰ φύλας Ms: σμικρὸν φίλον Ambr.;
σμικρὸν φύλας Kirchhoff.

Undoubtedly the correct reading προτείνων was recovered from the LP προτιμῶν by Canter. Musgrave helped further with φιλεῖν ἔχθραν τε in place of the LP φίλων ἔχθραν γε, and finally Dindorf completed the restoration with φίλην, supported by E. Supp.387 φίλον τε θέσθαι πάντ' Ἐρεχθεῖδων λεών. For προτείνειν cf. E. Hel.28 τοῦμοι δέ' κἀλλος ... Κύπρις προτείνασ' ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος γαμῆι.

23. τὰπ' ἐμοῦ: "what I could do"; lit. "the things coming from me." Cf. E. El.280 καὶ βέβαια τὰπὸ σου; Tr.74 ἔτομ' ἂν βούλη τὰπ' ἐμοῦ; ibid.1154 ὡς σύντομ' ἡμῖν τὰπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὲ κἀπὸ σοῦ. (Cf. also infra 1054 τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν). Almost = τὰ ἐμά = ἐγώ; cf. E. Andr.235 ὡς δὴ σὺ σώφρων, τὰμά δ' οὐχὶ σώφρονα;

28. ὀκνῶν προδοῦναι : here is the basis of the αἰδώς of Iolaos (v. supra on 6). He will not betray the children of Herakles for fear of what people will think of him.

29. ἴδεσθ' : the middle used by the poets for the aitive. LSJ s.v.II.4.

30. συγγενῆς γεγώς : the family is of paramount importance to Iolaos. Cf. 6 and his insistence throughout the play that the children of Herakles should be helped by the children of Theseus because of the relationship between them. If these are δῖμοιοι , they will certainly help him and the Herakleidae just as he helped both Herakles and his children.

32. σύκληρον χθόνα : i.e. the other three demes, Oenoe, Probalinthos, and Tricorythos, which with Marathon formed the Tetrapolis, the τετράπολιν γύνοικον λαού of 80-81.

Strabo 9.1.p.397 says that Cecrops divided Attica into twelve communities, πόλεις, of which one was this τετράπολις. In 8.p.383 he says Ξεῦθος δὲ τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος θυγατέρα γῆμας, ἔκτισε τὴν Τετράπολιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Οἰνόην, Μαραθῶνα, Προβάλινθον καὶ Τρικόρυθον.

Also the scholiast ad S. OC 70 says Ἀλκεδαμόνιοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν δηροῦντες, τῆς μὲν Τετραπόλεως ἀπέσχοντο διὰ τοῦς Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν δὲ μορίων, διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

Herodotus mentions (6.108, 116) a temple of Herakles at Marathon (cf. Pl.01.9.134; 13.157; Pyth. 8.113). Euripides has chosen this region because of its close association with Herakles and the Herakleidae. (For a fuller discussion v. Introduction.)

33. ἰκέται προσωφείησαι : to be taken together, as in 345 ἰκέται εὖ πράξει πόλιν . Cf.. Thuc. 3.67 ἰκετείαν ποιοῦνται τούδε τιμωρήσασθαι ; 3.59.2 ζυνημονεῖν ἰκέται γιγνώμεθα Cf. MT 749.

35, 36. Wilamowitz (K-S I. p.78) suggested that these two lines should be transposed, on the grounds that the genealogy in 36 which accounts for the possession of the Tetrapolis by the sons of Theseus is not that required for the relationship between them and the Herakleidae expressed in 37, and stated in full in 207ff. But Athens is described as Πανδίωνος γῆ in E. Hipp.26, Supp.562, and there seems to be no special genealogical emphasis there or here. (V. further Zuntz (Pgl. Plays, p.97, note 3), who convincingly argues against such a transposition.)

35. δισσῶς θεσέως παῖδας : Demophon and Acamas. Acamas enters with Demophon at 119 but is a κωφὸν πρόσωπον throughout the play. In answer to the question of the herald,(114),

the Chorus say that Demophon is lord of the land, perhaps because he was the elder of the two.

36. ἐκ γένου Πανδίωνος : Pandion was the father of Aegeus, who was the father of Theseus by Aithra. Here that genealogy of Demophon and Acamas is given which explains their ancient claim to the land of Attica, not that which explains their kinship to the Herakleidae (v. supra on 35, 36).

37. τοῖσδ' ἔγγυς ὄντας : i.e. related to the Herakleidae, by the genealogy of 207-212 (v. note).

38. ὄρον : LP: τῆνδ' . . . ὄρον Stephanus: τόνδε θ' ἰκόμεσθ' Murray. The ms. reading can only be explained as apposition, but τέρμονας and ὄρον are so close in meaning that this seems improbable. Murray's suggestion seems preferable, i.e. "we have reached the boundaries of Athens and this (particular) frontier".

κλεινῶν : a stock epithet of Athens: cf. E. Hipp. 423, 760, 1094; Ion 30, 590, 1038.

39. δυσὸν γερόντων : i.e. Iolaos and Alkmene. The sentence is ironic: who are the generals? An old woman and an old man! Whom do they command? Young children in flight!

The dative of the agent is less commonly found with tenses other than the perfect and the pluperfect; cf. S. Ai.539; Ant.1218, 503 (v. Jebb's note). KG 423.18(c).

δέ: for the postponement v. GP 187-8 - "more probably as a matter of metrical convenience".

40. ἐγὼ μὲν...καλχαίνων... ἢ δ'...σώσει: distributive apposition, (nominativus pendens), as E. Ba.1131; Ph.1462; A. Pr.200; S. Ant.259; Thuc.4.23.2. The nominatives follow as if στρατηγέται = στρατηγούμεν, with the complication that a finite verb σώσει balances the participle καλχαίνων. KG 493.2.

καλχαίνων: "deeply concerned about". Cf. S. Ant.20
δηλοῖ γὰρ τι καλχαίνουσ' ἔπος.

41. τὸ θῆλυ γένος: implying other daughters of Herakles besides Makaria, (cf. also 544 πάσαι ἀδελφαὶ τῆσδε), although tradition generally makes Herakles the father of sons only.

43. αἰδούμεθα: cf.6, 28. For the conviction of Iolaos that it is wrong to bring young girls among a crowd (of men) cf. E. Or.108 εἰς ὄχλον ἔρπειν παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν.
IA 678 ὀφθῆναι κόραις πικρόν (England's punctuation, but even with a comma after κόραις the sense is not radically changed); ibid. 992 βούλη νιν ἰκέειν σοὶ περιπτύξαι γόνυ; ἀπαρθένοισι μὲν τὰς?
Ph.92ff.; El.343 γυναικί τοι αἰσχρὸν μετ' ἄνδρῶν ἐστάναι νεανιῶν.

For the construction Elmsley compares E.Ph.510 ἀρχύομαι
ἐλθόντα σὺν ὄπλοις τόνδε τυχεῖν ἂν χρησῆαι.

44. ἐπιβωμισστατεῖν ; for the strangeness of this compound, compare also ἐξαμνηκνήσομεν 495. Both words are certainly genuine.

45. οἷσι πρεσβύει γένος : generally translated as = "who are the eldest". Elmsley admitted that he could not readily produce a comparable reference where γένος means "age". The best Pflugk offers is Hom. Il.15.182 γενέῃ πρότερος . Il.3.215 has γένος in the sense they seek. Even so πρεσβύει presents a difficulty, not to be resolved by a comparison with S. Ant.720, where it means "be best". Jebb ad loc. refers to Hkld.45 here, which he would translate "whose birth has precedence. (=the eldest)."

A Clue to the resolution of the difficulty is given by 479 (note) where πρεσβύειν γένος must mean "represent, speak for, the family". (Paley, obsessed by the unanimity of editors in respect of 45, considers that this sense here is "remarkable because the natural meaning of the words is 'to be the eldest of the family'". Barnes, however, translates "obire legationem generis", and seems to be followed by Beck and Jerram.)

I suggest, then, a slight emendation which gives the sense "represent the family" and is in effect the passive of the phrase in 479:- οἷς γένος πρεσβύεται = "by whom the family is represented". The ms. reading may have been caused by the position of γένος at the end of 41, and the voice of the verb affected by the consequent mispositioning of γένος .

48. δέσπο : for the following imperative, Pearson compares E. IA 1377 *δέσπο δὴ σκέψαι μεθ' ἡμῶν.*

49. κήρυκα Εὐρυσθέως : not named in the play, but named as Copreus by Homer (53, note).

51. ἀλήται : cf. 244, 318, and 515 (*ἀλητεύω*).

52. μῖσος : "object of hatred": cf. E. Med.1323; IT 525; infra 941; A. Ag.1411; E. Andr.261 (*ὦ... σκληρὸν θράσος*).

Λσ' 7 : a necessary addition by Barnes.

53. πολλὰ... ἡγγεῖλαι κακί : Hom. Il.15.639 *Κοπρηῶς.... ὃς Εὐρυσθέως ἀέθλων ἀγγελίης οἴχνεσκε βίην Ἡρακλείῃ.* The reference is to the commands of Eurystheus to Herakles concerning the Labours.

55. Κο(πρεύς) : LP ΚΗΡΥΞ Murray. The mss. always

give a name rather than a description to the dramatis personae whenever possible; cf. E. Andr. *Μολοττός* for *παῖς* , Alc. *Εὐμηλος* for *παῖς* , and in this play *Μακκρία* for *παρθένος* .

ἦ που : ironic. GP 285.

τήνδ' ἔδραν : the temple of Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος* (70, 79) which was in Athens; Hesychius *Ἀγοραίου Διός. βωμός Ἀθηνῶσι.* schol. ad Ar. Eq.410 *Ἀγοραῖος Ζεὺς ἱδρυταὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἦγουν Ἀθηνῶσι.*

It is probably the *βωμός Ἰλίου* to which Apollodorus 2.8.1 describes the Herakleidae as coming for help when they came to Athens. For this dramatic "blurring" of the Tetrapolis and Athens, v. Introduction.

ἔδραν : accusative as in 393 (note).

56. κακῶς φρονῶν : "fool"; cf. E. Med.250, 892; Or.824 (*κακόφρων*).

57. For the expression cf. 977 (note).

58. τήν σην : sarcastic; v. on 284.

61. οὐ ἤτι : GP 275 - "giving the lie to a positive statement".

βωμῶς : i.e. rights of sanctuary.

62. ἔλευθερά τε γῆ' : "the land is free"; sc. ἔσται not ἄρκεσει .

63. μοι τῆδε χερί' : the "whole and part" construction (σχῆμα Ἰωνικόν). τῆδε χερί' defines μοι more closely. Cf. E. Ba.619; HF 179; Tr.635. KG 406.9.

(Dobree's suggestion of μή for μοι , adopted by Wecklein, weakens the sarcasm of the line.)

64. γεμ' LP: γ'ἔμ' Reisig. Pearson correctly points out that as the emphasis here is on violence there is no need to alter the reading of the mss. (Cf. note on 456).

65ff. In reply to Iolaos the herald snatches the children from him and says in effect "There, you were quite wrong, weren't you?" When Iolaos despairingly tries to rescue the children, he gives him a push (ἄρπυ') and sends him sprawling on the ground.

γνώσῃ σύ : cf. 269 and E. Supp.580 γνώσῃ σύ πάσχων.

τάδε : accusative as if μάντις ἦσθ' = ἐμαντεύσω . Cf. E. IA 1255; A. Ag.1091. KG 409, An.4.

67. ἀπαρ': "on your way". For the intransitive use v. note on 16. (Pearson prefers to follow Cobet's emendation ἀπαρρ', comparing E. HF 260 ἀπαρρῶν δ' ἔνθεν ἦλθες ἐνθάδε, ὕβρις').

68. νομίσων: i.e. "believing them to belong to Eurystheus, as in fact they do." Elmsley's *κομίσων* is quite unnecessary and definitely opposed by the herald's remarks in 100 and 139ff. The Heracleidae are, he considers, Argives and under the jurisdiction of the King of Argos. Cf. S. Ant. 738 τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡ πόλις νομίζεται. E. Andr. 12 αὐτῆ δὲ δούλη τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων οἴκων νομισθεῖσ'.

69. δαρὸν: flatteringly referring to the Athenians as the original inhabitants of Attica (αὐτοχθόνες); cf. E. Ion 29; Ar. V. 1076; Lys. 1082 etc.

70. v. on 55.

δέ: = γάρ. Cf. 890. GP 169.

71. βιβλομέεσθαι: passive as S. Ant. 66, 1073.

ὄνειδος, ἀτιμία: nominatives in apposition to the sentence; KG 406.6.

THE PARODOS

(73-119)

Attracted by Iolaos' cries for help, the Chorus enter and exclaim in horror at the sight of him lying on the ground. He tells them that the herald is violently dragging suppliants from the altar, and in answer to their questions tells them who he is and who the young boys are under his care. The herald orders the Chorus to expell the suppliants and then there will be no violence. The Chorus protest that he should have made representations to the ruler of Attica before daring to treat suppliants as he has. They tell the herald that their king is Demophon, son of Theseus, and point to him now arriving with his brother, Acamas.

74. ἔστηκε : "is raised"; cf. 128, 656; A. Ch.885
 τίνα βοήν ἴστης δόμοις ; S. Ph.1263 τίς... θόρυβος ἴσταται βοῆς ;
 E. IT 1307 ἴστησιν βοήν.

75-76. Lachmann correctly gives these lines to the Chorus.
 However, it seems strange that the Chorus should speak
 in excited dochmiacs and than in the immediately following
 line, or lines, (v. Metrical App.), collect themselves,
 and speak in calmer iambic trimeters. On the other hand,
 75 and 76 do not seem at all in character with what has
 sofar been revealed of Iolaos, not to speak of the brave,
 though tottering, warrior depicted in 680ff.

75. ἀμαλόν : restored from LP μάλλον by Hemsterhuys
 from Hesychius (v. App. Crit.); = "feeble, weak".

(Faley unconvincingly suggests that the word is a synonym
 of δμαλός , and should be taken closely with χύμενον ,
 i.e. "lying prostrate".)

75-76. ἐπὶ πέδω : Iolaos has been lying on the ground,
 where he has been thrown by the herald, since 67.

77. ἐν γῆ : for this pregnant construction (= πρὸς γῆν)
 v. KG 447.A(a). For the omission of the article with γῆ,
 ἥλιος, σελήνη, θάλασσα etc. v. KG 462(b) and (f).

78. ἀτιμίστων : Cf. E. Supp.230, 302; Hipp.886

τὸ σεμνὸν Ζηνοῦ ὄγμ' ἀτιμίστας.

79. V. supra on 55.

80. τετράπτολιν : v. supra on 32.

σὺ δ' : (ὁ δ' LP: corr. Tyrwhitt). First the Chorus wish to find out who he is.

81. ζύνοικον : this word may be a gloss which has supplanted σύγκληρον (32). A long first syllable here would respond better with 102 (v. Metrical App.), and

ζύνοικος seems a weak adjective here.

πέραθεν : "from over there", i.e. having crossed over from Euboea (83).

83. κατέσχετ' Hermann: κατέσχετ' LP. the emended form is required to respond with πότνια, 104. κατασχεῖν is more usual where the sense is "put into land" (LSJ s.v. B.2).

For the accusative cf. E. Hel.1206 πόθεν κατέσχε γῆν;

Cy.223 λησταί τινες κατέσχον ἢ κλώπες χθόνα;

ἀκταν : ἀκραν is required to respond with πείρεται, 104 (v. Metrical App.). Cf. E. El.442 where the reading of LP is Εὐβοίδας ἀκτας ἢ changed by Orelli to ἀκρας.

The corruption there arose because of ἀκταί in 441.

(V. Denniston ad loc.). Cf. S. Tr.788 Εὐβοίας τ' ἄκραι
and Jebb's note.

84. νησιώτην : the epithet is used contemptuously
as E. Rh.701 ἢ νησιώτην σπαράδα κέκτηται βίον;
Andr.14 τῷ νησιώτῃ Νεοπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας.

τρίβω βίον : again contemptuous. "I do not live the
mean and wretched life of an islander." Cf. S. El.602
δυστυχῆ τρίβει βίον; Ar. Pl.526 ὀδυνηρότερον τρίψεις βίον;
Pax 589 γεωργὸν βίον ἐτρίβομεν.
Cf. the similar use of ἔλκειν : E. Ph.1535 ἔλκεις Ἰόαν;
Or.207 βίοντον ἔλκω.

88. παραστάτην : cf. E. Ion 198 ἀσπιστῆς Ἰόλαος, ὃς
κοινούσ' ἀρρόμενος πόνου Δίῳ παιδί συναντλεῖ;
and infra 216 ὑπασπίστων .

89. σῶμ'...τόδε : = ἐγώ; cf. 528, note. (Dobree's
emendation, ὄνομ' , adopted by Wecklein, is quite
unnecessary.)

ἀκήρυκτον : "unknown"; Meridier: "sans gloire".

91. Χερί : for a discussion as to whether Χερί or
Χειρί is preferable here v. Metrical App.

95. τί χρέος : = the more common τί χρήμα (633, 646, 709), simply "why?". Elmsley translates "quid rei est?", which Fraenkel accepts for A. Ag.85. V. LSJ s.v. II.2.

πόλεος : πόλεως LP: corr. Elmsley.

λόγων πόλεος : "audience of the people": Jerram. Cf. D. 18.13

96. ἔνεπε : ἔννεπε LP: corr. Hermann.

μελομένοι : Canter: μελομένῳ LP. For the middle voice of μέλειν with the infinitive, cf. A. Supp.367

Ἰυνῆ μελέσθω λαός ἐκπονεῖν ἴκη;
Anacr. 65. If μελομένῳ is retained and construed in parenthesis, with Bothe, as ἔνεπέ μοι μελομένῳ ("tell me as I care"), τυχεῖν is then explanatory of τί χρέος. But μελομένῳ in this sense seems otiose.

97, 98. These lines are repeated almost exactly in 221-2, where v. note. Kirchhoff, followed by Meridier, makes a single line here (V. Metrical App.) which reads

μη θεῶν ἀποσπασθέντες εἰς Ἄργος μολεῖν.

ἐκδοθῆναι : as Pearson says, this refers to extradition as E. Med.1238; cf. infra 319.(V. note on ἐΐμειν, 20.)

99. τοῖς θεοῖς : a sarcastic echoing of Iolaos' τῶν δυν above. "It is not a question of 'your gods', but of your masters."

100. V. on 68.

103. ἀπολείπῃν σ' : LP: ἀπολιπῶν Seidler: σ' seclisit Murray: σφ' Musgrave. Most editors adopt the correction of Seidler metri gratia (= θέν ἄλιω , 82) and accept Musgrave's σφ' , believing rightly that the Chorus is addressing the herald who has just spoken and speaks again immediately afterwards, i.e. "it is right to respect suppliants of the gods, stranger, and wrong that they (σφ' ; or σ' omitted) should leave the seats of the gods compelled by violent hand." If σ' is retained, it can be made to refer to the herald only by straining the language, i.e. "it is wrong for you to leave the seats of the gods, having used a violent hand " (βιαιῶν χερῶν sc. χρησάμενον ; cf. 106). (Pflugk's suggestion).

Although Pearson points out that ἀπολιπῶν "does not imply voluntary separation" and in support of this quotes E. Or.1141; Ion 861; Thuc. 6.31.1 (v. also LSJ s.v. I.2), the word is quite unsatisfactory here. Some verb which means "pollute, profane" or "rob" (cf. συλίσθαι , 243) is

required which would allow σ' to be retained, avoid an awkward change of subject for the verb, and express a strong reproach to the herald personally.

Reiske's suggestion ἀπολείπειν ("strip": he explains "ἀποσῶν , vi nudare suis supplicibus insectoribus) Elmsley dismisses as follows: "Reiskii coniecturam, qua nullam unquam ρείσκιωδεστέραν vidi, Hermanno placuisse miror." He himself believed that σ' should be kept, but was convinced that Euripides wrote neither ἀπολείπειν nor ἀπολιπέιν.

Wecklein adopts F.W. Schmidt's τὰ δ' ἀλιπέιν , which keeps σ' and makes good sense, but is palaeographically unconvincing.

Worthy of mention is Vonhoff's ἀποδικεῖν σ' ἔδων . Certainly ἀποδικεῖν is a rare enough word to be ousted in favour of ἀπολείπειν by a maiuscule corruption. (For the word cf. E. HF 1205 and A. Ag.1410 (where the meaning is in doubt - v. Fraenkel ad loc.)).

104. Paley considers this the future of πείθωμαι , quoting A. Th.1065 τίς ἂν ταῦτα πίθοιτο , but it is certainly the future of πάσχω : "...shall not be treated so" Pearson.

107-8. The herald has just said that all the Chorus have to do is to refuse the request of Iolaos for sanctuary in Attica and there will be no violence. Elmsley correctly renders *μεθεῖναι* as *dedere, tradere*, (E. Med. 728 *μενεῖς ἄστυλος κοῦ σε μὴ μεθῶ τινι* Q, but insists that *πόλει*, meaning Argos, must be taken with it: "hand over to the city". He therefore proposes to read *πέλει*, i.e. *ἄθεον πέλει*, "it is impious". Pflugk and most other editors take *πόλει* with *ἄθεον*, though Paley takes it with *προστροπᾶν*: "who have appealed to the city for protection." This latter interpretation seems convincing on grounds of word order.

προστροπᾶν: abstract for concrete: i.e. the act of supplication for the suppliants.

109. *ἔζω πραγμάτων ἔχει πόδα*: cf. the examples of this expression given by Barrett ad E. Hipp.1293: Alc. 130.31 L-P *κακῶν ἐκτός ἔχων πόδα*; A. Ch.697 *ἔζω κομίσων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα*; Pr.263 *ὅστις πραγμάτων ἔζω πόδα ἔχει*. S. Ph.1260 *ἴσως ἂν ἐκτός κλαυμάτων ἔχοις πόδα*. E. Hipp.1293 *πήματος ἔζω πόδα τοῦδ' ἀνέχεις*. (cf. also infra 168).

πραγμάτων here is not to be translated "trouble"

but rather "keep out of this" (cf. πολυπράγμων , "meddler"), though Barrett (loc. cit.) says " the proverb seems to have been originally 'lift, (move, keep) your foot out of the mud': Suid. ἀρῆν ἔξω πόδα πηλοῦ then the mud is replaced by non-metaphorical nouns." For the expression used in an exactly opposite sense, cf. Pi. P.4.288 τοῦτ' ἀναρότατον, καλὰ γινώσκοντ' ἀνάγκη ἐκτοῦ ἔχειν πόδα sc. τῶν καλῶν .

δέ... γε : a combination used in retorts, admissions and rejoinders. GP 153.

110. τῆς ἀμείνωνος : Paley: "sc. ἥτις ἀμείνων ἐστὶ' ."

εὐβουλία : considered by Sinclair (Hist. of Gk. Pol. Thought, pp.37, 59-60) as the "catchword of aristocracy". He says (p.37): "In itself the word has no constitutional significance and Sophocles in his Antigone (c. 440 B.C.) (S. Ant.178-183) makes Creon, a sole ruler, profess to regard it as a guiding principle of government, while Protagoras (Pl.Pr.318E) claimed to teach it."

111. φράσαντα... τολμᾶν : the weight of emphasis is on the participle : i.e. "you should have informed the king before doing this."

σοκοῦν : GP 436.

112. βία : to be taken absolutely, not with θεῶν ; the emphasis throughout is on the use of force (cf. 102, 106). In 97 (=221) πρὸς βίαν must similarly be taken absolutely. Cf. also 47.

112. ἀλλὰ μὴ : "and not."

113. γῆν σέβοντ' ἐλευθέραν : "if you respect a free land."

114. ς' : purely connective. GP 173.

115. v. on 35.

116. πρὸς τοῦτον : the preposition does not express hostility: simply, "I must then speak to him, (or before him)". KG 441.III.2; LSJ s.πρὸς C.I.5.

ἄγων τούδε τοῦ λόγου : (ἄγων LP: corr. Hermann). "the burden, content of what I have to say"; the metaphorical sense of ἄγων (LSJ III.5). Cf. Thuc. 3.44 οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγων; 7.61 ὁ μὲν ἄγων ὁ μέλλων... περίτε σπηρίας ; 7.64, 66, 68. E. Med.235 κἄν τῷδ' ἄγων μέγιστος ; 403 νῦν ἄγων ~~εὐψυχίας~~. Ph.588 οὐ λόγων εἶθ' ἄγων ; S. El.1491 λόγων γὰρ οὐ νῦν εἶσσι ἄγων. (Jebb ad loc.: "= discrimen: the issue.").

In other passages, however, the meaning of the phrase,

with the plural *λόγων*, is certainly "verbal argument": E. Andr.234 *τί σεμνομοθεῖς κείς ἀγῶν' ἔρχη λόγων;*
 Thuc.3.67 *οὐ λόγων τοῦς ἀγῶνας προθύσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων.*
 Cf. also E. Med.546 *ἄμιλλαν γὰρ σύ προύθηκας λόγων* (= Supp.428).

ἄρα : "drawing a conclusion" GP 45.

117. μάτην : a characteristic sneer. "I have been wasting my time talking to men who have no authority."

118. καὶ μὴν : very commonly used in S., E., and Ar. to mark "the entrance of a new character upon the stage.... Normally some part of ὅδε follows" (as here). GP 356.

119. Ἄκμας : v. 35, note.

FIRST EPEISODION

(120-352)

General Summary

The herald and Iolaos put their case before Demophon who decides not to give up the Herakleidae. After threatening war, the herald departs to announce this decision to Eurystheus, who is waiting with the Argive army in Megara. Iolaos expresses his gratitude to Demophon and asks the Herakleidae never to forget the debt which they owe to Athens. Demophon leaves to muster his forces to combat the invasion of the Argives, while Iolaos asks to be allowed to remain at the altar to pray for the success of Athens.

Detailed Summary

In answer to the cries for help by Iolaos, Demophon, king of Athens, and his brother Acamas enter. The Chorus tell them of the violence done by the herald to Iolaos and Demophon asks the herald from what land he has come.

Then there follows the *ἀγών*, a feature of Greek Tragedy particularly common in Euripides. Duchemin says

(L' *ἀγνὴ* dans La Tragedie Grecque, p.117) "La fréquence - if faudrait dire sa constance - est remarquable chez Euripide. Il est en toute rigueur impossible de nommer une seule de ses tragedies conservees qui soit totalement depourvue d' *ἀγνὴ* ." Cf. especially Andr. 147-274; Hec. 234-437, 1129-1286; IA 317-414.

2
 First Iolaos and then the herald argue their case before Demophon. The herald claims that Iolaos and the Herakleidae are citizens of Argos and are thus liable to the death penalty which has been pronounced upon them by the Argives. (134-143). He has pursued them to many other states and no one has admitted them. Will Demophon be the only one to be stupid enough to pity them? (144-152). He offers the powerful friendship of Argos if the fugitives are surrendered, and threatens war if they are not. Does Demophon consider these poor creatures sufficient grounds for war against Argos? Any aid which he can expect from the Herakleidae must only come in the future, and in the meantime there is much time for Argos to crush them and Athens.

He concludes by advising Demophon to avail himself of the friendship of Argos without the need for any

concessions by Athens (153-178). Throughout his speech the Herald is contemptuous and insulting. He hints that Demophon is a fool and prone to weak pity (147-152). He claims that Iolaos and the Herakleidae are poor things, not worth a war (165-174), and ends his speech with a sneer at Athens, who, he implies, is notorious for choosing her friends unwisely (176-178).

The Chorus say they wish to hear the other side of the question (179-180). (The ascription of these lines by the mss. to Demophon is clearly wrong; Demophon is presumably already prejudiced against the herald (130-134) and the herald(s) speech has done nothing to calm him.)

The reply of Iolaos (181-231) would correspond in length exactly to that of the herald if the ^{six} five lines 220-225 (v. Commentary) were omitted as Paley suggested. But, as Duchemin points out (op. cit. p.160), the principal

ρῆσιν are not always equally balanced: cf. Andr. - 33 lines of Hermione, 49 of Andromache (147-231); Alc.- 44 lines of Admetus, 31 of Pheres (629-705); HF - 30 lines of Lycus, 66 of Amphitryon (140-235).

The first point made by Iolaos is that there is no

case to answer; he and the Herakleidae are in exile from Argos and therefore no longer citizens of that city: the herald has no claim on them, unless, indeed, Athens is part of Argos. But it is unthinkable that a free city like Athens would yield to the demands of Argos (181-204). He now appeals directly to Demophon and urges on him three claims: the relationship between Demophon and the Herakleidae (205-213); the fact that Iolaos, Herakles and Theseus were old comrades, and indeed Herakles rescued Theseus from Hades; finally, he states that it will be a disgrace for Demophon as well as the city if the herald is allowed to drag suppliants from the altar.

The Chorus then express their pity at the fate of such noble suppliants (232-235).

In his answer, Demophon says that he has been completely convinced by the arguments of Iolaos, stressing particularly the dishonour which he and Athens will suffer if he allows suppliants to be dragged from an Athenian altar. He tells the herald to take word to Eurystheus that if he has some charge to bring against Iolaos and the Herakleidae, he should do so formally under "International Law". Certainly he will never allow them to be taken back to Argos by force (236-252).

Then follow 20 lines of stichomythia between the herald and Demophon (253-272) in which firstly the herald suggests that if there is dishonour in the matter, it is his alone and does no harm to Demophon, a suggestion which Demophon indignantly rejects. The herald tries again, proposing that Demophon merely remove the suppliants from the borders of Attica and he will do the rest. Refused again, he turns to threats, and finally tries to seize the Herakleidae himself. Demophon is prevented by the Chorus from actually attacking the herald, but succeeds in deterring him.

As the herald turns to go, he warns the Athenians that an Argive army under Eurystheus is encamped in Megara and will invade Attica as the result of Demophon's refusal (274-283). Demophon replies in terms contemptuous of Argos that Athens is a free city and that the herald never had the slightest chance of taking away the suppliants (284-287).

While the herald is leaving the stage, the Chorus chant in anapaests of the need for preparation against the invading Argive army. It certainly will come, because it is the custom of heralds to exaggerate and the herald will claim that he was physically assaulted by Demophon and barely escaped with his life (288-296).

In a long speech of gratitude, Iolaos dilates on the advantages of noble birth, (296-306), and urges the Herakleidae to remember the debt of gratitude which they owe to Athens and never to go to war with that city (307-319). He concludes by expressing his personal thanks to Demophon, noble son of a noble father (320-328).

The Chorus remark that it is the custom of Athens always to help the afflicted (329-332).

Demophon now prepares to depart to make his preparations against the Argive army and invites Iolaos and the Herakleidae to leave the altar and enter his palace (333-343).

Iolaos politely refuses, and states his intention of staying at the altar to pray for the success of Athens. Although Hera is on the side of Argos, Athena will never suffer herself to be defeated (344-352).

120. ἔφθης βοηδρόμους: the aorist participle with φθάνω does not denote time past with reference to the finite verb, but simply that the action of both verb and participle has been completed; MT 144, 147, 887.

βοηδρομαῖν: "to answer a cry for help" is frequently used by E. It occurs 6 times in the plays (not counting Rh.333, 412) and is not found in S.; in A. only in P. Oxy.2256,72.6. (Cf. also βοηδρόμος: infra 339; Or.1290; El.963; Or.1571; Ph.1441.)

121. ἑσχαίραν Διός: ἑσχαίρα is a hearth-altar for burnt offerings while βωμός is the raised altar, but the terms are interchangeable: cf. infra 127 and esp. E. Ph.274 βωμίοι ἑσχαίραι "structured altars" LSJ s. ἑσχαίρα. (V. St. Byz. s. βωμοί).

122. ἑθροίεσται: the middle voice of the verb, cf. X. Cyr.3.1.19, and for the similar use of a compound E. Ph.1168 ἀλλὰ νῦν πάλιν κυναγὸς ὡσεὶ παῖς σοῦ ἑθροίεσται.

124. καταστέφαντες: they have laid boughs wreathed with wool on the altar. Paley suggests that the boughs may have been attached to their bodies so that if they are dragged from the altar the boughs also are pulled off.

Suppliants were at any rate regarded as the property of the gods; hence the insistence in 71 (*στρέψη μιλίβεται*), 103, and 243 on the impiety of robbing the altar. For the custom in general cf. E. Andr.894; A. Supp.241, 481; S. OT 3.

125. παροστικότητα: the Chorus repeat the term by which Iolaos has proudly described himself in 88 as the comrade in arms of Herakles.

126. ῥυγῶν: used in Hom. Il.18.572 of "shouting" in a neutral sense, or possible "shouts of joy"; but here and in A. Ch.26 of "shouts of pain, or woe".

Wilamowitz (KS I.5 = Hermes 17 (1882)) suggested (P.94) that the supposed parody by Ar. Eq.214 *τάραττε καὶ χάρδισ' ὄμοῦ τὰ πράγματα* (schol. ad loc.) is based on lines from the Hkld. which have been omitted in the extant play because of an extensive re-working of the play in the 4th Century, and which would more fully account for the *ῥυγῶν* to which Demophon refers. (Cf. also Page, Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy, pp.39-40). This suggestion seems unnecessary: the cries of the assaulted Iolaos and the Herakleidae who are being dragged away by the herald, together with the altercation between the herald and the

Chorus are quite enough to account for the question of Demophon (v. on 478, στοναγμαίων). Cf. also 121 βοηθόμενος and 73 τις ἢ βοή.

127. νιν: probably plural: the herald in trying to drag the suppliants from the altar has caused them to scream and shout.

ἐσχάρας: v. on 121.

128. βοὴν ἔστησε: v. on 74. Here the subject of the verb is the action which caused the call for aid, not the caller himself.

κἀσφηνεν γόνυ: in 67, the herald pushed Iolaos to the ground (cf. 75-77).

129. μ' ἐκβαλεῖν δαίρυ: μη' βαλεῖν LP: corr. Reiske.
For the expression cf. E. Hec.298; IA 451, 477; Hel.1547;
Ion 924; Hipp.1396.

130. καὶ μὲν γ': v. Jebb ad S. Ai.531, and GP 351-2.
Here καὶ μὲν introduces a new thought, and the γ' emphasizes στολήν - "But his dress indeed is Greek, though his acts are barbarian."

Ἕλληνα: Elmsley would not accept this masculine

form used with a feminine noun and once proposed

Ἑλληνά τε to associate the adjective with the masculine ῥυθμὸν. This is quite unnecessary because of the examples, which Pearson quotes, of A. Ag.1254

Ἑλλην' ἐπίστυμαι φάτιν ; E. IT 341 Ἕλληνας ἐκ γῆς , 495 πατρίδος Ἕλληνας . (Elmsley suggested emendations also for the latter two examples.) For nouns of this kind used attributively v. KG 405.1.

ῥυθμὸν πέπλων : i.e. the way in which the herald wears the στολή Ἑλλην, the chiton and himation. The tone is of course sarcastic (v. on καί μιν supra): "he looks like a Greek, but his behaviour is far from Greek."

131. βαρβαρίου : for the sneer at non-Greeks cf. 423; E. Hel.276, 295, 501; IA 1400; Tr.764; Andr.173.

132. μή μέλλεν τ': parenthetically interposed, yet still governed by σὸν ἐστί; ἐμοὶ is to be taken with φράσειν. Matthiae's μέλλουτ' is unnecessary. Cf. Thuc.7.49 οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἱ εἶφῃ ἀρέσκειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτιμένειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τλχίστα ἤδη καὶ μή μέλλειν ἐξανίστασθαι. (Classen, however, changes the order: ἤδη ἐξανίστασθαι καὶ μή μέλλειν)

δη : 9P239
134. τοῦτο γὰρ θέλει μαθεῖν: cf. S. Ph.233 Ἑλληνεῖς εἶμεν. τοῦτο γὰρ βούλει μαθεῖν. There is a curious echo of the

Hkld. in this context because Philoctetes has just asked what city and race he is to say that Neoptolemus and his sailors are, and continues: (222-224) *σχῆμα μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήδος στολήν ὑπάρχει προσβλεστώτης ἐμοί.*

γὰρ : i.e. "I say this because....." GP 60.

135. ἐφ' οἷσι : taken by most editors as heuter, "for what purpose" (Pearson), "for what object" (Jerram), "on what grounds" (Beck), "pourquoi" (Mérider: note ad loc. ' οἷσι est un neutre'); they compare E. Ph. 463 *ἐφ' οἷσιν ἦκει, ταῦτα χρῆ μόνον σκοπεῖν* . But IT 1040 *ἔτ' ἐν δόμοισι/βρίτας, ἐφ' ᾧ πεπλευκάμεν* (v. Platnauer's note ad loc.), S. OT 507 and OC 1472 (v. Jebb ad locc.) suggest that here *οἷσι* could be masculine - "for whom" or "against whom" in the hostile sense of the preposition exemplified by KG 438.3f. Then *ἐφ' οἷσι* and *παρ' οὖ* would balance chiasmically the explanation by the herald in the following lines - *Εὐρυθεύς* and *τούσδε* . The Greek would in any case be ambiguous to the audience until the later clarification.

καὶ παρ' οὖ λέγειν θέλω : *καίπερ οὖ λέγειν θέλω* LP: corr. Stiblinus. The herald is eager enough to boast of his king (cf. 58, 68, 105).

136. Μυκηναίων: used interchangeably for the Argives and Argos (cf. 85, 87, and 176, note).

137. ὢ γένοιε: "arroganter pro ὢ ἄναξ": Musgrave. The herald is perfectly well aware whom he is addressing (118) yet refuses Demophon the courteous address of ἄναξ.

138. δίκαι': Pearson states that this is the substantival use of δίκαια : (= iura), cf. 368; E. Andr.1162; Supp.437; IT 559; IA 810." (But the singular δίκαιον is used in 368 and in the passages cited from IT and IA, while in Andr. and Supp. the plural could mean simply "justice", "right", δίκη . V. Further Fraenkel ad A. Ag.812 δικάϊων θ' ὧν ἐπραξιέμεν πόλιν Πριάμου, which he translates "(satisfaction of) legal claims.") But the meaning here is quite simple. Paley suggests "having many just and right things both to do and say." Perhaps better: "what I do is right, and I can prove it."

τε...καί: "not only.....but also." GP 515.

δυσρτη: Barrett suggests (ad E. Hipp.1195) that δμ - might probably be written for the form of the adverb, which occurs only four times in Attic, all E.; mss.: - δμ - Supp.839; Rh.313; Hipp.1195; δμ - Hkld.138 (LP), and BM Pap. 2652B (3rd Century B.C.) of Hipp.1195.

139. ἄγω : not, as Pearson, a conative present, but an arrogant statement of his present action.

140. τούτους : the reading of L τούτους γε is of course inadmissible on metrical grounds, but the correction of P (?p) has no authority, as P in the Alfabetic Plays is a copy of L (V. for conclusive evidence, Zuntz, Transmission, p.13ff.). Better conjectures are Reiske:

δραπέτας τούτους ; Bothe δραπέτας τούτους γ' , which with a slight change of order, preserve the reading of L.

δραπέτας : cf. 14, εἰδραμεν . The word is especially used of runaway slaves (LSJ s.v.). The herald implies that the Herakleidae are really no concern of Demophon as persons; they are merely the property of Eurystheus.

ἑμαυτοῦ : more emphatic than ἐμῆς , and reinforcing Ἄργεϊος and Ἄργείους .

141. ἐκείθεν : for ἐκεῖ , with the implication that the laws of Argos extend from its borders to wherever the subjects of its laws happen to be. Cf. E. Hipp.567

αὐτῆν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐμάθω ; Hes.731 τ᾽ ἐκείθεν γὰρ εὖ πιπραγμέν' ἔστιν ; Ph.294 τοῦ οἴκοθεν νόμον σέβουσ' ; Med.506 τοῦ μὲν οἴκοθεν φίλοις ἔχθρα' καθεύστηχ' ; IT 1182 τῶν Ἄργόθεν τὸ φίλητρον ἀγγέλλοντέ μοι ; 1410σοι γὰρ ἐκείθεν σημαντῶν τύχης ; Supp.182, where οἴκοθεν = οἴκοι ;

A. Supp.390 *δει τοι σε φεύγειν κατὰ νόμους τοῦ οἴκοθεν.*

For this attraction v. KG 448, An.1.

ἔψηφισμένους : perf. Pass. - "having been condemned by vote to die". LSJ s.v. III.

142. δίκαιοι ἐσμεν : the personal construction, commonly used instead of *δίκαιον ἐστὶν ἡμῶν* . KG 477(d). Cf. 776.

οἰκοῦντες πόλιν : i.e. as inhabiting a properly constituted city state with its own laws and jurisdiction.

143. καθ' αὐτῶν : = *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν* . *καθ' αὐτοῦ* (Lenting) would simply mean "independently of outside interference", whereas *κατὰ* with the genitive means "against our citizens".

κυρίου : proleptically used with *κράινειν* , i.e. to pass sentences which are binding and enforced. Cf. Pl. Cri.50B *δίκας δικασθείσας κυρίας* ; D. 24.1. For the verb cf. A. Ch.462 *ἰὼ θεοί, κρίνετε ἐν δίκῃ* (Λιτάς) Newman, (δίκας) Hermann, on the evidence of this line in the Hkld.; B. 12.45 *δίκας θνατοῖσι κρίνων* . Also A. Supp.943 *ψηφός κέκραται* ; E. Hec.219 *ψηφόν τε τὴν κραυθεῖσαν* ; Tr.785 *ψηφός ἐκρίνεθι* ; Andr.1272 *ψηφός κέκραται*.

144. ἀφικμένοι : Wilamowitz's emendation (KS I.5. p.106) is to be preferred to mss. ἀφικμένων . The emphasis is placed by the herald on his own previous appearances at other altars when he has delivered the very same sort of speech. It is easy to see how the corruption could have arisen under the influence of the two genitive plurals, πολλῶν and ἄλλων .

ἔστια : acc. after verb of motion without a preposition. KG 410.4.

145. τοῖσιν ... τοῖσιδ' : Canter's satisfactory change for mss. τοῖσι δ' ... τοῖσιν ; cf. S. Ant. 1076 ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε. For other less satisfactory emendations v. Wecklein's Appendix.

145. ἔσταμεν : as Pearson says, this must be the pluperfect. Cobet proposed ἔστημεν , the aorist. Wecklein suggested τοῖσδ' ἵν' together with οὐδεῖς for κοῦδεῖς , retaining ἀφικμένων of course, but then the change from "when they came" to "where we stand' is very awkward.

For the meaning "stand one's ground upon", "base one's argument upon", Pearson compares Ply. ser. num. vind. 6.p.551C αἱ δικαιοσύνη αἱ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυπεῖν ἔργον ἐν τῷ κακῷ τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν ἵστανται.

146. προσθέσθαι : "bring upon himself"; cf. A. Pers. 531 *μη̄ καί τι πρὸς κακοῖσι προσθήται κακόν* ; S. OT 1460 *μη̄ μοι, Κρέον, προσθή μέρμηναν* (v. Jebb ad loc.); E. Andr. 396 *ἄχθεις τ' ἐπ' ἄχθει τῷδε προσθέσθαι διπλοῦν*.

For the verb in a good sense, cf. infra 157.

ἴδια : Pearson appears to support Elmsley's notion that ἴδια here is loosely used and = *οἰκεία* in the sense of domestic troubles incurred on behalf of others. Beck and Paley - "evils of his own seeking"; Jerram - "troubles on his own account". But Pearson admits that *ἴδιος* is the opposite of *κοινός*, and here the meaning could be "no one has dared to take upon himself troubles personal to the Herakleidae and nothing to do with his own state." The difficulty is that *ἴδιος* can be the opposite of *κοινός* and also of *ἄλλοτρίος* (LSJ s. *ἴδιος* I.1 and 2).

147, 8 ἢ τιν'... ἢ κίνδυνον : Jacob's emendation of the mss *εἰ τιν'... εἰς κίνδυνον*, which is unacceptable unless one assumes that the apodosis never comes and neglects the parallels (v. infra) of the use of *κίνδυνόν* and *ρίπτειν* without the preposition. Certainly etacism accounts easily for the change of *ἢ* into *εἰ*, and again into *εἰς*.

εἰ σε μωρίαν ἐσκεμμένοι : a combination of two ideas, "looking at you and seeing folly"; cf. S. OT 536 *δειλίαν ἢ μωρίαν ἰδὼν τιν' ἐν ἐμοί*; E. Hipp. 943 *σκεψάμεθε δ' εἰς τούδ'*.

(Elmsley takes εἰς σε with ἡλιθον, quite against word order. Hermann and Matthiae render "devising some folly for you".)

μωρία is what the herald calls any pity for the Herakleidae, a sign of weakness (cf. 417). As Barrett remarks (ad Hipp.644): "μῶρος is a strongly condemnatory word denoting culpable lack of intelligence."

(E. very often uses μῶρος and μωρία in the sense of lack of self-control in sexual matters; cf. Hipp.644, 966; Ion 545; Tr.989, 1059; El.1035; Hel.1018; Fr.331.2.)

148. κίνδυνον ρίπτοντες: cf. E. Rh.154 κίνδυνον...ρίψας; Fr.402.6 κίνδυνον μέγαν ρίπτοντες.

For the compound in the same sense cf. Hdt. 7.50; Thuc. 4.85, 95 (LSJ s. ἀναρρίπτω II). The metaphor is obviously drawn from dice; cf. Photius: κίνδυνον ἀναρρίψαι λέγουσι,

μεταφέροντες ἀπὸ τῶν κύβων. KG 410.2(c).

Cf. also Pl. R.617E τὰυτὰ εἰπόντα ρίψαι ἐπὶ πάντα τοὺς κληρούς.

ἐξ ἀμηχανῶν: "from their desperate situation."

Cf. E. El.624 δρῶ γὰρ ἐλπίδ' ἐξ ἀμηχανῶν; S. Ai.116 ἐξ ἀέπτων;

A. Supp.357 ἐξ ἀέπτων κἀπρομηθέων.

But in the above examples ἐξ means rather "as a change from", "after"; whereas here the meaning is "out of", "as the result of". (V. Platnauer on E. IT 306.)

149. εἴτ' οὖν εἴτε μὴ γενήσεται: the subject of *γενήσεται* is vague and impersonal: "taking a chance on whether it will happen or not", "it" being the appeal of the Herakleidae to Demophon. Pearson compares the English expression "come off". For *εἴτ' οὖν* *εἴτε* v. GP 418.

150. ῥενήσῃ γ': the herald again emphasizes that the Herakleidae cannot expect that Demophon in his right mind will pity them.

151. μόνον = cf. *οὐδείς*, 146. The herald stresses that no one has yet pitied the Herakleidae. Of course the truth is that they were pitied by others but rejected because of Argive threats (21ff.).

ἦν: Elmsley suggested *ἦς*, comparing E. Med.296 *Χωρίς γὰρ ἄλλης ἦς ἔχουσιν ἄγίας* and S. El.763 *μέγιστα πάντων ὧν ὄπωπ' ἰγὼ κακῶν*. But v. KG 555, An.3 for other instances where the relative attraction is disregarded.

152. ἰβούλου: as Pearson remarks, there seems no parallel for *ἰβουλος* = *ἰμύχανος* in the sense of "helpless", "without resource" (as Elmsley, Paley, Jerram) and so Kirchhoff's suggestion of *ἰβούλου*, supported by Cobet and Pearson, and Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.34, note 8), must

be adopted. It is entirely in line ^{with the} argument, that only the stupid and foolish would pity the Herakleidae (v. on 147, 150 and cf. 177, 178).

τωνδ' : Kirchhoff would read *σφων* , the indirect reflexive referring to the Herakleidae, the subject of *ἐλπίσους* . This would be prosaically correct, but I am convinced that *τωνδ'* is deictic, as the Herald points contemptuously to the feeble Iolaos (cf. 167) and the young and puny Herakleidae (cf. 171, 172).

153. φέρ' ἀντίθετος γάρ : for this position of γάρ cf. Ar. Nub. 218 *φέρει τίς γάρ οὗτος οὐπι τῆς κρεμάθρας ἀνηρό,* and for a similar postponement of δέ' , E. Hel. 1043 (GP 96ff.) *φέρει, τί δ' εἶ?*: *φέρ'* is treated as an exclamation outside the sentence proper. V. further GP 80 and 96-97. The use is very common in the orators and may be considered a dialectical formula (v. CR X, 437).

Υ' Υ' : used to imply a disjunction, cf. E. Ion 853 *θόλω θανεῖν τε ἴσων τε φέγγος εἴσορᾶν* ; Hel. 321; 1393. (GP 515). But as the participles replace the protasis of a conditional sentence *τε τε* really stand for *εἴτε εἴτε* . Of course Reiske's emendation of *Υ'* in 153 for *γ'* is correct - a common majuscule corruption.

παρεῖς: "allow to enter"; cf. E. Supp.467 ἐγὼ δ' ἰπαυδῶ
πᾶς τε Κασμοῖος Λαῶς Ἄδραστον εἰς γῆν τήνδε μὴ παρίσκει.

155. τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν: "our offer" Pearson. KG 440.I.2e.

156. Cf. the account of Iolaos in 21-22. First the offer of powerful Argos and her king in alliance, then the threat of war if the offer is rejected.

Χεῖρα: "so great a force"; for Χεῖρ cf.1035.

157. προσθεῖσθαι: 146, note.

158. λόγου: i.e. "mere words" as opposed to ἔργα, the practical advantages of the powerful friendship of Argos which the herald offers. Pearson follows Elmsley in taking λόγου and οἰκτίσματα with τῶνδε. Elmsley quotes E. Med.1366 ἀλλ' Ἰβρις, οἷ τε σοι νεοθυμῆτες γέμοι,
and Pearson adds S. OC 1399 οἶμοι κελεύθου τῆς τ' ἐμῆς δυσπραξίας.
Cf. also S. OT 417 μητρόσ τε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός and v. KG 607, An.4.
However, it is better to keep λόγου distinct from οἰκτίσματα, so that the herald sneers at "words" in general, and "lamentations" in particular.

159. πεπαισθηῖ: "are softened". πεπαινῶναι fundamentally means "grow ripe", X. Oec.19.19; Ar. Pax 1163, and then is used metaphorically as here, and Ar. V.646; X. Cyr.4.5.21; and later in a medical sense: Hipp. Epid.6.2.16; cf. Aph.2.40.

πάλιν : restored by p from LP *πάλιν* , a corruption caused by iotacism.

καθίσταται : "dynamic" present: cf.557; Thuc.6.91.3; E. Andr.381. KG 382.5(b); MT 32.

160. Hyperbaton: cf. 205, 844. This probably accounted for the mss. error (corr. Barmes) *δόςης* (*δόςης ἰγώνη*).

161. Χαλυβδικοῦ : the Chalybes, although placed by Aeschylus in Scythia (Pr.133; 714; Th.728) lived on the South Pontic shores (X. AN.5.5.1) and worked iron which was credited with peculiar hardness. Cf. E. El.819 *ὁ δ' εὐκροτῆτον Δωρίδ' ἀρπάζου χερσῶν*. There edd. supply *κοπίς* or *μάχαιρα* ; here sc. *σίδηρος* or *ἔγχος* , not *σίδηρος* which would be rather tautologous.

162. ποῖα : of indignant question as in 164. Cf. the frequent use of *ποῖος* in this way in Com. and Prose dialogue (LSJ s.v.I.2); in Tragedy, E. Hel.567; S. Tr.427.

ἤτα : for the "logical connective force" of the particle in questions, v. GP 270.

163. τί βουλοθεῖς : Kirchhoff: *τιρυνθείς ἄλλῃ* LP.

"Kirchhoff's brilliant emendation" Pearson; "two glories of the critical art, which no editor resists, are Kirchhoff's conjecture $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in v.163 and Reiske's $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ $\text{\AA}\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in v.765" Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.107. Less successful were Elmsley's $\text{\textsc{T}}\iota\rho\upsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\varsigma$, and Matthiae's $\text{\textsc{A}}\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ τ' , which made some sort of sense of the line but could not account for the introduction of Tiryns when all the emphasis throughout the play is on Argos and Mycenae.

For $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$ in E. cf. Ion 523, 1406 where it preserves its technical meaning of "seize in compensation", but that the verb can mean simply "rob" is shown by A.. Supp.424 $\mu\eta\delta' \text{\textsc{I}}\delta\eta\varsigma \mu' \acute{\epsilon}\zeta \acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu \text{\textsc{P}}\omicron\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu \rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\nu$.

164. $\text{\textsc{P}}\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$: 162, note.

$\text{\textsc{T}}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \delta' \text{\textsc{U}}\pi\epsilon\rho$: to be taken with $\text{\textsc{P}}\iota\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$, not as Pflugk "scil. $\text{\textsc{A}}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\nu \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$."

166. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{\textsc{T}}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon$: cf. E. Med.1209 $\text{\textsc{T}}\iota\varsigma \text{\textsc{P}}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha \text{\textsc{T}}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\nu \delta\rho\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu \text{\textsc{T}}\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\sigma\iota\nu$; Ar. Lys.372 $\text{\textsc{O}} \text{\textsc{T}}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\epsilon$; Plautus Ps.1.4.19 ex hoc sepulcro vetere.

167. $\text{\textsc{T}}\omicron \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$: here $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is not declined: cf. S. Ai. 1231 $\text{\textsc{T}}\omicron\delta \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \text{\textsc{A}}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma \text{\textsc{U}}\pi\epsilon\rho$; E. El.370 $\text{\textsc{T}}\omicron \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$ (v. Denniston ad loc.); Tr.613; Fr.332.8. But it can be declined: cf. S. Ai.1114 $\text{\textsc{T}}\omicron\upsilon\text{\textsc{J}} \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$. KG 512.4 and

An.2.

ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος : the phrase qualifies τὸ μηδὲν ὄντος ; cf. E. Hipp.1162 Ἴππόλυτος οὐκέτ' ἐστίν, ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος.

It tones down a previous expression and = "almost, practically". Pearson refers to Adam on Pl. R.341B. KG 585.3.

168. εἰς ἄντηλον : v. on 109. ἄντηλος is lit. "bilgewater", i.e. "trouble".

ἐμβήσῃ πόδα : cf. 802 ἐκβή πόδα ; E. El.94 βαίνω πόδα, 1173 βαίνουσιν πόδα ; Or.1470 ἀρβύλαν προσβᾶς ; Ph.1412 προσβᾶς δὲ κώλον δεξιῶν ; Alc.869 πόδα ποσειδῶν, 1153 νόστιμον δ' ἔλθοις τ' πόδατ' (v. Dale ad loc.). This expression can be

explained as an extension of the cognate accusative, e.g.

νίκην νικᾶν (KG 410.2(c)). Pearson considers that "it is possible that πόδα was regarded as the direct object of βαίνειν and its compounds, becoming transitive in this connection....."

169. Pflugk, Beck, Jerram, and Pearson tr. : "You will say, at best, that you (they) will merely find a hope."

Paley makes εὐρησεῖν depend on ἐλπιδ' : "You will admit that, at best, there is but a hope that you will be the gainer." See Wecklein's Appendix for a selection of

unconvincing attempts at emendation. Jebb (CR I.95) suggested $\epsilon\rho\omega\ \tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \bullet\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\prime\ \epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\ \bullet$ an emendation which eases what is really only a slight difficulty, $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ used where the middle voice might be expected. (But see his note on S. El.1061; cf. ib. 1305 and E. Med.1107.) Certainly $\tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ is in apposition to the sentence as E. HF 196 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$.

170. τοῦτο : i.e. $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$; cf. E. Andr.332 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\prime\ \iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ referring to $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega$; Tr.401 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\prime\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\delta\prime\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\iota$, referring to $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu$; Hel.1687 δ referring to $\gamma\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\varsigma$; S. OT 542 θ referring to $\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$.

πολλῷ ἐνδεής : $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (= "inferior") is regarded as a comparative adjective, hence the use of $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}$, dative of measure of difference; cf. E. Ph.701 $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \eta\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. For the genitive of comparison after Elmsley quotes Fr.141.2 $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \gamma\eta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\mu\omega\nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$. V. LSJ s. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, 3, and especially Thuc. 1.102 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (sc. $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) .

The meaning is that "hope is not enough for your present crisis, if you bring upon yourself war with Argos." It is less satisfactory to take $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ as "the present offer of alliance with Argos" (Pearson and others). The whole of 170 is parenthetical; the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ of 171 explains the $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ of 169.

171. κακῶς γὰρ : Hermann suggested an ironic κακῶς and Paley sought to increase the irony with κακῶς γ' ἄν (retaining of course ἀνηβήσαντες). These suggestions are attractive, but the mss. reading must stand.

ὠπλισμένοις : Schenkl: ὠπλισμένοι LP. The irony and ~~κακῶς~~ sarcasm which pervade the herald's speech are lessened if the mss. reading is altered. The sense of the LP reading is: "Look at these poor creatures (οἷδε deictic, as τῶνδε 158)! Imagine what a weak fight they would put up even when fully grown and in full armour against us Argives!" The emphasis is on the aid which the Herakleidae could give in battle, not on the battle itself against the armed Argives.

172. ἔτι : Elmsley's weak addition of the missing syllable, adopted by subsequent editors, is probably better supplanted by Barnes' εἴτε τοῦτο : "if really..." (GP 487) has the right note of sarcasm.

σε... ψυχῆν : the "whole and part" apposition; v. on 63. Cf. S. Ant. 319 δ δρῶν σ' ἀνιᾶ τὰς φρένας, τὰ δ' ᾤτ' ἐγώ.
Ph. 1301 μύθει με χεῖρα ; Tr. 831 σφέ... χρεῖ πλευρά.
Contrast however E. IA 125 καὶ πῶς Ἀχιλλεύς ... οὐ... θυμὸν ἐπαρεῖ
σοὶ σῆ τ' ἀλόχῳ

173. Χοῶν μὲσω χρόνος : "the time in between", i.e.

the time until the Herakleidae grow up; cf. E. Ph.588

ἀλλ' ἀναλοῦται χρόνος οὐν μὲν μάλιστα.

174. διεργασθεῖτ': for this word, so grimly euphemistic, cf. E. Hec.369 ἄγου μ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, καὶ διεργασαί μ' ἄγων.

175. μηδὲν: because δοῦς is virtually equivalent to an imperative δοῦς (or rather, δῶς).

Τᾶμα κτλ.: the keynote of the herald's speech. Iolaos and the Herakleidae belong to Argos and in return for allowing Argos to have them, Demophon is assured of the alliance of Argos, while losing nothing himself.

176. μηδ' ὅπερ: the herald cannot resist a tactless taunt at what he considers Demophon's (i.e. Athens') usual stupidity in matters of self-interest; cf. supra 147 and 152 (ἰβούλης).

Μυκηνάς: Mycenae was captured and dismantled by Argos in 470 B.C. Here again, as always in the play, Mycenae = Argos. (V. further Fraenkel ad A. Ag.400).

177. παρόν: the accusative absolute, more common in E. than in A. or S.

τοῦ ἀμείνωνος: edd. quote [Xen.] (Old Oligarch) Ath. 3.10
 Δοκοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῦτο μοι οὐκ ἀρθῶς βουλευέσθαι, ὅτι
 τοῦ χείρους ἀφρονταί ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς στασιαφύσαις.

But there of course *Χείρους* is used in a political sense, = democrats as opposed to oligarchs.

The Athenian audience would take the sneer of the herald here as a compliment to their championship of the oppressed (cf. 329-330).

178. *λάβης*: Pearson: "*λάβης* is explanatory of *πάθης*, with asyndeton. Cf. Pl. Grg.505E", i.e. *μη λάβης* (cf. 156). However, Zuntz says (Pol. Plays, p.107): "the reading *λάβης*, due to the preceding *πάθης*, ruins the syntax." He prefers Reiske's *λαβών* to Kirchhoff's *λαβείν*.

179, 180. Attributed to Demophon by mss., but correctly given to the Chorus by Elmsley: "Who could judge the case or decide the issue?"

180. Edd. refer to the saying attributed to Phocylides:
μηδέ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης.

Cf. E. Andr.957 *σοφόν τι χρῆμα τοῦ διδάξαντος βρότου λόγου ἀκούειν τῶν ἐναντίων πᾶρα* (here the meaning is "from the other side"); A. Eu.428 *δυσὶν παρόντων ἡμῶν λόγος πᾶρα*.
Ar. V.725 *ἢ που σοφός ἦν ὅστις ἐφάσκεν, πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης, οὐκ ἂν δικάσης.*

Cf. the *ἡλιαστικὸς ὄρκος*; Isoc.15.21.

181-184. I should prefer:-

ἄναξ, σπάρχει μὲν τόδ' ἐν τῇ σῆ χθονί,
εἰπιὺν ἀκούσαντ' ἐν μέρει παρεστί μοι,
κούδεις μ' ἀπώσσει πρόσθεν, ὡσπερ ἄλλοθεν.
ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τῷ δ' οὐδέ τίς ἐστιν ἐν μέρει.

Most edd. have adopted Valckenaer's ἐν μέρει in 184, quoting in support E. Ion 1284 τί δ' ἐστὶ Φοῖβω σοί τε κοινόν ἐν μέρει (cf. also E. Tr. 54 κοινού ἐγκυτῆ τ' ἐν μέσον λόγου, ἄναξ). As there is then no contrast between 181 -2 and 184, Wilamowitz proposed γὰρ in 181 in place of LP μὲν (v. Pearson's note in support), which Murray also accepted to avoid the asyndeton of σπάρχει and παρέστι. (However, this is surely explanatory asyndeton). Now ἐν μέρει in 182 quite clearly means "in turn"; LSJ s. μέρα II.2, cf. A. Ch. 332 κλυθὶ νυν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει; Eu. 198 ἀντίκουσον ἐν μέρει. (Therefore Vitelli's conjecture of ἀκούσαντ' is preferable to LP ἀκούσαι τ', i.e. "when you have listened, it is your turn to speak."). But in 184 it appears that Iolaos is picking up and playing upon the meaning of μέρος in 182, i.e. "it is the custom in Athens for debators to speak in turn - but the herald and I have no common ground on which to speak in turn" (cf. GP 365 in support of μὲν here). He goes on to develop this line of thought in 185ff. He says that he and the Herakleidae are no longer Argive and appeals to Demophon

to admit them as "stateless" persons. He is not so much arguing "in his turn" against the *hersald* as stating that the herald has no argument. Moreover, it should be noted that the meaning of E. Ion 1284 (v. *supra*) is not altogether beyond argument. Wilamowitz ad loc. understands as "to hinder me", bringing in support D. 23.183 *οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν ἐν μέτρῳ πολεμεῖν ἡμῶν* (v. also LSJ s. *μέτρος* III.a; Denniston ad E. El. 797 *ἐκ μέτρου*; Tucker ad A. Ch. 145 *ἐν μέτρῳ*). So although it appears at first sight that *ἐν μέτρῳ* of 184 was wrongly imported from 182 - Elmsley: "natum videtur sc. from 182" (and in fact in L the one line is immediately above the other) - yet I doubt whether this explanation is entirely satisfactory here, however unavoidable it seems in 185 and 198 (v. ad locc.). For in 185 *οὐδὲν ἔσθ'* of the mss. is surely a scribal echo of *οὐδὲν ἔστιν* of 184. Are we to assume then that the scribe made two bad errors of the same kind in four lines?

185. *οὐ μέτερο'*: v. on 184; Dobree's correction must be accepted.

186. *ψήφῳ δοκήσαν*: accusative absolute. For the form cf. E. Supp. 129 *ἴδι᾽ δοκήσαν σοι τόδ'*.

Iolaos implies in *φεύγομεν πάτραν* and 188 *ἀπηλάσαν χθονός* that the vote passed against them was satisfied by exile.

The herald has said that it was a vote for their death (141, 142), and Iolaos in the prologue admits that they went into exile to escape death at the hands of Eurystheus (13-15). A wider issue seems to be raised: how far should a πόλις go in punishing its citizens? φύγη seems to have been an alternative, at least in Athens, readily available to the accused with influence, to capital punishment (cf. esp. the case of Socrates in Pl. Cri.), and to hound such an exile, as Eurystheus pursues the Herakleidae, might seem barbaric indeed.

187. Μυκηναίους: v. on 176.

188. ᾤδ': should be retained (v. App. Crit.):="being exiles."

189. Ἰδῖνοι γὰρ ἴδμεν: the sum of his argument. All connection with Argos was severed when they left Argos.

190. τῆργος: the article gives a sarcastic tone; cf. §195, and 284 τὸ σὸν Ἄργος, "your famous Argos". He asks if the Argives claim that their jurisdiction extends to the whole of Greece.

191. οὐκ οὐν... γ': introducing an emphatic negative answer (GP 423).

Ἀθήνας γ' : sc. δεῖ φεύγειν .

193. οὐ γάρ τι : for this combination favoured by E.
cf. 384; Alc.210;417, 632, 815; Hipp.792; Andr.871;
Supp.117; Ph.112.

Τραχίς : the Herakleidae had fled for refuge to
Ceyx, king of Trachis (Apollod. 2.8.1; Paus. 1.32; Ps.
Longinus de sublim. 27.2 quotes from Hecataeus of Miletus
part of a speech of Ceyx in which he is refusing to
help the Herakleidae.). The "Achaean city" is again
Trachis as belonging to the district of Achaia Pthiotis
(Strabo 9. p.433); cf. E. Kh.236 Φθιάδων δ' Ἰππων ποτ' ἐπ' ἀντογά
βαίη, δεσπότου πέραντος Ἀχαιοῖν Ἄρη; Ion 64; A. Pers.488.

194. μὲν... δέ : "sometimes an illusory effect of balance
is produced by a μὲν in the negative clause" GP 168.

195. τὸ δ' ἄγχι : v. on 190.

ὑγκῶν : "extolling" and thus deterring Ceyx from
accepting the Herakleidae. The verb is contrasted with
τῇ δίκῃ μὲν οὐ of the previous line.

οἷα περ : sc. λέγων; or, alternatively, cognate acc.
(KG 410.2(c)); "making such boasts as now you do".

197. κρίνοῦσι: Heath: κρίνουςι LP. Heath's correction aligns the tense with the parallel verb ἴσται. For the future indicative with εἶ, used in a present conditional clause, v. MT 407-8.

κρίνω = "decide in favour of", "approve". LSJ s.v. II.7.

Elmsley suggested κραινῶσι, comparing A. Supp.608 ἔφριξεν ἀθῆρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον (cf. also the examples of κραινῶ cited ad 143 supra), and remarks that κρίνω and κραινῶ are often confused. Certainly there is a good case for κραινῶσι here.

(Fearson states ad loc. that Elmsley afterwards abandoned this suggestion; I believe that he may have misinterpreted the note of Paley ad loc.: "Dindorf and Pflugk read κραινῶσι, the conjecture of Elmsley. But the latter rightly retracted it in his curae secundae." Who is the latter? In the Second Edition of Pflugk by Klotz, Klotz reads κρίνουςι where the First Edition read κραινῶσι, and in his long note ad loc. he does not mention Elmsley.)

198. οὐκ οἶδ': is this another case (v. on 184 -5, 321, 405) of scribal error in transporting οἶδα here

from 199? Kirchhoff's *οὐ φημι* makes much better sense: "If the Athenians accept your arguments, I ~~can~~ declare that Athens is no longer free." Then *οἶδ'* of 199 has far more force - "(but that would be impossible) for I really know that they will not behave so." (A possible translation, however, of *οὐκ οἶδ'* could be: "I no longer recognise Athens as free".)

For the sentiment cf. the speech of Perikles in 432 B.C. (Thuc. 1.141): *την γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.*

199. λήμα: "courage, spirit"; cf. 702, contrast 3.

200. λίσχυνη: = *λίδω*, "honour" (cf. on 6). Elmsley compares Thuc. 1.84 *λίδω* σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, *λίσχυνης* δὲ εὐψυχία. V. Barrett ad E. Hipp.244: "..... *λίδεσθαι* in Attic (sc. by the time of E.) was obsolescent in favour of *λίσχυνεσθαι*."

ἄπρος: Reiske: om. LP (v. App. Crit.): Zuntz (Transmission, p.83, note 6): "it would be unsafe to conclude that the addition (sc. *ἄπρος*) was prompted by some trace of *πάρως* (cj. Reiske). In seeking an iambic word suitable to complete the verse Triclinius could have

remembered Supp.818 and several other tragic verses edding on *βάρως* ." However, *πάρως* has met with general , and silent, adoption, and is supported syntactically by 57.

201. πάρ' : "in the opinion of", "among"; cf. 370, 881. KG 440.II.2(c).

202. πόλιν : attempts have been made to explain the accusative as that of respect (cf. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα οὐκ ἀπιστήσω χθονί , 1024) - e.g. by Elmsley: "quod ad civitatem attinet, satis dictum est"; but S. Ant.211 σοὶ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει, πᾶρ Μεναικῆς, Κρίον, τὸν τῆδε δούσαν κἀ τὸν εὐμένει πόλει which he compares has aroused discussion (v. Jebb ad loc.). However, he is followed by Beck, Jerram and Meridier. Others supply an infinitive - τοῖαδε εἰπαινεῖται : Pflugk; τοσοῦτον ἀίνεσαι Paley. It is better to accept Kirchhoff's slight change, πόλει .

καὶ γὰρ οὖν : connective and assertive: "for indeed...."
GP 112.

203. Σὴ : "many times indeed"; Iōlaos remembers with pride how often he himself was praised, though he professes to have found overmuch praise irksome and a little dangerous. As Pearson remarks, ἐπιφθόρον carried the implication of a superstitious belief in the dangers of too much prosperity ; it is not simply a question of good taste.

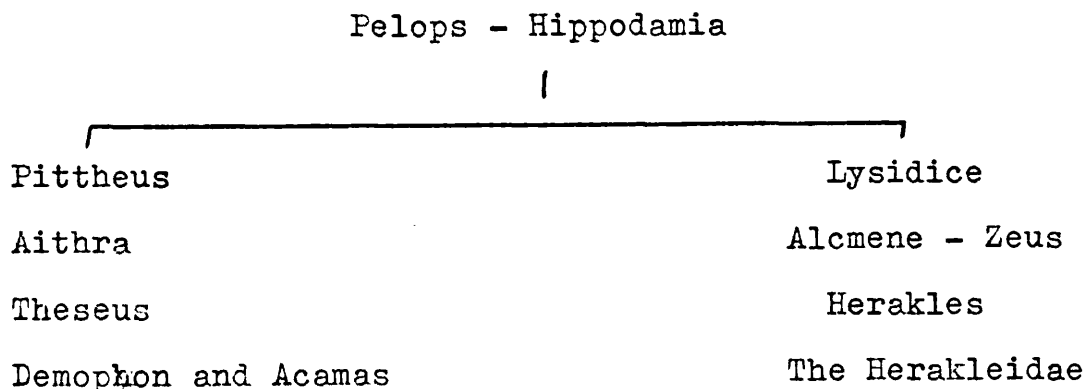
βαραυθείς : with οἶδ' , i.e. " I know that I was vexed", while αἰνούμενος is a temporal participle, i.e. "whenever I was praised excessively". For βαραυθείς = "vexed" cf. S. Ai.41 χόλω βαραυθείς ; OT 781 κλῶ βαραυθείς and for the general sentiment, E. Or.1162 βάρως τι κλῶ τῶδ' ἐστίν, αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν ; IA 979 αἰνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ ἄγαθοὶ τρέπον τινα μισοῦσι τοῦς αἰνούντας, ἣν αἰνῶσ' ἄγαν.

205. For the hyperbaton cf. 160, 844; KG 606.8.

ἀνάγκη : Paley, followed by Jerram, takes this as "a claim on the score of relationship". It is simply "obligation" with the reason following immediately.

206. ἐπεὶπερ : "since you are in fact the ruler" and therefore son of Theseus.

207ff. The genealogy (Plut. Thes.7) is as follows:-



Whilst this genealogy is perfectly satisfactory for the purposes of the play (Demophon, Acamas, and the Herakleidae are contemporaries), it should be noted that Diod. 4.57 and Paus. 1.32 relate that the Herakleidae fled to Athens in the time of Theseus. Also Triclinius (Tr² Zuntz, Transmission) in his note in the margin of L here does not include Lysidice in the genealogy and makes Alkmene the daughter of Pelops; thus Theseus and the Herakleidae are contemporaries (v. also Zuntz̄, Fol. Plays, p.104). (Also according to Apollon. 2.4.5 the mother of Alkmene was Anaxo, daughter of Alcaeus.)

209. παλιν: "back", introducing the genealogy of the Herakleidae; cf. E. Ph.1207 ἀνελεθε μοι παλιν; Ion 933. Not as Pearson, "on the other hand", "next".

ἀνελεμι: "trace back": a transitive use difficult to parallel. Pearson claims that the verb was felt to be transitive, comparing E. Ph.1207 (v. supra) and the indirect question which follows the phrase there.

Emendation is probably required here. Pearson's alternative, παλιν δ' ἴσ' ἑνὸς, seems completely satisfactory.

211. αὐτανεψίων: αὐτανεψίων LP: corr. Reisig: ἑξ' αὐνεψίων (= children of ἀνεψιοί) Nauck: what is required

to fit the genealogy of the play (v. supra) is a term which means that Theseus and Herakles are the sons of first cousins (cf. Plut. Thes. 7 ἐτυγγάνον (sc. Theseus and Herakles) δὲ καὶ γένου κοιννοῦντες, εἰς ἀνεψίων ὄντες). However, ἀνεψίος may have been used loosely of first and second cousins indiscriminately, but the objection to this is that Iolaos must use a precise word here to impress Demophon with his exact relationship with the Herakleidae.

212. ἀν εἴη: the optative (potential) referring to the present time. V. P.T. Stevens, Colloquial Expressions in Euripides, CQ XXXI (1937) p.186, for a discussion of this expression. Among the examples which he collects are Hel. 91, 834, 1287; also in questions, Ion 543; Hel.467; Andr.1165; IA 843, and with a protasis expressed, Hkld.282. V. also Dale ad Hel.91, and cf. MT 238, KG 396.3 and 5.

213. γένου: the genitive with ὡς ; common in Hdt. (1.30, 149; 5.62; 7.157; 8.111 etc.). KG 419.1. Cf. E. Alc.291 καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατακτείνῃ ἡκονβίου, and Dale's note.

ἦκει: Paley, Beck, and Jerram say = προσήκει ; but compare S. OC 738 οὐνεχ' ἦκε μοι γένει and Jebb's note: "in such examples (sc. E. Hkld.213; Alc.291) ἦκει, ἦκω cannot properly be regarded as mere substitutes for προσήκει, προσήκω."

214 ἤδη: "further", "moreover". KG 499.2. Cf. X. Cyr.

8.8.16 οὐ μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη ; Ar. V.426 τούτο μέντοι δοῖνον ἤδη;
S. OC 1586 τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη κάπο θαυμάσαι πρέπειον.

τοῦ προσήκοντος: "relationship" = συγγενείας ; so most edd., rightly. LSJ s.v. III.2 "fitness", "propriety" is surely wrong.

215. τεῖσαι: "pay a debt of obligation"; cf. A. Pr.985;
X. Mem.1.2.54.

216. φῆσὶ πατήρ : Kirchhoff: φημί πατρί LP:
it is difficult to understand Murray's approval of Kirchhoff's emendation, followed also by Wecklein. It certainly smoothes the sudden change of subject in ἐξανήγγεν, but in what respect could Herakles say of his own Labour (v. infra) that he acted as "right-hand man" to Theseus? For ὑπασπίων cf. παραστάτης, 58 and 125, describing the relationship of Iolaos to Herakles, and E. Ph.1073 οὐδ' παρ' Ἰσπίδα βίβηκας ἰεὶ πολυμίων εἰργων βόλη, said of the attendant of Eteocles; also Pi. N.3.37 where Telamon is described as Ἰόλη παραστάτης, and Bury's note ad loc.

σύνπλους: to be joined with φησὶ , which cannot be left by itself as a simple dative, "for Theseus", as the legend is that Herakles was ordered by Eurystheus as one

of the Labours to fetch the girdle of the Amazon, Hippolyte, for her daughter, Admete. Theseus is said to have received Antiope as a reward for his help to Herakles in this expedition. (Apollod. 2.5.9; Paus. 1.2.1; DS 4.16; Plut. Thes.26).

217. πολυκτόνον : because many were killed to obtain the girdle; cf. E. HF 415 *Ἰωστήρος ἀλεθρίους ἄγρυ.*

μέτα : "after" i.e. "to seek", as E. Alc.483 *Ἑρμῆκος τέτρωρον ἄρμα Διομήδους μέτα* KG 439.III.1(a)(γ).

218. Pearson comments that *ἑπισηγμένον* is "introduced with remarkable abruptness" and as nothing is said about Theseus' reward of Antiope, he feels that there is a lacuna after 217. Meridier, however, suggests (note X 1, p.206) that if Demophon was the son of Antiope as Pindar said, fr. 176 in Plut. Thes.28, this detail need not be expressly mentioned to Demophon himself. But surely the whole point of the mention by Iolaos of this Labour is to remind Demophon that Theseus, Herakles, and Iolaos himself were once all comrades in arms together.

Barrett (Intr. to his edition of E. Hipp., p.8) makes the point that in 5th Century Athens Phaedra was supposed to be the mother of Demophon (Apollod. 1.18;

Paus. 1.22.2). In that case a specific mention of Antiope would certainly be wrong here. (For a detailed discussion of this expedition against the Amazons, v. Preller & Robert, Gr. Myth. 2 (Gr. Heldens.) pp.462ff. and 730ff.)

ἔξασνήγαγεν : refers to the rescue of Theseus by Herakles from his imprisonment in Hades in the course of the Fifth Labour to fetch Cerberus; cf. E. HF 1170
σώσας με νέρθεν.

ἔρυμνῶν : "well-defended" or "sheer, steep"; cf. E. Hel.68 *δῶματα* ; Arist. Pol.1330b18 *τόποι* . Most edd. except Murray prefer Barnes' *ἔργμνῶν* : "black, shadowy". The word does not occur in E., but cf. S. Ai.376, A. Ag.1390 where it is used of the colour of blood, and S. Ant.700 *ἔργμνή φάτις* (Jebb: "darkling rumour"). V. LSJ s.v. and cf. *ἔρεβος* . It is likely that the common *ἔρυμνός* could have ousted the rarer *ἔργμνός* here.

221, 222. An almost exact repetition of 97, 98. See the Introduction for a fuller discussion of the theories of interpolation which have been based on this and other passages in the play. Here it is sufficient to note

that Wilamowitz (KS I.5, p.96), because of his theory of the re-working of the Parodos (v. supra on 126) considers that the lines belong here and are interpolated in 97, 98. (V. also Page, Actors' Interpolations, p.40, and his note on E. Med.40, 41 = 379, 380.)

Paley makes a strong point that if 220-225 are excluded (on the grounds of the corruption of 223 (v. infra) and the borrowed phrase in 225) then the herald and Iolaos have exactly 45 lines each to state their case before Demophon. In his Introduction to his ed. of the plays of E., vol. II, pp.xix-xxii, he makes a good case for exact correspondence in length in the *ρήσεις* in at least ten places in the plays. (For a more cautious viewpoint, v. Duchemin, L' *ἀγωγή* dans La Tragedie Grecque, p.160.)

Certainly 221, 222 at least are superfluous here; it is clear enough what favour Iolaos and the Herakleidae ask from Demophon, and if 220-225 are excised the way is then open after the reasoned argument for impassioned appeal, commencing 226, *ἀλλ' ἀνρομαι* .

223. *Χωρίς, ἔν τε πόσει κκόν*: some of the attempts to heal the metre of this line can be seen in the App. Crit. and Wecklein's Appendix. Probably Wilamowitz is right in

thinking (KS I.5, p.95) that *κακόν* was imported from *κακῶς* in the following line (l: *κακῶν*). He proposed *ἔματε τῆ πόλει*. Jackson (*Marginalia Scaenica*, p.54) follows up this suggestion with *ἐν πόλει τ' ἴσον*. However, *χωρίς* itself has been overlooked as a possible corruption: I tentatively suggest that a non-metrical *χώρα* replaced *γῆ*, and then this was replaced by *χωρίς* in an unsuccessful attempt to restore the metre, the line originally reading *σοὶ γὰρ τοδ' ἀίσχρον, γῆ τε καὶ πόλει κακόν*; cf. 72 *πόλει τ' ὄνειδος*.

An emendation by J.E. Harry (*Am. J. Phil.* XXXV (1914), p.200ff.) is worthy of note: *χωρὶς ἐντι πόδα κακῶν*; cf. 109, note.

224. *ἰκέτας ἀλήτας συγγενεῖς*: for the asyndeton cf. 230; E. Hec.281 *πόλις τιθήνη βράκτρον*.

κακῶς: LP: the correction of l, *κακῶν*, should be adopted: "alas for our woes". KG 420.1(a). (v. on 447).

225. *βλέψον πρὸς αὐτοὺς βλέψον*: for the repetition of the imperative cf. E. Alc.390 (from where the phrase may have been borrowed; v. on 221, 222). For the anaphora cf. 307.

226. *Χερσὶν*: the evidence of E. Hec.752 *ἰκετεύω σε τῶνδε γουνάτων καὶ σοῦ γενεῖου δεξιᾷ τ' εὐδαίμονος*

and Hipp.605 *καὶ πρὸς σε τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς* has been adduced to support the view that *πρὸς* of 227 governs *χεροῖν* also (cf. 756, note). However, *χεροῖν* seems too vague an expression to justify such a view, and further the deictic *οὗδε* or the possessive adjective *αἰς* usually found in such phrases; v. Barrett ad E. Hipp.605 who gives examples in addition to those quoted above. Furthermore, to take *χεροῖν* with *πρὸς* leaves *καταπέφω* strangely isolated - parenthetically, as Pflugk, or coupled awkwardly with *ἰντομαί*, as Paley.

Elmsley is right to take *καταπέφω χεροῖν* together: "I wreath thee with my hands" as with suppliant boughs; cf. E. Andr.894 *στεμμάτων δ' οὐχ ἦσσονας σοῖς προστίθωμι γόνυσιν ἠλένας ἐμάς* ; IA 1216 *ἰκετηρίαν δὲ γόνυσιν ἐξέπτω σέθεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν;* Or.382 *τῶν ὄντων δὲ γονάτων πρωτόλεια θιγγάνω ἰκέτης, ἰφύλλου στόματος ἐξέπτων λιτάς.*

227. καὶ: the mss. reading is corrupt, caused either by the wish to link *χεροῖν* and *πρὸς γενείου*, or by the misreading of a minuscule abbreviation (Zuntz, P61. Plays, p.107). Hence Kirchhoff's *καί* should be accepted, as it has been by Pearson and Meridier.

228. λαβῶν: LP: *λαβοῖν* Elmsley: *λαβῶν* is just possible: "do not reject them now that they are in your

hands", but the construction found with ἀτιμάζειν is accusative and infinitive as S. Ant. 544 μήτοι, κασιγνήτη, μ' ἀτιμάσης τὸ μὴ οὐ θανεῖν ; E. HF 608 οὐκ ἀτιμάσω θεοῦ προσειπεῖν ; Pl. La. 182C μὴ ἀτιμάσωμεν εἰπεῖν ; A. Fr. 255 μὴ μ' ἀτιμάσης μολεῖν. KG 514, An. 9(b).

229. γενοῦ : i.e. "prove yourself".

230. For the asyndeton cf. 224.

δеспότης : "even a master; for anything....." ἴπαντα ταῦτ' of course refers particularly to δеспότης .

231. πλην : instead of ἢ . KG 479.2 and 540.1, An. 5.

232. ἤκτιρα : the "instantaneous aorist", where in English the present tense is used. KG 386.9(b); MT 60. The emotion is felt and recorded as having just occurred with its effects still continuing in the present time. Here for example, a sudden feeling of pity has moved the Chorus and continues to do so. For the phrase cf. E. Andr. 421 ἤκτιρ' ἀκούσασ'.

συμφορᾷ : genitive of cause or origin after ἤκτιρ' ; KG 420.1(a).

233ff. The sentiment of the Chorus, that now they are seeing the children of a noble family unworthily overcome by misfortune is triumphantly contradicted by Iolaos when his plea is accepted by Demophon (297ff.).

τύχης νικωμένην : genitive of comparison; cf. E. Med.315 κραισδόνων νικωμένοι; A. Supp.1005 βιότου νικώμενος KG 420, An.8.

234. ἑσείδον : aorist as in 232.

236. συμφορᾶς : the mss. reading presents graver difficulties than edd. have prepared to meet. It is absolutely clear that the intended sense of the line is; "three considerations compel me not to.....", and Demophon specifies these considerations in 238ff., viz.

Ζεὺς , τὸ συγγενές (with τὸ προφείλειν), τὸ ἀισχρὸν .

ὁδός as a metaphorical "way" or "path" is adequately substantiated by E. Hec.744 σῶν ὁδὸν βουλευμάτων; Med.376 πολλὰς δ' ἔχουσα θανάσιμου αὐτοῖς ὁδοῦ; Hipp.290 γνώμης ὁδόν; Ph.911 Θεσφάτων ἐμῶν ὁδόν; S. OT 67 πολλὰς δ' ὁδοῦς εἰθότα φροντίδας, but what meaning can be extracted from συμφορᾶς ? It cannot mean "misfortune". Elmsley interprets "τῆσδε τῆς συντυχίης", and Verrall, possibly influenced by this,

proposed *συμφορῆς*. Probably they intended the sense to be "in these circumstances", or, as Pearson doubtfully translates Verrall's emendation, "by their conjuncture"; but he rightly observes that *συμφορῆς* leaves *οἶδ'οι* awkwardly isolated.

Has *συμφορῆς* been imported from 232? (Cf. *ἐν μέρει*, 182 and 184; *οἶδ'* 198 and 199; v. notes ad locc.). If so, a word expressing "thought", "reflection", which is metrically acceptable and bears some resemblance to *συμφορῆς* may be suggested. Hence, F.W. Schmidt's conjecture *συννοίας* (cf. S. Ant. 279) is attractive. Perhaps *φροντίδων*? Cf. S. OT 67, quoted supra, and Ant. 225 *φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις*.

237. τοὺς σοὺς ξένους: Elmsley substituted *τούτῳ* for *τοὺς σοὺς*, and Kirchhoff *λόγους* for *ξένους*. As Zuntz says (Pol. Plays, p. 107), "the Herakleidae are not *ξένοι* of Iolaos", and *τοὺς σοὺς* cannot mean "the strangers under your Protection" (Paley). *λόγους* is to be preferred. For if *ξένους* is retained ^{and *τούτῳ* read,} then Iolaos seems isolated from them and the protection they are to receive.

238. τὸ μὲν... τὲ... τ': GP 374-5 states that "the contrast conveyed by *μὲν*, *δέ*' may be so slight as hardly to be a contrast at all. It is therefore not surprising

that, instead of $\delta\epsilon'$, we often find a particle expressing a mere addition." Cf. also 337; E. Ph.57; Tr.134; Supp.1036; and v. Bury, Pi. I, App. A, pp.156-161.

Here there is no contrast, but a listing of the "three considerations".

τὸ μέγιστον : apposition, as 169, .

ἐφ' οὗ : edd. "at whose altar", "at whose statue". But more precisely, "on whom" - Zeus and his altar or statue regarded as one, a conception reinforced by $\beta\acute{\omega}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. 33).

239. νεοσσῶν : cf. 10, note.

πανηγυρίων : Nauck preferred $\delta\mu\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$ as E. Hipp.1180; A. Ag.4; Ch.10, presumably because he regarded $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$ as too all-embracing : cf. A. Th.220; Ag.845. But cf. E. HF 1283 $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$ (where however Wecklein would read $\delta\mu\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$).

240, 241. The considerations of kinship and gratitude are here combined by Demophon; Iolaos had kept them separate (205ff., 214ff.).

τὸ προφείδειν : i.e. the facts of 215-219.

Χάριν : for the development of the use of Χάριν from accusative in apposition to the sentence to preposition with the genitive case, v. KG 406, An.5; 430, An.(b). Here πατρίων Χάριν is parallel to ἐμῆν Χάριν, and = πατρός (or πατέρων) Χάριν. (Pflugk needlessly paraphrases as τῶν τοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν ὑπηγμένων Χάριν). The meaning is "for the sake of their father", or "for the sake of the friendship of their father and mine". πατρίων embraces both the comradeship expressed in 216-217 and the rescue of Theseus by Herakles in 218-219.

242. τότ' ἀίσχρον : cf. 200, 223.

243. σουλῆσθαι : for this notion that the god is robbed when the suppliants are forcibly removed cf. S. OC 922 αἰ' πυθοῖατο σουλῶντα τῆμα καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, βία ἔγοντα φωτῶν ἀθλίων ἐκτήρια.

244. ἐλευθέρων : cf. the suggestion of Iolaos in 198, and the patriotic emphasis throughout on "free Athens. Cf. 62, 287.

245. Ἀργείων ὄκνω : Ἀργείων Dobree; ὄκνω Musgrave:
Ἀργείοις ὄκνω LP: The remark of Iolaos in 191 establishes the corrections of Dobree and Musgrave (cf. 244, note). It is important to note that Iolaos has so completely persuaded Demophon by the arguments of 181-231

that Demophon in answer repeats them with almost the same emphasis, except for his insistence on his reverence for Zeus as his most compelling reason for not rejecting the suppliants..

246. ἀγχόνης : a colloquial expression here (cf. P.T. Stevens (op. cit. ad 214) p.190). For the literal sense cf. S. OT 1374 ἔργ' ἐστὶ κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης εἰργασμένα; A. Eu.746 νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι τέρματ' ; E. Alc.228 ἄξιμα καὶ σφαγῆ τάδε, καὶ πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέρον οὐρανόω πελάσαι; while for the colloquial use cf. Ar. Ach.125 ταῦτα δεῖτ' οὐχ ἀγχόνη ; Aesch. 2.38 τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀγχόνη καὶ λύπη τούτῳ.

The meaning here is "this is almost enough to make one hang oneself".

τάδ' : the passages quoted above from the Alcestis, and the Acharnians make the emendations of Elmsley (τόδ'), Reiske (καὶ γὰρ) and Musgrave (καὶ τὰ δ') quite unnecessary.

247. ᾧ φέροι μολεῖν : a wish referring to past time; hence the aorist infinitive. MT 734; KG 391, An.3.

εὐτυχέστερος : apogr. Paris.: εὐτυχέστερον LP: the personal adjective seems preferable here.

248. μηδ' ἐρέσης ὅπως ἀποσπᾶσει : ὅπως with the future indicative only is used after a verb of fearing when that

verb is negatived. MT 371; KG 553.b.9(d). Of course

ἴπαι μὴ with either the future indicative or the subj. is regularly used with such verbs. MT 370; KG 553.b.9(a).

251. Ἰένους: they are not Argives; Demophon has accepted the argument of Iolaos (189; v. on 245).

ἔγκλητ: with accusative of charge and dative of person, as S. El.778 ἔγκλων δὲ μοι φόνου πατρώου. KG 382, An.12.

Δίκης: i.e. international law; so Paley, Jerram, and Pearson. Δίκη is opposed to the following οὐκ ἔφει ποτέ and συλλοβαίβη of 243. "If Eurystheus has a charge to bring against those who are not his subjects," says Demophon, "then he will obtain satisfaction under international law, but I will never allow them to be dragged away with lawless violence." For Δίκης κυρεῖν cf. Hdt. 9.116 (κυρεῖν with the genitive is very common in Hdt.). V. further on 460.

253. Δίκαιον: the herald seizes upon the word Δίκης, and pleads that he has a just claim.

255. οὐκ οὖν: here and in 262, 525, 971 it is probable that οὐκ οὖν should be read. Cf. GP 439: "it is difficult to find any appreciable distinction in meaning accompanying the difference in orthography." V. also

GP 431, 440, and KG 507.5.e. β , who observes: "die Frage mit *οἴκουν* hingegen der aufgeregten und pathetischen Rede, die aus einem leidenschaftlichen, unwilligen, erzürnten, erstaunten, ungeduldigen Gemüte hervorgegangen ist, wie sie besonders in den Tragödien zu sein pflegt."

ἄλλ' οὐ σοί : ἄλλὰ σὺ LP: σοί corrector apogr. Paris.:

ἄλλ' οὐσὺ Musgrave: Pearson says that it is thought that the *ΟΥ* may have disappeared before the *CY* by haplography. but this does not account for the corruption of *σοί*, which is clearly correct. However, without the *οὐ* the sense is not easy; e.g. Meridier: "ce n'est pas à ma honte, et toi, c'est à ton dam." Musgrave's emendation suits the character of the herald much better (cf. also, 257): "Is this not disgraceful to me alone, while harmless to you?", a question to which the answering *ἐμοί γ'* fits excellently: Demophon objects that the shame will be his also.

256. γ' : GP 132: "(used in) affirmative answers contradicting a denial." Cf. E. IA 364 ... φονεύς οὐκέτι θυγατρὸς σῆς
ἴσγ. μάλιστα γ'.....; Hec. 396.

ἐφέλκεσθαι : the middle voice. *σοί* is the indirect object of *μεθῶ*. KG 484.29; cf. S. El. 628 *μεθεῖσά μοι λέγειν* (Jebb: "*μεθεῖσθαι* (prop. 'to let go') seldom (sc. as here)

means 'to permit'.)

257. δέ: GP 170: "A new suggestion, proffered on the rejection of a previous suggestion is sometimes introduced by δέ ."

ἐξόρισε: v. on 16. Edd. make no comment on the impudence of the herald which rouses Demophon to the outburst of 258. The herald in effect argues that if Demophon feels some scruples about allowing him to drag the Herakleidae from an Athenian altar, well, all he has to do is to remove them himself and escort them over the border and he, the herald, will do the rest! Pearson says that no emphasis is placed on οὐ: on the contrary it is most emphatic.

258. σκαίος: the sense of the word is more than just "stupid". As Denniston observes (ad E. El.944) there is frequently an ethical meaning to the word (v. also supra ad 147, μωρίαν); the σκαίος ἄνηρ has no conception of his duty to god or man or of the proper way in which to behave; αἰδώς, αἰσχύνη and τὸ αἰσχρὸν, the guiding principles in the lives of Iolaos and Demophon (illustrated throughout this play) have no part in his life. For the word, cf. 458; E. El.944; Fr.736 ὡς σκαίος ἄνηρ καὶ ζένοιον ἄξενος τὸ γὰρ εἶχειν πλέον κρατῆ τῆς εὐσεβείας; Fr.951, of parents who will view with sympathetic under-

standing the love affairs of their sons, if they are not *σκαιοὶ φύσιν*. Cf. also *ἄμαθής* (459, note); the meanings of both words range from "tactless" to "cruel".

πλείω: Pearson prefers here the singular *πλέον*. He refers to Cobet (Nov. Lect. p.268ff.) who shows that *μέγα, μέγαν, ἔλαττον φρονεῖν* etc. tend to be corrupted in favour of the corresponding plurals; cf. here with 933; 386 with 979. Nauck suggested *μείζον*.

259. Another piece of insolence; any wrong-doer can find refuge at Athens!

260. ῥύμα: here only in E.; cf. A. Supp.85 *βωμός*
φυγίον ῥύμα.

261. A veiled threat, which rouses Demophon's anger even more.

262. οὐκ οὐν: v. on 255.

τῶν: Reiske's correction of LP *τῶνδ'*, which was caused because the scribe was thinking of the Herakleidae, and wrote the deictic *τῶνδ'* (cf. 252, 256 *τούτδε*).

κύριος: v. on 143.

263. ⟨γ'⟩: Elmsley's addition gives the sentence a very idiomatic appearance if Matthiae's 'correction' of

ἦν for LP ἄν is to be retained. The meaning will then be: "you will be master in your own country if you are sensible and do not offend the Argives." Pearson would delete the comma and make βλάπτων μηδού explanatory of ἦν σωφρονῆς; if the comma is kept, βλάπτων becomes a conditional participle with ἦν σωφρονῆς conditional also: this is awkward, but not impossible, but it requires an inversion in English, and in French also: cf. Méridier: "Oui, si gardant le sens, tu ne lèses pas les autres."

Kirchhoff would retain ἄν and write σωφρονῆς, i.e. "you would be wise not to offend them." Note that γ' is not then required and the sentence runs much more smoothly.

264. βλάπτειθ' : imperative: "be harmed, then, so long as I do not....."

265. The herald's hints of 261 and 263 become more direct.

266. μεθήσομαι : the middle voice with the genitive case. LSJ s.v. III; contrast μεθω , 256.

τοιοῦτος : s.c. τῆ γνώμῃ, "of the same opinion"; cf. A. Ag.1360; E. Or.1680.

267. γε μέντοι : introduces an objection. GP 412.

268. ἴρ' : draws a conclusion. GP 45. (Elmsley
οὐ τῆρ' = οὐτοί ἴρα. GP 555).

269. δοῖ : emphasizes the participle: "I will try ~~xit~~
and see, then." GP 236.

εἴσομαι : cf. γνώση σου, 65.

270. κλαίων : "to your regret": cf. A. Supp. 925 κλαίεις ἄν,
εἰ ψεύσεαι, οὐ μάλ' εἰς μακρὰν ; E. Andr. 577, 758. LSJ s.v.
I.2.

ἴρ' : "and soon, too!" GP 2.

εἰς ἀναβολάς : cf. E. Hel. 1297, and εἰς ἄρπαγῆς 904
(Dale ad loc: "adverbial: 'by way of lawful seizure'".) ;
Thuc. 7.15 μὴ εἰς ἀναβολὰς πράσσετε.

271. Pearson notes here the death of Anthemocritus, an Athenian herald sent to Megara just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War to complain of encroachment on the sacred land who was supposed to have been murdered by the Megarians (Paus. 1.36.3; Plut. Per. 30.3). He is clearly wrong in seeing such a connection. Another version of the story of the Herakleidae has it that the Athenians

murdered the herald of Eurystheus when he tried to drag the Herakleidae from the altar. Cf. Philostr. VS 2.1.5 who records that Herodes Atticus changed the dress of the Athenian *ἱφίβοι* from black to white. Previous to his time, he says, *καὶ τῆς προμῆς ἔπεμτον, πενθούτων δημοσίᾳ Ἀθηναίων τοῦ κήρυκα τὸν Κοπρέα, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀπέκτεινον τοῦς Ἡρακλείδας τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποσπῶντα.*

Clearly it is this tradition that E. is refuting here. So far from the herald being killed, Demophon was prevented by the Athenians even from laying a hand on him (cf. 273). It seems clear that the tradition is referred to again in 292ff. when the Chorus state that the herald will exaggerate what happened and claim to have barely escaped with his life.

272. εἰμήγ': cf. E. Alc. 493 *εἰμήγε πῦρ πνέουσι μυκτήρων ἄπο.* GP 132. As in 256 *γε* is affirmative, yet, here, limiting at the same time.

σωφρονεῖν: Demophon picks up the remark of the herald of 263.

276. ἀΐχμην: collectively for a large number of spearsmen; cf. *δόρυ* 500, 803, 842; *ἀσπίς* 932, E. Ph. 78;

Λόγην E. Ph.442; πέληγ E. Rh.410. KG 347.1.

278. Ἀλκίθου: Alcathous, a son of Pelops, had come to Megara because he had been accused of the murder of his brother Chrysippus. After he had killed a lion which had been responsible for the death of the king's son, the king made him his son-in-law and he subsequently became king of Megara (Paus. 1.41 ff.).

Here E. is not concerned with exact chronology. Alcathous is represented as still king of Megara, though a son of Pelops, while in Athens the great - great - grandchildren of Pelops (v. on 207) are reigning!

279. τῶνθένδε: τῶνθούδε would be more logical, but less usual! V. on 141 and cf. E. Med.1117 κερδοκῶ τῶνθένδε οἱ προβήσεται; Ea. 49 τῶνθένδε θέμενος εἶ; S. El.1307 ἀλλ' οἶσθα μὲν τῶνθένδε.

κερδοκῶν: Eurystheus is waiting on the borders of Megara, poised for an invasion of Attica if the herald's overtures are rejected. For the verb cf. E. Med.1117; Hel.739; Tr.93.

280. λαμπρός: edd. compare Ar. Eq.430 εἴξομαι γὰρ σοὶ λαμπρὸς ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθείξω (cf. also ibid.760) and

suggest that the metaphor is based on the idea of a violent, rushing wind which clears the sky of clouds; cf. [D.] 25.57 ὡς πολὺς παρ' ὀμίῳ ἐπνεῖ καὶ λαμπρὸς; Hdt. 2.29 λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ; A. Ag. 1180 λαμπρὸς δ' εἴοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἄντολῆς πνέων ἐσάξειν (v. Fraenkel ad loc.).

But in all these examples a verb stronger than φαίνεται seems required to point the metaphor. Paley, following Barnes, suggested that here λαμπρὸς = γοργός, ὀπλισμένος, "in gleaming armour". In E. Fr. 628.5 μή σοι τυραννος λαμπρὸς ἢ ἰσοτοῦ φανή the similarity to our passage is deceptive: σοι is there ethic dative, and λαμπρὸς means "brilliant", "splendid" (LSJ s.v. III). I would suggest, following Paley's hint, that λαμπρὸς may originally have been a gloss on γοργός; cf. E. Andr. 458 νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς ὀπλίτης φανείς (cf. ibid. 1123). γοργός means firstly "fiercely flashing", of eyes, and later (LSJ s.v. 2) "spirited", "vigorous", a meaning very close to the metaphorical use of λαμπρὸς. Clearly something stronger than λαμπρὸς is needed here to express the effect of Eurystheus on σοὶ καὶ πολίταις γῆ τε τῆδε καὶ φεραῖς.

ἔθρειν : i.e. the threat of violence by Demophon to the herald, which he will exaggerate to Eurystheus (v. on 271, and cf. 292ff.).

281. φυτοῖς : this refers to the devastation of the land, as by the Spartans in their invasion of Attica in 431 B.C. (Thuc. 2.19). The olive trees in particular are meant, which according to Zimmern (Greek Commonwealth, p.54) "do not bear a full crop for 16 or 18 years, and it is 40 to 60 years before they are at their best." Such trees, with their great economic importance, would be an obvious target for an invading army (v. further Zimmern, op. cit. p.54, note 3).

282. ἂν κεκτημένα: v. on 212.

ᾧδε : looks forward to the conditional participle μη τιμωρούμενοι ; hence μη not οὐ . KG 513.2.

284. φθείρου : cf. E. Andr.708 εἰ μη φθερῆ τῆσδ' ὡς τλχίστ' ἰπὸ στέγῃς , and ibid.715 φθείρεσθε τῆσδε ; HF 1290 οὐ γῆς τῆσδ' ἰπὸ φθαρῆσται ; Fr.610. The expression is undoubtedly colloquial as can be judged from its appearance in Old and New Comedy: cf. Ar.Ach.460; Pl.598, 610; Men. Perix. 403; Sam.229; also Herod. 6.15. (It appears in Homer (Il. 21.128) in its literal sense.)

The irate Peleus uses the expression twice in E. Andr. in rage at Menelaus and his followers who have

bound Andromache, and here Demophon is beside himself with anger at the boastful insolence of the herald.

τὸ σὸν ἄργος: the contemptuous use of the possessive adjective as in 58, 190, 195, 690. Cf. E. Hipp.113

τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χεῖρον λέγω; S. El.1110 οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν κληδόν' ; Ph.1251 τοῦ σὸν οὐ ταρβῶ φόβον ; Ant.573 ἄγαν γε λυπεῖς καὶ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν λέχος.

285. οὐκ ἔμελλες: Pearson: "it was not likely that you would....." Cf. E. Med.1354 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔμελλες τῆμ' ἀπυμάσας λέχη τερπνὸν διαΐειν βίοτον ἐγγεληῶν ἐμοί.

286. πόλει: Elmsley proposed to read πόλει, believing that δπηκοον was to be taken with Ἀργείων, in support of which he quoted A. Pers.234; Hd. 7.111; X. Cyr.4.2.1, An. 5.5.1. But passages exist where the dative is used with δπηκοος; e.g. X. HG 3.1.3, An.7.7.29, Cyr.2.4.22; V. also KG 423.8.

287. ἐλευθέραν: Demophon's address to the herald ends on the note of λισχύνη and Ἀθῆναι ἐλεύθεραι, which recalls the argument of Iolaos, 190ff., and its acceptance by Demophon, 242ff.

288. πελάσαι: intransitive as in 44.

289. Ἀργείων...Μυκηνάων : v. on 176. The use here of the two names so close together is evidence for the interchangeability in Tragedy of the terms "Argos" and "Mycenae".

Murray would prefer Ἀργείων to avoid the close repetition of the genitive plurals.

291. ἐπὶ τοῖσι : the demonstrative use of the article which survives in Tragedy from its frequent use by Homer, Hesiod and Pindar; KG 458.3. Not as Pearson, "after this", but more precisely, "in view of this", "in these circumstances" = ἐπὶ τοῖσι . KG 438 II(c).

292. κήρυξι : v. on 271. For other passages where heralds are represented in a bad light cf. E. Supp.426, 459; Tr.424; Or.895. Contrast this, however, with the portrayal of the sympathetic herald, Talthybius, in Hex. 488ff., 518-520. In Tragedy it is almost inevitable that heralds, and soothsayers (cf. S. OT, Ant.), bring instructions repugnant to the other dramatis personae, and no general conclusion should be drawn as to the attitude of the playwright himself.

293. πυργούν : cf. E. Med.526 ἐπειδὴ καὶ λίαν πυργοῦν χεῖρα;
Tr.612 ὄρω τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργοῦσ' ἄνω τὸ μῦθεῖν ὄντα.

τῶν γιγνομένων : "the actual facts"; genitive of comparison. KG 420.2(b).

294. βασίλευσι : plural for singular; cf. 99, 367, 1055; E. Ion 233, 751 δεσπότηι ; Alc.132 βασίλευσι, 138 δεσπότηισι ; S. OC 295 ἀνακτῶν ; A. Ch.53 δεσποτῶν .

295. παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν : KG 440.III.3(c). In this and similar expressions, παρ' οὐδενί, παρ' ὀλίγον, the preposition expresses the point of reference. V. LSJ s.v. III.5(b).

διακναῖσαι : διακναίειν, lit. "grate to bits" (Dale ad E. Alc.109) can be used of destruction generally; cf.
 A. Ag.65 διακναίμενης τ' ἐν προτελείῳι κήμακος.
 E. Alc.109 χρή τῶν ἀγαθῶν διακναίμενων πενθεῖν.
 Med.163 ὅν ποτ' ἐγὼ νύμφαν τ' ἐσίδοιμ' αὐτοῖς μελέθροις διακναίμενους.
 El.1306 μία δ' ἀφοτέρους ἔτη πατέρων διέκναισεν.
 IA 26 γυναικί πολλὰ καὶ δυσάρεστοι διέκναισαν
 (For the original notion of a slow and painful death, cf. A. Fr.93 δὲρ' ἔλαθ' οἴαις ἀκείαισιν διακναίμενος τὸν μυριετη χρόνον ἀθλεύσω.)

Paley finds it difficult to understand how a man can be said διακναίειν τὴν ψυχὴν if he dies by the hand of another, but Pearson comments that Paley supplies the answer to his own doubts by his quotation of E. Alc.466 μητρός οὐ θελούσας πρὸ παιδός χθονὶ κρύψαι δόμας.

Perhaps, as Elmsley seems to suggest ("interpretare,
 διολόσαι), the expression is parallel to the Homeric
 μένος , θυμόν , ψυχὴν , ἦτορ ὀλέσαι = "to lose one's life".

297. τοῦδε... ἢ : strictly, only τοῦδε or ἢ is
 required in the comparison, but cf. E. Med. 553 τί τοῦδ' ἂν
 εὖρημ' ἠδρον εὐτυχέστερον ἢ παῖδα γῆμαι βασιλείῃς φυγῆς γεγώς.
 For the prose examples, Pearson refers to Wyse ad Is. 1.20;
 v. also KG 541.4, An.3. It is therefore unnecessary to
 read with Musgrave οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν or with Paley πατρός γ'
 ἂπ' ἐρθεῖν , which links πεφυκέναι and γαμεῖν as
 explanatory of τοῦδε .

298. πατρός : for the genitive after πεφυκέναι cf. 509,
 513, 541, 563. KG 418.1(b).

299-301. These lines are deleted by Murray, following
 J. Niejahr. (Wilamowitz also condemned them, KS I, p.99,
 note 1). Stobaeus 4.29C, 46 Hense, actually quotes them,
 though Murray seems to deny this (v. App. Crit.). But
 they are absent from another quotation by Stobaeus
 (4.25.2) and by Orion (Eurip.9) who quote 297-298 with
 the addition of a line which does not appear in LP:

καὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἀΐαν τιμὴν νέμειν

Could these lines perhaps be the interpolation of an
 actor? For the sentiment cf. E. Andr. 1279ff. After a

general statement like 297-298 the way is open for an actor for a development of the theme which may not be strictly relevant (as for example the line added by Stob. and Or.). In support of this hypothesis is the difficulty involved in finding a subject for *γαμῶν*, which, as Pearson remarks, should be *πατέρα*. He says "it is not the marriage of the children, but that of the father which is relevant." He would read, as does Wecklein,

γαμῶν, the suggestion of Musgrave. But the use of the verb with *ἀπό* or *ἐκ* is well exemplified in E: cf. Andr. 974 *ὡς φίλων μὲν ἂν γήμασι' ἀπ' ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν*; *ibid.* 1279 *κατ' οὐ γαμῶν δεῖτ' ἐκ τε γενναίων χρόνων*; Rh. 168 *οὐδ' εἴ' ἑμαυτοῦ μαισθόνων γαμῶν δεῖλω*; Fr. 59 *ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κακοὶ γαμοῖσ' εἶ.*

Consequently the text here is probably correct - but the lines themselves spurious. Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.110) considers that the lines "are likely to come from some other play (sc. of E.)", and rightly insists that it is

εὐγενεΐα, descent from Herakles, which is the point of this speech, and indeed plays such an important part throughout the whole play (cf. for *εὐγενεΐα* generally and in particular in the play, 115, 200, 233, 235, 297-8, 302, 324, 409, 464, 490, 510, 525, 537, 539, 553, 563, 626, 642, 651, 825, 891). As he remarks, Herakles can hardly be taken as the model of marital propriety and any references in the speech to ignoble affairs would

be most inappropriate.

301. λίπειν : this use of the infinitive could be taken, as by Pearson, as parallel to the employment of the infinitive after οἰκτιρεῖν , μισεῖν , and θαυμάζειν (KG 484.21, An.3), interchangeably with a causal (?) participle, viz. "I shall not praise the man who.....as having left...." But cf. S. Ai.1360 τοιοῦτόν ἐπαινεῖς δῆτα σὺ κτῶσθαι φίλους ; EI.1322 σιγᾶν ἐπήνορ' ; OC 664 θαυσαῖν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε κἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἐπαινῶ, where the infinitive could be taken simply as the verbal noun, the object of ἐπαινῶ. Then in our example ὅς δέ' relates to an implied subject of λίπειν , i.e. τοῦτον . Other editors, following Elmsley, explain the infinitive as expegetic = ὥστε(Matthiae suggests λιπῶν ; cf. supra.)

302. τὸ δυστυχές κτλ. : Iolaos proves triumphantly that εὐγενεία is not νικωμένη τῆς τύχης as the Chorus remarked in 233. For the sentiment cf. E. Andr.766ff.

303. γὰρ : introduces an element in the proof of a proposition. GP 66. (The rule that no word can end after a long anceps in the iambic trimeter, except at the caesura in the middle of the line, which was found to apply to the end of the tragic dialogue line by Porson ("Porson's Bridge" or "Law of the final cretic"),

is not broken here. γάρ as a postpositive is regarded as part of the word group ἡμῶν γάρ. Cf. Maas, Gk. Metre, paras.48, 135. (Cf. E. Hel.1552.)

304. εἰ τοῦτο ἔσχατον: cf. E. Or.447 ὦ μύληος, ἤκει συμφορῆς εἰς τοῦτο ἔσχατον; Hel.510 κακῶν ἔσχατον; Ion 836 τῶνδ' ἀπάντων ἔσχατον κακόν.

305. τετῆσδ' οἰκουμένης: cf. supra 151 (τοσαύτης ἑλλάδος), 156, 411. I.e. "of all Greece, large as it is."

306. πρόστησαν: cf. 349, 1037.

307. δοτ'...δοτε: v. on 225. For the sentiment edd. compare S.OC 1632 δοῦ μοι χερσὶ σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις (ἀρχαίαν variously emended); Ph.813 χερσὶ πίστιν; E. Med.21 δεξιᾷ πίστιν μεγίστην (v. Page ad loc.).

309. μὲν...ἢν δ'οὖν: GP 465: "as Paley observes, δέ is copulative here, not, as usually adveraative." The sense is well expressed by Beck: "they do their part – you must do yours."

εἰ πέραν: edd. take the meaning here as "proof", i.e. trial resulting in proof: Jerram, "i.e. since we have proved the friendship of Athens under trial": Pearson, "as we have proved our friends": Méridier, "nous avons fait l'épreuve des amis". As the text stands this must be the meaning of the phrase, but it is not easy to find

a convincing parallel; *πειρᾶν εἶχεν τινος* (X. Cyr.4.1.5; An. 3.2.16) = to have experience of, i.e. to know what someone is like, and *ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι τινος* (X. An.9.1) = to be acquainted with, but *πειρᾶν τινος λαμβάνειν* or *λαβεῖν* (E. Fr.691, 993; Isoc. 12.236; Pl. Grg.448A; X. An.6.6.33 etc.) = to make trial of, while *ῥέναι ἐς τὴν πείραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* (Thuc. 7.21) = to make trial of an action at sea.

These examples suggest that the meaning here should be "we have put our friends to the test". It is possible that a line may have dropped out after 309, e.g. *ἄλλων δὲ πάντων εἰσὶν οἷδε φίλτατοι*, or similar, which states that the *πείρα φίλων* has found the Athenians to have proved to be the best friends of the Herakleidae. (For a possible explanation of the mechanics of such an omission v. on 311).

310. νόστος: cf. 1042. The word refers to the return of the Herakleidae to the Peloponnese.

ἕμιον: the LP *ἤμιον* is a scribal slip.

311. οἰκήσητε: this verb can clearly have *δῶματ'* only as its object. Edd. unite in explaining its combination with *τιμῆ* as an instance of zeugma, supplying variously *λίβητε*, *ἐναλίβητε*, *κατάσχητε*. Pearson mentions the

further difficulty of having to supply from *φ11uv* of 309 an object for *νομισηε* in 312. Elmsley supposed that a line had been omitted after 311 (v. App. Crit.). He is probably right. To account for this missing line, and that after 309 (v. supra on 309) I suggest that the exemplar of L may have been written across two columns as L itself, and that the lines of the right-hand column were written somewhat out of alignment with those of the left-hand column at this point, viz. (in exaggerated form:-

309.		(309a)
		310
311.		(311a)
		312

(The arrangement of the lines on 91v of L is similarly set out, with 309 and 311 in the left-hand column and 310 and 312 in the right-hand column. The alignment in that part of L which contains the Hkld. (89r - 96v) is generally good, but in foll. 192 r and v (Electra) the alignment is so bad that lines have been drawn across and between the columns linking the successive verses for the convenience of the reader. V. Zuntz, Transmission, Plates X - XIII.)

312ff. For the sentiment cf. the promise of Orestes A. Eu.765ff.

313ff. These lines point to the Spartan invasion of Attica in 431 B.C.

ἀρεσθαι... μὲμνησθέ μοι τήνδ' : μὲμνημένοι τῶνδ' LP: Edd. apart from Kirchhoff (μὲμνησθέ μοι) and Murray (μὲμνησθέ μοι with τήνδ' in place of τῶνδ') are content with the LP reading, and take ἀρεσθαι as infinitive for imperative; cf. E. Tr.422; S. OT 462; Ph.1411; El.9 (φάσκειν). This explanation would be quite acceptable were it not for the mixture of imperative (νομίζετε) and infinitive (for imperative). As Pearson remarks, KG 474a gives examples of this alternating use from Homer and Herodotus. Pearson himself refers to E. Or.624 μὴ τῶνδ' ἀμύσειν φόνον ἐναντίον θεῶν. ἴα δ' ἴπ' ἰστών καταφονευθῆναι πέτραις; A. Eu.1006 ἴτε καὶ κατέχειν . But neither of these examples is really parallel to the use here of νομίζετε and ἀρεσθαι , both of which are "full" verbs in the way in which ἴα and ἴτε are not. E. Ion 98 and 101, which Pflugk, followed by H Jerram and Beck, adduces, is a much disputed passage; and it seems unlikely that in our passage here there is in fact a combination of infinitive and imperative. (V. also Owen ad Ion 98).

Therefore it seems better to adopt Kirchhoff's μὲμνησθέ μοι ; if τῶνδ' is retained it will not now be

taken with the verb of remembering, but with γῆν̄ , i.e. "the land of these Athenians". However, Murray's τῆνδ' is plausible, for if μνησθέντες is correct, τῶνδ' replaced τῆνδ' when μνησθέντες replaced the correct reading.

ἀρισθεὶ δόρυ: cf. E. Fr. 50 πόλεμον ἀρῶνται μέγαν; A. Supp. 342 πόλεμον ἀρισθεὶ νέον.

315. νομί'σεν: Pearson considers that this is a careless repetition from 312 by E. For the Greek attitude to such repetition v. on 388. Certainly there is no need for Wecklein's σεβί'σεν.

ἀγῶνι δ': the correction by Elmsley of the metrically and linguistically unsound ἀγῶν LP. Cf. E. Alc. 433 ἀγῶνι δέ μοι τιμῶν (or τιμῆς; v. Dale ad loc.); ibid. 1060 ἀγῶνι δέ μοι σεβείν. For the idiomatic use of the active instead of the passive infinitive in such constructions v. KG 473.6(c), An. 13.

316. Πελαγονικόν: i.e. of Argos. Cf. E. Ph. 107, 256; A. Supp. 251.

317. ἵππη ἀλάξαντο: an unparalleled use of the middle voice, hence the conjectures: ἵππη ἀλάξαντο Pflugk, who cites Philo Iudaeus de Ioseph. p. 528D δουλείαν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίου θανάτου

(cf. id. 1.37 *θυητοῦ βίου ἀντ' ἀθανάτου*); *ἐνηλλάξαντο* Musgrave, who cites S. Ai.208 *τί δ' ἐνήλλακται τῆς ἡρωίας νύξ ἣδε βάρος*.

It seems, however, that if the compounds *ἐπ-* and *ἐν-*, the former late Greek and the latter contemporary with E. (not to mention *ἀντ-*, LSJ s.v., and *ἀλλάτρωμι* itself, LSJ s.v. III), can bear the sense of "change one thing for another", then *ἐπαλλάτρωμι* might be similarly interpreted, despite the absence of parallels, viz.:- "they have acquired so great a land and the Pelasgic people to have as enemies in return for (saving) us." (Edd.. explain variously, concentrating on the separative force of *ἀπ-*:- Pearson: "removed from us so as to incur their enmity"; Paley: "have rid us of, and taken upon themselves to have as enemies"; Beck: "have taken to hold for foes, instead of us: i.e. prefer the hostility of all Argos to that of a handful like ourselves"; Jerram: "removed from us for themselves to have as foes; i.e. have substituted themselves for us as enemies of Argos.")

318. *εἰσορῶντες*: concessive, and emphasizing the generosity of the Athenians in choosing the Herakleidae, poor wanderers, in preference to the powerful Argives.

πτωχούς: sc. *ἡμῶν*. Beck draws attention to the distinction made in Ar. Pl.552-3 between *πτωχοί* and *πένητες*.

A πτωχός is completely destitute, a πένης works hard for a meagre living.

ἀλήτης: as in 51.

319. ἐξέδωκαν: a technical term; v. on 97. I.e. they did not comply with the ἐξαιτήσεις, or request for extradition, (v. on ἐξαιτέω, 20), made by the Argives.

320. καὶ γῆν καὶ θανάτῳ: the main verbs of the sentence, ἔρω and εὐφρανῶ refer to θανάτῳ only, but γῆν is coupled with θανάτῳ as a cliché and subsequently lost sight of. There is no need of emendation.

ὅταν θάνατον: θάνατον LP: corr. Brodaeus. Edd. compare E. Alc.725 θάνατον γεμόντοισι δυσκλεῆς, ὅταν θάνατον, but, as Pearson observes, there the tone is sarcastic, i.e. "when you do eventually die", here euphemistic, "when someday I die."

321. ὦ τάν: this expression occurs 21 times in Ar. (the statement in LSJ, "not in Ar.", is corrected in the APP.); it is there a term of friendly affection, coupled with polite respect. It probably has the same flavour in the frs. of Old Comedy, and in New Comedy. It is used by S. 3 times (OT 1145; Ph.1387; Ichn.98) and by E. 4 times (here and infra 688; Ba.802; Cyc.536). In prose, cf. Pl. Ap.25C; Ep.319E; D. i.26; 3.29; 18.312, where

it is invariably ironic.

Dodds (ad Ba.802) says: "it is used in speaking to parents or social superiors as well as between equals who are not intimates." In OT 1145 the Messenger uses the term towards the Herdsman, his one time fellow shepherd on Mt. Cithaeron (1133ff.). In Ph.1387 Neoptolemus uses it when speaking to Philoctetes. In Ba.802 the disguised Dionysos uses it to Pentheus. In 688 infra the servant of Hyllos so addresses Iolaos. Edd. quote the gloss of Hesychius: *πρόσρημα τιμητικῆς λέξεως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπ' εἰρωνειᾷ πολλῶν.*

In the light of these examples from Tragedy ᾧ ταν̄ is out of place here. Proud Iolaos is not likely to use a term of socially subservient respect towards Demophon, however grateful he may be. (Dodds' generalisation - "between equals who are not intimates" - is surely based on this passage alone.)

But quite apart from this consideration, there are two compelling reasons, one palaeographic, the other syntactical, why ᾧ ταν̄ must be suspect here.

Firstly, ᾧ ταν̄ may have been carelessly imported from ὄταν̄ of 320 (the kind of scribal error noted on 184, 199, 315) and further corrupted by "itacism".

Secondly, edd. feel that *πέλας* requires a participle:
 Pearson: "sc. ὤν", who attempts unconvincingly to justify
 the ellipse by comparing S. El.61; OC 586; Paley: "standing
 near him in Hades"; Bekk: "as I stand by the side of Theseus".
 Therefore the suggestion of Broadhead (*Tragica*, p.141),
 ἔστῳς in place of ὦ τᾶν, is very tempting. It is
 certainly to be preferred to ὦ παῖ F. Gu. Schmidt, or
 ὦ νᾶς Herwerden, which are based on an incorrect idea
 of the origin of the error.

322. ὄψηλον ἄρω : cf. E. Supp.555 ὄψηλον ἄρει.

ἄρω : Elmsley's correction of LP ἄρω. Pearson refers
 to Jebb's discussion of the future and aorist forms of
 ἄειρω, ἄρω, ἄρυνμαι in his edition of S. Ai., App.
 pp. 217ff.

εὐφρανῶ : sc. Θεσεία.

323. ἔδέξω : sc. τέκνα.

324. εὐγενής : emphatic. Demophon is a true son of
 Theseus (v. on 299).

327. παύρων μετ' ἄλλων : edd. from Brodaeus onwards have
 recognised here an echo of Hom. Od.2.276 παῦροι γὰρ τοὶ παῖδες
 ὁμοιοὶ πατρὶ πέλονται, οἳ πλείονες κακίους, παῦροι δέ τε πατρὸς ἄρειους.

ἕνα γὰρ κτλ. : cf. E. Med.1087 πῶρον δὲ δὴ γένος ἐν πολλαῖς
εὐροῖς ἂν ἴσως (δὲ δὴ) AVB: δὲ τι LP: γένος (ζυμῶν) ἐν π... Elmsley,
cl. Hkld.327).

328. ὅσπερ... μὴ : for μὴ v. KG 558.5 (ὅς, ὅσπερ
= is qui with the subjunctive). Pearson: "the generic
negative".

329-330. Self-congratulation by the Chorus on the
reputation of Athens for helping the oppressed. J. de
Romilly (Thuc. and Athen. Imp., (Eng. Tr.), p.136 and notes)
draws attention to the parallel here with Thuc. 2.40.4
οὐ γὰρ πείσχυτες εἴ ἀλλὰ δρώντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.
Cf. E. Med.848 πόλις φίλων πόμπη, and the comic
description in Ar. Ach.541ff. of Athens rushing to help
her most insignificant ally.

330. προσωφελεῖν : with the dative case, as E. Alc.41;
Supp.326. ὠφελεῖν usually takes the accusative, but
is sometimes found with the dative (cf. 681, and the exx.
in KG 409, An.1).

οὐ τῷ δικάϊῳ : Pearson: "where justice is on her side";
Cf. S. Ph.1251; Ai.1125. KG 431.2.2(a) "quasi comitante
iustitia". The Chorus refers to the remark of the herald

in 259. Athens is a refuge for those whose cause is just, not for those who have done wrong. (Cf. again E. Med.848ff.)

331. τοιγαρο: GP 566. The particle "bears a strong logical force, 'therefore', 'in consequence'."

ση: here precedes the emphatic word. GP 228.

332. πέλαγ: Pearson compares S. OC 29 *πέλαγ γὰρ ἀνδρα τόνδε νῦν ὄρω*; Ant.580 *ὅταν πέλαγ ἦδη τὸν Ἄϊβην εἰσορῶσι τοῦ βίου*.

333. τὰ τῶνδ': i.e. the conduct of the Herakleidae.

αὐχῶ: "I confidently believe". Barrett's note on E. Hipp.952 is helpful. He claims that the meaning "boast" is unknown to early Greek." In most instances "boast" makes nonsense; in the instances where it makes sense it is never essential or even preferable, and it may safely be denied." As Barrett implies, boasting is the expression of great confidence which others find distasteful. Here and in 832, 931 (notes), E. Alc.95, 675, Tr.770 the word means simply "believe" while in 353 we see the extension of the meaning to "boastfully asserting one's belief". (For more examples and a similar conclusion v. ⌘ Fraenkel on A. Ag.1497.)

334. τοιαῦτ': i.e. as Iolaos asks the Herakleidae to

behave in 310-318.

μνημονεύσεται : the future middle in passive sense as E. Alc.322 *μνημονεύσεται* ; Hipp.1460 *στεφύσειθ'*, and commonly. V. KG 376.4, An.2, where it is noted that the future middle used in a passive sense has a durative (present) sense, while the true aorist derived future passive has a momentary (aorist) sense. Pearson here translates: "will be kept in memory". (But v. Wackernagel, Syntax I, p.139f., who states that originally the middle form of the future served as the passive as in the present and perfect, and that although the future passive derived from the aorist passive was an Attic innovation, it was not generally used even in the 4th Century.)

Χάρις : v. on 379. Here the word expresses both the favour done by Demophon for the Herakleidae and also their feelings at that favour, i.e. their gratitude. But in 548 *Χάρις* is the feeling which prompts the performing of a favour. (V. also Fraenkel on A. Ag.354: "*Χάρις* is used on the one hand of the delightfulness, the 'favour', in short everything through which a *χαρίζεσθαι* manifests itself; on the other hand, of the effect of the favour on the receiver.")

335. μὲν : answered by οὐ δ' 340.

σὺλλογον : Pflugk takes this as of a deliberative assembly, and contrasts this with what Demophon can do of his own initiative, i.e. the sending out of scouts and the consultation of sacrifices (337-340). It seems better to understand σὺλλογος as a simple "collecting together" or "mustering" of the people, especially in view of the following τάξω (or τάξαι, v. infra), viz.: "I shall marshall them", and πολλῇ χειρί of 337.

336. τάξω δ' : LP. To avoid the asyndeton with πρῶτα μὲν πείψω, the suggestion of Kirchhoff, τάξαι δ', (τάξαι θ', Koch), followed by Wecklein and Pearson, should be adopted.

ὅπως ἂν : cf. KG 553.5(a); MT 328 for the use of ἂν in a Final Clause.

Μυκηναίων : = Argives, as 85, 87 etc. (176, note).

337. Χειρί : cf. 1035 σὺν πολλῇ χειρί, "with a great force". (V. on λίχμην, 276). Cf. E. El. 629 οἰκεία Χειρί.

πρῶτα μὲν : answered by μάντης τ'. GP 375. (Not δ', Lenting, followed by Murray. V. note on 238, and cf. E.. Hipp. 996 ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ πρῶτα μὲν θεοῦς εἶβαι φίλοι τε χρῆσθαι; Med. 125 τῶν γὰρ μετρίων πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν τοῦνομα νικᾶ, χρῆσθαι τε μακρῶ ἁῶστα βροτοῖσιν.)

338. μή: on μή used without ἵνα or ἵπως expressing purpose, v. MT 307. (The phrase μή λήθωμε προσπεσῶν is used in S. Ph.46, 156.)

339. Ἄργει: dative as locative. KG 426.1. Cf. 360.

Ἰαχὺς βοηδράκας: 121, note. Not quite as Peasson: "quickly brought on to the field, - mobilised, as we should say"; for nowadays "mobilise" means to muster an army and get it ready for the offensive. Demophon knows from the herald (276ff.) that the Argive army is already mobilised and on the borders of Athens and Megara. βοηδρακεῖν, as Paley says, is "to be present promptly at the scene of action." Demophon fears that the Argive army with its famous speed on the march will invade before he has had time to complete his preparations.

340. θύσσαι: for the middle voice cf. LSJ s.v. II: "cause (avictim) to be offered; consult the gods."; Wackernagel, Syntax I p.126: "θύει ὁ ἱερεὺς : θύεται ὁ στρατηγός."

εἰς δόκους: Demophon's palace.

341. Ζηνοῖ ἐρχέσθαι: v. on 55.

343. ἄλλ' ἴθ': as Iolaos does not stir, Demophon

repeats his request of 340-341. For ἀλλά in commands and exhortations, v. GP 13.

344. _____: Jebb (ad S. OT 343 οὐκ ἂν πέρα φράσαιμι) calls this use of the potential optative a "courteous formula". Cf. also Fraenkel (ad A. Ag.838 λόγισ' ἂν): "the restrained form of expressionreflects the urbanity of Attic society." But polite though the expression may be, it is nevertheless strongly emphatic: cf. 547, and E. Med.616 οὐτ' ἂν ζήνοισι τοῖσι σοῖς χρῆσαιμεθ' ἂν, οὐτ' ἂν τι δεξόμεθα. KG 396.4; MT 235.

εἰζόμεθα: Elmsley's correction of LP εἰζόμεσθα.

However, the point at issue is with what to construe the infinitive εἰζόμεθα. In 33(note) the infinitive is governed by ἰκέτω, and the parallel seems to be completed by the use there of κειζόμεθα (i.e. the whole phrase = ἰκετούμεν). This seems the correct interpretation. Iolaos' request for asylum has now been granted, but he now desires to be left at the altar to supplicate for the victory of Athens.

Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.107) favours Cobet's suggestion, εἰζόμεθα δέ: "the following infinitive thus gets the suitable governing word." The infinitive could also be governed by μένοντες, i.e. "waiting till the city has succeeded": cf. E. Andr.255 κοῦ μὲνῶ πόσιν μολεῖν;

A. Eu.677 μένω δ' ἰκοῦμαι πῶς ἄγών κριθῆσεται KG 473.2, An.3.

While syntactically possible, such an interpretation would make a passive coward of Iolaos and make the following lines *ἔταν ἴμιν προῖ οἴκου* a clear statement of that cowardice and lack of confidence in the Athenian army - a lack of confidence which 347ff. prove that he does not feel.

348. Ἀργείων : comparatio compendaria. KG 541.3: i.e. "than the Argives have."

349. Ἥρα : for the association of Hera with Ἄργος cf. Hom. Il.4.51 ἦ τοι ἐμοὶ τρῆς μὲν πολὺ φίλτατοὶ εἴσι πόλεις Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκῆνη. Paus. 2.38.2; 4.27.6. For Ἥρα Ἀργεία cf. Hom. Il.5.908; A. Supp.299; E. Rh.376; Argos claimed to be the birthplace of Hera (Strabo 9.2.36; Pi. N.10.2 Ἄργος Ἥρας δῶμα Θεοπεποιῆς). Cf. also E. Tr.971 where Hera is spoken of as the city-goddess of Argos, and Athene as the city-goddess of Athens.

351. ὑπάρχειν : cf. 181: ὑπάρχει . ὑπάρχειν , as Pearson says, is used here of a basic requirement, i.e.

θεῶν ἀμεινόνων τυχεῖν : the normal use of the verb.

352. οὐκ ἄνεσται : "will not endure being conquered".

(The usual construction of ἀνέχεσθαι in this sense (KG 482.5)

but occasionally the infinitive is used (KG 484.23)).

FIRST STASIMON

(353 - 380)

Demophon and Acamas leave the stage and the Chorus address the departed herald, warning him that he will not terrify Athens with his threats. They criticise his behaviour and that of his master, Eurystheus, who have dared to approach a city as powerful as their own and violently drag suppliants from the altar. Surely such behaviour can never be right? Athens loves peace, but if attacked will resist the invader. The Chorus warn Eurystheus not to attack but to restrain his army.

(Wilamowitz (KS I.5, p.92) considers the content of this stasimon as affording evidence for the re-working of the play by a regisseur. He argues that an ode in praise of Athene should follow the mention of her power in 352. V. Introduction.)

353. ἀύχαι : 333, note.

ἕτεροι : i.e. the Athenians.

354. πλέον : Beck: "the more (sc. for that reason)."

μέλονται : v. on 96.

355. ὤϊ γέν' Ἀργόθεν ἔλθωι: ἐπελθών 1: ὤϊ Erfurdt.

Either the addition by Erfurdt is retained, when this line (= 364) will be a pherecratean, or 355 is left as in L and θεῶν deleted in 364, the line being then scanned as a reizianum. V. Metrical Appendix.

358. μήπω : Pearson: "not absolutely equivalent to

μήποτε : 'long may it be before'." He compares S. El.

403 μήπω νοῦ τοσοῦδ' εἶην καυή; E. Hec. 1278 μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρίη τοσοῦδε πᾶν.

The sense may be quite literally rendered: "may it not yet come to that for Athens!" Cf. P.T. Stevens, AJP LXXI (1950), The meaning of οὐπω, esp. p.292.

οὔτω : to be taken with εἶη ; cf. 369, 1055; E. Hel. 1273.

359. καλλιχόροις : "with fair dancing grounds"; an Homeric epithet of cities.

Ἰθάκῃ : dative of possession.

360. Ἄγγελος : v. on 339.

361. Σθενέλου : Hom. Il.19.123 *Εὐρύσθεὺς Σθενέλοιο παῖς Περσηιάδαο*.
Apollod. 2.4.5. Sthenelos was the son of Perseus and Andromeda.

362. ἄς : refers to the herald, *σὺ* of 360, as *βικίως ἔλκεις* makes clear.

365. ἄντομῆνους : so Nauck for the unmetrical *ἀντιχομῆνους* LP. But elsewhere (e.g. 226, Alc.1098, Andr.921) *ἀντομαί* takes the accusative case. The difficulty is not resolved by Pearson: "'having taken refuge in our land'.....it (sc. *ἀντομαί*) does not occur elsewhere in tragedy with this meaning, but is so employed once in Pindar, and several times in the Iliad. The object is always in the dative, and we must therefore conclude that the genitive is due to the analogy of *ἀντάω* ." Dindorf's *ἀντιχομῆνους* gives excellent sense, but he then had to emend 356 to *μεγαληγορίαισιν δέ' γ'* , which besides conjuring up a very unconvincing *γ'* , produces a very strange colon instead of an archebulean (v. Metrical Appendix; Dale, Lyric Metres of Gk. Drama, p.163; Wilamowitz, GV p.427). However, Meridier adopts his emendations here.

366. ἕξις ἄν βικίως ἔλκεις : this refers to the outrageous

behaviour of the herald who not only drags suppliants from the altar, but from an altar in a country of which he is not even a citizen. For the emphasis in the play on "violent", i.e. "unlawful" behaviour, cf. 47, 64, 71, 79, 97=221, 102, 106, 112, 126, 225, 243, 249, 254, 286, 924.

367. βασιλευσιν : plural for singular; i.e. kings generally, not specifically Demophon and Acamas. Cf. 294, note.

368. δίκαιον : 138, note.

369. ποῦ : expresses indignation: "can such behaviour surely be right?" Cf. 510; E. Ion 528 ποῦ δέ μοι πατήρ σὺ; S. Ai.1100 ποῦ σὺ στρατηγὴς τοῦδε; OT 390 ποῦ σὺ μάντις εἶ σαφής. The literal meaning is not excluded: "where do people think like this?"

καλῶς εἶη : 358, note. Cf. A. Ag.1396 τῶδ' ἂν δίκαιός ᾔην.

370. παρά : 201, note.

371ff. For the sentiment "we don't want to fight, but..." J. de Romilly (op. cit. p.136, n.1) compares the speech of Perikles made after the second invasion by the

Peloponnesians in 430 B.C. - Thuc. 2.61.1 καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν
 αἴρεσις γογγύεται τἄλλα εὐτυχούσιν, πολλὴ ἔνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον
 ἦν ἢ εἴφαυται εὐθύς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύουσαι περιγενέσθαι, οὐ
 φυγῶν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότεροι.

374. οὕτως : edd. follow Elmsley in comparing E. Alc.
 680 οὐ βελῶν οὕτως ἄπει (cf. also S. Ant.315; Ph.1066)
 for what seems to be a colloquial use there. But the
 expression here is quite simple. KG 416.3, An.9 gives
 exx. of τυγχάνω , κυρέω with the accusative (incl.
 E. Med.758 τυχοῦσ' ἢ βούλομαι , also cited as an example of
 the neglect of relative attraction in KG 555.2, An.3
 (v. Page ad loc.)). But κυρέω can mean "fare" when
 associated with an adverb (LSJ s.v. II); for its personal
 use cf. A. Ag.1371 εἰδέναι κυροῦσθ' ὄππῃ . Here in 374 and in
 some of the exx. in KG 416.3, An.9 the neuter of a
 pronoun or adjective is associated with τυγχάνω etc.
 in what is clearly an adverbial sense (KG 410,3, An.5;
 v. also note on τῷδε , 437). Therefore οὐχ οὕτως ἢ δοκίῃ κυρήσει
 may be interpreted as οὐ τῷδε ἢ δοκίῃ κυρήσει , i.e. "you will
 not fare as you expect - your force will be met by force."

376. ἴτεκα κατὰ Χαλκούς : cf. E. Tr.1193 Χαλκόνωντον ἴτεκα

377. L places a stop after ἐραστῆς , sc. εἶμι : "but I
 am not a lover of wars." As Daley points out, the usual

form of this kind of parenthesis is ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ (GP 98), though if εἶμι could easily be supplied the sense seems excellent: "I am no lover of wars; do not disturb a city which loves the peaceful arts, but refrain." - a final appeal to reason! However, the ensuing asyndeton would not be easy to account for.

Therefore it is best to punctuate as Murray, perhaps changing ἐραστῆς to vocative form with Musgrave (followed by Meridier): I cannot agree with Pearson that the ellipse of ὦν is defensible. There is no need for Canter's

ἀλλ' ὦ . There is a parallel: Ar. Nub. 296 οὐ μὴ σκώψει
μηδὲ ποιήσει ἀλλ' εὐφύμει (Elmsley: σκώψης, ποιήσης mss)
(The subjunctive is probably doubtful in these expressions.)
For this use of οὐ μὴ with the future tense to express
a strong prohibition, v. MT 297-301; KG 514.9, 387.7.

378. μοι: ethic dative. KG 423.18(d).

379. εὖ Χαρῖτων: Elmsley's correction of LP εὐχάριστος
on the analogy of E. Hipp. 462 κάρτ' ἔχοντας εὖ φρενῶν.
For this genitive used with adverbs of quality v. on 213.

Χαρῖτων: Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p. 81 et seq.): "to
the argument of the Herakleidae, the concept of χάρις is
central." Cf. the use of the word in 220, 241, 334 (note)

438, 548. Its use here therefore is not simply part of the stock praise of Athens, (like *μεγαλειον* and *καλλιχορσις*), as edd. take it: Paley: "the beautiful city"; Pearson: "rich in beauty"; Méridier: "l'heureuse cité des grâces". The Phrase then means rather "the city which is renowned for its (acts of) kindness and friendship to others."

SECOND EPEISODION

(381 - 607)

Demophon returns to tell Iolaos that his consultations with the seers and the sacrifices have revealed that unless a maiden of noble birth is sacrificed, Athens will be defeated in the battle with Eurystheus. He presents his dilemma to Iolaos: he himself will not, and cannot, ask his citizens to offer such a sacrifice. Iolaos understands his position and expresses his thanks for what he has already done for the Herakleidae. He decides to surrender himself to Eurystheus to save them. Demophon reminds him that the purpose of Eurystheus' pursuit of the Herakleidae is their death to save himself from future death at their hands. The eldest daughter of Herakles, on hearing the anguished tones of Iolaos, comes out of the temple where she has been sheltering with Alkmene and her sisters. When Iolaos tells her of the sacrifice she offers herself as the victim. Iolaos proposes that lots should be drawn among the sisters, but she will not consent to this. Finally Iolaos accepts her offer, Demophon agrees, and she addresses her words of farewell to Iolaos and her brothers, and leaves the stage. Iolaos praises her and retires to the temple in sorrow.

381. ὃ πάλι : no disrespect is implied in this address to a younger man; cf. E. Alc.674 where the Chorus of elders so address their king, Admetus; also S. OT 1008, the Corinthian shepherd to Oedipus, and similarly ibid. 1030 ὃ τέκνον .

σύννοιαν : "anxious thought", as A. Pr.437 συννοία δὲ δάπτομαι κτάρ ; E. Andr.805 συννοία , where the context, esp. 808-810, 856-860, 914, 919-920, suggests that Hermione is anxiously thinking of the imminence of retribution. Cf.. Schmidt's suggestion on 236 (note).

ὄμμασιν : Pearson compares S. OC 729 ὄρω τιν' ὄμμας ὀμμάτων εἰληφότα φόβον νεώρη , and Ai.140 πεφόβημαι πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελαίας. For the commonplace of emotion expressed by the eyes, v. Barrett on Hipp.525-6.

382. λέξεις : λέξεις LP. Pearson rightly considers this suggestion of Kirchhoff "a great improvement effected by a very slight change."

νέον : euphemistically for κακόν ; Beck: "new and strange." σύννοιαν (supra) confirms this meaning here.

μὲλλονσιν : not quite as Pearson, "do they tarry?" or Méridier, "tardent - ils?", but rather "are they still

making preparations?", i.e. *μέλλουσιν παρῆναι*, to which Demophon answers (389ff.) that the Argive army is present on the borders, as the herald said, but Eurystheus has not yet led them into Attica proper. (Cf. Thuc. 2.18.1 of the invading Peloponnesian army of 431 B.C. *ἔφικτο τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἔμελλον εἰσβαλεῖν.*)

384. Most edd. adopt the conjecture of H. Stephanus

λόγος (*λόγους* LP), with or without the conjecture of Elmsley *σε* for LP *γε*. (As Pearson remarks, *ψέδση* certainly requires an expressed object.) The sense will then be: "for certainly there is little chance that the herald's words will deceive you, i. e. he is not the man to use vain and empty threats" (Paley); "'play us false', i.e. he will not ~~fail~~ fail to fulfill his threats" (Jerram). Pearson favours Murray's suggestion of retaining *λόγους* and *γε* and reading *ψέδσης*: "for surely thou wilt not belie the herald's words", on the supposed parallel of S. Ant. 389 *ψέδσει γὰρ ἢ ἴτιναια τὴν γνώμην.* But there the *φύλαξ* who utters that sentence is presented as a rather sophisticated quibbler (cf. *ibid.* 317, 323) and such tortuous expression seems foreign to the straightforward character of Iolaos here. The same objection, to a lesser degree, applies to *ψέδση λόγος*. What sense really requires here is a plain and unvarnished statement about the herald: he has

certainly not lied about the army of Eurystheus, 275ff., whatever (γε) you may think about the rest of his behaviour.

Therefore I would propose:

οὐ γὰρ τι μὴ ψευδοῦν κήρυκος λόγος.

i.e. "there is no likelihood that the word of the herald will prove falsely spoken"; cf. S. Ph. 1342 ἢν τὰδε ψευδοῦν λόγων. "if this his word prove false" (Jebb).

οὐ γὰρ τι : v. on 193.

οὐ... μὴ : for the use of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive (usually aorist) in strong ~~assertions~~, ~~or~~ denials, v. KG 514.8, MT 295, and for a discussion of the origin of the construction, MT App. II, p.389.

385. τὰ πρὸς θεῶν : Tyrwhitt's conjecture τὰ πρόσθεν ὧν has been well received and widely adopted (e.g. Paley, Kirchhoff, Wecklein, Pflugk), though Murray and Pearson retain the mss. reading. Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.106) says; ".....one of the most brilliant ever made in this play; it ought to be received even though the reading of L is good Greek (as Elmsley showed by comparing IT 560 τὰ πρὸς θεῶν εὐτυχῆι), and although Iolaos elsewhere (22 and 939; cf. 747) stresses the (temporary) good luck of Eurystheus." Zuntz goes on to argue against the possibility

that Iolaos, having stated that the Athenians have the "better gods" (351), could acknowledge that the gods favour the enemy. But the point is indeed, as Zuntz emphasizes, that Eurystheus has been *εὐτυχής* - but only by the will of the gods, which will soon oppose him because of his herald's behaviour and his own pride, as Iolaos makes clear in 386-388 (cf. also 608). The LP reading should therefore be retained.

386. εἶσιν : Elmsley: *ἐστίν* LP: the mss. reading arose from the feeling that *εὐτυχής* required a verb.

εἶσιν is required not so much because "the emphatic *σάφ' οἶδα* would be unwarrantable merely as a support for the assertion *εὐτυχής* *ἐστίν* " (Pearson), but because a verb expressing his arrival is needed after 384, i.e. "the herald will certainly be no liar; for Eurystheus will come....."

καὶ μάλιστα : for *καί* = "and" simply, cf. S. El. 1178 *τόδ' ἔστ' ἐκείνο, καὶ μὴ ἀθλίως ἔχον;* and *ibid.* 1455 *πάρεστι δῆτα, καὶ μὴ ἀήλης θεά.* though as Jebb points out (ad El. 1178) "*καὶ μάλιστα* sometimes = *vel maxime*" as in X. Cyr. 6.1.36 *ἐν θρώποις καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦντας φρονίμους εἶναι* (cf. E. Rh. 85 *καὶ μὴ ὄδ' Αἰνείας καὶ μάλιστα σπουδῆ ποδῶν στείχει*).

387. ἐς γὰρ Ἀθῆνας : probably to be taken, omitting the

comma, with *οὐ μικρὸν φρονῶν* ; cf. E. Hipp.6 *σφάλλω δ' ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα*. The preposition *εἰς* seems too weak to express a hostile intent after *εἶσιν* here, which is strongly emphasized, and separated from the rest of the sentence by the parenthetical *σάφ' οἶδα*. (V. on 386).

Ἰλλὰ τῶν φρονημάτων : edd. compare A. Pers.827 *Ζεὺς τοι κολαστής τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν φρονημάτων ἔπειτιν* (v. Broadhead ad loc.) and admit that Elmsley may be right in saying "imitatur noster Aeschylum". Wecklein goes so far as to adopt F. Schroeder's *ὑπερκόμπων*. Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.106) considers *φρονημάτων ὑπερφρόνων* an "impossible combination" sc. for E. himself to have written. Pearson thinks that E. has been careless again (v. on 315). But Jackson (Marg. Scaen. p.220ff.) produces many exx. of textually faultless repetition of words and phrases which seem to prove the insensitivity of the Greek ear of this period to this kind of thing. Cf. Denniston's remarks to the same effect (GP lxii). Ritchie (Auth. of Rh. of E. p.218ff.) examines this problem of repetition of words and phrases in E. and after inspection of the phenomenon in Hipp. and Ba. and concludes that it is a distinctive feature of his style.

(On this line Pearson remarks: "These words might

be regarded as the leading motive of the plot" and refers to his Introd. xxiii, where he claims that "the action of the play is centred round Eurystheus." For a different view see my Introduction.)

389. ἦκει : answers the question of 383: Eurystheus and his army are on the borders as the herald said.

392. οὐκ : with ἰγγέλοις . For this instrumental dative used of persons cf. S. Ant. 164 ὅμῃ δ' ἐγὼ παραοίειν ἴσται δ' ἐκίθαι. KG 425, B7.

393ff. Musgrave, Beck (following Bothe) and Pearson quote Hdt. 6.102 who describes Marathon as ἐπιτηδεότατον χώριον ἐνιππεύσαι , as if the πεδία here were the plains of Marathon. Geographical consistency is not to be pressed here. The plain is the Thriasian Plain, ravaged in the invasion of 431 by Archidamus (Thuc. 2.19), and previously by Pleist~~on~~anax in 445 (Thuc. 2.21), the obvious object of an army invading from the west, or north-west (as from Oenoe in 431). The mountains (Λεπτιάων ὄρη) on which Eurystheus and his army are positioned are the Kerata mountains (the modern Trikeratos) between Megara and Attica. Euripides and his audience are familiar with invasions from this quarter, and Marathon and the Tetrapolis are not likely to be in their thoughts

here. (V. Zuntz (Pol. Plays p.99ff. and my Introduction for a discussion of the setting of the play.) But note that in 34 *περὶ τῆσδε χθονὸς* is used quite generally of Attica.

393. ἐν τὰ δ': Stephanus. *ἐν τὸ δ'* LP seems quite wrong in the sense of reinforcing *οὐκ ... πω*, "not yet up till now", "usque adhuc", and is retained by Pflugk, Jerram, and Kirchhoff only.

394. λεπταίν: the correction of Stiblinus (v. App. Crit.); cf. E. Hipp.1248 *λεπταίας χθονός*; IT 324 *λεπταίας κλίμας*.

ὀφρύνειν: as in Hdt. 4.181, 182, 185. The accusative as in 55~~8~~ and E. Cr.956 *τρίποδα καθίστων*. KG 410.5, An.13.

395. δόκησιν: here = "impression", "feeling"; cf. 746; E. Ion 1602; Hel.119; S. Tr.426, but can = *δόξα*, "reputation": cf. E. El.381; HF 288; Andr.696.

ἐγὼ: emphasizes *δόκησιν*: "I must stress that it is only an impression of mine." GP 214.

For the parenthetical *δόκησιν ... λέγοιμί σοι* cf. E. Ba.629 *ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δόξαν λέγω*, where *δόξαν* has the same sense as *δόκησιν* here (Dodds ad loc.: "I give you guesswork here".)

396-397. Certainly there is corruption in 396. The required meaning is: Eurystheus is now up in the mountains looking for a route down into Attica which will lead him to an open plain where he can make a safe camp.

(Cf. Thuc. 1.107.3 *δύσδοξός τε γὰρ ἡ Γερανεία καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο ἀεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων*).

Obviously *τὰ νῦν δορός* is quite wrong and has received much attention. Musgrave suggested *τ' ἄνευ δορός* on the basis of A. Eu.289 *κτῆρεται δ' ἄνευ δορός*. This suggestion, adopted by Paley, Beck, Jerram and Meridier is plausible, but not entirely convincing. Pearson's objection, "the introduction of Eurystheus' desire to avoid a battle is pointless", is reasonable. However, *ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ* points to his desire to descend from the mountains without a fight and not to engage in battle until he has marshalled his forces on the level ground favourable for hoplites.

(Cf. Gomme(Comm. on Thuc. i.p.10): "even a small break in the level could disturb their ranks (sc. of hoplites)

- ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν ὀχέτων καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν διασπῶσι τῆς φάλαγγος, οὕτως ἔοικε πᾶσα διαφορά ποιῆν διατάξιν.

(Arist. Pol.5.2.12, 1303b12); so they chose the plain.")

Wecklein conjectured *τέχνη δορός*, comparing E. Supp.

905 *διὰ τέχνης δορός*. This seems impossible: *τέχνη δορός*

must refer to individual skill at arms and not to strategy, the sense required here. There is no great difficulty

in ποίᾳ (sc. ὁδῶ): Pearson compares Ar. Av. 1219 ποίᾳ γὰρ ἄλλη χρῆ πείτεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, and for the common ἦ, τῆ, ταύτῃ, τῆδε, ἄλλη used in this way cf. KG 426.1(b). προσάγω is regularly used of moving an army up to the attack (cf. E. Supp. 1104 προσῆγε Νηΐταις Πύλαις, and LSJ s.v. I.6) and the object of the attack is put in the dative or a preposition is used. (Verrall's προ-σάξει is rightly dismissed by Zuntz (Pol. Plays p. 100, n. 1): "a bad joke which did not deserve to parade in the Oxford edition.").

My own suggestion would be:-

ποίᾳ προσάξει στρατόπεδον τ' ἦς τόνδ' ὄρον
τε τοῦδ' ὄροις

which gives the required meaning discussed above, i.e.

Eurystheus is considering where, by what road, to launch his army over the borders of Attica and then make a safe base in the land. "or the sense cf. Thuc. 1.107.4 ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῃ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπερῶσονται.

397. ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ: generally taken with τῆσδ' ... χθονός; cf. E. Hipp. 785 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ βίου. But the parallel is not convincing: perhaps τῆσδ' ... χθονός is an example of the use of the genitive = inter, trans; cf. S. OC 1165 ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δευρ' ὁδοῦ and other exx. in KG 419.2(a).

ἰδρύσεται: the middle voice, where προσάξει is active; cf. 338-340, πέμψω, θύσσομαι (note) and 664 καθίσει, τάσσομαι. The difference is between the general's

initiatory orders and their administration by subordinates.

398. καὶ . . . μέντοι : GP 413: "It (sc. μέντοι) is almost always progressive in meaning.....and is commonest in narrative, though it sometimes introduces a new point or argument." I.e. here: "whatever he is doing, I....."

Kirchhoff and Nauck prefer to read respectively μέν δὲ πάντ' (but καὶ μέν δὲ is found in Ar. only of the dramatists, and there twice only (GP 396f)), and μέν νυν πάντ' , presumably to point the contrast with χρησμῶν δ' of 403: "I have done all that I can, but on consulting the oracles I find....." (V. on Θυηπολείται , 401.)

399. Explanatory asyndeton ~~asyndeton~~; cf. 19, 408.

σφάλγια : these are the victims to be sacrificed just before the battle; cf. 819ff. (But v. note on 822.)

401, 402. Tyrwhitt transposed these lines so that 402 might follow after 400, referring to the σφάλγια , but this seems unnecessary, as 402 could sum up the two different types of sacrifice, i.e. the σφάλγια as τροπαῖα ἐχθρῶν , and the sacrifices implied in Θυηπολείται (v. infra) as πόλει σωτήρια . (For the apposition cf. 72).

401. Θυηπολείται : an intransitive verb used in the

passive voice; cf. E. IT 367 ἀλλοίεται δὲ πᾶν μέλιθρον; E.

E1.691 ὁλολύγεται πᾶν δῶμα; S. OT 1092 σέ γε, (ὡς Κιθαιρῶν), Χορεύεσθαι
 πρὸς ἡμῶν, and further exx. given by Pearson ad E. Hel.
 1434 γαῖαν βοᾶσθαι... ἐμνηδιάξ^{ῃς}. KG 378.10.

δ': τ' (Fix) would be an improvement if Nauck's
 is adopted in 398.

404. βίβηλα: Paley is right: "βίβηλα λόγια, those
 accessible to all, or such as were cited on every occasion
 by χρησμοῖοι, as we often read in Ar." Cf. also
 Jebb on S. OC 10: "oracles to which access was easy as
 opposed to those hidden in the temple archives." For
 the prevalence of oracles and oracle mongers at this time
 cf. Thuc. 2.21.3 χρησμοῖοι τε ἦδον χρησμοῦ παντοίου;
 2.8 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἔλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμοῖοι ἦδον ἐν τε
 τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμῆσαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν;
 2.54; Ar. Pax 1046ff; Eq. 195ff.; 961ff.; 999.

405. δωτήρια: the word has been repeated by the
 scribe, as Wecklein saw, from 402 (v. on 321). He
 proposed κεχρησμένα.

λόγια: according to the scholiast on Thuc. 2.8.2
 these are distinguished from χρησμοί by being in prose,
 the latter being in verse, but this distinction is not
 invariable. V. LSJ s.v.

406. θεσφάτοις : the emendation of Kirchhoff, adopted by Wecklein, Murray, Pearson and Meridier for LP θεσφάτων, which arose under the influence of τῶν ἄλλων. θεσφάτοις is then possessive dative, τῶν ἄλλων genitive with διάφορα (KG 421.3). The sense is clear: there were many points of difference between the various oracles, but they all had one common feature. More prosaically the meaning would be expressed by τῶν μὲν ἄλλων διάφορ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς θεσφάτοις ἄλλα.

407. γνώμη : = γνώμη. The scribe illustrates the word in the margin from A. Ag. 1352 κἀγὼ τοιοῦτου γνώματος κοινῶν ὤν.

πᾶσι : Triclinius quotes this line in his scholia ad S. Ant. 174 and Tr. 593, with πᾶσι where LP read πάντων (Zuntz, Transmission, p. 187; Pol. Plays p. 151). Zuntz (Transmission loc. cit.) suggests that Triclinius may have drawn his different wording from the ms. which served as his model for L.

408. Explanatory asyndeton as 399.

σφάσαι : Johanna Schmidt (Freiwillige Opfertod bei E., p. 78) draws attention to the ritual language, i.e. σφαι - and compounds, in this and other plays, esp. Hec. and Ph., where human sacrifice is a theme; cf. here 490, 493, 502, 562, 583, 821.

κόρη : Barnes is credited, quite undeservedly, with this correction, which is certainly right, for LP κόρη .

On 601 he commented: ".....non enim haec virgo sacrificanda erat Proserpinae, sed Cereri, ut supra patet ex. v.409 (he quotes here the LP line)...; nisi quis ibidem legendum putet: παρθένου κόρη Δήμητρος ." Of course it is to Persephone as goddess of the underworld that the maiden is to be sacrificed; cf. E. Alc.358

ὄστ' ἢ κόρην Δήμητρος ἢ κείνης πόσιν θυμοῖσι κηλήσαντά σ' εἰς Ἄιδου λαβείν;
ibid.851 εἶμι τῶν κέτω Κόρης Ἄνακτος τ' εἰς Ἰνυλίου δόμους .

The LP reading arose from taking παρθένου κόρη together as = virgin girl.

409. ἤτις ἐστὶ : indefinite; cf. 328, 414; E. Alc.17
οὐχ ἦδρε πληγὴ γυναικός ὅστις (ἤτις codd.) ἠθέλει.
KG 558.6.

413. ἐκῶν : with δώσει ; placed out of order to contrast with ἄκονθ' .

κακῶς οὕτω φρονεῖ : i.e. "who is such a bad father?";
cf. E. Alc.302 τοῖσδε γὰρ φίλοις οὐχ ἦσαν ἢ ἄγε παῖδάς, εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖς.

415. συστάσεις : "groups"; cf. Thuc. 2.21.3 of the division of opinion at Athens when Perikles refused to take the field against the Peloponnesians in the invasion

of 431 B.C.: *κατὰ ζυστάριος γιγνομένοι ἐν πολλῇ ἐρίδι ἦσαν.*

πικρῶς: "bitter, "angry". LSJ s.v. III. The adjective seems excellently descriptive of *ζυστάριος* π, and there is no need to follow Wecklein and adopt Bothe's *πικρῶς* .

ἄν... ἄν: according to KG 398.7 and 8 there are two reasons for the repetition of ἄν : (a) ἄν comes early in the sentence, there is an intervening clause, then ἄν is repeated to pick up the thread of the sentence. (b) rhetorical emphasis. In very few instances, however, is such emphasis obvious, and Fraenkel's remarks (ad A. Ag. 340) probably account for the repetition in most of the occurrences: "The repetition of ἄν in this and many similar instances is probably to be regarded as the result of a compromise between the very old order of words according to which ἄν occupies the second place in the sentence and the later tendency of putting it beside the verb; cf. Wackernagel, *Idg. Forsch.* i., 1891, 399ff." Cf. 721 (note); E. Andr.1184; S. Fr.683, 739.

ἄν εἶδ' ἴδεις: i.e. "you would see (sc.. if you went there)". This expression is more commonly found with the aor. indic. referring to what one would have seen, or heard etc.; cf. E. Andr.1135; IA 432; Ba.737, 740, 1085.

416. ἦν: Schaefer's correction of LP ἦ (which led Dobree to suggest δίκαιος). The imperfect tense represents a past tense in direct speech, i.e. "we say that it was right (sc. for D. to help the Herakleidae as he did by rejecting the demands of the herald)".

417. ἐμὴν μωρίαν: edd. generally agree that Elmsley's proposed ἐμοῦ would be an improvement here, as Euripides always uses a genitive of person after κατηγορεῖν; cf. Or. 28; Hipp. 1058; Ion 931; Tr. 917; Fr. 690. However, D. is referring back to the herald's accusation of "stupid softness" (147, note), and could very well be speaking in bitter irony, i.e. "accusing me of what he calls my weakness."

418. τόδε: i.e. compel the sacrifice of a maiden.

419. ἐξαρτύεται: "dynamic" present (cf. 159, note), reinforced by ἤδη = "immediately". Cf. Wackernagel, Syntax i.p. 162 who quotes Thuc. 6.91.3 καὶ εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἔχεται καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία.

οἰκείος πόλεμος: i.e. civil war. Pearson compares Thuc. 1.118, where οἰκείους πολέμοις is used of the Helot wars in Sparta.

422. διαβληθῆσομαι: Pearson insists upon "be set at variance with" (cf. LSJ s.v. III) and he is probably right.

D. is already being "slandered": what he wants is some means of reconciliation to stop the cause of the slander.

423. ὥστε : = ὡς . An epic usage, quite common in tragedy; cf. E. Ba.748, 752, 778, 1066; El.748; Med.523; HF 110; Fr.757; A. Pr.452; Th.62; Pers.424; Ch.421; S. OC 343 (v. Jebb ad loc.); Ant.1033; Tr.112.

βαρβάρων : again the Greek sneer at foreigners. Cf. 131, note and exx. esp. E. Hel.276 τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλὴν ἔνοβ'.
 πλὴν ἔνοβ'.

424. Of course D. is represented here anachronistically as a Periklean figure, responsible to the people for his actions, unlike a Persian king, whom A. Pers.213 depicts as οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει ; cf. also A. Supp.397ff. esp. οὐκ ἔνευ δήμου τῆδε πράξιμα' ἔν.
 οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει ; cf. also A. Supp.397ff. esp. οὐκ ἔνευ δήμου τῆδε πράξιμα' ἔν.

δίκη... δίκη : for the relationship between δρᾶν and πάσχειν, expressed in the phrase δρᾶσιντι παθεῖν (A. Ch.313), the lex talionis, v. Thomson ad A. Ch.311-313.

D. means that if he as constitutional ruler acts as he should, then he will be treated as he should be, i.e. obediently and respectfully. (CF. here Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, pp.70ff., 195ff.)

425. ἔλλα' ἦ : gives "lively expression to a feeling of surprise or incredulity": GP 27.
426. Χρήσουσιν : Χρήσουσαν LP. Murray, Pearson, and Meridier adopt Herwerden's suggestion. Pearson: "the redundancy of Χρήσουσαν after πρόθυμον οὖσαν would be inexcusable." Certainly Χρήσουσιν makes excellent sense (Wecklein suggests also τοῖσδε in place of τήνδε): "do not the gods allow the city, although eager, to give aid to strangers who desire us to aid them?"
427. ῥοίμεν : for ῥοίκαμεν; cf. 681; Cy.99; S. Ai.1239; Ich.95.
- οἴτινες : cf. 409, note.
429. εἰς Χεῖρα : a difficult phrase. Exx. of the literal meaning (= "join") in E. are: Ba.198 ζύνεστε καὶ ζυγαρίσου Χεῖρα; IA 831 δεξιάν τ' ἐμῆ χερὶ σύναψον; Ph.106 ἴδω ζύναψον (sc. Χεῖρα). Elmsley and others explain εἰς Χεῖρα on the analogy of Ph. 702 ὡς εἰς λόγους συνῆψα Πολυεΐκειμολών, and the phrase εἰς Χεῖρας implying close contact is common enough: LSJ s.v.II.6d. Paley translates: "within grasp", and Pearson compares IA 951 οὐχ ἔψεται σῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ, οὐδ' εἰς ἄκραν Χεῖρ'. (for ἄκρος cf. E. Ion 1166 ἐν δ' ἄκροισι βυῖς ποσὶ; IT 266 ἄκροισι δακτυλοῖσι; S. Ai.1230 καὶ ἄκρων ἀδοιπόρεις), and refers to

Headlam (Journ. Phil. XXVI, p.237) who quotes Galen, Gloss. Hippocr. XIX, p.101: εἰς χεῖρα : δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ πλησιότατον. But there seems no parallel for the intransitive use of συνάπτειν with a personal subject until Polybius, apart from E. Ph.702, previously quoted, and S. El.21 συνάπτειτον λόγοισιν (Jebb ad loc.: "the modal dative takes the place of εἰς λόγους"). (E. Ph.1101 εὐρόμην συνήψαν ἄρτου is justifiably suspect.)

Of the conjectures Madvig's εἰς χεῖρα γῆς is the most attractive, but again there is the difficulty of a parallel for the intransitive use of the verb (see supra).

433. τῆ λαινα : the epithet of ἔρις in E. Hel.248, and of φύγη in Ph.1710. Cf. LSJ s.v. I.2.

τί ἤγ' : cf. 162; GP 270.

435. γὰρ τοι : GP 549: "each particle retains its proper force." I.e. "For, you know,....."

τὰ τοῦδ' : i.e. Demophon's conduct, explained by εἰ μὴ θέλει

436. ἀνέσται δ' ἔχω : Valckenaer: ἀνέστασ δ' ἔχω IP. The periphrastic perfect (KG 482.11; MT 47) is, as Pearson

says, quite out of place here where the acquiescence expressed by Iolaos refers to the present time. There is no need to adopt the suggestion of Wilamowitz (KS I. 5, p.106) *ἀνέσαι δὲ χροί*; cf. 485 *ἀνεῖν ἔχω* (for *ἔχω* + the infinitive = posse, cf. KG 473.3.). For the meaning of *ἀνέσαι* cf. Dale (ad E. Alc.2): " *ἀνέσαι* is used of 'accepting' a situation, whether with approval or..... with resignation." The verb has the latter meaning here; cf. E. Alc.2, 12; Hipp.37; Med.1157; A. Eu.469; Supp.903. For the former meaning cf. 485; E. Or.786; Med.908 and very many other instances where with a personal object the verb = "praise, thank". V. also Fraenkel ad A. Ag. 98.

437. τὸν θάδε: "the present situation". *εἰ*? *δοκῶ* is then explanatory of *τὸν θάδε*; hence the asyndeton. (Wecklein deletes 437-438, and punctuates with a comma after *τὸν θάδε*, and a stop after *εἰ*, which makes the asyndeton of *οὗτοι ἀπόλλυται* difficult to account for.)

τάδε: edd. unite to produce many examples of *πράττειν* with neuter adjectives and pronouns which they interpret as either "adverbial accusatives" or "cognate accusatives" (cf. KG 410.3, An.5); E. El.1359 *εὐδαίμονα πρίσσει*; IA 346 *πρίσσοντα μεγάλα*; Alc.605 *κεδνὰ πράττειν*; 803 *πρίσσομεν οὐχ οἶα...*

HF 509 ὀνομαστὰ πρίστων; IT 668 κοινὰ πρίστων; Or. 538 ἐπραξεν ἐν δίκῃ; 1352 ἐπραξεν οἷα χρηὴ πρίστων κακοῦ; Supp. 324 αἰ σκοτεινὰ πρίστων πόλει; A. Ag. 1443 ἀτίμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.

438. ση': Elmsley: σοί LP. The conjecture of Elmsley should not be adopted. Paley quotes in support of the mss. E. Rh. 338 *Χάρις γὰρ αὐτῷ Πριαιδῶν δίδωτο*. Further, because of the "double nature" of *Χάρις* (v. on 334), the meaning of the word *Χάρις* here is both "the favour which you tried to do for me" and "my gratitude to you", which seems better expressed by the personal dative.

οὐτοί: for the early position of τοί in the apodosis v. exx. in GP 547; cf. 64 for οὐτοί γε .

439. Χρησθῆναι: for the future indicative in a deliberative question where the subjunctive would be more common v. KG 394.6, An. 5, who compares Pl. Grg. 466A *εἰ μὴ ἔχω ὅτι χρησθῆναι* and ibid. 521C *οὐχ εἴβη ὅτι χρησθῆναι αὐτοῦ* to show the interchangeability of the moods.

τί': a "genuine" adverbial accusative (v. on τίθε, 437).
KG 410.3, An. 6.

439. δ': for the position of the particle v. on 153.

440. ἄσπετος: cf. 124. The Herakleidae have laid

suppliant wreaths on the altars of every god in their wanderings.

441. ποιόν γαίης ἔρκος: hypallage for ποιός γαίης ἔρκος; cf. S. El. 1390 τοῦμόν φρενῶν ὄνειρον; Ant. 793 τόδε νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ζύγαιμον; Ph. 952 σχῆμα πέτρης δίπυλον; A. Eu. 326 ματρῶν ἀγνισμα φόνου. Not to be translated as Beck, and Jerram (alternatively), suggest: "what place of refuge in (all) the land of Hellas." The meaning of this line and the previous one is quite straightforward: "What god, what land, have we not approached?"

442. ἐκδοθῆσθε: cf. 319 (note); 97 (=221).

δη: for δη used "at moments of strong emotion" v. GP 214.

443. καμῶμεν: placed first for emphasis to contrast with ὄμην δέ, 445. Pearson compares E. Med. 346 τοῦμόσ γάρ οὐ μοι φροντίς κείνου δέ κλαίω.

ἐμοῦ: genitive after μέλει (sc. μοι).

444. For the sentiment cf. S. Ai. 79 οἴκουν γέλης ἠδίστος εἰς ἐχθροῦς γελᾶν; Ant. 647 πολὺν δέ τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖσιν γέλωσ; E. El. 1152 φροῦδος αὐτοῖς εἰ θανῶν. γελῶσι δ' ἐχθροί; Med. 1049 βούλομαι γέλωτ' ὀφλεῖν ἐχθροῦ μεθεῖσα τοῦ ἔμου ἀγνισμοῦ; 383 θανούσα θήσω τοῦ ἔμου ἐχθροῦ γέλωσ;

797 οὐ γὰρ γελᾶσθαι τλητὸν εἰς ἰχθῶν ; HF 285 ἰχθῶσι γέλων διδόντας ;
Fr.463 γέλωι γὰρ ἰχθῶσι γίνεται τὰ τοιαῦτα ; cf. also infra
507, and the other exx. given by Adkins, (Merit and
Responsibility, p.155) of "shame" and "loss of face";
supra 6 and 28, notes; Dodds, The Greeks and The
Irrational, p.18.

447. Δίου : genitive of cause, or origin, commonly
used in tragedy with τάλαι, μέλεις etc.; cf. also the
similar genitive after οἴμοι, αἰαῖ etc. KG 420.1(a).
(The use is parallel to that with verbs of pitying,
grieving; cf. on 232). Cf. E. Hipp.366 ὦ τάλαινα τῶνδ' ἀλγέων;
554 ὦ τλήμων Ἑμενίων; 570 ὦ δυστάλαινα τῶν ζῶν παθημάτων ; 811; 1407;
Med.1028; Ion 960; Hec.661; A. Pers.445; 517. For οἴμοι
etc. v. on 224; E. Hipp.591 ὦμοι ἐγὼ κακῶν ; 814 αἰαῖ γόλμου ;
817; 936; 1454; A. Pers.918; S. El.1179; Ai.980; and for
the two combined cf. E. Hel.1223 οἴ' ἐγὼ τῶν ζῶν τλήμων κακῶν.
As Barrett remarks (ad Hipp.366-7), this genitive is
found in exclamations only.

448. πολλὰ : adverbial accusative (cf. τί' , 439, note).
KG 410.3, An.6. The neuter adjective replaces the
cognate accusative of the adjective plus noun, i.e.
here, πολλοῦ μόχθου μόχθησι ; cf. E. HF 1250 ὁ πολλὰ ἐν τλήι Ἡρακλῆϊ
λέγει γὰρ . KG 410.2(c).

449. Χρήν : i.e. "so, then, we were destined...."

MT 417; cf. E. Hec.629 *ἔμοι' Χρήν συμφοράν, ἔμοι' Χρήν πημονὰν γενέσθαι, ὅτε....*

For the anadiplosis cf. 225, 307, Hec.629 and Andr.943

λλ' οὔ ποτ' οὔ ποτ' — οὐ γὰρ εἰσάπαυ ἴρω. (Cf. also Ritchie, *The Authent. of the Rh. of E.*, p.237-8, for an analysis of the use of this figure in E.)

εἰς ἔχθρον χείρας πεσόντας : cf. 512, where the phrase is repeated almost exactly (cf. 387, note, for such repetition). Cf. 429, note, 931, 976.

450. λίχρω : the worst possible fate for an *εὐγενής*? (cf. 444, note.)

451. οἶσθ' ὅ μοι σύμπτειν : KG 397.3, An.3; MT 253. The explanation of the construction is clarified by parallel exx. of *οἶσθα* with a mood not imperative; cf. E. Supp. 932 *λλ' οἶσθ' ὅ δρᾶσαι βούλομαι τούτων πέρι;*
Med.600 *οἶσθ' ὡς μετεύξῃ, καὶ σοφωτέρα φανῇ.*
Cyc.131 *οἶσθ' οὖν ὁ δρᾶσαι;* Hec.998 *οἶσθ' ὅδ' ἂν λέξαι σοί τε καὶ παισὶν θέλω;*
S. OC 75 *οἶσθ', ἡ γέν', ὡς νῦν μὴ σφάλη;*

It is a simple step from "you know what I will (or wish to) do" to "You know what you will (must) do", and thence to the substitution, allowed by "the flexible Greek idiom" (Jebb ad OT 543), of the imperative for

future indicative. A bolder example of this flexibility is E. IT 1203 *οἶσθ' ἄνυρ ἔμοι γενέσθω*, i.e. "you know what must happen (be done) for me?"

The idiom appears to be confined to drama, but does not seem to be used by A. Exx. of *οἶσθ'* with the imperative are S. QR 543 *οἶσθ' ὡς πόνηρον* (the only example); E. Hec. 225 *οἶσθ' οἶν ὃ δράσον* (so Ar. Eq. 1158; Av. 54, 80; Fax 1061). Cf. also Ar. Ach. 1064 *οἶσθ' ὡς ποιείτε τοῦτο* (with which cf. S. OC 75, quoted supra.).

(Platnauer (ad IT 759 *ἄλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ δράσω*), and perhaps Dale (ad Hel. 315) who refers to his note, seems to prefer the older and surely incorrect explanation of the construction as an inversion, i.e. *δράσον οἶσθ' ὃ* (Bentley ad Menandr. p. 107) and says "it (sc. *οἶσθ' ὃ δράσω*) is 'I will do you-know-what'.....strictly speaking, this phrase should be printed without a mark of interrogation.")

μοι : with *σύνπραξον* . KG 425.1.

ἔπραξ : Stephanus' correction of LP *ἔπραξ* -

451ff. After the lamentation of 439-450, there is a slight pause, while Iolaos desperately tries to think of some solution. His remedy is characteristic: his *αἰδώς*

prompts him to offer his own life to Eurystheus to save the Herakleidae.

452. μοι : dative of personal interest; KG 423.17.

453. ἔκδος : cf. 442, 319, 97, notes.

454. μήτε... τε : cf. οὔτε τε 605; E. Hel.156 μήτε
σὺ ἴηται μαθεῖν, ἐγώ γε σιγῶ. GP 508ff.

μοι : cf. 452.

455. φιλεῖν... ψυχῆς : cf. 518, 533; E. IA 1385 καὶ γὰρ
οὐδὲ τοί τι λίαν ἐμὲ φιλοψυχεῖν χρεών;
Hec.315 πότρεα μαχούμεθ' ἢ φιλοψυχήσομεν.

ἴτω : cf. E. Med.798 ἴτω·τί μοι ἴη κέρδος; 699, 819; Hel.1278;
Ba.365 (where although Dodds is generally correct in
observing: " ἴτω is the Greek for a shrug of the shoulders",
yet there the meaning of ἴτω may be purely literal.).

Iolaos' mind is quite made up: he will hand himself over
to Eurystheus. Now he turns to the reason why Eurystheus
would like to get him in his power.

456. Bothe suggested a re-arrangement of the order
(v. App. Crit.) to allow for ἐμὲ in place of the enclitic
με to emphasis the personal pronoun. But, as Pearson
points out, Iolaos has already sufficiently stressed his

personal involvement in 453, *ἐμ' ἑκδοῦ*, and 455 *ἔμην ψυχῆν*
(V. on 64.)

457. τὸν Ἡράκλειον σύμαχον: Iolaos' proud boast as 7ff.,
88, 216.

καθυβρίσαι: cf. 18. Eurystheus, before his appearance
at 982, is painted in very black colours. The arrogance
of the herald is regarded as a reflection of his master's.
(Cf. First Stasimon, and 386ff.) He is represented as a
coward who refuses to face Hyllos in single combat (813ff.).
The audience is well prepared for his downfall - but not
for his quiet courage in the face of Alkmene who proposes
to treat the king of Argos in the way in which Iolaos
now suggests that Eurystheus would treat him (982ff.).

458. σκαίος: v. on 258. The word is explained by what
follows: a man like Eurystheus is ignorant of the *ἀιδώς*
proper to a hero and would not treat an enemy as he should
be treated (i.e. *σὺν δίκῃ*, *δικαίως*). Of course Iolaos
expects to be put to death; but humiliation and torture
would be wrong, and this is what he says Eurystheus
would wish to inflict upon him (457).

τοῦ σοφοῦ: dative of agent, regularly used with verbal

adjectives in -τος, -τεος. KG 423.18(c).

459. συνάπτειν: v. on 429. Here the use of the verb is more readily understandable; cf. E. Hel.54 καὶ δοκῶ προδοῦσ' ἐμὸν πόσιν συνάψαι πόλεμον Ἑλλησιν μέγαν.

ἄμαθει φρονήματι: i.e. abstract for concrete, the thought for the person. ἄμαθής here is the lack of intellectual understanding of the right way in which to behave (contrast σοφοῦ, σοφῶ, 458), which leads to coarse and brutal behaviour on the part of the σκιοῦ ἀνηρ'. Verrall (ad E. Med. 223) discusses the meaning of the word in the following instances: E. Andr.170, where Hermione rebukes Andromache for sleeping with the son of the man who killed her own husband; (but there the sense is rather "lack of sexual self-control": cf. μωρία, in the sense discussed in the note on that word, 147, sub fine.); IT 386, of the savagery of human sacrifice; Tr.972, where Hecuba pours scorn on the suggestion by Helen that the goddesses Hera and Athene could have been so ἄμαθει (εἰς τοσοῦτον ἄμαθίᾳ ἔλθειν; cf. ibid. 981 μὴ ἄμαθει ποίει θεῶν) as to barter their own cities in return for the prize of beauty; (cf. also ibid.964 εἰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κρατεῖν βούληται, τὸ χρῆσθαι ἄμαθίς ἐστὶ σου τόδε); Ph.763, where the word refers to the self-blinding of Oedipus; HF 1254, where Theseus uses it of Herakles' wish to kill himself; ibid.

347, of the indifference of Zeus to the fate of his own son; (but there the word can be interpreted quite literally as "ignorant" - σῶψεν δὲ τοῦ σους οὐκ ἐπίσταται φίλους· ἄμαθής τις εἰ θεός, ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφους); Ion 916, ἄμαθής ("almost certainly an apostrophe", Owen ad loc.): Verrall translates "unfeeling one"; ibid. 374, where ἄμαθια is an attempt to make the gods reveal what they do not wish to do. In Med. 223 it is the ἀνθρώπος man who offends his fellow citizens ἄμαθιας ἕπο ; he goes his own obstinate way because he does not know the "rules" of correct behaviour (cf. Hkld. 2ff.). Cf. the definition in Pl. Smp. 204A αὐτὸ δὲ τούτο ἐστὶ χαλεποῦ ἄμαθια, τὸ μὴ ὄντα καλὸν κλέμεθον καὶ φρόνιμον δοκεῖν αὐτῷ εἶναι ἱκανόν, i.e. ἄμαθια = "ignorant complacency". Also cf. E. Fr. 407 ἄμουσία τοι μῆδ' ἐπ' οἰκτροῖσιν δάκρυ στᾶσιν.

φρόνημα is here used in a neutral sense = "way of thinking" rather than "arrogance, pride", as Verrall, ("unfeeling pride" in his note on Med. 223), a sense approved here by Pearson and Jerram. In 387 the word requires an adjective to produce the meaning "arrogant", and in 926ff. the adj. ἀκέραιος goes with both ψυχὰ and φρόνημα . However, the word used absolutely does often have a bad sense: cf. A. Fr. 963 σεμνόστομος γε καὶ φρονήματος πλείως ὀρθός ἐστιν ; Ar. Pax 25 τούτο δ' ὑπὸ φρονήματος ἄρεθύεται.

For the sentiment Pflugk was the first editor to

draw attention to the parallel with E. HF 299 *φεύγειν σκιοῦν ἄνδρ' ἔχθρον χρωῖν, σοφοῖσι δ' εἴκειν καὶ τεθρῆγμένους καλῶ· ῥῆξον γὰρ αἰδοῦν ὑπολαβῶν φίλ' ἂν τέμοις* (*ὑποβαλῶν* ; Brunck: *τύχοις* Stephanus). Cf. also E. El.294 *ἔνεστι δ' οἴκτω ἀμαθίᾳ μετ' οὐδ' αἰμοῦ, σοφοῖσι δ' ἄνδρων* , where there is the parallel of abstract opposed to concrete. In the following lines Orestes makes the point that to have *λίαν σοφὴν γνώμην* (i.e. to be too sensitive of the correct way to behave, and too appreciative of the feelings of others) is *οὐκ ἀσπῆμιον* (i.e. makes one's own life painful).

460. αἰδοῦν: v. on 6, and 28: "correct behaviour"; Elmsley quoted Antiph. 1.27 *καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσα μητ' αἰδοῦν μητ' εἰέτου μητ' αἰσχρότης μηδέμιᾶς παρ' ἑμῶν, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἂν τύχοι τιμωρίας*. It comes to equal "mercy, compassion, forgiveness".

δίκη: Paley and Pearson believe that *καὶ δίκη* is corrupt. They both quote E. Hipp.672 *δίκη τυχεῖν* as = "to be punished", and Pearson quotes D. 21.142, Plut. Alex. 10 for the meaning = "to obtain satisfaction". Paley would adopt Barnes' *καλυχῆς* (i.e. "even the unfortunate man") while Pearson suggests *καὶ δίκη* = "in the cause of justice". Pearson seems to admit, however, by his examples (Hes. Op.192; Pl. Prot.322C, D) the connection between *αἰδώς* and *δίκη* .

But edd. do not mention *δίκης κυρήσειν*, 252. The phrase there does not mean "be punished", or indeed "obtain satisfaction" in the sense that Demophon is guaranteeing the herald possession of the Herakleidae. It means that he will treat the dispute in accordance with "international law" (v. Pearson himself ad loc.), i.e. in accordance with the principles of proper behaviour, *αἰδώς*, as opposed to violence. Cf. on 458, and on *δίκαια*, 424. *δίκη* is here the proper treatment to be given to a captured enemy, i.e. death, if the captor so wishes, but a death without torture or humiliation. (Klotz is on the right lines when he explains ".....nihil exigit nisi quod iure ac praeceptis civitatis alicuius sive etiam naturae fieri potest." Jerram translates *δίκης* as "equity".)

461. ἐπαιτιῶ: the difficulties which edd. feel here are probably caused by accepting *ἐπαιτιῶμαι* as = "accuse". If one considers the root meaning of the uncompounded verb *αἰτιῶμαι*, "allege as the cause" (LSJ s. *αἰτιάομαι* II), then the difficulty disappears. The Chorus asks Iolaos not to make Athens the cause of his surrender, i.e. they do not wish to be blamed for the death of Iolaos at the hands of Eurystheus, and they explain how such blaim could arise in the following lines, 462-463.

462, The Chorus explain that even though untrue, the report will be spread that it was because of the Athenians that Iolaos was delivered up to Eurystheus. Cf. Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, p.48: ".....it is not what has been done that matters, but what people say has been done." (The reading of Musurus, κέρδος, adopted by Faley and Beck, is quite wrong. ψευδής (Nauck) seems a reasonable correction of LP ψεῦδος.)

464. ἄλλ': answers μὲν. GP 5; cf. 928, 997.

ἀμύχανα: an impasse; cf. 472, 487, 492, 495.

Demophon makes it absolutely clear: there is no way out, except if a maiden be sacrificed.

465. ἄναξ: as Beck remarks, it is surprising that Eurystheus of Argos is so described without further qualification by Demophon of Athens. Elmsley quotes E. HF 589 συμμάχου ἄναξ ἔχει, where ἄναξ refers to Lycus who was last mentioned by name in 541.

466. πλέον: sc. ἔστι. The common phrase = "gain": KG 423.16, An.20.

γέροντος ἄνδρος θανάτου: causal genitive absolute: "by the death of an old man." Contrast the cruder language of the herald, 167.

ἀλλὰ : for ἀλλά after a rhetorical question v.
GP 5.

468. δεινόν : cf. E. Fr.736 σπάνιον ἄρ' ἦν θανούσιν ἀσφάλειν φίλοι;
Fr.628 πόλει γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες οἱ κακοὶ νόσος; the participle and
noun are treated as a verbal noun, i.e. τό + the
infinitive. KG 485.3, An.1.

469. νεανία : contrast with γέροντος, 466. It is
the young men whom Eurystheus dreads.

470. λύμης : it is unnecessary to follow Elmsley, as
do Kirchhoff, Wecklein and Beck, and read λύμης. He
thought that LP λύμης was a Doric genitive, although
he realised that λύπης in E. Hel.589 λύπης was simply
a scribal error, accusative plural for the required
genitive λύμης. λύμης is here accusative plural, quite
possible after μέμνημαι; cf. exx. in KG 417.5, An.12.
The plural of the noun is common (LSJ s.v.), and more
satisfactory here: "outrages done to their father".
(πατρός is of course objective genitive.)

πάντα προσκοπεῖν : cf. S. Ant.688 σοὺ δ' οὖν πέφυκε πάντα προσκοπεῖν
δοῦν ἄγει τις. (Here the genitive is governed by the
verb and "expresses the idea 'in thy defence' better than
σοί would do." Jebb ad loc.)

471ff. Demophon concludes his speech by making clear that the position is the same as it was at the end of his previous speech, 420ff., and uses similar phrasing, i.e. *ταῦτ' ὅβν ᾄρα ρὺ καὶ ζυνεθεύριον*...

474. *ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ* : it seems clear from the evidence (v. Introduction) and especially from the fact that the daughter of Herakles is never mentioned by name in the play that she is an invention of Euripides.

She has rightly judged from the groans of Iolaos, 439ff., that there has been a new and dangerous development in the situation, and she comes out from the temple where she has been sheltering (41ff.) despite her feelings of modesty, to find out what it is.

Ἠραῖος : for this aspect of the *αἰθῆς*, or conduct proper to a well brought up young girl, which makes it obligatory for her to avoid the company of men outside her immediate family and to remain within the home, there is plenty of evidence in literature. It is probably wrong, however, to speak of "the almost oriental seclusion of women" at Athens in the 5th Century and to contrast this with "the freedom which they enjoyed in the Homeric age" (so Pearson; similar statements have been frequently

made by many others in this connection, of course.). Certainly it was considered wrong for women to mix with men outside the home; whatever the punctuation to be adopted for E. IA 678ff., the general sense is clear: young girls should not be seen outside the palace and it is not even right for Clytaemnestra, a mature married woman, to be on view before the Greek army (ibid. 735). But both these statements are put into the mouth of Agamemnon who in the play wishes to forestall further questioning by his daughter, and to deter his wife from attending what she believes is to be a marriage ceremony. Further in the same play, 830ff., in the amusing scene between Achilles and Clytaemnestra, the "modest" Achilles is shocked by the suggestion that he should clasp hands with the queen: it would be " *εἰς ἄρσεν* ", quite contrary to the accepted standards of behaviour (833 *εἰδοίμεθα δ' εἰς ἄρσενον, εἰ φάσιν μιν ἔν μὲ μοι θεῶν*). The Chorus in the play (164ff.) is composed of young married women (176) of Calchis who have come specifically to see the assembled Greek fleet. This Parodos is heavily interpolated, but the impression remains that there is no "oriental seclusion" here where women can be represented as unaccompanied spectators of a host of men in the prime of youthful vigour.

The Electra of E. throws much light on the contemporary attitude. Orestes hopes he may find some farmer or farmer's wife whom he may ask about his sister when he first enters the countryside around Argos (104-6). (Electra's husband is indeed shocked to find her talking to men (343-4) but he is a "gentleman" (262, 380ff.) and by no means to be regarded as typical of the general attitude.) Certainly in the rural areas women would be free to see to the duties of the farm unaccompanied, and it is a fair assumption that these women when crowded into Athens in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.14, 17, 52) would influence their urban sisters, who may have had to submit to a more secluded way of life. In the same play (162ff.) there is evidence that women were free to attend the frequent festivals for women only. (Cf. Lys. 1.20 for a woman's attendance at the Thesmophoria while her husband was in the country.) It seems certain that women were present at the dramatic festivals, though they were probably separated from the men (v. Fildard-Cambridge, Dram. Fest. of Athens, p.268-9).

However, women were not of course allowed to associate freely with men and their place was certainly in the home. (The reason is not so much deliberate "seclusion"

as a simple division of labour, i.e. men work in the fields, women in the home; cf. X.Oec.7.30; E. IA 740; S. OC 339ff., (where the Egyptian ways (Hdt. 2.35) are contrasted with the Greek custom); E. El.422; Hkld.43, 477.

ἐξόδοις : edd. agree that this dative is causal (cf. KG 425.9), and μοι the indirect object of προσθίθετε. μοι could be ethic dative, but the verb in the sense here of "ascribe, attribute" is usually found with an indirect object; cf. E. Hipp.951 θεοῖσι προσθίθει δμαθίαν ; Andr.218 ἀπληροῖαν λέξουσ πάσαις γυναιξὶ προσθίθει' ; Ion 1525 τῷ θεῷ προστίθει τὴν αἰτίαν.
(προσθίθειναι in its various senses is very common in E.; in this play cf. 63, 147, 158, 505, 690.)

475. ἐπιτήσομαι : future tense referring to the present time; cf. E. Alc.164 πάντοτε σε προσπίτνους' ἐπιτήσομαι.
KG 387.4.

476-477. For the sentiment cf. S. Ai.293 γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει ; Fr.61.4 αἴς κόσμος ἢ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὰ παῖρ' ἔπη;
A. Supp.232 σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.

(Also cf. supra 43-44, and the remarks of Perikles about the ἀρετὴ of women in the Funeral Speech (Thuc. 2.45)).
V. also on ὀρθότης, 474.

476. τὸ σωφρονεῖν : there is really no equivalent in English. Barrett (ad Hipp.79-81) draws attention to the definition in Pl. Smp.196C *εἶναι ὁμολογεῖται σωφροσύνη τὸ κρατεῖν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν*. In the Hippolytus and other plays of E. (e.g. Med.635, 1369; IA 544; El.1099) *σωφροσύνη* and *σώφρων* are used of sexual restraint, but here of course this is not the specific meaning, but general restraint by women over their feminine nature. Really τὸ σωφρονεῖν might be said to mean here "what men consider good behaviour in women", i.e. the *ἀρετή* of a woman defined by Perikles (v. supra 476-477) in Thuc.2.45 *τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ἑμῶν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἥς ἂν εἴπῃ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς περὶ ἣ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄριστοι κλέος ἦ.*

478. στεναγμαμάτων : i.e. 439-450. If the "groans" of Iolaos seem rather remote in time, cf. 126 *ἰὺ γμῶν*, which refers to the cries for help of Iolaos 69-72 (v. note on 126).

479. προσβῆσθαι : "represent". (But note that here, and probably 45 (v. note), is found the only example of the verb in this sense with a genitive of what is represented.) Pearson prefers "to stand at the head of",

and quotes Fl. I §.752E φημι χρῆναι κνωσίους διὰ τὸ πρεσβύειν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἀφικῆσθαι; 879B τὸ πρεσβύτερον οὐ σμικρῶ τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐστὶ πρεσβεύμενον ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις; S. Ai.1389 Ὀλύμπου τοῦδ' ὁ πρεσβύων πατήρ.
 (To which add S. Fr.270 Ἰναχε, μέγα πρεσβύων Ἄργους γῆρας.
 LSJ s.v. πρεσβύω, I.1.c. But LSJ explains πρεσβύειν here in 479 as "to be an ambassador for one": LSJ II.1.a) Paley finds himself forced to translate here "to be ambassador of", though he finds the phrase "remarkable", and claims, referring to 45 that "the natural meaning of the words is 'to be the eldest of the family'." Beck and Jerram suggest either "represent" or "to take the lead (or precedence) of the family." At any rate τεχθεῖσα disposes of the sense of "being the eldest"; it is difficult to imagine how anyone could be so "appointed" (The conjecture of A. Palmer, τεχθεῖσα (from τίκτειν), shows the result of rigid concentration on this meaning of πρεσβύειν.)

480. πρόσφορος : "suitable". Most edd. rightly understand πρεσβύειν. Pearson, Meridier, and Elmsley prefer to understand πρυθίσθαι. (The latter explains: "propior scilicet ostio templi quam avia aut sorores."(!)). Pflugk supplies τοῦ πράγμασι : "videlicet mascula virgo suo quodam iure in partem virilium curarum venire sibi videbatur."

Clearly Makaria, though reluctant, feels that she must represent her family and find out what is happening, simply because her remaining brothers and sisters are too young to do so; cf. 10 ὑπὸ πτερῶν σώφω, and 41ff. τὸ θηλυ γένος ἀπηγαλισμένη . The brothers of an age to represent the family have gone to seek help (45-46). She is therefore the only member of the family present who is not a child. πως has a deprecatory sense here: "I am in some way suitable(though perhaps you may not think so.)"

480-483. The interpretation of these lines depends almost entirely on the punctuation adopted. As Pearson says, "it is almost a case of quot homines, tot sententiae."

The clue to the correct punctuation lies in 481. In view of the close and irresistible parallel of 532, ἀνήσκειν ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κίμαυτῆ Ἰπερ , περί must govern ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε and ἐμαυτῆς , coupled by καί . Any punctuation which destroys this phrase must be wrong.

If the clause ἀλλ' εἰμὶ γὰρ πως πρόσφορος is taken as what Denniston (GP 98) terms "simple", i.e. sc. εἰς ἡλθον , then μέλει and θέλω become verbs of parallel weight, καί is needed to couple them, and a comma is necessary

after τῶνδε . This is generally the punctuation and/or interpretation of Matthiae, Elmsley, Paley, Beck and Ferram. Edd. who rightly regard the clause as "complex", i.e. θέλω is the main verb after ἀλλ' , and εἶμι and μέλει are explanatory verbs after γάρ , punctuate after ἀδελφῶν , so making τῶνδε refer awkwardly to the immediately preceding ἀδελφῶν . Among these are Kirchhoff, Wecklein, Murray, Méridier; the latter translates: "pourtant - car j'y ai quelque titre: nul n'a plus que moi souci de mes frères - pour eux comme pour moi je désire savoir....."

I am convinced that Pearson's suggested punctuation is on the whole correct. He places a comma after πρόσφορος , and others after περί and πυθέσθαι . He would also place a comma after γένου in 479, on the grounds that θέλω balances οὐ ταχθεῖσα ; that is true, but the anacoluthon in my opinion requires a more definite stop; I cannot accept his suggestion that 40-43 affords a parallel. I would also not allow a comma after πυθέσθαι (v. infra).

So then the lines should be punctuated as follows:

ἀλλ' εἶμι γὰρ πως πρόσφορος, μέλει δέ μοι
 μάλιστα ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κληματαῖς περί,
 θέλω πυθέσθαι μή ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι κακοῦ

Tr.: "But - for I am in some way suitable to represent the family, and I am especially concerned about my brothers and myself - I wish to enquire whether....."

With this punctuation *ἀλλὰ γὰρ* is "complex": *θέλω* is the main verb: *εἰμί* and *μέλει* are in the parenthetical *γὰρ* clause. For *περί* with *μέλει*, Pearson quotes A. Ch.780 *μέλει θεοῖσιν ἄνθρωποι ἄν μέλει περί;* v. also KG 417.6, An.15; LSJ s. *μέλω*, A.I.4. *πυθέσθαι* can certainly be followed absolutely by an interrogative clause; cf. S. OC 11; 993; (LSJ s.v. I.7), but can *μή* *δάκνει* be considered such a clause? It probably can. Cf. the following exx.:

S. Ant.278 *ἄναξ, εἰμοί τοιμήτικῶς θεήλατον τοῦργον τόδ' ἢ ζύνοισι βουλεύει πάλαι.*
 ibid.1253 *ἀλλ' εἰσομένεθαι, μή τι καὶ κατέχετον κρυφῆ καλύπτει καρδίῃ θυμουμένη.*
 E. Or.209 *ὄρα... μή κατθανών σε σύγγονη λέληθ' ὄδε.*
 IT 67 *ὄρα, φυλάττου μή τις ἐν σίβῃ βροτῶν.*
 Hel.119 *σκοπεῖτε, μή βόκησιν εἴχετ' ἐκ θεῶν.*
 PH.92 *προὔβρευνήσω στίβον, μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῃ φαντάσεται, καί μοι μὲν ἔλθῃ φάλος ὡς δούλῃ ψόγος.*
 Tr.177 *ἐπακουσμένα ... μή με κτείνειν δοξ' Ἄργείων κείται μέλειαν.*

Such constructions are usually explained as expressing a fear for the present ; cf. MT 369.1; KG 553b.6. But Goodwin (loc. cit., n.1) states that "in this passage (sc. Ant.1253) and the following (sc. E. Hkld.481; S. Ant. 278; E. IT 67, quoted above), if anywhere, it would seem

necessary to admit the interrogative force often ascribed to μή. But here, as elsewhere, it is plain that the dependent clause with μή expresses the object of an apprehension....." (For the latter statement, cf. especially IT 67, and the mixture of indicative and subjunctive in Ph.92.). KG 553b, An.3 quotes many exx. from Plut. of verbs of interrogation, including πύθισθαι, followed by μή "= ob nicht", and the construction of an indirect question, including optative in historic sequence. Cf. also Wackernagel, Syntax i. p.278: ".....Plato Theaet. 145B ὅρα μή πείσαν εἰλεγειν, wo wir μή mit 'ob nicht' wiedergeben.....(he then refers to KG 553b, An.3)."

483. προσκειμένον : i.e. "added to".

ἐπί : "over and above". LSJ s.v. B.I.1(e).

δάκνει : cf. S. Ant.317 ἐν τοῖσιν ὡσὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δάκνει;
A. Pers.846 μάλιστα δ' ἦδε συμφορὰ δάκνει.

484. δὴ : emphasizes οὐνεωστὶ (= νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι).
GP 207.

τέκνων : partitive genitive with μάλιστα . KG 414.5(b),
An.6.

485. ἀνεῖρ ἔχω : v. on 436.

486. δρόμος: Jacobs: δόμος LP: Wecklein, Murray and Meridier accept the emendation of Jacobs. Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.107) compares E. Hel.1671 τὸν κατ'ἀγῶνόν δρόμον, restored by Paley and Wilamowitz (τῶν δόμων LP), and says that Jacob's suggestion "has proved as compelling as it looks simple." Jacobs himself compared E. HF 95
 ἔτ' ἂν γένοιτ', ᾧ θυγάτηρ, οὐρίος δρόμος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ κακῶν.
 cf. also S. Ai.889 οὐρίῳ μὴ πελάσαι δρόμῳ.

Although Pearson illustrates the freedom with which E. uses δόμος to stand for its members (e.g. 610; Ph.20, 624; Med.114; Hipp.792; Andr.548; Or.1538) in order to account for the use of the metaphorical προχωρησαι, the point at issue really is whether Iolaos would say δόμος of himself and the Herakleidae without any qualification, e.g. τῶνδε or Ἡράκλειος. Moreover, the metaphor of δρόμος suits exactly the simile of 427ff. of the luckless voyagers beaten back from land.

(For an example of scribal confusion of δόμος, δρόμος cf. E. Andr.1099.)

εὖ προχωρησαι: the verb is frequently qualified with a word or phrase to denote a good or bad issue, but the impersonal use always has a good sense. LSJ s.v.

Τὴ μὴ Χανον : v. on 464.

πάλιν αὖθις : pleonastic as in 708 (cf. also 796, αὖθις αὖθις).
For exx. of this common use v. KG 601.5.

490. Κύρη Δήμητρος : Pierson: *κελεύειν μητρὸς* LP. Reiske compared E. Rh.879 *ὁ μὲν . . . χρόνῳ Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημαίνει νεκρῶν* *ὁ δὲ πτείν κελεύειν* (*κελεύθου* : Dobree), and supplied Demophon as the subject of *κελεύειν*, i.e. "D. says that the soothsayers indicate that he must give orders to sacrifice. . . ."
κελεύειν may also be explained as epexegetical of *σημαίνειν*, (Beck), or as simply superfluous, (Pflugk, who quotes Ar.Nub.331, 334 where *βόσκοισι* occurs twice, and Th.498, 501 where *εἴρηκε* is repeated), or by regarding the two verbs as quite distinct in meaning, as Elmsley, who takes *σημαίνειν* with *ταῦρον* and *μόσχον*, and *κελεύειν* with *σφάξαι* : "Oraculorum enim interpretes ait hicce non taurum aut vitulum significare, sed puellam nobilem mactare iubere."

The difficulty in the LP reading is really *μητρὸς*. The emphasis throughout the play is on the *εὐγένεια* of the descendants of the father, Herakles, (cf. 298ff., note, 409, 513, 540, 563), and so *μητρὸς* here must be suspect. The scribal abbreviations for *πατρὸς*, *μητρὸς* (i.e. *πρὸς*, *μρὸς*),

differ slightly only, and could easily be confused, so Brodaeus suggested πατρός ἧς ἐγένου (ἐὺγενής) to parallel 409.

Pierson's suggestion is more difficult to account for palaeographically, but it is certainly attractive in view of 408-9 and 601. The choice really depends on whether it is felt that Iolaos would stress the goddess to whom the sacrifice must be made or the patrilinear descent of the maiden to be sacrificed. On the other hand, Iolaos could be regarded as simply abbreviating 409-9, i.e. omitting the goddess only, and leaving the essentials, viz. the command, and the daughter of a noble father.

I should prefer to accept Elmsley's interpretation of κελεύειν (v. supra) and read with Brodaeus, as accepted by Paley, Pflugk, Beck and Jerram, σφάξει κελεύειν πατρός ἧς ἐγένου.

491. Χρὴ μὲν ... χρὴ δὲ : αὐ and ἐ here have no antithetical force and are practically equal to τε καί. This use is particularly the case in anaphora as here; GB 370.

492. ταῦτ' : adverbial accusative, i.e. "in this respect", "on account of this". KG 410.3, An.6.

ἴμην χλευόμεν : 464, not#.

493. σφίξειν : Elmsley: σφίσειν LP. At first sight Elmsley's correction seems obviously right. The future infinitive in Indirect Statement stands for the future indicative in the Direct Speech, and previously, 411, Demophon has said παῖδ' οὐτ' ἴμην κτενῶ οὐτ' ἀναγκάσω . But the present infinitive could represent a present indicative, i.e. "I do not sacrifice - it is not my practise to sacrifice....."

494. λέγει μὲν . . . λέγει δέ : cf. E. Ph. 161 δρῶ δεῖτ' οὐ σαφῶς, δρῶ δέ πως . For πως cf. S. Ai. 327 τοιαῦτα γὰρ πως καὶ λέγει καὶ δύρεται.

οὐ σαφῶς : i.e. "not in so many words, but his meaning is such."

495. ἴμην χλευόμεν : conjectures are unnecessary for this easily understandable ἴμην λεγόμενον ; cf. ἐπιβυμοστατεῖν

44. The word is deliberately used in reference to

ἴμην χλευόμεν 492; τούτων corresponds to ταῦτα there, and τι is adverbial = "in some way".

496. ἡμῶν εὐρίσκειν : the common prose usage with λέγειν = "order" is the dative and infinitive, but the accusative is often found in tragedy, e.g. E. Or. 269

οἷς (τόξοις) μ' εἶπ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξαμύνεσθαι θεῶς.

IT 85 οὐ δ' εἶπας εἰθεῖν Ταυρικῆς μ' ὄρουσ' ἄβουροσ'.

Hipp. 113 τῆν σὴν δέ Κύπριν πολλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω.

(the phrase χαίρειν λέγειν is common and colloquial in both prose and comedy; LSJ s.III.2.c; cf. Pl. Phaedr. 272E

πολλ' εἰπόντα χαίρειν τῷ ἀληθεῖ; R. 406D.) KG 475.2, An.2.

497. βούλεται : where βουλεσθαι (so Reiske) might have been expected; but then there would have been a zeugma in the use of λέγει = "order" and λέγει = "say". Hence the anacoluthon in the return to the infinitive mood. ?

498. κλῆχόμεθα : Elmsley. (The LP κεύχόμεθα is difficult to parallel: "do we then pray to be saved on these terms?"). Elmsley compared Thuc. 1.25 ἐν ἀπόρῃ εἶχοντο θεῖσθαι τὸ παρόν, and Pflugk X. An.6.1.9 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἠμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμηροῦ δ' οὐκ εἰδίδουσαν οἱ θρησκῆς αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο, while Pearson draws attention to similar phrases in Hdt., e.g. 9.37 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κικῶν ἐχόμενος; ibid. 98 ἐν ἀπορίῃ εἶχοντο ὅτι ποιέωσι, and S. Ai. 272 αὐτοῖς μὲν ἤθεθ' ὅσιν εἶχετ' ἐν κικῶν.

Parallels involving a similar use of ἐν but with εἶμι etc. are: E. Alc. 278 ἐν σοὶ δ' εἰμι καὶ ἴην καὶ μή; IT 1057 καὶ τῆμ' ἐν εἶμι εἶπον ἢ καλῶς εἶχον ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι (where edd. compare Pl. Prot. 313A ἐν ᾧ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ σὰ ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς πράττειν); Med. 228 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἦν μοι πάντα; Ion 697 ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα εἶχουσ' ἐλπιδῶν μέτοχοι ἦν; S. OT 314 ἐν τοῖς γὰρ ὄσμοις; OC 247 ἐν εἶμι γὰρ ὡς θεῶν κείμεθα.

It appears then that *σωθῆναι* can be explained as an epexegetical infinitive rather than, as Pearson, an infinitive after verbs of hindrance (KG 514.5, An.9(a); MT 807), i.e. "do we depend (lit. are we held in) on this statement to be saved?", (so Paley, Beck, Jerram), but it is difficult to parallel such a use of *εἶχεν*. If indeed *καὶ χόμωδα* had manuscript authority it would still be a puzzle: as an emendation, however widely adopted, it is quite unsatisfactory.

καί: expresses surprise, and is closely connected with the word that follows it. GP 316.

λόγῳ: edd. generally interpret as "terms" (LSJ s.v. VII.4), but possibly it could mean "oracle" (LSJ VII.1 and cf. Pi. P.4.105 *σε δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ γρηγορῶ ἄρθωρον*), or "line of argument", or even "Demophon's words".

500ff. Cf. the speeches of Polyxena in E. Hec.342ff. and of Iphigeneia in E. IA 1374ff. There is the same emphasis on readiness to die (502; Hec.347; IA 1375) and on avoidance of disgrace and cowardice (518-9; Hec.348; IA 1376, 1385). Even closer are the arguments of Makaria and Polyxena. Both argue that the alternative to their sacrifice would be unbearable, Makaria pointing to the

scorn for her cowardice which she would meet (516-524), and Polyxena to the life she would have to endure as a slave of the Greeks (357-366).

This *βήσις* of Makaria, as J. Schmidt remarks, *Freiwillige Opfertod bei E.*, p.28), follows the rhetorical *σχῆμα*, viz. Prooemium (500-502), Probatio (503-524), couched in the negative form of *Refutatio*.

500. *Σόφου*: v. on 276. (I cannot see that *Ἀργείων*, Elmsley, is 'a great improvement' (Pearson)).

502. *Θνήσκειν εἰτοιμῆ*: cf. E. Ph:969 *Θνήσκειν εἰτοιμος*; S. OT 91 *εἰτοιμος εἰπεῖν* for the adjective without *εἶμι*.

παρίστασθαι σφαιγῆ: cf. E. Andr.547 *τόντ' ἐφέστῳτῃ σφαιγῆ*; IT 726 *τοῖ ἐφέστῳσι σφαιγῆ*; 1313 *ἢ νεῶνι ἢ ἑνθάδε (βωμῶ) παρίστατ'*. These examples of course refer to those who conduct the sacrifice, but the meaning is here euphemistic, "to be present at (as victim)". (A. Ag.1057 *εἴστηκεν ἡ ἢ μῆλα πρὸς σφάγιας κῦρος/κάρου* cannot be adduced as an example of victims because of the corruption in the line; v. Fraenkel *ad loc.*). For this meaning cf. E. Ion 612 *ὅταν παρῶ σοὶ μὲν ἐγγύθει ποδοῖ*; IT 1313 (v. *supra*); Med.887 *καὶ παρῶσθαι λέχει*. (*σφαιγῆ*, the dative of *σφαιγῆς*, Herwerden and Palmer, is far too coarse for this context.)

504. λίρεσθαι κίνδυνον : = "incur". Cf. 986, 991 ναῖκος,
δυσμένειαν ἡράμην; Fr.50 πόλεμον λίρονται μέγαν ; Rh.54 λίρεσθαι φυγὴν,
 126 λίρονται φυγὴν ; Ion 199 λίρομινος πόνοσ ; A. Pers.481 λίρονται
φυγὴν ; S. Ant.907 τόδ' ἄν ἡράμην πόνον ; OT 1224 δὸν δ' ἀρίσθε πόνος ;
 Tr.491 νόσον γ' ἔπακτὸν ἐξαρύμεθα.

λίρεσθαι : LP (λίρεσθαι : Elmsley: λίρεσθαι ; Wecklein
 - the aorist is not necessary) is obviously wrong in the
 light of the above examples; v. also LSJ s. λείρω , IV.4.5.)

506. σφε σῶσαι : Nauck's conjecture for σεσῶσθαι LP
 has been adopted by Wecklein and Murray. But the line
 of thought is surely: "we have brought danger upon others,
 yet now that we can be saved (by the death of one of us)
 we refuse to die!", i.e. "we, the Herakleidae, are willing
 for others to die on our behalf but one of us will not
 die for the sake of our own safety." (As Pearson remarks,
 Makaria includes herself when speaking of the safety of
 the Herakleidae, but she of course will not be saved.)

σφε σῶσαι would switch the emphasis onto the safety of
 Athens, i.e. "we have brought danger upon others, yet now
 that we can save them, we refuse to die." As 498 σωθήναι
 makes clear, the safety of the Herakleidae is uppermost
 in the thoughts of Makaria. Therefore the LP σεσῶσθαι
 should not be changed.

φευγόμεθα μὴ θανεῖν : verbs which imply a negative, as for example verbs with the meaning to deny, doubt, prevent, forbid, oppose, avoid, etc. very often have μὴ with the following infinitive where in English no such negative is required. The basic notion seems to be that e.g. εἴργω σε μὴ εἰθεῖν = "I prevent you so as not to come", i.e. "so that you do not come". Here, "we shall flee, so as not to die." Hence, "we shall escape dying." KG 514.3(a).

507. οὐ γῆτ' : the expression answers a rhetorical question as E. Med.1048; Hipp.1062. For a slightly different use cf. 61 and v. GP 274-276.

τοί : GP 546: " εἴτι' τοί is in Euripides and Plato almost invariably followed immediately by καί ." (Cf.744).

The particle emphasises the reason for Makaria's

οὐ γῆτ' earlier in the line.

γέλωτος : v. on 444; cf. E. Alc.803 νῦν δὲ πρόσρομεν οὐχ οἶα κώμου καὶ γέλωτος ἄγῆα.

ἄγῆα : this use of the plural for the singular of the predicate adjective is not found in Attic prose writers with the exception of Thuc., but is common in the tragedians; cf. A. Fr.216; S. #i.897;1126; Ph.524, 628;

E. Or.413; Supp.1233; Hipp.269; Med.703. KE 366.

508. στένειν μὲν : i.e. "to make lamentation as suppliants, but to be revealed as too cowardly to do anything to help ourselves."

509. Note once more the insistence on descent from a noble father; v. also on 490.

510. κακοῦ δρᾶσθαι : = κακοῦ φαίνεσθαι (sc. ὄντας), "be revealed as."

ποῦ : v. on 369.

ἐν Χρηστοῦ : KG 423.10, An.12, is wrong in suggesting as a parallel X. Cyr.2.1.24 οἶα (νικητήρια) ἢ εἰς πλῆθος πρόπει, for the sense here is as S. Ant. 925 τίδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῦ καλά, (cf. also ibid.459), quoted here by Pearson: "how are our actions acceptable in the eyes of people of honour" - not "fitting to people of honour (as we claim to be)" (an interpretation which caused Kirchhoff to suggest τίδ' ἐν Χρηστοῦ πρόπει). For the identical sense cf. 369. Once again, "what people will think" is the basic thought. (Contrast πρόπει with the dative, 426).

511. οἶμαι : ironic; cf.968. (Not so, of course, in 670.)

ὄ μὴ : Lenting's ὄ μὴ is unnecessary. For the plural cf. ὄ μὴ , 507, note.

ὄ μὴ τύχοι : cf. ὄ μὴ γένοιτο, E. Ph.571; Ion 731; A. Th.5; infra 714. This deprecatory formula does not invariably precede the words of ill omen; cf. Ph.571.

512. Χοίρας εἰς ἔχθραν ποσειδῶν : cf. 449-450, note.

513. † κἀπειτα τινα † : κατὰ τιτινὰ : L (κἀπειτα τινα changed into σεινὰ :P). The appearance of this line in L suggests an illegibility in the exemplar of L. Certainly

σεινὰ (P) can have little authority. Kirchhoff proposed ἄ τιμα , which is adopted by Wecklein.

Throughout the speech of Makaria here, the emphasis is on living up to the standards of her noble father (cf. this line itself, 509, 527, and especially 526, ἀναξίαν), and this emphasis on honour above all things strongly supports ἄ τιμα . (The use of the obelus here by Murray is therefore surprising.)

515ff. Makaria has just drawn attention to the unworthy fate which would befall her if no sacrifice was made, Athens was defeated, and she herself was captured. Now she dwells on the equally unpleasant alternative if the Herakleidae were to flee from Athens before the battle

and resume their wanderings after such contemptible behaviour,

515. ἀλλ': for the particle introducing the profer^rring of suggestions and the consequent rejection of them by the same speaker, hypophora, v. GP 10-11, and cf. the many exx. there given of this use by E.

ἀλητεύω: Stephanus: ἀλητεύω LP. The exx. of the future indicative closely combined with the deliberative subjunctive in KG 394, An.5, E. Ion 758; S. Tr.973 (to which Pearson adds E. El.967 - but v. Denniston ad loc.), strongly support the ms. reading. (Cf. also Wackernagel, Syntax i. p.205.) ἀλητεύω is deliberative subjunctive, "am I to wander?" and must not be changed to the future indicative, "shall I wander?": the emphasis is on Makaria's own choice.

With the sense of the verb cf. ἀλήτας, 224; 318;
ἀλήται, 51.

516. καὶ.... ἦται: expresses indignation. GP 273.

ἦ: cf. E. Supp.314 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦται. Paley better interprets: "if, as doubtless they will, people will say...." than Pearson: "practically equivalent to 'thereupon': 418 n."

517. ἱκεσίοισι κλάδοις : cf. 124.

518. φιλοψυχῶντες : v. on 455.

519. κακοῦς γὰρ... : i.e. "cowardly"; the meaning is "we will not help those who will not help themselves."

προσωφελήρομεν : v. on 330.

520. ἀλλ' οὐδέ μέντοι : Makaria now proceeds to examine another alternative: if the rest of the Herakleidae died..... GP 411.

521. αὐτῆ δὲ σνθεῖσ' : for the participle in the nominative used in parallel with the genitive absolute, Pearson quotes S. Ph.171 *μή του κηδομένου βροτῶν μηδ' ἑντροφον ὄμμ' ἔχων*, and notes that "such variation is especially common in Thucydides, e.g. 1.2 *τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὐσης οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες*". Cf. also S. Oe.737 *οὐκ ἐξ ἐνὸς σταίλαντος, ἀλλ' ἰσοπῶν Ἰπο πλάντων κελευσθεῖς*.
Tr.291 *νῦν σοι τέρψη ἐμφανῆς κυρεῖ, τῶν μὲν παρόντων, τὰ δὲ πεπυσμένῃ λόγῳ.*

522. This line was athetized by Elmsley. Certainly it is not particularly relevant, but that seems no reason for omitting the line. (J. Schmidt, *Freiwillige Opfer-tod bei E.*, p.29, n.1, thinks that here there is a possible reference to the revolt of Mytilene in 428 B.C. This

is not possible if the date of the play proposed in the Introduction is correct (430 B.C.); if there is a reference to a contemporary event, it may well be to the betrayal of Plataea to the Thebans in 431 B.C. as described in Thuc. 2.2.)

ἤδη : i.e. "before now".

τηδε : sc. ἐλπίδι .

523ff. ἢ δάμαρτι ἔχειν ἢ παιδοποιεῖν : cf. E. Andr. 4 δάμαρ παιδοποιῶν . The meaning is that no one would wish to have her as his wife or beget legitimate children, i.e. free children, from such degenerate stock. (For παιδοποιεῖν v. Harrison, The Law of Athens, p.2, n.4; 17.)

525. οὐκ οὐκ : v. on 255.

526. Ἰναξίαν : sc. οὐσαν ; cf. 513, note. Why this should not happen to her with her noble descent from Herakles is explained in 526-527.

κὴν πρᾶπτει : Scaliger and Hartung: κὴν πρᾶπτει LP. The "unqualified assertion" of the mss. reading is, as Pearson says, not acceptable here. The implication of πρᾶπτει would be that there is in fact some person to whom such behaviour is fitting.

527. τάδε : i.e. τούτων of 525.

ἤτις μὴ : generic as 409, 328, note.

528. ἔπου : = ἐκέισε ἔπου .

σῶμα τόδε : = ἐμε ; cf. 89, 539 (τὸ σὸν κάρη); E. Alc.636

οὐκ ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὀρθῶς τοῦδε σώματος πατήρ ;

Нес.301 ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ σὸν σῶμ'....σῶσειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι.

529. κατέρχεσθ' : "begin the rites"; cf. 601; E. Alc.

74 ὡς κατέρχουμαι ζίφει , where Dale understands this

correctly as of the cutting off of some hairs from the victim's head, and compares Hom. Il.3.271ff. In E. IT

40 κατέρχουμαι means the sprinkling of the victim's head

with water (cf. ibid.54 ὑδραίνειν ; 443 δρόσον ; 622 χερνίφουμαι),

the purification of the victim before sacrifice. (V.

further Denniston ad E. El.791.)

κατέρχεσθ' εἰ δοκεῖ : elision occurs only four other times

at Forson's Bridge (v. on 303), i.e. S. Ai.1101, Ph.22;

E. Cy.304, Ion 1 (where K. Witte suggested νῦτοῖς' for νῦτοῖς;

v. Maas, Gk. Metre, para. 139). For this reason several

emendations have been proposed: καὶ κατέρχεσθαι δοκεῖ Paley;

καὶ κατέρχεσθαι δοκεῖ Bothe; κατέρχεσθε ζίφει (cf. E. Alc.74)

Mehler; καὶ στίχμα τοῦτο γ' εἰ κατέρχεσθαι δοκεῖ Verrall, which, as Pearson

says, assumes that Makaria's suppliant garland (cf. , 71) will now become her sacrificial fillet. The latest emendation (Broadhead, *Tragica*) involves reading $\eta\eta$ for $\delta\epsilon\tau$ in 528 and then $\kappa\alpha\iota$ στεμματοσσοῦναι $\kappa\alpha\iota$ κατάρχεσθαι δοκεῖ.

530. $\eta\delta\epsilon$ ψυχῆ: cf. $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ τὸδε supra, note, with which it is possibly contrasted: i.e. her body is available for sacrifice, and her soul is willing; cf. E. Hipp.173 τί ποτ' ἔστι μαθεῖν ἔραται ψυχῆ; Or.526 ἐπὶ τίν' εἶχες, ἢ τάλαι, ψυχὴν τότε; Med.473 λέγωμα κουφισθήσομαι ψυχῆν; S. Ant.175 ἀμφίχανοι δὲ παντός ἀνδρός ἐκμαθεῖν ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γυνώμην.

531. ἐκούσῃ κοῦκ ἄκουσα: cf. E. Andr.357 ἐκόντες οὐκ ἄκοντες; Hdt. 2.43 οὐχ ἤκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα; Thuc. 6.87 οὐκ ἄκλητοι, παρακληθέντες δέ. and exx. in KG 601.8. The purpose of this pleonasm is of course purely emphatic. (In S. OT 1229-1230, τὰ δ' αὐτίκ' εἶρ τὸ φῶν φανῆ κακὰ ἐκόντα κοῦκ ἄκοντα, there is, as Jebb notes, dramatic point in the contrast between evils caused consciously and evils caused unwittingly.)

ἐξ᾿ ἀγγελῆσθαι: edd. (and LSJ s.v.) generally translate as "offer, promise", deriving this meaning from the sense of "proclaiming, announcing on one's own behalf" found with ἐπαγγελῆσθαι (hence Madwig's $\kappa\alpha\iota$ παγγελῆσθαι). They quote S. OT 147 τῶνδε γὰρ χάριν καὶ δούρ' ἐβημεν ὧν ὄδ' ἐξ᾿ ἀγγελῆσθαι; E. Ign 1605 εὐδαίμον' ὁμίῳ πτόμον ἐξαγγελῆσθαι; and for the simple verb, S. Ai.1376 καὶ νῦν γε τούτῳ . . . ἀγγελῆσθαι . . . εἶναι φίλος .

But in all these exx. the verb could easily and naturally retain the sense of "proclaim" with the more "personal interest" which the middle voice conveys (KG 374.5). In Ion 1605 Athena "proclaims" from her personal knowledge a happy fate for the children of Ion, and for Ion and Creousa. (Contrast Or.363 μάντις ἐγγυητέμοι of Glaucos who speaks on behalf of a divine will.) Jebb translates ἀγγέλλομαι in Ai.1376 as "I tell Teucer that....I am ready to be his friend", although in his note ad loc. he says "but cf. E. Hkld.531....'offer to die'."

It makes better sense to translate here: "I declare that I die, I claim to die, on behalf of these my brothers and sisters and myself....." rather than "offer", for she has already made the offer before (502, 528-531) and now she emphasizes the reason why she is sacrificing her life to ensure that she dies εὐκλιῶς (534).

533. εὖρημα ηὔρηκ' : cf.. E. Med.553 τί τοῦδ' ἂν εὖρημα' ηὔρον εὐτυχέστερον ; ibid.716 εὖρημα δ' οὐκ οἶσθ' οἶον ηὔρηκας τόδε ; Ion 1518 φίλον μὲν οὖν σ' εὖρημα, μήτηρ, ηὔρομεν.

As Pearson suggests, εὖρημα is not to be explained simply as cognate accusative; like εὔρημιον it has the sense of "a lucky discovery" (Page ad Med.553; LSJ s.v. II.)

μη φιλοψυχουσα: the negative *μη* is variously explained. Beck takes the participle as conditional: "in the event of, cf. 283"; so Jerram. Paley translates "by not being attached to life", but then goes on: "The more natural construction would be ἢν γὰρ μη φιλοψυχήσω, εὐρήσω" Explanation of the phrase as conditional seems quite wrong in view of the perfect tense, i.e. "if I am not afraid to die, I have found a way to die gloriously." Pearson explains as "a generic negative with causal implication" (which seems to fit Paley's translation) and in his App. B.2 he discusses in detail the use of the participle with *μη*, although his exx. to support his interpretation here are not entirely convincing. Meridier, however, supports his view and quotes KG 513.3, An.3 for the use of this negative with a causal participle.

However, Madwig's emendation, τῆς μη φιλοψυχουσίγας, makes excellent sense and should be adopted: i.e. Makaria has found the way to a glorious death for people such as are not afraid to die. She has already made it clear that she is not afraid to die (531) and so *μη φιλοψυχουσα* would seem too repetitious.

535. φεῦ φεῦ: admiringly said, as in 552; cf. Ar. Av. 1724 ὦ φεῦ φεῦ τῆς ἡρας τοῦ κάλλους.

μέγαν λόγον : obviously in a good sense here, but usually of boastful utterance; cf. S. Ant. 127 μεγάλης γλώττης; ibid. 1350 μεγάλοι λόγοι; E. HF 1244 μέγα λόγων (cf. μέγα φρονεῖν).

536. παροι : cf. παροιθε, 583; = σπερ . LSJ s.v. B.III.2.

538. ἔτι : = "in the future"; not to be taken with μᾶλλον.

δράσειεν : i.e. put the words into practice. As Pearson remarks, the awkwardness is caused by the frequent antithesis of λέγειν and δράν elsewhere in Greek literature.

539. τὸ σὸν κἄρα : = σύ ; cf. 528, note; E. Ion 1476 ὁ μέναιος ἔτικτε σὸν κἄρα .

540, 541. Pearson punctuates after ἔξ ἰκείνου, making πέφυκας explanatory. This simplifies the structure of the lines, but is not absolutely necessary, if, as is generally agreed, Ἡρακλήος (IP) should be rejected as the only instance of this Epic genitive in the iambic trimeters of tragic dialogue. Hartung's Ἡράκλειον (adopted by Wecklein, Pearson and Meridier) is better than M Elmsley's Ἡράκλειος (Murray) because E. IA 524 τὸ Σισύφειον σπέρμα ; IT 988 τὸ Ταντάλειον σπέρμα . (Elmsley's

comparison with E.. Or.1512 ἡ Τυνδάρειος παῖς does not seem apt: as Faley notes, "the ellipse of παῖς makes all the difference."

Pearson draws attention to the real difficulty in the lines: the meaning of φρενός. He considers that Euripides, influenced by contemporary philosophical discussion, is using the word in a highly technical sense:- "It is at any rate worth notice that Anaxagoras treated the brain as the first development of the foetus and was much occupied with an explanation of the likeness between children and their parents."

This explanation seems unconvincing. There is nothing in the use of φρενός elsewhere by Euripides to suggest such an interpretation here. Nor indeed can a parallel be found where φρενός = ψυχή. Θείας, too, in spite of 9 and 910 seems awkward when used of Herakles here, and it is improbable that the adjective is used here as a "reference to the divine origin of the human νοῦς", as Pearson thinks "not improbable".

I am convinced that there is corruption in 540: perhaps a genitive of Ἡρακλῆος has been mistakenly replaced by the last three words; certainly ἐκείνου needs a proper name.

541. αὐδ' αἰσχύνουμαι : i.e. Makaria's plea that her interference should be excused (474) is readily granted by Iolaos. What she has done is entirely right and proper, and he feels no "shame" at the actions of someone in his charge. (Mérider is quite wrong to translate the phrase as a kind of litotes: "mis si je suis fier de ton langage, ton sort m'afflige.")

τοῦ σοῦ λόγῳ : causal dative, as 474; cf. E. HF 1160
αἰσχύνουμαι γὰρ τοῦ δοδραμένου κακοῦ.

542. τῇ τύχῃ : i.e. the fate which made your intervention necessary.

543. ἐνδίκωτέρως : for this form of the comparative adverb cf. E. IT 1375 εὐλαβεστέρας ; IA 379 σωφρονεστέρας (ex Stob.). Elmsley quotes several examples from Thuc. and Antiphon.

544. παῖρας ἀδελφῶν : for these other sisters cf. 41ff.

τῆσδε : the deictic pronoun seems awkward when the whole speech is addressed to Makaria. If it is correct, then Iolaos indicates that someone, perhaps Demophon, should call the sisters. But perhaps τίσδε (Lenting) should be adopted.

545. λαχούσα : i.e. the lot will reveal the girl whom the gods wish to die. Iolaos is not of course suggesting a way out for M., though in 547 she indignantly seems to think so. (Cf. S.Ai.1284ff. *λαχών τε κἀκέλευτος* of Ajax meeting Hector by right of ballot, and refusing to throw into the urn a lump of moist earth as his lot, which would stick inside and not jump out.)

547. οὐκ ἂν θάλοισι : v. on 344.

τῇ τύχῃ : i.e. "by mere chance as opposed to my own decision." Cf. S. Ant.1182 *ἤτοι κλυούσα παιδὸς ἢ τύχῃ πέρα*. Ph.546 *τύχῃ δὲ πως πρὸς ταῦτόνδ' ὀρμισθεῖς πέδον*. E. Andr.323 *πλην τύχῃ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν*.

Makaria here (v. supra) seems to be thinking of "sortition" as a mere gamble.

548. Χάρις : v. on 334, 379. Makaria means that selection by lot brings no sense of freely conferring the favour for the person so selected.

μηδὲ λέγειν : i.e. do not talk of selection by lot.

549. ἐνδείχεσθε : sc. *τοῦ ἰμοῦ λόγου* ; LSJ s.v. II.1. (In Thuc. 7.49, quoted by Pearson as an instance of the

absolute use -ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης περὶ μὲν τοῦ προσκαθηθῆναι οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν ἐνὶ δέχετο
- λόγους has probably to be supplied.)

550. προθύμως : LP: προθύμῃ Barnes. The mss. reading seems unsatisfactory. If προθύμως is taken with δίδωμι there is tautology because of ἐκούσα ; if it is taken with χρησθῆναι, as Murray, the sense is poor. It is obvious enough from Iolaos' objections of 543ff. that he is not eager to avail himself of Makaria's offer. Therefore Barnes' suggestion should be adopted: there is no doubt about the eagerness of Makaria (533ff.).

551. For the sense cf. 531.

552. φείδω : v. on 535.

554. κλέκτινος : i.e. "and yet that was....." GP 292.

ὑπερφέρεται : ὑπερφέρειν is often found with a genitive of comparison when one person or thing excels another, and with a dative expressing the respect in which the person or thing excels, but there are examples of this and similar verbs with the accusative: KG 420.2(b), An.11. However, the expression is not as easy to explain ~~and~~ as Paley and Jerram seem to feel, though the meaning is clear enough: "you surpass your previous bravery by this (new) bravery and your previous words by these words."

556. εὐ μὴ: μὴ is here adversative. GP 340.

556. Iolaos leaves the decision entirely to Makaria. All the Χάρις is now hers as she wishes (548).

557. ε', δ': v. App. Crit. This correction and addition are certainly required. An object is needed after the verbs of commanding and forbidding and a subject for ὀνειδέειν. An asyndeton here is not easy to explain.

ὠφέλει: dynamic present = ὠφέληται. V. on 159.

558-559. The thought seems to be: although you say you neither order nor forbid me to offer myself for sacrifice, you state that my death will help my brothers and sisters. I understand your meaning; you wisely couch your recommendation in that φῶν so as to avoid the pollution which would affect you if you clearly ordered me to offer myself. But you need not concern yourself about such pollution; my death will be my own choice and you will not be responsible.

On this interpretation the transposition of Wilamowitz is unnecessary and misleading also. For then σοφῶν is unexplained and μὴ τρέσαις κτλ would imply there is pollution attached to the person who actually slew the victim, which

seems unlikely, rather than to the one who ordered the sacrifice. In any case it is to be noted that Iolaos does not raise this as an objection. He simply says that he cannot take part in the sacrifice (564), obviously because he cannot bear to see her die.

558. σοφῶς : "wisely", i.e. by implication, as explained above.

μὴ τρέσῃς θάνω : μὴ τρέσῃς prepares the way for the hortatory 1st person subjunctive, which is generally found preceded by ἴγε , φέρε , δεῦρο . KG 394.4.

μιάσματος : "pollution". For the implication of this word v. Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, Ch. V (esp. his reference to Pl. Ig.865B on accidental homicide.) These lines, not mentioned by Adkins, are important for the implication that there can be "pollution" even in a recommendation which leads to a death.

559. ἐλευθέρως : i.e. "as a free woman"; cf. E. Hec.

550 ἐλευθέρην δέ μ', ὡς ἐλευθέρῃ θάνω, πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτείναντ'.

ἐν νεκροῖσι γὰρ δούλη κεκληῖσθαι βασιλῆς οὐδ' ἀσχυρομαι,

where Elmsley (ad Hkld.559) suggested ἐλευθέρως .; Or.

1169 θν οὐ κατισχυονῶ δούλον παρσχωῶν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως ψυχὴν ἀφήσω;

Fr.245 μὴ ἐπὶ δουλείαν ποτέ τῶν ἐκῶν ἔλθῃς παρὸν σοὶ κατθανεῖν ἐλευθέρῃ

(? ἐλευθέρως)-

Though the above parallels are very close, possibly has an additional meaning here : Μακάρια is to die as a free woman, not as a slave by command, when pollution would be attached to the person who gave the command. Cf. E. Hipp. 1449 *Ἰπ.σε τοῦδ' ἐλευθερῶ βόνου θη.τι φησ; ἀβίησ ἄμαται μ' ἐλεύθερον;* and Barrett's note. I.e. *ἐλευθέρως* = "in such a way as to free from pollution".

561. πέπλοι δέ : cf. the description of Polyxena's modesty at her sacrifice (E. Hec. 568ff. *πολλήν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐδ' ἡμῶν πεσῖν*). She asks Iolaos to be present () and cover her body as she falls.

562. γε : the particle emphasizes that it is not the horror of the actual sacrifice that she fears; but it is her wish that Iolaos should sacrifice her.

πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εἶμι : Pearson compares E. Med. 403 *ἔρπ' ἐς τὸ δεινόν;* Hec. 516 *ἢ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἦλθεθ'* ; S. Fr. 322 *ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τὸλμῃ (? τὸλμῃ) πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἔρχεται*.

(Verrall (ad Med. 394) sees a distinction in metaphor between *τὸλμῃ δ' εἶμι πρὸς τὸ κλυτερόν* and the expressions in *ibid.* 403, Hec. 516 and here. Presumably there *κλυτερόν* could be a variation of phrases like *ἐς τοῦτο εἰλθεῖν* + genitive = "to such a pitch of", KG 405.5(b). V. also Page ad Med. 394.)

563. Once more the insistence on her nobility. Cf.
513 etc.

εὐχομαι : sc. πεφύκειναι . Broadhead (ad A. Pers.876):
" εὐχομαι , with or without εἶναι , meaning 'I state with
pride', is common enough; but is it mere accident that
in this sense it is found only in statements concerning
a person(s) descent or native land?"

564. οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην : cf. 547, 344 (note).

πρᾶξιόν : v. on 502.

565. οὐδ' ἄλλα : cf. 257, note; 80. Makaria, as Iolaos
has ~~xxxxxxxx~~ refused her request, makes an alternative
demand... ἄλλα , as Denniston remarks, is adverbial
rather than connective in force: "well then, if you will
not do that....." Cf. exx. in GP 10, Med.942; Hec.391.

τοῦδε : sc i.e. Demophon.

χρῆζε : the verb with the genitive of person is very
common in Hdt. LSJ s.v.2b.

567-573. Attributed by LP to Iolaos, to Demophon by Heath,
to the Chorus by Hermann. Quite obviously, the speech

must be Demophon's. He now grants the request of Makaria, as only he can, and allows her to take farewell of Iolaos.

567. τῶν ἑλαινῶν προθέων: partitive genitive; cf. E. Hec.716
 ὦ κατάρτ' ἀνδρῶν; Alc.460 ὦ φίλα γυναικῶν (so Hipp.848, where Barrett notes: "An old use: Homer (διὰ γυναικῶν , ἀδελφὸν ζείνων, etc.), and then occasionally in poetry (apparently always in the vocative).") KG 414.5(b).

568. τὸ δ' αἰσχρὸν: cf. 200, 242, 255. Demophon will "lose face" if he does not see that Makaria has splendid funeral rites appropriate to her noble deed.

κοσμεῖσθαι: here of the attiring of Makaria for sacrifice and for her subsequent funeral; cf. S. Ant.900 ὕμῳ ἐγὼ ἔλουσα καὶ κοσμήσω; E. Hel.1061 ἢ καθήσμεν κόσμον τάφῳ σῶ;
 Tr.1147 δταν σὺ κοσμήσῃς νέκυν; Alc.149 κόσμος γ' ἔτοιμος, ὦ σφραγισθῆναι πόσι;
 ibid.161 ἐσθῆτα κόσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἠσκήσατο.

570. τῷ δικαίῳ: i.e. because it is the correct way for me to act; cf. 424, note.

τῆς ἀνοκιστάτης: "most courageous"; cf. E. Hec.562, of Polyxena, εἶλετο πάντων ἀνοκιστάτου λόγον. Not, of course, "most wretched", another meaning. The basic sense of the

verb $\tau\lambda\alpha\nu$ seems to be "to bear, to suffer", hence the meaning of the derived adjective $\epsilon\alpha\eta$ refer either to the way in which the hardship is borne, as here, or to the fact that the hardship is being borne.

571. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon$: emphatic redundancy; cf. 883;
 E. Hel.118 $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \gamma\epsilon \sigma\acute{\epsilon}, \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon \eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu, \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon \delta\rho\omega$;
 A. Eu.34 $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha} \delta' \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon \delta\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$; S. Ai.993 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu \omega\upsilon\nu \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$
 $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\gamma\omega$; Ant.763 $\sigma\acute{\upsilon} \tau' \omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\omicron}\psi\epsilon\iota \kappa\rho\lambda\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\nu$
 $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon \delta\rho\omega\upsilon$.

572. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\delta\epsilon$: i.e. Makaria's brothers.

573. $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$: as Pearson notes, the participle here is more important in the sentence than the finite verb, i.e. "Say farewell to them before you go"; perhaps this was brought out in the delivery of the line.

For $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ in farewells cf. E. Hipp.1099 $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\theta'$
 $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\eta \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \pi\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$; Med.1069 $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$;
 Ion 665 $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon, \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu \Delta\omicron\lambda\phi\acute{\iota}\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$; Alc.610 $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\tau'$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu \upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu \delta\delta\omicron\upsilon$.

$\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\theta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa$: Blomfield: $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ ($\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ P)
 $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\theta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha \mu\omicron\iota$ LP. The correction of Blomfield is preferred by Pearson to $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\phi\theta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha \delta\eta$ (Elmsley), $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\phi\theta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha \sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu$
 (Tyrwhitt), $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\theta\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ (Hermann) for the mss. $\mu\omicron\iota$
 imported from the next line, which caused the corruption

of ἑστατον πρόσφθεγμα Certainly E. elsewhere uses the word in the plural, and the correction of Hermann is preferable to that of Blomfield in the light of Hec.413 τέλος δέχη δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν πρόσφθεγμάτων, and Ion 401 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἐμῶν πρόσφθεγμάτων λαβῶν ἀπαρχὰς χαιρέτω.

On the conclusion of his speech, Demophon leaves the stage and does not appear again.

574. ὦ χεῖρε... χεῖρε : Fraenkel (ad A. Ag.22) considers that "the ³ in this phrase seems to belong to the language of ordinary life." He compares A. Supp.602; Ag.22; S. Ai.91; El.666; E. Med.665; Hipp.1453; Hkld.574, 660; HF 523; El.1334; Hel.616, 1165; Or.477; Ar. Ach.872; Eq.1254; Pax 523, 1357; Av.1586; Lys.853, 1097; Men. Georg. 41.

μοι : ethictative.

575. τοιούσδε : proleptic: "to be such as you are". Cf. E. Med.295 πᾶδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι σοφούς.
El.376 διδάσκει δ' (κε ἢ πενία) ἄνδρα τῆς χρεῖας κικόν.
Fr.715 χρεῖα διδάσκει, κἂν βραδύς τις ἦ, σοφόν.
S. OC 919 κίτοι σε θῆβαι γ' οὐκ ἐπιδέουσα κικόν.
Ph.1360 οἷς γὰρ ἡ γνώμη ~~μὴ~~ κικῶν μητηρ γένηται, πάντα παιδεύει κικόν.

εἰς τὸ πᾶν : "in every respect"; cf. the use by A. of this phrase and τὸ πᾶν , Ag.175, 429 (v. Fraenkel ad loc.), 682; Eu.52, 83, 538. The phrase here emphasizes σοφού , and as Pearson notes, it is not to be pressed to mean "supremely wise"; cf. English "all-round..."

576. μηδὲν μᾶλλον : Pearson and Beck see a philosophical reference here: Pearson compares Heraclit. Fr.40 πολυμαθίῃ νόον οὐ διδάσκει (and, somewhat irrelevantly, E. Ba.395, 427); Beck refers to the dangers of excessive cleverness, as expressed in the famous passage in E. Med.294ff. This is unnecessarily complicated: Makaria is paying a great compliment to Iolaos with no such overtones: "if they are taught to be as wise as you, it will do!"

ἀρκέσουσι γὰρ : the personal construction (in full: ἀρκέσουσι γὰρ οἷδε οἷτω σοφοὶ ὄντες) preferred to e.g.. ἀρκέσει μοι τὸ τοῦδε σοφού εἶναι ; cf. E. Alc.383 ἀρκούμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ προθυγόντες σέθεν; Fr.144 μή τὸν ἐμου οἷκει νόον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀρκέσω ; S. Ant.547 ἀρκέσω θνησκουσ' ἐγώ ; Ai.76 ἀλλ' ἐνδον ἀρκείτω μένων; OT 1061 ἀλλ' νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ.

577. μή : because σῶσαι involves the negative idea of preventing them from death; cf. 506 (note) φευξόμεσθα μή θανεῖν and KG 514.3(a), An.7.

The emendation of Kirchhoff (καὶ , = καίπερ , instead of μή) is clearly wrong. Makaria does not know of Iolaos' offer to surrender himself to Eurystheus (451ff.) and nothing he has said since she entered could have made her think he wished to die. Further, as Paley was the first to point out, the form of the sentence has a parallel in E. Med.724 *πειράσθαι σου προσένειν δίκαιος ὦν*. (The sense given by Elmsley's punctuation, comma after *σῶσαι* , "not being eager to die", is far too banal.)

πρόθυμος ὦν : Pearson: "with all thy heart" = *πρόθυμος ἦσθι* . Others interpret more simply, as Jerram, "as you are already desirous of doing."

578. σοὶ ... σοὶν : emphatic: "you must try to save us, for we are in effect your children, brought up by you."

579-580. The thought is: you must live and save the children, while I die for them.

579. ἥραν γάμου : cf. E. Hel.12 *ἦβην ἦλθεν ἡραίου γάμων*. i.e. her youth, the time for marriage, to which she refers again 591-592.

580. ἔντι τῶνδε : her youth in return for them, i.e. her life to save theirs.

κτιθλουμένην : Pearson says that this agrees with ὄραν, but surely it is simply explanatory of διδοῦσαν and agrees with ἐμέ .

581. ἑμιλία : "assembly". The usual meaning of the word is "association" for some particular purpose, hence it is used of every kind of intercourse. However, there are sufficient parallels for its meaning here to make unnecessary Nauck's ἑμιγυρις (which he would read also in 239 (note); cf. A. Eu.57 τὸ φθλον οὐκ ὄπωπα τῆσδ' ἑμιλίας; S. Ai.872 ἡμῶν γε ναὸς κοινόπλου ἑμιλίαν.

For the periphrasis cf. E. Hipp.1179 μυρία δ' ὀπισθόπου φίλων ἄμ' ἐστοιχ' ἡλίκων θ' ἑμιγυρις; Alc.606 ἄνδρων Φεραιῶν εὐμενῆς παρουσία; S. El:417 εἰσιδοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τε κλέμου δευτέρην ἑμιλίαν ; Tr.964 ζένων γὰρ ἐξὸμοιλος ἦδε τις βίαις; Ph.868 οἰκούρημα τῶνδε τῶν ζένων.

582. ὄσων πᾶροιθε : i.e. γένοιτο πάνθ' ὄσων , "may there happen to you all the happiness to ensure which I have sacrificed myself." For πᾶροιθε = ὑπερ , cf. πᾶρος , 536 (note).

583. καρδία : for this meaning of καρδία = "life", cf. E. Hipp.840 πόθεν θανάσιμος τύχα, γύναϊ, σὰν ἔβη, τάλαινα, καρδίαν; Hec.1026 ἐκπέσης φίλας καρδίας (a locus corruptus). Faley seems to take the word literally and quotes A. Eu.103

ὄρα δὲ πληγὴν τλάσδε καρδίας ὄβεν (Oxford Text καρδίῃ σίθεν ,
 i.e. "in your (sc. Orestes' heart)"); he consequently
 finds difficulty in σφληγῆσται , which, he correctly
 states, is "properly used of wounding the throat"
 (LSJ σφληγῆ II). The emendations which have been suggested
 because of this literal interpretation (v. Wecklein's
 Appendix) are unnecessary.

584. ἴσω : for the use of ἴσω , εἴσω where there
 seems no idea of motion, cf. E. Hipp.2 οὐρανοῦ τ' ἴσω ; ibid.
 4 τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντίκων ναίουσιν εἴσω ; IT 624 εἴσω δόμων τῶνδ' εἰσιὺν ;
 Tr.651 εἴσω μελλοθῶν ; A. Th.232 μένειν ἴσω δόμων ; LSJ s.v.
 I.2.

587. νόστοι : i.e. the return of the Herakleidae to
 the Peloponnese. They did not succeed until the third
 generation after Hyllos under Temenos. (V. Preller-
 Robert, Gr. Myth.ii.2, pp.656ff.)

ἐκ θεῶν : this use of the preposition is found with
 passive and intransitive verbs instead of ὑπό . It is
 almost confined to the Ionic dialect, especially common
 in Hdt. and the tragedians, but rare in Attic prose; cf.
 Ant. Tetr.1.1 τῶν ἐξ ἑμοῦ πραχθέντων , and for the only

instances in Thuc. - 1.20.2; 2.49; 3.69; 5.104; 6.36.2.
 KG 430.2(3)(c). Cf. also infra 769 (note).

588. ὡς: i.e. "how", answered by καλλίστα in the following line (note).

θαψῆναι: her body must be re-interred in the Peloponnese.

589. καλλίστα: the mss. reading forces ὡς in the preceding line to be taken as "how" when it seems more natural to take it as "that". Makaria is anxious to be buried where her race will be, which οὐ γὰρ . . . γένουσι seems to explain. Consequently, Reiske proposed ἄλλως τε καὶ; Nauck more simply μάλιστα, a common early minuscule confusion of μ and κ, which should be adopted. Makaria is not concerned here with the manner of her burial.

ἐνδεῆς: adverbially here with παρέστην: lit.: "for I did not come to your aid inadequately."

590. πρόθανον γένουσι: for the genitive governed by the προ - of the compound cf. E. Alc.383 οἱ προθυγκόντι γέθεν; ibid.684 παίδων προθυγκὸν πατέρης; (cf. also ibid.682 διαπροθυγκὸν σέθεν).

591. τὰ δ': i.e. the reflection that she died for her

family. (The demonstrative agrees with *κειμήλια* as in E. IA 1399 *παῖδες οὗτοι*, quoted on 591-2.)

κειμήλια: for the plural and the notion of "treasures" for the dead below the earth cf. S. El.437 *ἀλλ' ὅταν θάνῃ, κειμήλι' αὐτῆ ταῦτα σωθήσθω κάτω.*

591-592. For similar sentiments cf. E. IA 1398 *ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ παῖδες οὗτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἔμῃ;* Or.1050 *τάδ' ἀντὶ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου λέχους.*

These parallels have caused edd. difficulty in interpreting *ἀντὶ παίδων καὶ παρθευείας* here, because they expect to find *γάμων* or similar linked with *παίδων*. Jerram translates: "in place of children....and a compensation for my unwedded state;" Méridier: "Des honneurs funèbres me tiendront lieu d'enfants et seront une compensation à ma virginité, c'est à dire au fait que je n'aurai pas connu l'hymen," and he postulates a kind of zeugma involving the two meanings of *ἀντί*' (cf. 580, note). Pearson cannot accept this treatment of the preposition and proposes *τῆ παρθευείας* in place of *καὶ παρθευείας*, quoting C.I.A.469 *σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κούρη κεκλήρομαι αἰεὶ, ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχούσ' ὄνομα*, i.e. "the treasures of my virginity". But *παρθευεία* can

surely = *ᾠρα γάμου* of 579. Makaria is giving up both her girlhood, the time when she would be sought in marriage, and the children of such a marriage. For the sense of *παρθευεῖα* with the idea of subsequent marriage cf. E. Tr.676 *πρῶτος τὸ παρθευεῖον εἴσω λέχος;* Supp.452 (τί'δοῖ) *παρθευεῖν παῖδας ἐν δόμοις καλῶς, τερπνῶς τυράννοις ἡδονῶς, ὅταν θέλῃ, δάκρυα δ' ἔτομαΐουσι* where the point is that tyrants take for their lust the daughters whose virginity has been safeguarded for marriage.

592. εἰ'.... δὴ : "if indeed...., if really.....; for δὴ' in conditional clauses v. GP 223.

For the sentiment cf. E. Alc.744 *εἰδέτι κἀκεῖ πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖ;* S. El.244 *εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θανῶν γὰρ τε καὶ οὐδὲν ᾧν κείσεται τάδε.* But elsewhere the conviction is stated that there is no after-life: cf. E. Alc.381 *οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ὁ κατθανῶν;* Tr.633 *τὸ μὲν (sc.τὸ κατθανεῖν) γὰρ οὐδὲν;* IA 1251 *τὰ νέρθε δ' οὐδεύ;* Fr.536 *κατθανῶν δὲ πᾶν ἀνὴρ γῆ καὶ σκιά· τὸ μηδὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ῥέπει;* (On Hel.1014 *ὁ νοῦ τῶν κατθανόντων ἴη μὲν οὐ, γυνῆ μὲν δ' ἔχει....* v. Dale's note: "a pæce of high-toned but vague mysticism appropriate to Theonoe."); S. El.1165 *τοιγὰρ σὺ δέξιαι μ' εἰς τὸ σὸν τόδε στέγος, τὴν μηδὲν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν.*

593. γε μὲντοι : adversative: "I certainly hope there is nothing, for...."; cf. 267. GP 412.

594. κἄκει: for ἐκεῖ meaning Hades cf. E. Alc.745 (quoted above on 592); Med.1073 εὐδαιμονοῖτον, ἄλλ' ἐκεῖ; S. Ant.75 ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι; Ar. Ran.82 εὐκόλοισ μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκόλοισ δ' ἐκεῖ; in full, E. Hec.418 ἐκεῖ δ' ἐν Ἅιδου κείσομαι.

595-6. For the sentiment cf. E. Fr.830 οἱ δ' ὀλωλότες οὐδὲν νοσοῦσιν οὐδὲ κέκτηνται κικῶ; Or.1522 δούλοισ ὡν φόβῃ τὸν Ἄϊήην, ὃς σ' ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν; (also the cynical statement of Pheres, Alc.726 κικῶς ἀκούειν οὐ μέλει θανόντι μοι; A. Supp.803 τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν ἐλευθεροῦται φιλαλάκτων κακῶν; Fr.255 ἄλγος δ' οὐδὲν ἔπτεται νεκροῦ; S. OC 955 θανόντων δ' οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἔπτεται; Tr.1173 τῆς γὰρ θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίγνεται; El.1170 τοὺς γὰρ θανόντας οὐχ ἔρω λυπούμενους.

There is great pathos in this expression here from Makaria who is so young.

597ff. On the conclusion of her speech Makaria leaves the stage (597-602), while Iolaos after praising her once more for her courage, collapses and has to be led back to the altar where he covers his head with his robes in sadness.

597. ἄλλ': explained by Denniston as a "sympathetic reaction to the previous speaker's words or actions."

GP 19. Tr.: "well,...."

μέγιστον : Murray suggests *περισσόν* , comparing here E. Hec.579 οὐκ εἶ τι δώσων τῇ περισσ' εὐκέρδι' αὐψυχὴν τ' ἀρίστην, said of Polyxena.

εὐψυχία : Scaliger's correction of LP εὐψυχίας ; cf. E. Supp.841 πόθεν ποθ' οἶδε διαπρέπει εὐψυχία θυγῶν ἐφύσαν; Alc.642 ἢ τῆρα πάντων διαπρέπει εὐψυχία . For this use of the instrumental dative v. KG 425. B.9 and 420.2(b), An.11. For εὐψυχία v. on 812.

599. Τῶς' ... θανούσ' : cf. 320 (note). Here again the two words are coupled as a cliché whereas the emphasis must be on *θανούσ'* , as Makaria is leaving now for the sacrifice.

ἐφ' ἡμῶν : the prepositional phrase, because *τιμιωτάτη ἔση* is treated as the equivalent of a passive verb; cf. Thuc. 1.130 ὧν ἐν μεγάλῃ ῥηϊώματι ὑπο τῶν Ἑλλήνων. X. An.7.6.33 ἔχων ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλείαν. KG 442.2(a).

πολύ : qualifying the superlative *τιμιωτάτη* ; KG 349.7(b); 410.5(b), An.15.

600. Δυσφημεῖν γὰρ : explains why he has said *Χαῖρε* , "fare well", instead of using words of ill-omen, i.e.

lamentations, which would be blasphemy against the goddess to whom Makaria is already consecrated.

Θεάν : for the accusative cf. E. Hec.181 τί με δυσφημῆς ;
S. El.1183 οὗτοι ποτ' ἄλλην ἢ με δυσφημῆς, ξένε.

The accusative is used by analogy with verbs of speaking good or ill of; cf. A. Ag.580 εὐλογεῖν πόλιν . KG 409.2.

κατήρκεται : v. on 529. For a parallel to this passive use of a middle verb which takes the genitive case, Pearson compares E. El.1142 κινῶν δ' ἐνήρκεται . The meaning is that in effect the beginning of the sacrificial rites has been made and Makaria is already consecrated to the goddess.

602ff. The utter collapse of Iolaos now is possibly intended to make his subsequent rejuvenation even more miraculous.

602. λύεται : John Milton's correction of LP δύεται , a maiuscule corruption; cf. E. Hec.438 λύεται δέ μου μέλη . Cf. collapse of Peleus, E. Andr.1078 φρούδη μὲν αὐδῆ, φρούδα δ' ἄρθρα μου κάτω.

603. ἰρείσατε : i.e. "support me on my way back to the altar.

αὐτοῦ : "here", i.e. at the temple.

πέπλοισι : for the custom of covering the head in extreme grief or suffering cf. E. Supp.110 σὲ τὸν κατήρη χλανιδίῳ ἀνιστορῶ. λέγ' ἐκκαλύψαι κράτα καὶ πάρες γούον; ibid.286 μήτηρ, τί κλαιεὶς λέπτ' ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν φέρη βλαύουσα τῶν σῶν; Ion 967 τί κράτα κρύψαι, ᾧ γέρον, δακρυρροεῖς; S. Ai.245 ἄρα τιν' ἤδη κράτα καλύμμασι κρυφάμενον ποδοῖν κλοπᾶν ἀρῶσθαι; A. Ch.81 δακρύω δ' ὕφ' εἰμάτων; Pl. Phd.117C ἄρατε ἐγκαλυφάμενος ἀπέκλιον ἐμαυτοῦ; ibid.118A καὶ ἐκκαλυφάμενος, ἐνεκακάλυπτο γὰρ, εἶπεν. Cf. Latin capite obvoluto.

605. πεπραγμένοις : since Elmsley's comment, "De re futura loquitur tanquam de praeterita", edd. have felt constrained to interpret as, e.g. Beck: "he speaks of the future as past, because it is already decided upon;" but, as Pearson saw, the participle refers to Makaria's acceptance of the sacrifice.

ὄττε....τε....οὐ : v. on 454. KG 535.2(a); GP 508.

606-7. The dilemma: if the requirements of the oracle were not met, life would be impossible; yet ~~if~~ as things are, what has happened is a misfortune.

οὐ βιώσιμον : cf. E. Ion 670 ἀβίωτον ἡμῶν; S. Ant.566 τί γὰρ μόνη φοιτῶσ' ἄτερ βιώσιμον; Hdt. 1.45 οὐδέ σ' εἴη βιώσιμον; Pl. Cri.47D ἄρα βιωτὸν ἡμῶν ἐστί.

ἴτη.... συμφορά: "ruin....grief" contrasted. Pearson draws attention to Verrall's note on E. Med. 54 *Χρηστοῖσι* δουλοῖσιν συμφορά τὰ δεσποτῶν ἀλλῶς πῖνεται (a construction parallel to this one): "συμφορά" a grief, - more commonly = a misfortune, but, rarely, as here, that which is felt or feared as such."

At the conclusion of his speech Iolaos retires with the assistance of the Herakleidae to the temple at the rear of the stage.

SECOND STASIMON

608 - 628

The Chorus sing of the changeability of human fate brought about by the gods; no mortal may escape it, however clever or eager. They then offer words of consolation to Iolaos: Makaria has died a noble death, worthy of her descent from Herakles; true virtue always walks a troubled path.

608. Cf. Thgn. 165, to which Brodaeus first drew attention, οὐδεις ἄνθρωπων οὐτ' ἄλβιος οὐτε πεινιχρὸς οὐτε κακός νόσφιν δαίμονος οὐτ' ἄγαθος.

θεῶν ἄτερ: "without the will of the gods"; cf. 385, note, εὐτυχής τὰ πρὸς θεῶν ; E. Ba.764 οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινος , and more significantly, Thgn. 171 οὗτοι ἄτερ θεῶν γίνονται ἄνθρωποι οὐτ' ἄγαθ' οὐτε κακί.

609. ἄνδρα : LP: Murray's conjecture φῶτα (and others, e.g. γ' ἄνδρα : Heath; τ' ἄνδρα : Hartung; βαρυπόμπων: Musgrave) was designed to lengthen the final syllable of 608, but Dale (Lyric Metres of Gk, Drama, p.26) states (of final anceps): "the last syllable may be short without necessarily implying Pause in a Lyric stanza." Cf. Ar. Nub.309 θαλίαι τε (υ υ — —) at the end of a dactylic pentameter, quoted by Dale (loc. cit. p.33).

βεβάναι : for this sense of the perfect tense, "walking in", i.e. being in an established state of, cf. S. El.1056 ἔταν γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς ἤδη βεβήκης ; ibid.979 τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εἰ βεβήκασιν ; ibid.1093 μοῖρα μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἐσθλῇ βεβῶσαν ; (Hdt. 7.164 τυραννίδα εἰ βεβήκυϊαν) ; Ant.67 τοῖς ἐν γέλοι βεβῶσι ; OC 1358 ὅτ' ἐν πόνῳ ταῦτα βεβήκως τυγχάνεις κακῶν ἴμοι ; E. Fr.196 ἐν ἄλβῳ μὴ σαφεί βεβήκαστες ;

Fr. 1058 ὀρθαίῃ ἐν τύχαις βεβηκότα.

(Because no parallel exists for the simple dative with βεβάναι, Pearson (comparing also 910) would read ἄμβεβάναι, comparing S. OC 400 γῆ δὲ μὴ ἄμβανῆς ὄρων).

δοῖμον: the objection to this word is not so much the metaphor, which seems acceptable here if not in 486 (note I), but that throughout the stanza the emphasis is on the individual person, e.g. οὐτίνα, τὸν μὲν, τὸν δ', τις, ὁ πρόθετος. The conjecture of F. Gu. Schmidt, *δοῖμον εὐτυχίας*, seems untenable: this would make *δοῖμον* cognate accusative (as βάναιου βάνου, KG 410.2(c)) and would ignore the parallels with βεβάναι quoted above. However, ποτ' ἐν, suggested by C. Busche, would be very satisfactory on all accounts: τὸν αὐτὸν would now be personal and εὐτυχίᾳ would have the desirable preposition. Unfortunately this conjecture is difficult to support palaeographically.

611. παρὶ δ' ἄλλων: the preposition means "past". The imagery is of man pursued by different fortunes which in turn pass each other and catch him. (ἄλλων: LP (ἄλλων γ': Triclinius - his usual remedy metri gratia), even if it could be construed, would have poor sense: the meaning is not that different men have different

fortunes: but that one man has different fortunes at different times.)

Edd. quote E. Alc.926 *παρ' εὐτυχῆ σοὶ πότμον ἦλθεν ἀπειροκίκῃ τὸδ' ἄλγος*, but the use of the preposition there is quite different. It seems to mean "at a time of happiness"; v. Dale ad loc.

For expressions of the instability of fortune, cf. E. Or.979 *ἄτερα δ' ἄτερος ἀμείβεται πῆματ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ. βροτῶν δ' ὅπασ' ἀστράμητος αἰῶν;*
Hipp.1108 *ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται, μετὰ δ' ἴσται ἀνδράσιν αἰῶν ποικιλάνητος αἰεί.*

612. διώκει: probably transitive, sc. *ἄνδρα*, (or *δόμον*, Pearson.)

613. ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν: a use of the preposition difficult to parallel. *ἐκ*, which is used often in the sense of "as a change from", "after", would rather be expected here; v. note on *ἐ) ἀμηχίμων*, 148, and cf. 796, 939. Cf. however A. Supp.96 *ῥάπτει δ' ἐλπίδων ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν πανώλει βροτούς*. The meaning is quite clear: "from their position" = *ὑψοθεν*.

The sentiment has many parallels: E. Tr.612 *ὄρω τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς τὸ μὲν περὶ τὸ ζῆν τὸ μηδεὶ ὄντα, τὰ δ' ἄδοκοντ' ἀπώλεσαν;*
Fr.424 *μὴ ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον ὑψοθεν, τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἔζων;*
S. Ai.131 *ὡς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν ἅπαντα τὰν θνητῆα;*

Hes. Op.6 ῥεία δ' ἀρίστηλον μινύθει, καὶ ἄθλον ἀείσει Ζεὺς ὑψιβραχεύτης;
 P. Pi.2.89 ἀνέχει (κα. ὁ θεός) ποτὲ μὲν τὰ κείνων, ποτ' αὖθ' ἑτέροις ἔδωκε κῶδος.
 Luc. Evang.1.52 καθέπελε δυναστῆς ἀπὸ θρόνων, καὶ ὑψωσε ταπείνους.

ὠκισέ : the metaphor ὠς, as Pearson says, of the humble house contrasted with the lofty palace. The tense is gnomic aorist. MT 155; KG 386.7.

βραχύν : "humble", "weak", "insignificant"; cf. S. OC 880 τοῦ γοι δικάϊου χῶ βραχύν νικᾷ μέγαν.

614. ἀλήταν : Murray: ἀλήταν LP: The metre here requires ~~—~~ υυ to respond with 625 εἰδ' ἄρετᾶ . Obviously what is needed here is a word to fit the metre which will afford a suitable contrast in meaning with εὐδαίμονα , and many suggestions have been offered. Murray's conjecture (= "grinder"; cf. E. Cy.240 of those sold into slavery to work at a corn mill) is not very convincing. Wecklein, Pflugk and Meridier adopt, and Pearson recommends, Lobeck's ἀτίταν (= "without position"; for a discussion of the meaning of ἀτίτην , v. Fraenkel ad A. Ag.72). It is possible that this rare word might have been displaced in favour of ἀλήταν , which of course occurs in 51, 224, 318, and might seem especially appropriate here. Schroeder (Euripidis Cantica) would read τὸν ἀλήταν δ' : "de metathesi dactylica cf. Find. Nem. 6. str.5; Paean.6 str.14 (:136); S. Ai.230; Phil.1216."

615. μόρσιμα κτλ.: cf. P. Pi.12.30 τὸ δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν;
 A. Supp.1047 ὃ τί τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἄν. Διὸς οὐ παρβρατοῦ ἐστίν
 μεγάλη φρήν ἀπράτος; Th.281 οὐ γὰρ τι μᾶλλον φρήν φύγης τὸ μόρσιμον.
 ibid.719 θεῶν δίδόντων οὐκ ἄν ἐκφύγοι κακί.

J. de Romilly (Thuc1 and Ath. Imp., p.136, n.1) draws attention to the parallel with Thuc. 2.64.2 φέρειν τε χρεῖα τὰ τε δαιμόνια ἀγαγμῶν τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως.

616. πρόθυμος: sc. ἀπώσασθαι .

617. ἀεὶ: more naturally taken with ἔξει : "he will labour in vain for ever". Pearson, however, takes it with πρόθυμος, comparing E. HF 309 τῆ τῶν θεῶν ὅστις ἐκμοχθεῖ τῆς, πρόθυμός ἐστιν, ἢ προμυθία εἰ ἀφρων.

619-620. There are severe difficulties of meaning and syntax here. The reading of L is προσπεσῶν, but written above by Tr³ (Triclinius in his third revision of the ms.: Zuntz, Transmission, p.85 and note †) is πιτνῶν. Zuntz (loc. cit.) that Triclinius thought that the metre of 609-629 was anapaestic (Tr² marg.) and mistakenly altered the colometry of L to suit this notion. He therefore "wanted a spondee to fill his 'anapaest' μὴ προσπίτνων." The reading προπίτνων (προπίτνων or προσπεσῶν is of course unmetrical; v. Metrical Analysis) has therefore not the ancient authority which Wilamowitz

(Anal. Eur. 18) believed that Elmsley had restored.

προπεσών should be read. (Kirchhoff).

The reading of LP *ὑπὲρ* is of course unmetrical and quite meaningless; it was probably imported from *ὑπερᾶλοι*. Elmsley's suggestion, *φέρε*, has been generally adopted (cf. E. Ph. 382 *δεῖ φέρειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν*). He takes *μη* with *προπίτνων* = erecto corpore et animo. Most edd. follow this interpretation. (Beck and Jerram take *μη* with the participle; Paley: "prostrate on the ground"; Pearson: "fainting, cf. *προπεγής* S. Tr. 976."). As Zuntz remarks (Pol. Plays, p. 43, n. 4), there seems to be no evidence for *προ* -, *προς* -, *πίτνω* / *πίπτω* used in this sense of physical collapse. Yet there are many instances of the verbs in the sense of "falling forward in supplication"; cf. *προπιπτω*, E. Supp. 63; *προπιτνω* A. Pers. 588, S. El. 1380; *προσπίπτω*, S. Ai. 1181, Tr. 904, OC 1157, E. Or. 1332, Andr. 860; *προσπίτνω*, S. El. 453, Ph. 485, OC 1754, A. Pers. 152, E. Ph. 924, Andr. 537, Tr. 762, Supp. 10, Hel. 64, Alc. 164. On the other hand, where has Iolaos uttered a hint of prayer to the gods to avert the sacrifice of Makaria? But he has collapsed and he is greatly distressed (602-607), and so despite the lack of evidence for this meaning of the verb = "collapse", this interpretation seems correct. After all, *προπεγής* certainly can mean

"in a state of collapse"; cf. S. Tr.976 *ἴη γὰρ προπετής*.
 For this reason Hartung conjectured *προπιτής* here, and
 in fact the ms. reading may be a gloss on the adjective.
 The slight awkwardness of *μή* with the participle
 paralleled by *μηδ' ὑπεράλγη* can be easily resolved by
 reading *ὑπεράλγων*, i.e. "bear the will of the gods, not
 by collapsing or grieving excessively."

τὰ θεῶν: "the will of the gods"; cf. Thuc. 2.64.2,
 quoted on 615; E. Ph.382 (quoted above); Hel.1140 *ὅς τὰ
 θεῶν εἰσφῆ πηδῶντ'*; S. Ph.1316 *ἀνθρώποισι, τὰς μὲν ἐκ θεῶν τύχης
 δοθείρας ἔστι ἀναγκάτων φέρειν*.

620. φροντίδα: accusative of respect: "in your heart";
 KG 410.6(a). = *φρένα*, cf. E. Med.48 *νέα γὰρ φροντις οὐκ
 ἀλγῶν φιλεῖ*.

621. θανάτου μέρος: i.e. a portion which is death;
 the genitive of apposition. KG 402.2(d). Cf. E. Med.
 153 *θανάτου τελευτά*; (ibid.186 *μόχθου δὲ χάριν τήνδ' ἐπιδώσω*);
 S. Ant.146 *ἔχστων κοινῶ θανάτου μέρος ἔμφω*; A. Pers.917 *θανάτου
 μοῖρα*; Ag.1452. *μέρος*, *μοῖρα* are the terms used
 of individual destiny. (Cf. Dodds, *The Greeks and the
 Irrational*, p.6; Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, p.
 17ff.) *μέρος*, of course, is usually used of death only
 (LSJ s.v.).

622. προτ': i.e. "dying on behalf of". For the position of τε v. GP 518; cf. A. Ch.523 ἐκ τ' ὄνειράτων καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτων δειμάτων.

624. δόξα: usually implies good repute, but can be neutral (cf. Thuc. 2.11 καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι... ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων) in the sense of what other people think of one. Pearson refers to the quotation of the grammarian Herennius Philo (Ammonius) by Wilamowitz on HF 292: δόξα παρὰ πολλοῖς, κλέος παρὰ σπουδαίους.

625. For the sentiment cf. Hes. Op.289 τῇ δ' ἀρετῇ ἰδρωτὶ θεοὶ προπρωϊθεν ἔθνηκ' ἀθάνατοι; E. IT 114 τῶν πόνους γὰρ ἄγεθαι πολυμῶσι, δειλοί δ' εἰσὶν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀμω; Simon. 58.1 ἔστι τις λόγος τῶν ἀρετῶν ναίειν δυσσμβάτοις ἐπὶ πέτραις.

διὰ μόχθων: for this metaphorical use of διὰ cf. E. Andr.416 διὰ φιλημάτων ἰών, an extension of the more common expressions, i.e. E. Ph.479 καὶ μὴ δι' ἔχθρας τῶδε καὶ φθόου μόλων; Or.757 διὰ φόβου γὰρ ἔρχομαι. KG 434.1(1)(b).

626. ἄξιον μὲν... ἄξιον δ': v. on 491. Note again the emphasis on noble descent (v. on 513).

628. τάδε: i.e. her death for the Herakleidae.

629. μετέχω σοι: "I share your feelings." - so edd. But the use of μετέχειν in this sense seems without

parallel.

(For the suspected lacuna after this Stasimon v.
Introduction.)

THIRD EPEISODION

630 - 747

A servant of Hyllos enters to announce that Hyllos has come with an army. Alkmene appears from inside the temple, ignorant of what has happened since the herald left the scene. She is reassured by Iolaos that the news is good, and Iolaos then questions the servant further. He decides to join Hyllos and fight against Eurystheus despite the objections of the servant and Alkmene and equips himself with arms and armour taken from the temple. He then leaves, supported by the servant, for the battle.

630. ὁ τέκνυ: the servant of Hyllos enters and sees the Herakleidae ὄν front of the temple. Iolaos is still prostrate on the temple steps, his head covered (603, 604) and Alkmene has not yet appeared from the temple where she has been protecting the other daughters of Herakles (41 - 42).

631. ἀποστατεῖ: here literally: "is she absent from?"

632. οἶα δή: GP 220, δή with οἶος: "the note of disparagement, irony, or contempt is rarely quite absent."

γ': GP 247: "adding a restrictive sense to the closely cohering οἶα δή ." The sense is: "yes, I am here, for what my presence is worth."

633. τί γάρ γε: "why?"; cf. 646, 709; adverbial accusative. KG 410.3, An.7.

κατηφές: v. on 604.

634. οἰκίος: = personal and private, opposed to κοινός . As Pearson remarks, this is a stage device by which the repetition of the story of Makaria's sacrifice and the expression of the servant's sympathy is avoided.

συριχόμεν: Elmsley: συρισχόμεν LP: Cf. Barrett ad E. Hipp.27: "the passive use of the aorist middle of ἔχω

and its compounds is not uncommon in Homer....and (sc. it occurs) several times in Attic(here, Hkld.634 and at any rate Pl. Sph.250D, Lach.183E, Isokr. 19.11." Cf. also Wackernagel, Syntax i, p.137: "...in ältern und poetischen Griechisch auch die medialen Formen des Aorists Passivbedeutung haben konnten." It appears then that the mss. reading could be retained here, although the imperfect tense would be more appropriate in the sense of "I was being troubled by....."

For *συνέχομαι*, = "be distressed, troubled by", cf. A. Fr.655 *ὀνείρασι συνέχομαι*, and LSJ s.v. 5.

635. *ἴπαιρε σέαυτον*: for the phrase cf. E. Andr.717, 1077; Alc.250; Ar. Vesp.996; Lys.937.

ὄρθου κέρα: cf. E. Rh.7 *ὄρθου κεφαλῆν*; Alc.388 *ὄρθου πρόσωπον*; Hipp.198 *ὄρθάτε κέρα*; Ba.933 *ἀλλ' ὄρθου κέρα*. (But there the sense is slightly different: "Pentheus has evidently kept his head flung back in an exaggerated imitation of the typical Maenad attitude." Dodds ad loc.) According to Ritchie, Authent. of Rh. of E, p.205, the combination of this verb with this object is not found in the other tragedians.

637. *γε μίντοι*: "Yes, but I have come...." Cf. 593, 267. GP 412.

638. ποῦ κτλ. : i.e. "I do not remember where I have met you." The expression seems to be a confusion of ἀμνημονεύω σοι συντυχῶς and ποῦ σοι συνέτυχον ἀμνημονεύω ; Méridier: "où t'ai-je rencontré? J'oublie". Cf. KG 490.5.

639. πενέστης : = "serf", a term applied to Thessalian retainers, a class parallel to that of the Spartan Helots. Here the word is used generally of a family retainer; cf. E. Fr.830 πενέστης ἐμὸς ἀρχαίων δόμων.

640. ὦ φίλταθ' : most edd. take this as addressed to the absent Hyllos. But cf. E. El.228ff., where the disguised Orestes speaks to his sister: ἦκω φέρων σοι σου κλισιγνήτου λόγον, and she replies ὦ φίλτατ', ἴρα ἴωντος ἢ τελευκίτου; The parallel is very close (especially ἦκω , 637, and ἴρα , 640); there φίλτατ' refers to the supposed stranger and ἴωντος and τελευκίτου to Orestes. Cf. also infra 788, where Alkmene addresses this same man as ὦ φίλταθ' (v. on 784) and E. Supp.641 where the Chorus address the messenger in the same way.

However, in view of the wording of 659 probably (Wecklein) should be read, and then ὦ φίλταθ' will refer to the absent Hyllos.

ἴρα : "then, so it seems." GP 49.

σωτήρ νῦν : Porson reversed the order of these two words because he considered that his own Law of the Final Cretic had been broken (v. on 303). But νῦν is, as Pearson remarks, as closely connected with σωτήρ as βλάβης, i.e. it is part of the single "word-group" (v. Maas, Gk. Metre, para.135), and there is no breach of the Law. Pearson compares S. OC 1543 ὥσπερ σφῶ πατρί'.

641. μάλιστα : for this colloquial use = "yes, indeed", v.. P.T. Stevens, CQ XXXI, p.187, who quotes E. Tr.62; Med.677, 944; Hec.989, 1004; HkId. here and 793; Hel.851, 1415; Or.235; Ba.812.

πρός : adverbial: "besides"; cf. E. Med.704 καὶ πρὸς γ' ἰξελύνομαι χθονός; Hipp.893 καὶ πρὸς γ' ἰξελῶ σφε τῆσδε γῆς; Or.622 σοὶ δὲ τῆσδε λέγω βρῆσθε πρὸς; Hel.110 καὶ πρὸς γ' Ἀχαιοί.

γ' : reinforces the adverb, as in most of the examples quoted above.

τὰ νῦν τὰδε : "here and now." The phrase occurs in E. IA 537; HF 245; Ar. Pax 858 (Σ: Ἀττικοὶ οὕτως ἔλεγον ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν). (cf. infra 385, though here τὰδε limits τὰ νῦν not εὐτυχίῃ .) KG 467.6, who quotes also Hdt. 1.189 αὐτοῦ μύτη; 4.80; 9.11 αὐτοῦ τῆσδε . (V. also KG 461.6(c)).

τοῦδε : Elmsley: τοῦδε LP. Elmsley's suggestion is an improvement, as drawing the attention of Alkmene to the arrival of the servant.

644. ᾠδίνουσα... εἶ : indirect question with a verb of fearing. KG 553b; cf. 791; S. Tr.666 ἰθυμῶ δ'εἰ φλυήσομαι; Ai.794 ὥστε μ' ᾠδίνειν τί φῆς.

τῶν ἰφικμίωνων : better taken with νόστος rather than as causal genitive without a preposition (i.e. περὶ τῶν ἰφικμίωνων), for which there is no parallel of such a use with ᾠδίνω. Pearson gives examples of the early introduction of a genitive which belongs to a subordinate clause.

645. ψυχὴν : accusative of respect. KG 410.6(a); cf. E. El.208 ψυχὴν τακμύνα.

νόστος : i.e. return to the rest of the Herakleidae; v. 45.

646. τί χρέμα : cf. 633(note), 709.

ἐπιήσθη : instantaneous aorist; cf. 232(note).

ἄστῆς : lit. "battle-cry" (but cf. A. Ch.564 γλώσσης ἄστῆν Φωκίδος), i.e. 640, and his subsequent call for Alkmene.

The word refers to the manner of the delivery of the lines by Iolaos. (Cf. 126 (note) where *ῥυγμῶν* need refer only to the loud and excited delivery of 69ff., and no lacuna need be postulated.)

647. μῶν (μὴ οἶν)... αὖ : i.e. the herald from Argos is not here again, is he? Alkmene knows only that the herald's attempt to drag Iolaos and the Herakleidae from the altar ^{was} were frustrated by the Athenians. She knows nothing of Makaria's sacrifice or the coming battle. (V. Introduction for a fuller discussion.)

(For *μῶν* = surely not? v. KG 589.5)

648. ἀσθενής... ῥώμη : oxymoron. Pearson compares E. Or. 68 *ἀς τὰ γ' ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς ῥώμης ὀχούμεθ'.*
For the thought cf. 632.

649. τοσούτῃ : "this much"; spoken to the servant, whom she imagines to be an envoy of Eurystheus.

σ' ἔχρηξ : LP: Edd. except Murray have preferred Dobree's *σε χρῆξ*. The mss. reading seems preferable: "you should have known.....", i.e. because I am the mother of Herakles (651).

650. Alkmene uses almost the same phraseology as Iolaos used in 66.

651. ἢ τάρ' : (ἢ τοι ἄρα) of very emphatic statement. Elmsley lists the six other instances of this combination in E. viz. Hipp.480, 1028; Alc.642, 732; IA 1189 (οὐ τάρ' LP: ἢ τάρ' Valckenaer: οὐ τάρ' συνετοῦ Wecklein); Fr.645. GP 554; KG 505.4.

κείνου...μήτηρ : another aspect of εὐγένεια ; Makaria does not disgrace her father (539ff., 563): Alkmene does not disgrace her son.

ἔτι : "any more": Pearson.

προσθίση : Elmsley's correction of LP προσθίσεις . The middle form only of the future is found.

653. δοῖν γερόντων : cf. 39. For the dative with ἀγωνίζομαι v. KG 425.3.

οὐ καλῶ : "to your dishonour"; cf. 268, οὐ...φηδὲως .

656. γάρ : "why, then....", expressing surprise. GP 81; i.e. an elliptical expression: "(you surprise me;) for why (in that case)...."

βοῆν ἔστησας : cf. 74, note; 128.

657. σε : Edd. explain as elliptical accusative, sc. καλῶν ; cf. S. Ant.441 σέ δή, σέ τήν νεύουσαν εἰς πέδον κάρτα, φησὶ ἢ καταρνήσ; E. Hel.546 σέ τήν ὄρεγμα δεινὸν ἠμιλλημένην.....μείνον, KG 412.1(a): or, as Pearson, as accusative after βοῆν ἔστησας

treated as a periphrastic form of address: cf. S. El.556
 εἰδέμ' ὦδ' ἀεὶ λόγους ἐξηρχίης ; OC 1120 τέκν' εἰ φανέντ' ἄελλα μνηκύνω
 λόγον.

The first explanation is not applicable here -
 Iolaos is certainly not out to attract the attention of
 Alkmene; they are in the midst of dialogue - and it seems
 awkward to supply βοήν ἴσθησα in the sense of "I called
 for help to you." Perhaps it would be better to read σὺ
 with Brodaeus, followed by Wecklein. (Hartung's σέ κλιῶν
 is mere improvement.) resulting.

657. πρόθε ναοῦ τοῦδ' : i.e. outside and therefore in front
 of the temple. Alkmene has of course been till now ἐσωθε
 ναοῦ (42).

πέλας : adverbial with βάλῃς , not prepositional with
 τοῦδ' (i.e. the servant) as Musgrave and Méridier:
 "Pour t'appeler devant le temple en sa présence."

658. οὐκ ἴσκειν ταῦτα : i.e. "I do not understand this."
 Elmsley: "nescio quid dicas." Cf. E. Ba.1268 τὸ δὲ πτογθῶν
 τόδ' ἐπι σῆ ψυχῆ πάρα ; οὐκ οἶδα τοῦπος τοῦτο.
 τίς γὰρ makes it clear that this is the sense. ἦσμεν
 (~~φαί~~ Hermann, followed by Kirchhoff, Pflugk and Wecklein)
 does not make good sense: "Alk. Why did you raise a cry
 for help which signified fear? Io. So that you would

come out of the temple. Alk. I did not know that - for who is this man?" This makes Alkmene sound rather petulant (all that fuss for nothing) and makes the following γὰρ quite awkward to interpret.

659. Cf. 640, note.

660. ὦ Χίρρε : v. on 574.

καὶ σὺ : the pronoun is emphasized; GP 320 and 585. Pearson, for this use (epitatic) of καί, compares 754, 884, and Pl. R.573D τὸ τῶν παρώντων, ἔφη, τοῦτο σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρεῖς, "i.e. the man who is asked a riddle by one who knows the answer replies: 'you tell me.'" There is no need to suppose with Wecklein that a line has dropped out after 659, in which Alkmene addressed Iolaos, and then turned to the messenger to welcome him also.

ἀγγέλλασιν : causal dative, as ἐφόδοις 474 (note).

661. ἄτις : expresses a change of topic. GP 52.

τί... ποῦ : i.e. a double question, viz. τί ἄπεστι, ποῦ ἄπεστι, why is he absent, and where is he absent? Cf. E. Hel.

1543 πῶς ἐν τίνος νεώς ποτε Ἀχαιίδος θραύσαντες ἤκετο σκλάβος;
Alc.213 τίς ἄν πᾶ πρόσθι κακῶν γένοιτο; Ion 793 πῶς δὲ ποῦ νιν εἰσιδών;
(ibid. 683-4, 948, and perhaps Hel.86 are probably better

punctuated as separate questions.)

662. τίς... συφορά : the neutral sense here (contrast 607): = simply "what happening.....?", i.e. "what has happened to prevent.....?"

663. δεῶρ' : the pregnant construction of the adverb, as if φανέντα were a verb of motion. Cf. S. OC 1253 πρεσσι δεῶρο Πολυεΐκης ὄδε. KG 447, An.4. For φαίνεσθαι = "be present" cf. E. Ba.646; HF 705; S. OC 77; Pl. Prt. 309A πόθεν, ᾧ Σώκρατες, φαίνει.

τέρψαι : the infinitive without μη' after a verb of prevention. KG 514, An.9(a).

664. στρατόν : lp: στρατοῖ LP: Pearson's objections to the generally adopted στρατόν are not convincing: καθίζουσι in Thuc. 3.107 is certainly intransitive, as he says, but the transitive use occurs in 4.90 καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατόν and 6.66 καθ' ἡσυχίαν καθίσαν τὸ στρατεύμα. Further, as he admits, there are parallels for the middle use of πίπτειν also: cf. Thuc. 2.90 ἐπὶ τρισσῶν τάξι μὲνοι τῆν ναῦ ; E. Andr.1099 ἄρουρᾶν ἐτάσαντ', though the usual meaning of the middle voice seems to be intransitive, i.e. "fall in" (ISJ s.v. I.1). More importantly, however, Alkmene's

questions (661-663) require a personal answer, i.e.

"what is Hyllos doing that prevents him from being here with us?" The answer should be: "he is positioning his army and drawing up his troops." Cf. also 397 ἰδρύσεται (note) for a similar use of the middle voice in a similar military context.

665. Alkmene means that the actual military details are not the concern of herself. Cf. 711; Hom. Od.21.352,

Telemachos to Penelope, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν μελέται πάντες ; Il.6.

490-493 πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρῶν μελέται πάντες. (Perhaps this line should be punctuated as a question; cf. 670-1 ἴσασιν ἴσασι .)

ἤ: not temporal (as Pearson: "no longer now") but rather "well, then, my concern is not with such things."

GP 215.

666. Iolaos replies that she is concerned in the military preparations, but it is his duty to ask their nature.

Cf. 711(note).

668. πόσον τι : "about how many"; cf. 674; X. Cyr.2.1.2

πόσον τι ἔγοι τὸ στρατεύμα.

669. ἄλλον : i.e. "other than 'many'" - "I cannot give you a definite figure."

671. καὶ ἤδη : approximating in sense to ἤδη -"already".
GP 252. Cf. 673.

κέραι : edd. generally take this as cognate accusative;
cf. E. Supp. 657 δεξιὸν τεταγμένους κέραι; ibid. 987 τί ποτ' ἀθερίων
ἔστηκε πέτραν ; Hel. 1573 ἄλλοι δὲ τοίχους δεξιῶν λαίου τ'... ἔβουθ';
Rh. 485 Ἰλλ' εἴτε λαίου εἴτε δεξιῶν κέραι... πλερεσί σοι πέληται ἐρείσαι.
V. KG 410.5, An. 13. However, κέραι could be taken as
the subject of ἔστηκεν , i.e. "the left wing is already
in position" (cf. 400, σφάλμα ἔστηκεν), but this inter-
pretation besides involving an abrupt change of subject
would make the servant assume that Iolaos knew that Hyllos
and his troops would take the left wing, and the Athenians
the right. But as a seasoned campaigner he might be
expected to know the requirements of military etiquette,
which seem to have been that the defending force placed
its strongest troops or ships on the right wing; cf. the
battle of Marathon with the Athenians on the right, the
Plataeans on the left; the battle of Plataea with the
Spartans on the right and the Athenians on the left (Hdt.
6.111; 9.28). The strongest troops of the defending force
would usually be those of its own city as opposed to
troops from its allies, and so in this battle with
Eurystheus the Athenians would naturally be drawn up on
the right.

672. ὡς εἰς ἔργον : cf. Thuc. 1.62 εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρεσκευασμένους
 ὡς εἰς μάχην (cf. also 2.20; X. An.1.8.1; 6.2.21); 1.48,
 4.13 ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ. In such phrases ὡς seems to
 imply a certain remoteness of the noun, i.e. "prepared
 to give battle" contrasted with "prepared for the battle".
 Hence the article is never used with the noun in this
 phrase. KG 432.2, An.1.

For ἔργον in the sense of "deeds of war, action" v.
 LSJ s.v. I.1.

673. καὶ δὴ : cf. 671, note.

παρηκται : "have been brought up."

ἐκεί : Murray quotes Thuc. 6.69 ἔπειτα δὲ μάλιστα τε σφύρα
 προφέροντα νεμισόμενα, of the bringing forward of the victims,
 and of their sacrifice, immediately before the signal for
 battle. So here the victims are first brought out from
 the city (παρηκται), and kept some distance away (ἐκεί)
 until the battle is about to begin. There is therefore
 no need to read πέλας (Dindorf) or πᾶρος (Hartung).
 Cf. also 820ff.

674. πόσον τι ... ἀπέθεν : as Pearson: "about how far?"
 Cf. 668, note.

δέρυ : collectively for a host of spearsmen; cf. 276 (note), 803, 932.

675. For the form of the expression, Pearson compares E. Hel.1269 ὥστ' ἐφορᾶσθαι ρόθια χερσόθεν μόλις.

676. τάσσοντα : contrast τάσσεται , 664(note).

Eurystheus, as the time for battle draws near, is personally supervising his battle order.

μῶν : here expecting, but not receiving a negative answer (contrast 647, note). KG 589.5. The original force of μή seems to be forgotten; v. LSJ s. μῶν .

677. ἐξηκούμεν : i.e. as Pearson notes, "I did not hear his actual words of command": cf. ἐφορᾶσθαι, 675.

677-679. 677 completes the first set of stichomythia between Iolaos and the servant (666-677), and 678-9 are answered by Iolaos in 681-2 in the second set.

678. ἄλλ' : here the servant regards the conversation as at an end and prepares to leave. GP 8.

τοῦ μὲν μέρους : qualifies ἐρήμου (cf. S. OT 1509 πάντων ἐρήμου πλην ὅσον τὸ τοῦ μέρους), i.e. "without me, if I can help it". For this adverbial accusative phrase cf. KG 410.6, An.20.

680. κἀγωγε : sc. εἶμι .

ταῦτά : i.e. I cannot leave my friends to fight without me.

681. φίλοις : with ὠφελῶν ; cf. προσωφελῶν , 330 (note).

παρόντες : emphatic: "by my presence".

ὡς ἴσμεν : this is certainly the personal equivalent of ὡς ἴσκει parenthetically, but Paley interprets as "as it seems", referring to ταῦτά φροντίζομεν , while Pearson "as it is fitting." There are parallels of the personal use in the sense of "it seems" (ὡς ἴσκει : E. Hel.793; IT 591; S. El.516; Tr.1241; ὡς εἴδωμεν : E. Hel.497), but none where the phrase could mean "it seems fitting". Pearson refers to A. Ag.1079 τοὺς θεοὺς . . . οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν . Certainly the note of personal obligation would suit Iolaos here much better than a rather casual "so it seems", but unless φροντίζομεν is poetic plural (which does not seem likely - contrast κἀγωγε), the phrase would have to apply to both Iolaos and the servant, which seems less probable in this sense. (The various emendations are not convincing: οὐν θεοῖσιν Vitelli: ὡς ἴχομεν Musgrave: ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν Jacobs: ὡς περ εἴκοις Hartung.)

682ff, Edd. generally describe the rest of the Epeisodion

as comic in tone. Of course it is difficult to assess the reaction of a contemporary audience at this depiction of the tottering old veteran determined to do battle against the Argives, despite the protests of the servant, the Chorus and Alkmene, but surely their reaction would not be unrestrained laughter. As the Chorus remark (702ff.), the spirit of Iolaos is still vigorous, although his bodily strength has gone. He was once the famous *παρρησιότης* of Herakles (88, 216); his character has been noble throughout: his behaviour in extreme disappointment has been that of a *εὐγυμνός* true to the code of *αἰδώς* (esp. 435ff.). Therefor his feeble attempts oto totter off to battle with his hoplite armour carræed for him are pathetic not comic. Cf. the portrayal of Teiresias and Cadmos in E. Ba.170-369. Dodds (Commentary, p.89ff.), while agreeing that "the slight portrait of Cadmos is touched with humour" doubts whether the interpretation of the scene as comic is justified. Similarly Peleus in E. Andr.546ff. is shown as physically weak, needing to be led and praying for a return of strength as he arrives out of breath (550-555). Both Peleus and Iolaos are men of great determination, hampered by their senility of body, and quite clearly, though one may smile at their efforts, they compell admiration. In the case of Iolaos the portrayal of

physical weakness has particular dramatic point because of his subsequent rejuvenation during the battle. He prays that he may recover the strength of his youth (740ff., 851ff.); his prayer is granted and he himself captures his adversary Eurystheus. Nobility has triumphed over the self-seeking man, who does not acknowledge that his success till now has depended upon the will of the gods (cf. esp. 608ff.).

682. πρὸς σοῦ : i. e. in accordance with your character.

Cf. E. Hel.950 καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἐν
 Συμφοραῖσι δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν βλεῖν; ibid.1278 πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀλοχον εὐσεβῆ τρέφειν;
 HF 585 πρὸς σοῦ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, τοῦ φίλοις τ' εἶναι φίλον τὰ τ' εἶχθ' ἄμιστοι;
 Ba.641 πρὸς σοφοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητῶν σώφρον' εὐοργησίαν;
 Fr.28 πάτερ, σοφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ὅστις....
 KG 441.1.(2)(b).

ἦν : the past tense refers to the remark of Iolaos in 680, the sense being "it was uncharacteristically foolish of you to say that."

683. καὶ μὴ μετασχεῖν : sc. ἤκιστα πρὸς ἐμοῦ.

ἀλκίμου : an Homeric epithet, though not found in Homer with μάχη . The veteran Iolaos is thinking of his mighty deeds of the past; cf. ἀλκή , 711, 761.

683ff. The arrangement of these lines by Wilamowitz, viz. 683, 688-690. 685-687, 684, 691, which is adopted by Wecklein makes of course good sense, but seems quite impossible to explain. (Quite obviously, as Musgrave was probably the first to see, 684 answers 687; he simply transposed 684 and 688.) However, a very plausible argument can be made out for the arrangement of Schliack, viz. 688, 687, 684-686, 689-692. Jackson (Marg. Scaen. p.5) supplies a convincing argument in favour of this. Here, then, is Schliack's arrangement:—

688. Θει. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ τᾶν, ἢ ποτ' ἦν βῆμα γέθεν.
 687. Ιο. οὐδαμ' ἔμ' ἐχθρῶν προσβλέπων λυγέται.
 684. Θει. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ὄψει τραῦμα μὴ δρώσης χερσός.
 685. Ιο. τί δ'; οὐ θένομαι κἂν ἐγὼ δι' ἀσπίδος;
 686. Θει. θένοίς ἄν, ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν αὐτὸς ἂν πέσαις.
 689. Ιο. ἀλλ' οὖν μαχούνται γ' ἰριθμοὺν οὐκ ἐλλέσσοσι.
 690. Θει. μικρὸν τὸ σὸν σήκωμα προστίθης φίλοις.

Because of the οὐκ ἔστ' of 688 and 684, the lines 684-686, 689-690 were written directly after 683; 688, 687 were omitted. When the omission was subsequently discovered, 688 and 687 were inserted in the margin, and when subsequently incorporated in the body of the text, their order was reversed - as it had to be, in their present position, to preserve the alternation of the stichomythia.

(For the sequence of 685 and 686, so obviously connected, could not be broken.)

N.B. The commentary on the lines after 683 follows the above arrangement.

(The arrangement By Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.114), viz. 683, 688-690, 687, 684-686, 691, makes equally excellent sense, but presupposes a change of position of two groups of three verses and the transposition of 687.)

688. ὁ τὰν : v. on 321.

687. Faley compares E. Rh.335 φόβος γένοιτ' ἂν πολεμίοις ὀφθειῖ μόνον.

685, 686. θείνομι, θείνοι : LP: θείνομι, θείνοι : Pierson.

There can be little doubt that Murray was wrong to retain the mss. reading, and take δι' ἁσπίδος = "in battle" here, though elsewhere it has that meaning (Pearson quotes 819,

E. Supp.902 ἐν ἁσπίδι δεινός σοφιστής, Ph.1326 εἰς ἁσπίδα ἤξει

(Ξ: εἰς μάχην)). For there is the convincing parallel

in the Autolycus Fr. of E., 282.20, where the question

is asked concerning athletes: δι' ἁσπίδων ποσὶ θείοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι

πολεμίου; . (There can be no doubt that θείοντες should be read there, not εθείοντες . It is not a matter of

the athletes' strength of foot, but of the application

of that strength.) Cf. also 738 where Murray ~~again~~

retains the mss. *θεῖοντα* . The sense is obviously that of a hoplite battering his way through the shield of his opponent. V. Snodgrass (Arms and Armour of the Greeks, p.56): "As is shown by a number of dedications from Olympia, bronze plate-armour and shield facings could both be pierced by the offensive weapons of the day; some of the holes in the armour are square, suggesting a thrust with the spear-butt which often had a square section."

(Pearson claims that *πρόθεν* is illogical because *τὸ θεῖον* must be supplied, whereas if *θεῖον* is retained, *τὸ δ' αὖ* can easily be supplied. This seems unconvincing: Iolaos has said: "Could not I strike through a shield?" The servant replies: "You could strike, but before striking through the shield (i.e. getting your blow in) you would fall over." *πίπτειν* here = "fall over" rather than "fall in battle" as in 838 (note and exx.).).

685. τί δ' : elliptical, as English: "What! Could I not.....?" Cf. 712 (also *τί δ' ἔστι* , 795, note). GP 175.

689. ἄλλ' ὅθεν... γ' : "Well, anyway....." GP 442.

μαχοῦνται : Madwig: *μαχοῦμαι* LP. The mss. reading makes sense of a sort: "I shall be fighting against no fewer

(than before)", i.e. just as many as he used to fight against in his youth. But what is required here is some hint of realisation from Iolaos that his powers are not quite as they were in his youth, and also a sentiment to which the following line of the servant can be an effective retort. Consequently Madwig's *μαχούνται*, of which *μαχούμαι* would be an easy maiuscule corruption, has found general favour. However, there are difficulties here: Pearson and Meridier interpret respectively as: "i.e. though my strength be small, I shall not diminish the numbers of the fighting line"; "Contre leurs combattants, du moins, je ferai nombre." But what is the subject of the verb? It seems impossible to take the dative as the dative of accompaniment (KG 425.5) in view of the lack of parallels, i.e. "they (our friends) will be fighting having no fewer (than they would have if I did not join them", when there are so many parallels of the verb with the dative as its object (KG 425.3; LSJ s.v. I.1). Then the subject would be the Argives and the dative the Athenians and Hyllos, which seems harsh after the emphasis on *φίλοι* in 681, but nevertheless possible. Perhaps *οὐκ ἴλιόσσοι* is meiosis for *πλείοσι*, i.e. "The Argives will be fighting against more men, as far as numbers go." The servant then retorts: "even as a number, you will not help your friends much."

For ἀριθμός = "mere number" cf. 997, note.

690. σημάμα: weight thrown into the balance.

Edd. compare for the metaphor E. Hec.57 ἀντισηκώσῃ δέ σε φθείρει θεῶν τις τῆς κρείσθ' εὐπραγίας; A. Pers.436 τοιαῦδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πύθου, ὡς τοῖσδε καὶ εἰς ἀντισηκῶσαι βροτῆ.

τὸ σὸν: spoken in mild contempt; cf. 284, note: "the kind of weight such as you can throw into the balance."

691. τοί: emphasizes the negative command. GP 545.

ἔραν: probably better taken with παρεσκευασμένον than ἔρυκε (cf. A. Th.440 ἔραν παρεσκευασμένος). The following line, ἔραν μὲν σύ γ' οὐχ οἶσ' τε, supports this view.

693. ὡς μὴ μενοῦντα: accusative absolute; cf. E. Ion

964 σοὶ δ' εἰς τί δός' ἐσηλθεν ἐκβαλεῖν τέκνον; ὡς τὸν θεοῦ εἴςονται τοῦ γ' αὐτοῦ γόνον;

Eh.714 ὡς μαχόμενον τέχνα; Rh.145 ὡς οὐ μενοῦντα μ';

S. OT 101 ὡς τόδ' ἄμα χεῖμασον πόλιν.

KG 488.1(d), An.6; MT 853. In such phrases with ὡς

it seems that a verb of knowing or thinking must be

supplied from the context, i.e. the phrase is not really

"absolute" but implies not a fact but a thought in a

person's mind. (Cf. Elmsley's note ad loc.: "genetivus

ipsam rem, accusativus alicuius de ea sententiam exprimit.)

Kirchhoff, followed by Wecklein, altered $\mu\etá$ to $\mu'οῦ$ on the grounds that the usual negative with $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and the participle is $οὔ$. But if the main verb is an imperative, or an imperative sense is implied in the sentence, then $\mu\etá$ is used. V. exx. in KG 513.3 (esp. S. OC 1154 and Thuc. 1.120 which Pearson quotes.)

$\lambdaόγειν \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha = \lambdaόγε$ here.

694. $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$: LP: $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ Elmsley, who quoted E. Andr.458 $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu \delta' \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha \gamma\omicron\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma \delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma \phi\alpha\upsilon\eta\acute{\iota}$. Pearson considers that a preposition with the accusative is needed in this sense of $\phi\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, though he contrasts E. El.104 $\etá \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \pi\eta\varsigma \lambda\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\rho \etá \pi\eta\varsigma \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\etá \phi\alpha\upsilon\eta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota \nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ with Ph.1747 $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \etá\lambda\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma \phi\alpha\upsilon\eta\acute{\iota}\theta\iota \sigma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. The sense with $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ is not so apt: "how will you appear as a hoplite without arms?", whereas with $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ the meaning will be: "how will you appear before hoplites when you have not any arms." (For this sense of $\phi\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, be present, turnuup, cf. $\phi\alpha\upsilon\eta\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\rho'$, 663, note.)

695. The dedication of arms captured from the enemy in temples is well attested by archaeological evidence (cf. Snodgrass, op. cit., pp. 48-49). For the literary references cf. E. Andr.1122, of Neoptolemos in the temple at Delphi, $\kappa\rho\epsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\chi\eta \pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\upsilon \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\upsilon$; Rh.180 $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\iota\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (sc. $\tau\acute{\alpha} \lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\rho\alpha$) $\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$; Tr.575 ($\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\alpha$) $\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\upsilon$

Ἀχιλλεύς πᾶσι φθιώται στέφει ναοῦ ἀπὸ Τροίας;
 A. Ag. 578 θεῶν λείφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γένος;
 Th. 277 καὶ λείφυρα δαίων στέφω πρὸ ναοῦ δορυπέλαχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις.

ἄπλα: i.e. the full equipment of a hoplite, arms and armour; cf. 699, 720, 727.

696. τοῖς δ' οὖσι: LP: τοῖσδ' οἶσι Tr². Zuntz (Transmission, p.200, note f): "It is unlikely that he (sc. Triclinius) found this correction by conjecture. The fault is most probably due to a misreading of majuscule letters; in which case Tr here appears to have reproduced its correction by Eustathius." τοῖσδ' seems essential to qualify δόμοισιν and to make it clear that δόμοι is the temple of Zeus and not the palace of Theseus (cf. ἐς δόμου 340, 343), though τοῖσδ' is far removed from δόμοισιν, whereas τοῖς δ' οὖσι, i.e. "the arms which are available", while quite possible, seems the inferior reading.

697. ἴκντη ... θανόντα: conditional; i.e. "if we live.... if we die....." Here the juxtaposition makes logical sense. Contrast 320, 599 (notes).

θεῶν: i.e. Zeus Agoraios, the god to whose altar and temple the Herakleidae have come in supplication.

698. καὶ ποτὲ παρσάλλω: v. 695, note.

699. κόσμον : i.e. the full equipment; 695, note.

ὀπλίτην : used adjectivally; cf. 800; the original use of the word (LSJ s.v. I).

700. λίσκερόν : the *αἰδώς* of the warrior will not allow him to stay at home while others fight.

οἰκούρημα : Iolaos deliberately uses the word, which is applied particularly to the task of a woman whose duty it is to stay at home and look after the house; v. on 474ff., and cf. 711; also E. Med. 248 *ὡς ἐκίνδυνον βίον ἴωμεν κατ' οἴκου,* οἱ δὲ μένουσιν δορί; Hipp. 787 *πικρὸν τὸδ' οἰκούρημα δεσπότης ἐμοῖς,* where οἰκούρημα is the action of the wife; S. OC 342 *οἷ μὲν εἰκόη ἦν ποιεῖν τάδε, κατ' οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν ὥστε παρθενοί.* The later use of οἰκουροῦν has the implicit meaning of οἰκούρημα here, i.e. to stay at home and avoid military service (LSJ s.v. II.1).

701. δειλία : causal dative. KG 425.11.

τού μὲν...τού δέ : i.e. a shameful division of labour, where instead of all the men going out to fight, and the women staying at home, some men only fight and others cowardly avoid battle.

702ff. The servant disappears into the temple to fetch

the arms and the Chorus gently chide Iolaos and remind him that he cannot recover his youth. At the conclusion of the anapaests, Alkmene violently upbraids Iolaos for his desertion of her and the young Herakleidae. The choral interlude makes a short break within an Epeisodion as 288-296. The servant is given the time necessary to fetch the arms, while in 288ff. the herald is leaving the stage and when he has left Iolaos expresses his gratitude to Demophon.

702. λήμα : = "courage, spirit", as in 200; contrast with 3.

στάρνυσι : for the metaphor cf. Thuc. 6.18 ἵνα Πελοποννησίων στάρνυμεν τὸ φρόνημα.

703. ἦβη : cf. 708 ἦβην, and the prayer of Iolaos to Hebe, 851ff. The Chorus are emphatic that though his spirit is young, Iolaos must recognise that his body is old. The emphasis makes his transformation all the more dramatic.

φρούδον : for the meaning of loss of physical power cf. E. Cr.390 τὸ σῶμα φρούδον, Andr. 1077 οὐδὲν εἰμ' ἀπυλόμην. φρούδη μὲν αὖτις, φρούδα δ' ἄρθρα μου κάτω.

(V. Page ad E. Med.722, who draws attention to the frequent use by E. of this word, and cites the parody of

Ar. Nub.718-722.)

704. ῥ: relative to an unexpressed neuter cognate accusative with *πονείῃ*. KG 410.3, An.5. Cf. *σμικρὰ*, 705.

706. γνωσιμαχίειν: Hesychius: *γνωσιμαχῆσαι* · τινὲς μὲν τὸ γινῶναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθλύνειαν, τὴν τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἰσχύν. ἄλλοι τὸ γινῶναι, ὅτι πρὸς κρείττονα ἔχει αὐτοῦ μάχην, ἢ συχῆσαι ἢ μετανοῆσαι.

Of 5th century writers the word occurs in Hdt. 3.25;

7.130; 8.29 and Ar. Av.555 *κἄν μὲν μή φῆ, μηδ' ἐθελήσῃ μηδ' εὐθύς*

γνωσιμαχίῃ, ἱερὸν πόλεμον πρῶτον αὐτῷ. The original meaning must

be "to take a realistic view (of the battle)", and from

there the idea of "to change one's mind" implicit in that

meaning is an easy transition; cf. Isocr. 5.7 *ἠλίπισαν δὲ μὲν*

γνωσιμαχίαντα βουλευσέσθαι τι κοινὸν ἄγαθόν περὶ δῆμων αὐτῶν,

quoted by Pearson. Edd. generally translate here in 706

as "to change one's mind" (Pearson, Beck, Jerram, Méridier),

but they are wrong: the following phrase, *τὰ δ' ἀμύχαν' εἰδὼ*,

supports the case for the original meaning, i.e. "age

must realise its limitations and not attempt the impossible."

A change of mind is again implicit, but by no means

an essential part of the meaning. The phrase has a

proverbial ring. For the sentiment cf. E. Hec.227 *γίγνωσκε δ'*

ἀλκήν; Andr.126 *γινῶθι γύχην*.

τὴν ἡλικίαν: here of course the word means the "age" implied in the context, i.e. old age. In view of A. Pers.

944 τῆνδ' ἡλικίαν εἰσιδόντ' ἄστων, of the Persian elders (v. Broadhead ad loc.), and Pl. Ap.17C τῆδε τῆ ἡλικίᾳ, said by Socrates of his own age, the emendation of Bothe, τῆνδ', (preferable to σῆν, Porson) should be adopted. Without the demonstrative the ~~ἡλικίαν~~ phrase would mean only "each age must realise its limitations", a sense which is far less satisfactory in this context.

707. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁπῶς : = "there is no way in which....", "it is impossible that...." KG 554.5, An.9.

708. παλιν αὖθις : emphatic; v. on 487.

709. τί χεῖμα : cf. 633, note; 646. (Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.36, nn. 1 and 2) would punctuate with a question mark after the expression here and in 646; his interpretation is that the expression is more agitated than = simply τί, why, i.e. "What? Are you going to.....")

φρενῶν οὐκ ἔνδον: i.e. "out of your senses." Cf. A. Ch. 232 ἔνδον γενοῦ (sc. φρενῶν), Χαρμὴ δὲ μὴ ἑκπλαγῆς φρένας; E. Hipp.1012 αὐδμοῦ φρενῶν ; Ba.853 εἴωδ' ἐλάυνων τοῦ φρονεῖν.

710. The incomplete line has been variously completed (v. App. Crit.). Alkmene even in her disturbed state is unlikely to refer to the Herakleidae as "her" children, so the best suggestion is probably σὺν τέκνου τέκνοις ἐμοῦ, Wecklein's improvement of Vitelli's σὺν τέκνου τέκνοις ἐμοῖς .

(The addition of γέρον , Hartung, is a mere space-filler.)

711. ἀνδρῶν γερ... : v. on 700. Iolaos means that a man must fight, and a woman look after the home; v. 474, note, and cf. 666 and Hom. Il.6.490 (Od. 21.352) ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ῥῶσα τὲ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμισε πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρῶσι μέλει πᾶσι;
A. Th.200 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω ... τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν οὔσα μὴ βλάβην τιθεῖ (v. on 665).

ἀλκή : strength ~~is~~ displayed in battle; cf. 761.

712. τίδ' : cf. 685, note.

713. πιδός' πᾶσι : πᾶσι LP: corr. Canter: i.e. ἄλλοι ἀδελφοί θ' of 45.

μέλει : sc. σου ; cf. 711, τούτων ; 717, τῶν γυν' πόνοι

714. δ' οὖν : "Ah! But what if...?" GP 465.

ὃ μὴ γένοιτο : for the parenthesis cf. 511, note.

χρησάνται τῷ χη : euphemistic as the parenthesis proves: i.e. "what if something happens to them?" Cf. And. 4.120; Xen. Cyn.5.29 (and for the verb, E. Med.347 κείνους δὲ κλιῖς συμφορᾷ κερημίους).

716. τοσόνδε : i.e. "that much is just confidence."

γέ τοι : GP 88 (v. also ibid. 549): "following a demonstrative pronoun, sometimes conveys assent, while

adding something to it."

718. ἀκούσεται κακῶς: the usual preposition in this meaning, = passive of λέγειν κακῶς (cf. E. Alc.726 κακῶς ἀκούειν οὐ μέλει θανούτι μοι), is ἐπό or πρός with the genitive. For ἐκ cf. Theocr. 29.21 αἰ γὰρ ἴδε πόης, ἄγαθος μὲν ἀκούσεται ὅστων. KG 373.5.

719. ὅσιος: the word is usually used of the "right way" for men in their relationship with the gods, whereas δίκαιος implies the "right way" in relations between men. Cf. Pl. Euthyphr.12D πρός θεῶν ὅσιον καὶ πρός ἀνθρώπων δίκαιον. Adkins (Merit and Responsibility, p.132): "Hosios and εὐσεβες frequently commend those whom honour the relationships which the gods are believed to uphold, firstly relationships within the family...." It would be, therefore, ἰνὸςσιον for Alkmene to speak ill of her son's father, but she asks whether he, as a god, is ὅσιος towards her. Does he, as father of gods and men, act in the "right way" towards her?

720. ὅπῃ πανταχίς: cf. 787.

721. φθάνοι ἂν οὐκ: i.e. "you could not be too quick." As Elmsley remarked, the present participle is always

used in this idiom; cf. E. Alc.662 τοιγὰρ φουτιῶν παῖδας οὐκέτι
 ἴν φθάνοις; Tr.456; IT 245; Or.936, 941, 1551; Ar. Plut.
 485, 1133; Eccl.118; Pl. Symp.185E, 214E; HDT. 7.162;
 X. Mem.2.3.11; D. 25.40. KG 482.15, An.12; MT 894.

ἴν...ἴν : for the repetition here v. note on 415.

Cf. E. IT 245 οὐκ ἴν φθάνοις ἴν εὐτρεπῆ ποιουμένη;
 Tr.456; Ar. Eccl.118. The second ἴν in this expression
 has been explained as belonging to the participle in a
 conditional sense (Paley: "εἰ κρύπτου"; similarly Beck
 and Jerram; cf. KG 398, An.1), but as ἴν in this idiom
 is sometimes repeated and sometimes not, this explanation
 is untenable here and contrary to the sense of the usual
 employment of φθάνω, τυγχάνω, λανθάνω with the participle,
 which is certainly not conditional but causal. In any
 event it is difficult to see why ἴν with the participle
 should stand for εἰ with the optative.

συγκρύπτων : it is quite unnecessary to adopt with
 Wecklein Dobree's σοὶ κρύπτων. The servant has come out
 from the temple bringing a suit of armour, possible of
 heroic size (or at any rate too big for a shrunken hero
 such as Iolaos) and it is in accordance with the nature
 of the scene that the servant should urge Iolaos to ~~μηδ~~
 aid him (for the force of the compound verb cf. E. IT 1052)

in his efforts to make him disappear completely inside the armour and hide his frail body away.

722. Pearson gives examples of the proverb *ἄγων πρόφασιν οὐκ ἀναμένει* : Pl. Ig.6.751D; Cra.421D; A. Fr.39; Ar. Ach. 392.

724. γυμνός : sc. *ἄπλων* : "unarmed". Note that the servant's suggestion, adopted by Iolaos, means that the awkward business of putting on the armour on the stage is avoided.

725. πυκνός : cf. E. Rh.90 *πύκναις τούχαισι δέμας σέθεν*.

726ff. Iolaos asks the servant to put the spear into his hand, carry the armour and support him at his left.

ὄξυον : the spear shaft made from beech-wood; cf. Hom. Il.5.50 etc.

728. ἵταρε : i.e. "support me under my left arm, guiding my steps so that I do not stumble."

729. ἦ... γὰρ : expressing surprise. GP 285. For the sentiment cf. E. Ba.193 *γέρον γέροντα παιδαγωγῆσω σ' ἐγώ,* (which is probably best punctuated as a question; v. Dodds ad loc.)

730. ὄρνιθος οὐνεκ' : a stumble now would be a bad omen

for the battle. For the word cf. E. IA 988; Hel.1051;
S. OT 52; Ar. Av.720.

731. For the sentiment cf. 692.

732. ἔπειγε : intransitive; cf. ἔπειρ' , 67 and 16,
note. V. KG 373.2(β), and contrast ἐπείγεται , 734;
ἐπείγου , E. Alc.256.

μάχης : genitive of separation with λείψαι . KG 421.2
I.e. "left behind by, too late for, the battle." There
is no exact parallel for this sense, but cf. A. Ag.517
στρατὸν τὸν λελειμμένον δοροί , i.e. "the army which survived
the battle"; Pr.857 κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελειμμένοι;
Hom. Od.9.448 λελειμμένος οἴων; Plut. Cim.13.3 τριήρεις, αἱ τῆς μάχης
ἀπέλειψθησαν.

δεινὰ πείσονται : i.e. εἰσὶ χρά' .

733. τοί : GP 541: "a gentle remonstrance: 'It's you
that are lagging, you know.'"

δοκῶ τι δρᾶν : Tyrwhitt's suggestion should be adopted here,
viz. σὺ τοί βραδύνεις, οὐκ ἐγώ, δοκῶν τι δρᾶν — ;
"you are lagging, not I, thinking that you are getting
somewhere." For τι in the sense of something worthwhile
cf. Pl. Sym.173C οἴεσθε τι ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, and the phrase
τι λέγειν , frequent in Plato (LSJ s.τις A.II.5(a); KG

470.3, An.1. With the mss. reading the sense will be:
 "You are the one who is lagging - and I don't think that
 I am getting anywhere!" However, οὐδ' would certainly
 be needed. Pearson notes that Murray retains the IP
 reading "presumably with the sense: 'I don't think that
 I am hindering you.'" It is not easy to understand how
 he could think that the words could be interpreted by any-
 one in this way.

735. δοκούντα : sc. σπεύδειν .

737. εὐτυχούντα γε : sc. λέύσσειν from λέύσσης .

738. δι' ἀπίθου θείοντα : v. 685, note.

τινά' : Pearson: "many a one. So often in Homer." LSJ
 s.v. A.II.1.

739. εἰ δή : "if indeed"; cf. 437, 592; GP 224.

τοῦτο : better taken as nominative: "this is my fear":
 but it could be an internal accusative; cf. E. Tr.240

εἰ τόδ' ἦν ἐμῶν φόβος (where τόδ' could be either nominative
 or accusative); Ion 572 τοῦτο κίμ' ἔχει πόθος , i.e. ἐμ' ἔχει πόθος
 = ποθῶ . KG 410.3, An.5.

740. For the sentiment cf. the similar expressions of
 Nestor in the Iliad: 7.157 εἰθί' εἰς ἡβόοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη;

similarly 11.670; 23.629; and Peleus in E. Andr.552 *ἀλλ' Ἰνγηβητηρίαν βάλων μ' ἐπαινῶ λαβάνειν, εἴπερ ποτέ.*

741. ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ : Herakles attacked Sparta to avenge the death of his cousin, Oionos, son of Licymnios, who when wandering through Sparta was attacked by a royal hound. He knocked the dog to the ground with a stone, and was therefore set upon by the sons of Hippocoon of Sparta who cudgelled him to death; Paus. 3.15.4ff.; Apollod. 2.7.3.2ff.; Diod. 4.33.5; v. also Preller-Hobert, Gr. Myth. II.2, Die Nationalheroen. pp.544ff.

743. οἶαν : Reiske: *οἶος* LP: (*οἶος* : Barnes): The mss. reading has received a great deal of attention from edd. (v. Eflugk, Paley, Beck) who endeavour to explain it without success. It is obviously a scribal error and Reiske's correction should be adopted. (Barnes' *οἶος* would hardly be worthy of mention if Wecklein had not adopted it: Iolaos would hardly claim to be able to rout (the army of) Eurystheus single-handed.)

744. θεῖμην : Cobet is preferable to LP *θεῖην* because the middle voice of *τίθειμι* is more usual in such phrases. But the active and middle of *ποιέω* seem to be used indiscriminately with *τροπήν*. (v. LSJ s.τροπή II).

ἔπει' τοι καὶ : emphasizes the reason for the route he would make of Eurystheus; cf. 507, note. GP 546.

κακῶς μένεν : the explanatory infinitive which is found after verbs of capability, possibility and their opposites. KG 473.3. Cf. E. Or. 719 ὧ κακίστη τιμῶσιν φίλοις.

745. καὶ : Pearson regards this as "epitatic" (cf. 660, 884). GP 585. It is simpler to take καὶ τότε as explanatory of ἔστιν δόκησις , and punctuate with a comma after ὄλβω , as Wecklein.

746. δόκησις : cf. 395, note. The sense is: men tend to believe, wrongly, that the successful man is so because of his personal qualities (for εὐψυχία v. on 812), whereas in reality his prosperity depends on the will of the gods (cf. 385, 608ff.). Iolaos is to show in his own person that the upright man triumphs in the end, while the evil man like Eurystheus is defeated. It is unlikely that there is here, as Pearson believes, a hint of the Socratic doctrine that virtue is based on knowledge of good and evil. πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς simply means here "know the correct and proper way to behave", i.e. αἰδώς , as personified by the behaviour of Iolaos in the play, who is brave while Eurystheus is cowardly. There is therefore no need for Murray's ἐπικτῶσθαι καλά .
(For εὐψυχίας δόκησις cf. E. HF 157 ὅς ἔσχε δόξαν οὐδὲν ὦν εὐψυχίας)

THIRD STASIMON

748 - 783

The Chorus appeal to the earth, sun and moon to bring to them an announcement of the outcome of the forthcoming battle, and to cry aloud the present state of affairs to the heavens, especially to Zeus, and to Athena, the protectress of Athens. The Athenians are to be attacked because they have not delivered up to Argos the Herakleidae. But if Zeus is the ally of the Athenians, there can be no fear. In the second half of the ode the Chorus ask for the protection of Athena specifically and refer in detail to the honours paid to her in Athens.

After 747 Iolaos leaves the stage with the servant, while Alkmene remains during the choral ode, to be greeted by the servant on his return (784).

748ff. For the invocation of the earth and heavenly bodies on important occasions, cf. E. Med.746, 752, 1251; Hipp.601, 672; El.866; Ion 1445 (aether). (Zeus is often included: cf. Med.148; Ph.1290; El.1177; Or.1496; also D. 18.139 *Ὡ γῆ καὶ θεοί*).

748. *παννύχιοι σελάνα*: cf. E. Alc.450 *λείρημένης παννύχου σελάνας*, where, as in infra 782 etc., *παννύχιος*, *πάννυχος* have the meaning "all night long"; here the sense is simply that of the moon which witnesses the events of the whole night contrasted with the sun who watches by day, and there is no special reference to the time of full moon, as in Alc. 450. V. further on 751ff.

749. *θεοῦ*: = *ἥλιος*; cf. E. Alc.722 *φίλον τὸ φέγγος τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλον*; Med.352 *εἰ σ' ἢ ἐπιούσα λαμπρὴ ὄφεται θεοῦ*; Supp.208 *ἄθρον ἐξελμύνεσθαι θεοῦ*; *ibid.*469 *πρὶν θεοῦ δῶναι γαίης*; Rh.331 *δείξει τούπιόν σέλης θεοῦ*; Or.1025 *φέγγος εἰσοραῖν θεοῦ*; S. Tr.145 *θάλπος θεοῦ*. (E. Ion 1440, adduced by Pearson, is not absolutely parallel, because the god has already been mentioned by name.)

750. φαισίμβροτοι: in view of the preceding remarks on the absolute use of θεοῦ (749, note), there is no need to consider Musgrave's φαισίμβροτου or Wilamowitz's ἡμιπροτάτου, in spite of the obvious echo of Hom. Od.10.138 φαισίμβροτου ἠελίοιο ; cf. also Od.10.191, and Hes. Th.958. (The word is of course used of other gods elsewhere, but this is its sole ~~xxx~~ occurrence in tragedy; v. LSJ s.v.)

751ff. Is the sense "bring a message to me", or "take a message, I beg you"? The meaning of φέρειν with ἄγγελίαν, μῦθος, seems always to be "bring (a message) to someone (dative)" (LSJ s. φέρω, IV.4), and the sun and moon seem to be particularly invoked as the deities who see all things by day and night respectively. (Cf. Hom. Il.3.277 ἠέλιος θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακοῦεις... ; similarly, Od.11.109; E. Hipp.849 γυναικῶν ἀρίστα θ' ὀπίσσω δρᾷ φέγγος θ' ἠελίοιο καὶ νυκτὸς ἄστερωπὸν σέλας). If this meaning is the right one here, then the ἄγγελίαν can only be the report of the battle which is about to be fought, in which of course the Chorus take no part. ῥαχίσσατε would then represent a different request to earth, sun and moon to proclaim aloud to heaven and the gods their situation, i.e. 755ff. μέλλω τῆς πατριώτιδος γῆς.... ὅπερ κίνδυνον τεμείν.

The alternative interpretation, "take a message, I beg you", (μοι, ethical dative), would allow ἀγγελίαν to be understood as the "object" of ἰαχέσθε, i.e. as a cognate accusative; cf. E. Tr. 515 μέλλοις ἰαχέσθω; HF 348 αἰθιῶν Φοῖβος ἰαχέει; S. Tr. 866 ἦχ' ἤ τις . . . κωκυτὸν εἶσω; KG 410.3(b). The "message" would then be 755ff. Substantially this is the view of Zuntz (Pol. Plays, pp. 115ff.).

However, the first interpretation is preferable: the earth, sun and moon who see all things are asked to report to the Chorus the outcome of the future battle and before the battle to proclaim to heaven and to the gods that Athens is to fight for her existence because she has listened with sympathy to suppliants and refused to deliver them up to their pursuers.

Certainly there must be no heavy stop at the end of 754, for what follows is explanatory asyndeton. Such an asyndeton is otherwise unaccountable.

751. ἐνέγκλιτ' : Hermann (ἐνέγκλιτ' : Dindorf) : ἐνέγκλιτ' LP:
 Note that the last syllable of the period could be "brevis in longo" (responding to [κέρ]θει, 762) but elision would not be possible here: Wilamowitz (Gr. Versk., p. 451, n. 2) proposed ἐνέγκλι : "Elision dahinter ist undenkbar; ich

habe das schon vor Jahrzehnten gesagt und leicht ἐνέγκαιτ' in ἐνέγκαι gebessert; stösst man sich an der Form, so mag man ἐνεγκῆν setzen." Of course such an infinitive of command as Wilamowitz proposed may be closely linked with an imperative (KG 474a, and *ibid.*An.2), but a really convincing parallel is difficult to find. Hence the correct wording here is still in doubt.

752. οὐρανῷ: probably locative dative: "in heaven"; cf. E. IT 524 Σπάρτη Συνοικίῃ τῇ πᾶρος Συκυνέτη; S. El. 174 Ἰτιμέγας οὐρανῷ Ζεύς (v. Jebb ad loc.); *ibid.* 313 νῦν δ' ἄγροισι τυγχάνεις; KG 426.1(b)(a). (Not "to heaven", as Pearson, who quotes the examples of KG 426.1(b)(b).)

753. Ὀρόνου ἀρχέταν γλαυκῆ ἐν Ἀθήναις: γλαυκῆ τ' ἐν Ἀθήναις LP: Schaefer proposed the genitive (i.e. sc. δόμοις, the ellipse common with the attributive genitive; KG 403(b)), which has been generally accepted. Matthiae, and later Wilamowitz (*Hermes* 14, 1879, p.181), deleted τ', ~~π~~ thus combining Ὀρόνου ἀρχέταν and the house of Athena, and supposed that this was a reference to the old Erechtheion (i.e. that destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.; *Hdt.* 8.55), the Ὀρόνου ἀρχέταν presumably that of Erechtheus. But firstly, the references are by no means conclusive: Hom. Il.2.549 κλέδ' ἐν Ἀθήναις εἶσεν, ἐπὶ ἐνὶ πτόρι νηῶν points to the inclusion

of Erechtheus by Athena in her temple, while Od;7.81 *δῶκε*
δ' Ἐρεχθίδος πυκινὸν δόμον (sc. Ἀθήνη) implies, as does the
 passage of Hdt. (8.55), that the temple was known as that
 of Erechtheus, the Erechtheion. A second, and more important
 objection is that of Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.117): " A strange
 combination, indeed! 'in heaven and in the Erechtheion!'"
 Certainly Athens would be a most unlikely place at this
 time in the play to require an announcement of her impending
 crisis and a justification of her actions.

(For *ἀρχέταν* , the noun used adjectivally, cf. *ὀπλήτην*
 699.)

Far more probably the *θρόνον ἀρχέταν* is that of Zeus, i.e.
 the "ruler-throne". Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.118) quotes Ar.
 Av.215 *Χωρεῖ ἡχῶ πρὸς Διὸς ἔβρα* ; Theocr. 7.93 *Ζηνὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον* ;
 B. 5.179 (Zeus) *ἀρχηγὸς θεῶν* ; S. OC 1085 (Zeus) *πλευραρχός* .
 The earth, sun and moon are asked to proclaim the danger
 which Athens is to face on behalf of justice to the heavens,
 to Zeus and Athena, an interpretation which is reinforced
 by 766-768, where Zeus is specifically mentioned, and by
 770ff., where an appeal is made to Athena as ^ἡ ~~part~~ goddess
 of the city to whom special honours are paid.

755. τῆς πατριώτιδος γᾶς : governed by *ὕπερ* in 756, which

also governs *δόμων*. KG 451.3. Pearson draws attention to "the copious illustrations of the wide extension of this principle" provided by Wilamowitz ad E. HF 237.

756. καὶ ὑπὲρ : Nauck: καὶ περὶ LP: περὶ τῶν 1: obviously the LP reading violates the metre (glyconic: v. Metr. App.), and the conjecture of 1, while restoring this, is not as probable an emendation as that of Nauck; which keeps the essential *καί* while merely replacing one preposition with another of exactly the same sense. (It was unfair of Wecklein to relegate Nauck's conjecture to his Appendix and to prefer his own improbable *περὶ δαμόνων* - as if indeed the Athenians were about to fight on behalf of the gods!)

758. ὑποδεχθεῖν : passive for middle voice, *ὑποδεξιμένος* : "since I have admitted to my protection." KG 377.4(b).

V. also Fraenkel ad A. Ag. 1498, p. 710, who inter alia quotes from Paley's note on the same line the following parallels: A. Fr. 53 *προσδερχθῆν* ; Hdt. 3.51.1 *διελέχθη* ; Pl. Symp. 174D *διαλεχθείς* ; Hdt. 7.46.1 *φρασεῖς* ; E. Hec. 546 *ἐφράσθη* ; S. Ant. 24 *χρησθεῖς* (but v. Jebb ad loc.). Cf. Weckernagel, Syntax i, p. 139: "Die hellenistische Sprache hat dann den Gebrauch von *-θην* noch weiter ausgedehnt. Diese Entwicklung hat sich so stark festgesetzt, dass im Neugriechischen gar keine Aoriste medii erhalten sind und der Aorist auf *-θην* bei deponentialem und medialem

Gebrauch durchgedrungen ist."

(The suggestion of G. Hermann (ad S. Ant.24) of μέλλει μέλλει sc. Iolaos, is of course quite unnecessary and positively harmful to the note of patriotism maintained throughout this stasimon by the Chorus.)

758. κίνδυνον τέμειν : a very difficult expression, hard to parallel. Edd. quote P. Ol.13.57 μάχην τέμνειν τέλος, as does LSJ s.τέμνω, VII: "cut short, bring to a crisis or decision." More probably, Pearson is right when he explains the expression of the analogy of ὄσου, κέλευθον τέμνειν. (LSJ s.τέμνω, VI.2(b); E. Rh.423 εὐθείαν λόγων τέμνων κέλευθου. The sense would then be: "I am about to cleave (a path of) danger with my sword."

πολιῶ : the epithet of iron also in Hom. Il.9.366; h.Merc.41.

759. ὡς Μυκῆνας : by attraction from ὡς Μυκῆλαι εἰσίν. KG 581.3.

760. εὐδαίμονα : a stock epithet of course, but here with a hint of 385(note), 608ff., that prosperity comes from the gods.

761. πολυαίνεται : πολυαίνεται LP: corr. Canter: found here only in tragedy, it is the equivalent of the

Homeric epithet of Odysseus, *πολύαινος* (LSJ s.v.).

λίκα: for the word cf. 611, note.

762. κεύθειν: Pearson: "cherish". It is an easy transition from the basic meaning of "hide, conceal" to this metaphorical sense of "habere in animo" (Elmsley), of some thought or feeling which has not yet been expressed.

Cf. 879; E. Supp. 295 *λίκα εἰς ὄκνον μοι μῦθος ὃν κεύθει φέρεις*;
Hipp. 1105 *ζῆνυσιν ἐέ' τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθειν* (Barrett: "though deep within me I have hopes of understanding.")

764. κλκόν' δ': the contrast to *δεινόν μὲν*, 759. It is a terrible thing to face Argos in battle but worse to give up the suppliants at the orders of Argos.

765. κελεύματα Ἄργου: Reiske: *καὶ λεύσιμον Ἄργου* LP: this emendation has deservedly been generally adopted: v. Zuntz (Fol. Plays, p. 107, quoted on 163.). For the insistence on the independence of Athens in this matter cf. 197, 244ff., 262, 286-287.

766. For the sentiment Barnes compared Psalms 27.1: "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?"

767. Χάριν ἐνδίκως ἔχει: once more the complicated nature

of *Χάρις* ; v. on 334, 379, 548. Here the meaning is, as Pearson^x, "regards with favour", not as Paley and others, "owes me a favour". It is right that Zeus should look with favour upon the Athenians who have^x heard the appeals of his suppliants.

769. *ἦσσου <δαίμονες> ἐκ γ'* = Kirchhoff: *εἴτ'* LP: (Triclinius (Zuntz, Transmission, p.196) suprascr. *ἦσσονεῖ ποτ' ἂν οὐτ' ἐμοῦ*, after noting that something had been omitted, *Ἀεπ <εἰ>*).

Canter had already suggested *οἱ Θεοί* in place of the meaningless *εἴτ' ἐμοῦ*, but it was left to Kirchhoff to repair the omission with *δαίμονες* and for *ΕΙΤΕΜΟΥ* substitute the palaeographically satisfactory *ΕΚΓΕΜΟΥ*. As Zuntz remarks, (Pol. Plays, p.119), there are convincing parallels for the resultant wording: S. 08 51 *οὐκ ἔτιμος ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ φωνῆ* ; Ai. 1241 *φανόμεθ' ἐκ Τεύκρου κκοί*. For this use of the preposition cf. 587, note. Hence the text here can be confidently regarded as fully restored.

770ff. As Zuntz notes, (Pol. Plays, p.120), 770-771 do not respond metrically with 777-778 unless either the penultimate syllable of *πολύθυτος* is lengthened (*λεί'* being treated either as $\text{—} \text{—}$ or $\text{—} \text{—}$) or one long syllable in the strophe is omitted. If a long syllable is omitted,

πολύθυτος, υυυυ, responds with $\overline{\text{πότν}]\alpha \sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu}$, υυ —, i.e. two brevia responding with one longum, which is rare at this place in glyconic metre. (But for the resolved choriamb cf. E. Ba.865=885; El.435=445; S. Ant.1141=1150). If this is accepted, which long syllable should be removed in the strophe? Murray brackets $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\eta$, but Pearson prefers to remove $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ of 771 (so also Wilamowitz, Gr. Versk. p.452, n.1). For the retention of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\eta$ Zuntz adduces A. Ag.503 $\tau\acute{\omega}$ πατρῶν οὐδ' Ἀργείῃ χθονός; Supp.1028 λιπαροῖς χεύμασι γλίγ' τόδε κειλίσσοντες οὐδ' ἄγ' ; Empedocles 115.10. Certainly $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is, as Zuntz, "stylistically too impressive to be attributed to interpolation." (For such emphatic repetition cf. E. Ba.963 $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$; Hipp.327 $\kappa\alpha\kappa'$ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$; Alc. φίλον φίλον; Rh.579 θρασύ θρασύ).

Alternatively, several attempts have been made to replace πολύθυτος; E.g. πολύθεινος (Hermann); πολύθειστος (Bergk); πολύκνιστος (Herwerden); πολύλιστος (Wecklein). Dindorf suggested πολύθειστος, a form nowhere attested, though πολύθυτος itself is of frequent occurrence. However, Zuntz (loc. cit.) refers to $\acute{\alpha}\theta\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Simonides 7.56), $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha$ and $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha$ in inscriptions, and compares the forms $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in Homer, $\gamma\eta\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\gamma\eta\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in Sophocles, and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$

throughout tragedy, in all of which it is difficult to decide the normal form.

Certainly *πολύθυτος* is exactly the word required and expected here (v. on 777), and should be retained. If the form suggested by Dindorf is adopted, the cola will then be as follows:-

770=777 ἄλλ', ὡς πότνια, σὸν γὰρ οὐδ' αἶ
 ἐπεὶ σοὶ πολὺθυτος εἶμι — — — υ υ — υ — — Hipponactean
 771=778 γῆ, σὸν καὶ πόλις, εἰς σὺ μάλ'
 τι μὲ κραινεται, οὐδ' ἄλ' — — — υ υ — υ — — Glyconic
 (V. also Metrical Appendix.)

771. μητέρα: this must be Athena, though this title of the goddess is indeed strange. The reference in Pausanias (5.3.2) to her worship at Elis as *μητέρα* cannot be explained as meaning that the mothers of Elis worshipped her (as Rose, Handbook of Gr. Myth., p.110). She has, however, been described by scholars as a mother-goddess (e.g. E. Fehrle, Die Kultische Keuschheit, p.176ff.; E. Kalinka, in *ἑπιτύμβιον* Heinrich Swobeda dargebracht, p. 116.) But Wilamowitz (KS I.5.101 = Hermes 17(1882), and later Gr. Versk., p.452, n.1, and Glaube der Hellenen I. p.203, n.2) maintained that here not Athena but *ἡ Μητέρα*, "the Earth-mother", i.e. Demeter, is meant. But assuming that the conjunctive τ' of 754 be retained (v. supra), we have here the second part of the appeal which the Chorus

has asked earth, sun and moon to make on their behalf, i.e. to the goddess Athena: Zeus has already been named in 776ff. Further, Athena only can justly be said to be the *δέσποινα* and *φύλαξ* of Athens. Pflugk compares the expressions of Demosthenes in Plu. Dem.26 *ἢ δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί ἢ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις χάρεισιν Ἀθρηίοις, γλαυκίῃ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ δῆμῳ;*

773. ἄλλῃ: *ἄλλῃ* LP: corr. Canter: the euphemistic equivalent of *ἐς κόρυκας* (cf. Zuntz, Pol. Plays, p.122); i.e. "somewhere else". For these adverbs of motion in - *ῆ*, - *ῃ* v. KG 426, An.3 and cf. *τῷδ'*, 774.

774. τῷδ': *ἠερναγiana altera: τῷδ'* LP: v. supra.

δορυσσοῦν: Kirchhoff: *δορύσσοντα* LP: (by *δορύσσοντα* and 781 *δέ γ' ἐπ'* Triclinius clumsily attempted to secure the responson.) Kirchhoff's suggestion (for the contracted form of *δορυσσοῦς* cf. S. OC 1313; A. Th.125) makes needless any emendation metri gratia of 781. Pearson, following Jebb ad OC 1313, would render "spear-hurling" rather than "spear-brandishing", i.e. the compound adjective is derived from *σεύειν*, not *σεΐειν*. Probably this verbal part of the compound had ceased to be felt, and the adjective may simply mean "(armed) with the spear", or perhaps "rushing with the spear". For this simple sense cf. S. Ai. 1188 *δορυσσοῦτων μόχθων* (Jebb: "= 'Martial'"; A. Th.125 *δορυσσοῦς σαγαῖς*).

775. ἐκᾶ ἀρετῆ : causal dative. KG 425.9. Cf. ἐξ' ὁδοῖς , 474, note; ἀγγέλλουσιν , 660, 789. The particular ἀρετᾶ of the Athenians is the honour paid to Athena at the Great Panathenaea described in 777ff.

776. δίκαιοι εἰμ' : cf. 142, note.

777. πολύθυτος : (πολύθυστος Dindorf; v. on 770ff.). The adjective refers specifically to the month Hecatombaeon in which ἑκατόμβαι were offered at Athens to Athena (Antipho. 6.44; Plu. Thes.12) on the occasion of the Great Panathenaea held every four years in the third year of the Olympiad on her birthday, i.e. the 28th of the month. Cf. Schol. ad Hom. Il.8.39 Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη ὅτι τρίτη φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη ; Schol. ad Pl. R.327A. (V. also on 779.)

778. λάθει : "nor is the waning day forgotten", Pearson; "does not forget thee", Beck; "pass unobserved", Jerram; "il n'est point oublié, le dernier jour des mois", Méridier. But is there any parallel for this meaning of the active of λανθάνειν , ληθεῖν ? More probably, ἡμᾶς should be supplied with the verb, i.e. "does not escape our notice"; (a meaning which practically = the rendering by Jerram, although he does not explain it.)

779. μηνῶν φθίνουζ ἡμέρα : the simplest interpretation is

that the expression is a rough approximation to the

τρίτη φθίνοντος, the 28th of Hecatombaeon, the birthday of Athena (v. supra), i.e. "the end of the month", although the plural μηνῶν is rather puzzling, unless the meaning is that of the particular month in successive years. The gloss of Hesych. s.v. φθινῆς ἡμέρα; τὴν ἱσταμένου

τρίτην τριμήνιον λέγει is corrupt, and according to Pearson (App. B, p.147) probably conceals τριτομηνίδα, "for this

word is explained by Harpocration as follows: τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνος τριτομηνίδα ἐκάλουν. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γενέθλιος τῆς Ἀθηνῶν. Ἰσοκροῦς (fr.26, FHG 1.p.422) δὲ καὶ τριτογένειαν αὐτὴν φησι διὰ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην νομισσομένην.

Similarly, Phot., Souda, Etym. M. etc." Obviously there

are two (incorrect) interpretations of τριτογένεια, one explaining it as meaning the third of the month, the other as the third from the end of the month (v. supra on 777).

(The correct interpretation of the adjective is that

it implies the origination of Athena from the water, i.e. the sea. Cf. Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. p.186-7, and Schol. ad Apollon. 1.109

Τρίτωνες τρεῖς, Βοιωτῆς Θεσσαλίας Λιβύης, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Λιβύην ἐπέχθη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ.

780. νένυ γ' αἰοῖδαι χερῶν τε μοῖσαι: what verb must be supplied here? If my interpretation of λάθει, 778, is correct, κραινόνται should be supplied (so most edd.), unless λάθουσι could be supplied with a different "understood" object,

i.e. *σε* here instead of *ἡμῶν*. Pearson argues for a close connection between *μηνῶν φθινιάς ἡμέρα* and *νέων τ' ἄοιδάι κτλ* : "The words *νέων ἄοιδάι* refer to the *κῶμος* of Ephebi who accompanied the procession of the Peplos; their songs appear to be contrasted with the elaborate performances of the cyclic chorus (*Χορῶν τε μοῦσαι*, for which see X. Ath. Pol. 3.4)." This phrase may thus simply be explanatory of *μηνῶν φθινιάς ἡμέρα*. (The punctuation of Wilamowitz (v. App. Crit.) seems an unnecessary alteration of the text.)

781. ὄχθω : i.e. the Acropolis; cf. E. Ion 12 Παιδαῖδος
ὕπ' ὄχθω; HF 1178 ὦ τὸν εἰλιόφορον ὄχθον ἔχων.

782. ὀλολύγματα κτλ : for the pannychis E. Fehrle (Die kultische Keuscheit, p.118) refers to Dittenberger Sylloge² 634.31; Fohdenz (Gr. Tr. 2.107) illustrates the *ὀλολύγματα* in the cult of Athena by E. Fr.351 (Erechtheus) *ὀλολύσεται ὦ γυνῶκες ὡς ἔλθη θεῶν χρυσῆν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' ἐπικούρον πόλει*. Also cf. Hom. Il.6.301 *αἰ δ' ὀλολυγῆ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χείρας ἀνέσχον*.

πανκυχίαις : here, of course, literally of an all-night celebration. Contrast 748, note.

παρθένων : here adjectival; cf. E. Hipp.1006 *παρθένων ψυχῆν ἔχων*; Ion 270 *εἰ παρθένους γε χείρας*; Ph.838 *παρθένω χερί*. (Cf. 753 *ἀρχέταν*; 699 *δελίτην*, notes.)

ὑπὸ : "to the beat of": Jerram. Edd. exemplify with instances of ὑπό and the genitive case in this sense of musical (rhythmical) accompaniment (KG 442.1(c)), but Pearson adduces parallels for the use of the preposition with the dative as here: Lucian Tim. 46 ἐλεγεία ᾠσιν ὑπὸ κούρῃ τῆς Δικέλλης; Dio. Chrys. p. 407A χοροῦς ὑπὸ τῶν μέλει τούτων στησόμεθα πρίστων καὶ παρθένων.
(V. also LSJ s. ὑπό, B.II.4).

783. ποδῶν κρόταισιν : cf. E. Tr. 545 παρθένοι δ' ἄριον ἀνὶ κρότον ποδῶν βραὺ ἔμελλον εὐβρον'.

FOURTH EPEISODION

784 - 891

A messenger enters bringing news of the defeat of the Argives. In a long speech he describes the details of the battle, the rejuvenation of Iolaos and the capture by him of Eurystheus. Alkmenè rejoices at the news, expresses her thanks to Zeus, but asks why Iolaos has spared Eurystheus. The messenger says that he has done so that Alkmene may have the pleasure of seeing her foe alive to face punishment.

784. Θερ.: LP: Ἄγγ. Rassow. Most edd., with the exception of Murray, believe that this messenger is not the Ἰλλου πένετης (639) who enters in 630 and escorts Iolaos to battle, but a slave of Alkmene. Their belief is based on her statement that he has won his freedom (788-789) and his subsequent reminder to her to free him (888-890). However, Alkmene does not say in so many words that she will free the man, and his later reminder could be taken as an appeal to her to have Hyllos free him. Almost certainly the man who brings in Eurystheus in 928 is the πένετης (cf. 936, where he refers to δ' ἐσθλὸς Ἰόλαιος). Probably Murray is right (v. ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ - "Θερσίππων et Ἰγγελοσ una eademque mihi videntur esse persona etc."): the πένετης first appears to herald the coming of Hyllos and is hailed ὦ φίλταθ', 640, (v. note), then after escorting Iolaos brings back news of the victory, whereupon he is again addressed as ὦ φίλταθ', 788, and then leaves the stage (891) to reappear (928) with the captured Eurystheus. This seems most satisfactory dramatically.

(However, there is the objection raised by Rassow (Quaestiones selectae de Euripideorum nuntiorum narrationibus, Greifswald 1882/3), referred to by Pearson and Meridier (note ad loc.), who (Pearson, Intro. p.XIV, n.1) "lays

down the rule that in E. a messenger only appears in one scene; and that wherever there are two messengers in one play, they are different persons.")

It should be noted that the mss. attribute 928ff. to *Ἀγγ.*, i.e. to a person different from the one who here speaks, though no conclusions can be drawn from this, or indeed any attribution by mss.; cf. the faulty attribution of 75-76 to Iolaos by LP and v. also on 961ff.

Rickard-Cambridge (*Dramatic Fest.*¹, p.145) does not recognize a distinction of part here. His attribution reads: 1st Iolaos, Eurystheus; 2nd Demophon, Servant; 3rd Herald (sc. Kopreus), Makaria, Alkmene.

784-5. Most edd. are unhappy with the wording of these two lines as transmitted by LP. Kirchhoff transposed *καλλίστου φέρω* and *συντομωτάτους*, and several edd. (e.g. Jacobs, Wecklein, Hartung, Dimdorf and Nauck) have inserted *λέγειν* in place of either *ἐμοί* or *τῷδε*. Certainly *σύντομος*, *-ως*, etc. of language seems more commonly used of the delivery of a message rather than its receipt (LSJ s. *σύντομος*, I.2.II; but contrast A. Eu.415 *πέυση τὰ πέντε συντόμῳ*), and Pearson gives one example only of the personal pronoun with *ὄδε*: Thuc. 1.53 *ἡμῶν τοῖσδε λεβόντες*

(var. reading πρώτου), although ἀπὸ ὅδε = ἐγώ is common enough (KG 465, An.6(d)).

In the light therefore of the common antithesis between λέγειν and κλύειν - cf. E. Supp.98 σοὺ τὸ μῆνυειν ἐμοί, ἡμῶν δ' ἄκουσον; IT 768 ὅτι τε χρῆ κλύοντα σοῦ λέγαν; Hel.117 ἢ κλύων λέγεις; Hec.236 σοὶ μὲν εἰρησθαί χρεών, ἡμῶν δ' ἄκουσον; S. Phil.24 ὡς τὰ πλείοστα τῶν λόγων σὺ μὲν κλύεις, ἐγὼ δὲ φέρω.
- λέγειν should be inserted, and if συντομωτάτου is felt to suit λέγειν better than κλύειν, i.e. 786-787 express most glorious news for Alkmene and in a manner most concise for the deliverer of the news, then the lines should run either:-

δέσποινα, μύθου σοὶ τε συντομωτάτου
κλύειν λέγειν τε τῶδε καλλίστους φέρω.

or, preferably,

δέσποινα, μύθου σοὶ τε καλλίστους φέρω

κλύειν { λέγειν τε τῶδε συντομωτάτους Wecklein.
ἐμοί τε συντομωτάτους λέγειν Hartung, followed
by Dindorf and Nauck.

(Cf. also S. OT 1234 ὁ μὲν τέλξιτος τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ μαθεῖν, τέθνηκε θεῖον Ἰοκείτης κέρα).

786. νικῶμεν : = "we are the victors"; cf. the use

of the present tense of *ἰδρύνειν*, *φεύγειν*, (*φεύγομεν*, 15), where a perfect tense might have been expected. KG 382.4(C); MT 27; Wackernagel, *Syntax i.*, p.166.

ἰδρύνεται: "set up", a meaning common in connection with statues and temples (LSJ s.v. II). The verb here replaces the more usual *ἰστάναι*, *τιθέναι*.

787. παντευχίαν: cf. S. Ant. 142 *ἔλιπον Ζηνὶ τροπαίῳ πύχαια τέλη*; also supra 720 *δύλων παντευχίαν*.

788. διήλασεν: LP: *διήνυσεν* Reiske: *διήγαγεν* Elmsley: while there is no parallel for the use of this verb in the sense of "has brought you through", the suggestions of Reiske and Elmsley are equally unparal- lellled. *διανύειν* is never found with a personal object, but always in the sense of "completing a course, labours, etc.", and the parallel suggested by Elmsley and supported by Pearson for *διάγειν*, S. El. 781 *ἄλλ' ὁ προστατῶν χρόνος διήγε μ' αἰεὶ ὡς θαναμένους*, does not seem at all apt. Probably *διήλασεν* is quite correct here.

789. ἐλευθερῶσαι: L: *ἠλευθερῶσθαι* L²: most edd. apart from Murray adopt the "genuine variant" (Zuntz, *Trad.*, p.187; *Pol. Plays*, p.108) of *ἠλευθερῶσθαι*, i.e. "so as to be freed". But of course the aorist active is equally possible here, "so as to free you". For this use of the

infinitive, purpose/consecutive, cf. KG 473(b).7; MT 770.

ἰγγέλλμασιν : causal dative; cf. 474, 775.

791. φόβος... εἰ : = φοβῶμαι εἰCf. E. Med.184
 Ἰταρ φόβος εἰ πείσω δέσποιναν ἑμὴν . KG 553(b).9(b).

792. γ' : "Sometimes in assenting, the second speaker echoes a word from the previous speaker (characteristic of E.)." GP 136.

793. οὐκ.... ὄδε : LP: οὐν ἔτι : Elmsley: Murray (v. App. Crit.) supports the mss. reading, and suggests that Iōlaos at that moment passes by in a triumphal procession. But if the line spoken here by Alkmene means "Is this not Iolaos?" when she sees a marvellously rejuvenated old warrior, why then does she ask (795) in answer to πράξης κἀλλίστη δῆ , "What! Surely he did not perform some noble deed?", when the evidence of the κἀλλίστη πράξις has just been presented to her own eyes? Further, in 862 the servant says ἦκει ἔγνω of Iolaos, implying that he is still on his way back, and in fact Eurystheus whom he is said to be escorting does not appear until 928 - although of course Iolaos himself does not appear again in the play.

Therefore edd. generally accept Elmsley's emendation, i.e. "Is Iolaos still alive?" Cf. E. IT 537 Θείτοδος δ' ὅ τῆς Νηρηΐδος ἔστι πάνι ἔτι (δ' ὅ :LP: δέ Elmsley. V. Platnauer ad loc.); Hec.284 κἀγὼ γὰρ ἦ ποτ', ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ εἶμ' ἔτι. KG 353.4. For μέν οὖν marking a transition, v. GP 471.

(Pearson would adopt Elmsley's οὖν and read τίδ'ε for ὄδ'ε, comparing E. Cyc.63; Andr.168; Thuc.6.77. (V. KG 366, Ann., and 467.3(c) for this common use of τίδ'ε as predicate referring to a condition.) He translates: "with the sense 'Does this include old Iolaos?'" But the parallels are not convincing.)

794. καλλίστα : cf. 641, note.

ἐκ θεῶν : cf. 587, note. Iolaos "has fared καλλίστα ", as he ought, at the hands of the gods.

δ' : LP: γ' Elmsley. δ' would be quite awkward here (v. GP 164) and the emendation should be adopted.

ἐν' : emphasizes the superlative. GP 207.

795. τίδ' ἔστι; : conveys surprise; cf. E. Hel.600, 1514; S. Ai.897; El.921, 1237; OT 319, 1144; Tr.339. GP 175. Cf. Jebb ad S. OT 319: " δέ' marking that the attention is turned to a new point, as in τίδ'; , quid vero? (941)

or to a new person." For the elliptical *τι'δέ;* with the same feeling cf. 685, note; 712.

μῶν : cf. 647, note.

τι κέδνόν : adverbial accusative. KG 410, An.5. For the full form of the expression with the cognate accusative cf. 992, note: *ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἀγωνιούμενος.*

796. ἐκ γέροντος : for this use of the preposition expressing "change from" v. note on *ἐξ ἀμηχανῶν*, 148 and cf. 939; S. OT 454 *τυφλὸς γὰρ ἐκ δεδερκότος*; X. Eyr.3.1.17 *ἐξ ἰφρόνος σώφρων γεγένηται.*

ἀθροῦ ἀθ : pleonastic; cf. 486, note; 708.

797. θαυμάσι' ἔλεξας : the use of the aorist tense here does not seem parallel to that of such expressions as *ἤνεα*, *ἐπήνεα* (cf. E. IT 4023; Med.707; IA 655; Alc.1095; Ion 1614 etc.), where the tense refers to the moment when the emotion was first felt, immediately before it was expressed, i.e. the so-called momentary aorist or instantaneous aorist. (KG 386.9; MT 60; cf. 232, note.) In this and similar expressions the tense seems to refer quite normally to something just said; cf. E. IT 340 *θαυμάσι' ἔλεξας*; 1021 (and Cyc.196) *δεινὸν τόδ' εἶπας*; Hipp.278 *θαυμαστοῦν εἶπας*; El. 1327 *δεινὸν τόδ' ἐγηρύσω*; Andr.909 *μικροῦ γ' ἔλεξας*; Med.1122 *κλιεῖστον εἶπας μῦθον.*

φίλων μάχης ἀγῶνα : i.e. as Pearson: "the battle-struggle of our friends"; cf. S. Tr. 20 εἰς ἀγῶνα μάχης; Ar. fr. 558 μονομάχου πάλης ἀγῶνα. The genitive (μάχης) is parallel to that in E. Med. 153 θανάτου τελευταῖν; 982 θανάτου μοῖραν; 856 μοῖραν φόνου. (Pearson: "genitive of description".)

799. σημανεῖ : KP Elmsley: σημαίνει LP: the change of tense to future is not absolutely essential.

εἰς λόγος : a rather strange expression for a speech of 87 lines. However, it seems that the servant means that "one and the same" account will reveal that Iolaos is alive and miraculously changed, and also how the battle went in favour of the Athenians and the Herakleidae. Cf. Ar. Lys. 1135 εἰς μὲν λόγος μοι δεῦρ' ἀεὶ περαινέται, where εἰς = the same. V. LSJ s. εἰς, 2(a).

(Pearson says that Rasso (v. on 784) thinks that there has been some reworking of the play here, because of his rule that a messenger's speech begins without any introduction.)

800. γὰρ : marks the beginning of the explanatory narrative. GP 59.

ἀλλήλοισιν : i.e. as if the verb were to be 3rd person plural, including Athenians and Argives, but then the servant includes himself in the 1st person plural.

ἐπαίτην : adjectival; cf. 699, note.

801. κατὰ στόμα : "face to face"; cf. HDt.8.11; E. Rh.409, 491, 511; X. An.5.2.26.

ἐκτείνοντες : transitive here (LSJ s.v. I.2) but intr. in E. Supp.654 (ὄρω) *τευχέσφορον μὲν λαὸν ἐκτείνοντ' ἔνω.*
(On the intransitive use of *τείνω* and compounds v. KG 373.2(a) sub fin.)

802. ἐκβαλῆ... πόδα : v. on 168.

803. μέσσοιν ἐν μεταίχμιοι : as Pearson points out, there is a double redundancy here in *μέσσοιν* and *ῥυρόν*, as *μεταίχμιον* means per se "the space between two armies".
(Cf. E. Ph.1361 *ἔστησαν ἐλθόντ' εἰς μέσον μεταίχμιον (sc.οἱ Οἰδίπου νεανία).*)

ῥυρόν : collective noun; cf. 500, 842, 932, and 276, note.

805ff, Heath, followed by Elmsley, thought that several lines had been omitted after 805. The translation of the text as adopted by all modern edd. including Murray (i.e.

τί Heath, in place of ἐπὶ L (ἐπεὶ P), and εἰδόμεν Elmsley, in place of εἰς σά μόν LF), can only be: "Why do we not leave this land alone? (v. infra). You will do no harm to Mycenae with the loss of (only) one man."

But it is doubtful whether *εἶναι* can be used in this way with a noun like *γῆναι*. There are plenty of exx. of the meaning of the verb = "forget about, give up" in connection with ideas and feelings and abstract nouns (LSJ s.v. II), but the meaning "leave ~~alone~~ something" seems to require an explanatory adjective; cf. S. Ph. 825 *ἀλλ' εἰδώμεν, φίλοι, ἔκκλητον αὐτόν*. No editor suggests the meaning here as simply "forget about": cf. Paley: "'let alone'. Why do you and I disturb it by arms?"; Jerram: "'leave alone', i.e. refrain from harassing by war"; Méridier: "que ne laissons-nous ce sol en paix."

Also the transition from 805 to 806 seems very abrupt when there has been no mention as yet by Hyllos, as one would expect, of a personal quarrel between him, as the eldest of the Herakleidae, and Eurystheus. Also the *ἀλλ'* of 807 seems resumptive of some previous argument such as: "there is no need to involve this land; let us fight it out between ourselves, as the quarrel is between you and me. Argos will not be harmed by the death of just one man - so then...." For this use of *ἀλλ'* "as a clinching and final appeal" (GP 14) = "come on, then", followed by the imperative, cf. GP 13(para 4) and 14.

Elmsley suggested after 805: *καὶ τῆς Μυκηνῶν εἰρήνην ἔχειν*, which is of course purely hypothetical, yet illustrates

the sense required. However, several lines seem to be required between 805 and ἄλλ' of 807.

805. τί... οὐκ εἰλόσμεν : if this reading is correct (v. supra), the tense is an example of the use of the aorist tense in an impatient question where English would use the present (KG 386.10; MT 62), i.e. "Why do we not.....?", in the sense of "Let us....."

807. ἄνδρός : i.e. "of (one) man". Edd. compare E. Andr.909 κακόν γ' ἔλεξας, ἄνδρα δί'σσ' εἶχεν λέχῃ. The sense seems to be that if Hyllos and Eurystheus meet in single combat, no harm will be done to Argos if Eurystheus is the one to lose and be killed, i.e. his death will not greatly damage the future strength of Argos, whereas if a pitched battle is fought many Argives will die whatever the outcome. So most edd.: but Pearson interprets ἄνδρός στήρησας as "so far from losing a single man, you will either acquire the surrender of the Herakleidae or have to make way for me." This seems unsatisfactory: the proposed single combat would surely have ended in the death of either Hyllos or Eurystheus.

μόνος μόνω : emphatic repetition, as E. Andr.1221 μόνος
μόνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἄναστρέφῃ; S. Ai.467 ἕμπεσῶν μόνος μόνους ; 1283
αὐτοῦ Ἑκτορος μόνος μόνου ... ἦλθ' ἑκαστοῦ; D. 18.137 τῷ ὑπο τῶν πολεμίων
πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνω συνήει.

808. μάχηκ συνάψας : μάχη LP: corr. Reiske: cf. 831; E.
Ph.1230 μόνος συνάψω συγγόνω τῶμω μάχην.
(For συνάπτειν v. on 429).

ἴγου : middle voice: "tecum abducē" Elmsley. Cf. ἐφέλευσθαι
256.

810. ἴφει : the suggestions of Nauck (παρεῖ) and
Wecklein (μέθει) are unnecessary. ἴφιέναι in this context
seems the right word in the sense of "releasē to me by
your death" (ἴχειν is exegetical infinitive, as
256.) Pearson well compares for this sense of "abandoning"
A. Th.306 ἴφιέντες τὰν βαρύχθον' ἴαν, where the Chorus implore the
gods not to desert Thebes. V. ISJ s.v. I.3.

811. ἐπήνεσ'... ἀεθέχθαι : the construction is difficult
to explain or parallel. Paley: "sc. λέγων" (so Jerram);
Beck: "after ἐπήνεσ' , which is used absolutely, he
quotes the praise"; Pearson: "The inf. follows ἐπήνεσ' ,
as a verbum declarandi." Pearson quotes Pl. R.404D for
a parallel use of φέγειν : φέγει ἴρα καὶ Κορινθίαν κόρην φίλην εἶνα
ἀνδράσιν μέλλουσιν εἶ σῶματος ἔχειν.
Cf.. also the use of θαυμάσειν with the infinitive: E. Alc.
1130 ἀπιστεῖν δ' οὔ σε θαυμάσω τύχην ; Med.268 πενθεῖν δ' οὔ σε θαυμάσω τύχης.
(KG 484, An.3); also ἀτιμῶσθαι , καταγινώσκειν with the
infinitive (LSJ s.vv.; KG 473.1).

Probably there should be no mark of punctuation after *ἐπήνεσ'* .

ἔς τ'...ἔς τ' : "as regards": KG 432.3(c).

812. εὐψυχίαν : i.e. that of Hyllos. Not as Paley (and Jerram): "their reputation for valour". *εὐψυχία* in this play at any rate means more than "bravery"; cf. 597 (of Makaria) and the bitter comment of Iolaos (746, note). There seems to be a flavour of morality or moral quality about the word, i.e. a sense of *αἰδώς* , the behaviour associated with *εὐγένεια* , bravery in the framework of a moral code. Cf. the Funeral Speech of Perikles, Thuc.

2.39: πιστεύοντες οὐ τῆς παρασκευῆς τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀπαταῆς ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀτύχων ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψυχῶς;
 ibid.43 καὶ τὸ εὐδαίμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες.

813. οὔτε...οὔτε : negatives both *αἰδεσθεῖν* and *ἐτόλμησ'* .

τοῦ κλύοντα αἰδεσθεῖν : for this sense of "feeling shame before" cf. Hom. Il.6.442 *αἰδέομαι Τρῶας... αἰ' κε κακῶς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάρῳ πολέμοιο*.

Similarly Il.22.104ff.

δειλίαν : for *αἰδέσθαι* with the accusative of the

behaviour which causes, or should cause shame, cf. E.

Hipp.244 αἰδομένη γὰρ τὰ λελεγεμένα μοι.

Contrast the αἰδώς which governs the conduct of Iolaös, Demophon, Makaria and Hyllos (6, 28, 43, 200, 223, 242, 255, 265, 450, 460, 516, 541, 567, 700) with the lack of ^{αἰδώς} shown at this point by Eurystheus and mentioned previously (458ff., 744).

αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ = emphatic juxtaposition as 807, note.

στρατηγός ὤν : i.e. as king and general, he above all should have been ashamed to display cowardice.

816. εἶτα : indignantly: "and then...." Pearson is probably right in suggesting that a question mark should replace the stop at the end of 817, for εἶτα is especially used of indignant questions (LSJ s.v. II).

τοιοῦτος : i.e. κέκιστος , completely lacking in αἰδώς .

817. δουλώσων : "pro δουλωσόμενος" : Elmsley. But the emphasis is on a man like Eurystheus making slaves of εὐγενῶν like the Herakleidae "not on the gain secured by their subduer" (Beck).

818. μὲν οὖν : marks the transition to the preparations for the battle. GP 471. Cf. 793, note.

819. μονομάχου δι' ἰσπίδος: "by means of single combat";
 cf. E. Ph.1325 ἤκουσε τέκνα μονομάχῳ μέλλειν δοῦναι ἰσπίδ' ἡΐζειν;
 Ar. Fr.558 μονομάχου πάλης ἑγῶνα.

Wilamowitz (Kl. Schriften I.4 = Index Sch. Gryphsw. 1882, p.XI) considers that this challenge by Hyllos was meant to recall his death in single combat against Echemos, king of Tegea, when the Herakleidae tried to return to the Peloponnesus (Hdt. 9.26; Preller-Robert, Die Gr. Heldensage, 2.652).

820. τελουμένης: probably middle future for passive (though it could be present passive); cf. A. Ag.68 τελείται δ' εἰς τὸ πεπραγμένον; Fr.929 ἄπερ τελείται .

821. οὐκ ἔμελλον: i.e. "without further delay"; cf. 132, note.

822. Ἀγκυῶν βροτείων: there are considerable difficulties here. Cf. Pearson: "If this refers to human sacrifice, or more particularly to the death of Makaria, the abruptness of the allusion is amazing." Murray also found βροτείων puzzling (v. App. Crit.). Wilamowitz (v. App. Crit.) considered that 819-822 were the invention of a redacteur who excised a lengthy description of the sacrifice of Makaria, which he replaced with these lines. (V. Introduction for a fuller discussion of this theory.)

Others consider that *βροτείων* does indeed ^{refer} to the sacrifice of Makaria but that a full and sympathetic description of her sacrifice at this point in the narrative would have distracted the attention of the audience from the description of the all-important battle.

In view of the close parallel of E. IA 1084, *βρότειον αἱματόντες λαιμόν*, which refers to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, the suggestions of Faley (*βοτείων*) and Helbing (and Vonhoff) (*βοείων*) cannot be entertained. Pearson, however, suggests an interpretation of *βρότειος* as "gory", derived from the Homeric *βρότος* and draws attention to England ad IA 1084. Cf. Homeric *βροτοίεις*. Further *βρότος* "in the Iliad is always *αἱματοίεις*" (v. LSJ s.v.), a fact which lends weight to the interpretation of IA 1084 as "making bloody the throat so as to be gory", i.e. the proleptic use of the adjective (cf. E. Med. 864 *τάγῃ χεῖρα φοινίαν*, and ~~1249~~ 1253 *πρὶν φοινίαν τέκνοις προσβλεῖν χεῖρ'*). Zuntz (PO1. Plays, App.) draws attention to the parallel construction of E. Supp. 76 *διὰ παρηΐδος ὄνυχι λευκὸν αἱματοῦτε χρωτὰ φόνιον* (Zuntz, Trans. p. 65: "he (sc. Triclinius) inserted *τε* after *χρωτὰ* v. 77. This necessitated changing the preceding *ὄνυχι* into the accusative; accordingly he wrote a large α over its ending....."); *ibid.* 353 *ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν;*

HF 641, 874. This line of argument is unconvincing: it would be very strange if in these two instances alone (i.e. here and IA 1084) *βρότειος* means "gory" and everywhere else "mortal", especially in view of E. Ph.

937ff. *χθων̄ αἷμα' ἣν λάβῃ βρότειον, ἔζετ' εὐμενῆ γῆν,*
and IT 404 *τέγγει βωμοῦ καὶ περικίονα καὶ αἷμα βρότειον,*
where beyond any doubt the meaning is "human sacrifice".

βροτείων may be explained here, however, as referring to an accepted practice of human sacrifice at times of crisis, especially before a battle. F. Schwenn (*Die Menschenopfer bei den Griech. und Romern*, R.V.V. XV.3 (1915), p.75) refers to the story in Plutarch (*Arist.9; Pelop.21; Them.13*) of the sacrifice of three Persian captives before the battle of Salamis. Cf. also Arr. 1.5-6 *οἱ δὲ σφαγιγόμενοι πῆδαι τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἄριθμὸν καὶ κριού μέλανα τρεῖς, ὠρμηγτο μὲν ὡς δεζόμενοι εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Μακεδόνα.* There is also the case of the *φαρμακοί*, human scape-goats put to death at the Thargelia, a festival attributed to Apollo held in Ionic cities, probably to purify the city. (For the ancient authorities v. Fretter-Robert, *Gr. Myth.*, p.262, n.1; Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, i.97ff.; LSJ s.v.). For primitive human sacrifice cf. E. IT 384 *ἄσπερ δὲ θυσιῶν ἤθετα βροτοκτόνοις;*
IA 1524 *Θύμασιν βροτοκτονοῦσιν χερσὶσιν.* As stories of heroic

sacrifice in times of crisis are so common and so frequently used by the tragedians, it would not be surprising if in pre-historic times humans were sacrificed as a matter of course before a battle. So here human sacrifice is meant, i.e. the *σφάλια* of 673 and 399 are probably human and animal (cf.. Arr. loc. cit. supra). Note that Demophon does not simply say that the oracles order the sacrifice of a maiden, but that they specify a maiden of noble birth (409), i.e. the daughter of a citizen at any rate (412). Perhaps then there would be no difficulty in procuring the sacrifice of, say, criminals or slaves. So then *λαγμῶν βροτείων* could well mean "human throats" without interrupting the narrative or arousing the curiosity of Alkmene, but yet reminding the audience of one particular victim, i.e.. Makaria - although it must be remembered that her request to die *ἐν χειρὶν γυναικῶν* (565-7) was granted by Demophon, and her sacrifice was probably performed separately.

οὐριον : cf. E. Hel. 1588 *αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ ἐς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντισον*
οὐριοὶ γένω ; in these passages the word has lost all literal sense of "with favouring wind" (*οὐρος*).

823. οἱ δ' . . . οἱ δ' : = *καὶ οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δ' . . .*

ὑπ' ἀσπίδων : lit. "under their shields they concealed

their sides with (sc. their neighbours') sides", i.e. they stood in hoplite formation, each man protecting with his shield his own left side and the right side of his neighbour. For *ὑπό* with the genitive in this sense cf. E. Hec. 343 *δέξιν ὑφ' ἔσματος κρύπτοντα χεῖρας* and for *κρύπτειν* of "covering" with the notion of protecting, Hom. Il. 14.373 *κεφαλῆς κορυθεοσι κρύψαντες*; 8.272 *ὀδέξιν γὰρ κει κρύπτασθε φαεινῶ*. (cf. also supra 721).

A less satisfactory interpretation (Beck, Jerram) is to take *ὑπ' ὀπίθων πλευροῦ* as = "under the shelter of their shields" (cf. supra 10, *ὑπὸ πτεροῦ*).

824. *πλευροῦ*: Elmsley: *πλευραῖ* LP: in his note here Elmsley says: "suspicio vocabula *πλευραῖ*, *πλευραῖς* et *πλευρᾶς* in tragicorum scriptis ubique vitiosa esse." But as Jebb notes (ad S. Ai. 1410) the change of feminine to neuter "would involve some very improbable changes; e.g. in E. IT 298 *παίει σιδηρῶ λαγόνῃ, εἰς πλευρᾶς γεί*" (where Elmsley suggested *λαγόνῃ εἰς μέσῃ*)."

Certainly here *πλευροῦ* is to be preferred on the recommended interpretation (v. on 823): i.e. *πλευροῦ* refers to the side of the body as does *πλευραῖ*, and the change of gender would be very awkward. Cf. E. Alc. 366 *πλευράτ' ἐκτείνω πάλῃ πλευροῖσι τοῦ σῶ*.

825. παρήγγελ' : L: παρήγγειλ' P: in view of the other imperfect tenses of the indicative in this description of the preliminaries (εἰσέβαινον , ἔκρυπτον , ἐλίσσετο), there is no need to adopt with Wecklein the aorist of P.

εὐγενῆ : emphasizes again the concept of εὐγένεια ; v. on 299ff., 812.

826. συμπολίται : this word seems to have been used by E. only of Attic writers and is condemned as non-Attic by Phryn. 150, Poll. 3.51 (συμπολίτης οὐ δόκιμον, εἰ καὶ Εὐριπίδης κέχρηται ἐν Ἡρακλείδῃ τε καὶ Θησεῖ .
- hence fr.390 (Theseus) συμπολίτης), Schol. ad Ar. Pax 909.

τῆ τε... καὶ τῆ : the repeated article gives emphasis (cf. GP 518, n.1); i.e. "the land that supports you and the land that gave you birth.", the latter phrase referring to the claim of the Athenians to be autochthonous.

827. τιν' : = πάντα τινά . LSJ s.v. II.2 and exx.

828. Θέλειν : Reiske: Θέλων LP: the conjecture of Reiske has been universally adopted. Θέλων would refer to Eurystheus who has already disgraced Argos (813ff.).

Edd. stress the meaning of *θέλω* generally as = "choose", but here it is a periphrasis for an imperative. In the direct form it would be *μηδεις θέλω κατασχύναι* = *μηδεις κατασχυνάτω*; cf. E. El. 1354 οὕτως ἀδικεῖν μηδεις θέλω μηδ' ἐπιόρκων μετέσχευαίτω; fr. 174 μὴ οὖν θέλε λυπεῖν σαυτοῦ; Hom. Il. 1. 277 μῆτε γὰρ Πηλεΐδῃ, θεῶν ἔριζόμεναι βασιλῆϊ; 2. 247. (Cf. also the use of *θέλει* followed by the subjunctive, as S. OT 651 τί τοι θέλει τῆτ' εἰκάσω; El. 80 θέλει μείνωμεν αὐτοῦ. Also *βούλει*; S. Ph. 761 βούλει λάβωμαι).

829. ἐλίσσετο: Elmsley considered that Euripides chose the word to express the cowardly nature of Eurystheus, and certainly it seems always to have the sense of "beg, entreat" (LSJ sv.) and is never used of a general exhorting his troops.

830. ἐσημν': i.e. ὁ σαλπικτής, as X. An. 4. 3. 29 ἐπειδὴν ὁ σαλπικτής σημνῆν τὸ πολεμικόν.

ὄρθιον: "high and clear". Adverbial accusative. KG 309, An. 5. Cf. A. Pers. 389 ὄρθιον ἀνηλάλαξε ἦχῳ; E. Tr. 1266 ὄρθια σαλπικτος ἦχῳ.

Τυρρηρικῆ σαλπικτι: also in E. Ph. 1377; Rh. 988; A. Eu. 567; S. Ai. 17 (κώδων T.). The straight, post-horn form of trumpet, ending in a bell-mouth, possibly brought to Europe by Tyrrhenian pirates, or an invention of the Lydians

from whom the Tyrrhenians were descended. (Jebb ad S. Ai.17).

831. συνήψαν : cf. 808.

832. πόσον τιν' αὐχέϊ : a modification of the colloquial πόσον δοκεῖ; in parenthesis; cf. E. Hipp.446 τοῦτον λαβούσα - πῶς δοκεῖ; -καθύβρισεν; Hec.1160; Ar. Ra.54; Nub.881, 1348.

αὐχέϊ : "believe"; v. 333, note.

πάταγος : cf. A. Th.103 πάταγος οὐχ' ἐνὸς βορῆς; Ar. Ach.539 κάντεσθεν ἤδη πάταγος ἦν τῶν ἀσπίδων; S. Tr.517 ἦν δὲ τόβων πάταγος. Probably the meaning is the clash of shields on shields as the two lines met, not the rattling of spear against shield during the charge, as X. An.1.3.18 λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὡς τῆς ἀσπίτι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιῶντες τοῖς ἵπποις.

βρέμειν : "rang out"; imperfect infinitive, standing for an imperfect indicative in Indirect Speech. KG 389, An.4; MT 119. For the verb cf. E. Ph.112 ἦλθε Πολυεΐκης... πολλοῖς μὲν ἵπποις, μυρίοις δ' ὄπλοις βρέμων.

833. οἰμωγὴν : Musgrave proposed εὐχλωγὴν (accepted by Wecklein) following Hom. Il.4.450 ἐνθα δ' αἴμ' οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχλωγὴ πέλεν ἰνδρῶν, but the word is not found in tragedy

and the mss. reading is quite satisfactory in view of
 Thuc. 7.71 *ὑπὸ μιᾷ ὀρμῇ οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ στόνῳ πάντες δυσαναρχετοῦντες*
τὰ γινόμενα ; A. Pers. 426 *οἰμωγῇ δ' ὄμοδ κωκύμοσι κατεχέει πελαγίαν*
ἔλλα , which show the violent expression of emotion
 in a Greek battle.

834. πίτυλος : of the regularly repeated thrust of
 the spear by the well-frilled hoplite. Cf. Barrett's
 note on the word at Hipp. 1464: " *πίτυλος* (a favourite
 word of E.) denotes a regularly repeated rhythmical
 movement." He then discusses five categories of applied
 meaning in Greek literature and links the occurrence of
 the word here with E. Alc. 798 *πίτυλος σκύφου* (probably
 as Dale, of "elbow-lifting", the regular quaffing of the
 cup!). However, the use here in 834 is far better suited
 to Barrett's (2): "repeated blows or movements of the
 arms," wherein he gives examples of the word used in connection
 with boxers, physical exercise, lamentation, and death-
 throes.

835. ἐρρήξασθ' : commonly used in this sense of breaking
 a battle line, usually in the active voice; for the middle
 voice cf. Hom. Il. 11.90; 13.680.

εἰτ' ἐχώρησαν : i.e. the Argives, supplied from *Ἀργείου*

δοροῖς . The Argive attack first pierced the Athenian line; then the Argives were driven back and the line restored (836ff.).

836. ἐπαλλαχθεῖς : "interlaced": Paley, i.e. man pressing so closely on man (837) in the opposing line that the advancing foot of each overlapped; cf. Flu. Luc. 21 ἐπηλλαγμέναις δι' ἀλλήλων τῆς χειρὶς ; Arr. Tact. 3.5 Θώρακες ἐλύσεις λεπταῖς σιδηραῖς ἐπηλλαγμένοι.

Edd., following Elmsley, quote Hom. Il. 13.130

φρέζαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκει προθελόμενῳ . ἄσπις ἄρ' ἄσπιδ' ἔρειδε,
κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνῆρ'.

Tyrt. 11.31 καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θεῖς καὶ ἐπ' ἄσπιδος ἄσπιδ' ἔρεισας,
ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένους
ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω .

Verg. Aen. 10.361 haeret pede pes, densusque viro vir.

837. μάχη : Elmsley (whom Murray followed) preferred to take the noun as nominative (in LP the iota "subscript" is not written), the subject of ἐκαρτέροι , i.e. on the analogy of the frequent use of the adj. καρτερός with (= "violent, fierce"). He quoted Hdt. 1.76; Thuc. 1.49; 4.43, and would presumably make ἐκαρτέροι = ἦν καρτερά . There is no parallel for such an interpretation and

further if μάχη were taken as the subject of the verb, πού and ἀνηρ would be left as nominativi pendentes (Elmsley compared S. Ant.260 v. KG 493.2), a construction which is not impossible here but when coupled with the difficulty of ἐκφτέρει, rather improbable.

Edd. generally assume the more readily understandable μάχη, i.e. "was steadfast in battle" (though Nauck preferred μάχην, "endured the battle"; cf. E. IA 1370 τὲ δ' ἰδύναθ' ἡμῖν κρτερεῖν οὐ βῆδ' ἰδίων ; Alc.1071 ὅστις εἴ σὺ, κρτερεῖν θεῶν δόσιν).

(ἐκφτέρουν (Hartung) should not be adopted: it makes the slight zeugma of πού and ἀνηρ as the subjects of the verb too harsh.)

838. πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιπτον : cf. E. Ph.1149 πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιπτον κρᾶτας αἵματούμενοι ; Andr.1142 πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιπτον μιγάδες. (Elmsley suspected that πολλοί should be read also in Or.1489 νεκροὶ δ' ἐπιπτον .)

ἦν δὲ τοῦ κελύματος : the genitive cannot stand with the rest of the text as transmitted, and edd. have generally accepted the simple remedy of L. Dindorf, δύο κελύματα. (Other suggestions are: τῷ κελύματι (Haupt); ἦν δ' ὁμοῦ κελύματα Murray; ἦν διπλοῦν κέλευμα δέ Wecklein; ἦν δὲ πᾶσ' ὁμοῦ βοή Pearson; Kirchhoff thought that a following line

had dropped out, presumably one which contained ἰκούειν ,
 i.e. giving the sense "it was possible to hear from the
 two opposing lines....." However, the two parallels
 from E. of (παρα)κέλευσμα ἦν afford no reason for such
 a supposition: Hec.928 κέλευσμα δ' ἦν κατ' ἴστυ Τροίας τόδε;
 Hel.1602 παρακέλευσμα δ' ἦν πρόμνηθεν Ἐλένης.

839. Ἴδ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν : sc. οἰκοῦντες from σπείροντες .

840. ἰρήσεται : the construction with this verb is
 seen in full here with the dative of the person or thing
 protected and the accusative of the danger; cf. E. Med.
 1275 ἰρήσαι φόνον δοκεῖ μοι τέκνοισι; Tr.777 παῖδι τ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰν
 θάνατον ἰρήσαι.

ἀσχύνην : i.e. of defeat. (Cf. Adkins, Merit and Resp.,
 p.157.)

841. πάντα δρώντες : i.e. "putting forth every effort."
 The phrase is the poetical equivalent of the prose idiom
 with ποιεῖν ; cf. Pl. Ap.39A πᾶν ποιῶν , πᾶν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν.

842. δόρυ : collective noun; v. on 276.

844. ἄρεϊας.... δεξίαν : for the hyperbaton cf. 160, 205.

845. ἐμβήσσει : with double accusative, νιν and δῖφρον ;

cf. E. Cyc. 466 κἄπειτα καὶ σέ καὶ φίλους γέροντά τε νεῶς μελαίνης
κοῖλον ἐμβήσαι σκάφος (in view of which there is no need for
Wecklein's ἐμβήσαι or Paley's ἐσβήσαι); Hel. 1565 ἐξάνηρπασαν
ταῦρον φέροντές τ' εἰσέθεντο σέληματα.

Perhaps the preposition in the compound verb is felt
to govern δῖφρον, σκάφος, and σέληματα. KG 410.4.

Although Hyllos is not mentioned in what follows,
because the triumph of the capture of Eurystheus must
belong to Iolaos to point the moral of the downfall of
the one and the elevation of the other (cf. esp. 608-6140,
it seems likely from ἐξορμώμενον and λαβῶν χερσὶν ἡνίας that
Iolaos (fighting up till then as δαπλίτης (720ff.)) appeals
to Hyllos as he sets out in his chariot in pursuit of the
Argives to take him with him, and then takes the place
of the ἡνίοχος of Hyllos, with Hyllos beside him as παραβάτης.

847. ἐπέχε: "instabat": Elmsley; cf. Hom. Od. 22.75
ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχωμον ἀβροῖσι; Hes. Th. 711 ἀλλήλοις ἐπέχοντες;
Plu. Pyrrh. 16 ἄνδρα ἐπέχοντα τῷ Πύρρῳ.

ἦδη: emphasizing τὰ πρὸ τοῦδ'. For the use of ἦδη with
expressions of time and place v. LSJ s.v. II and III.

848. λέγομαι ἄν ἄλλων: λέγομαι ἄλλος L: corrected first by
Valckenaer, λέγομαι ἄν ἄλλου, and then Elmsley proposed
ἄλλων for ἄλλου, which has been generally adopted. For

λέγοιμ' ἄν at the beginning of a speech, politely and courteously, cf. Barrett ad E. Hipp.336 and Fraenkel ad A. Ag.838.

δεῦρο: "up to this point"; cf. the frequent use by E. in this sense with an emphasizing αἰ' : Med.670 ἀπαι, γὰρ δεῦρ' αἰ' τείνει βίον ; Ion 56; Supp.786; Hel.761; Ph.1209; Cr.1663; fr.363. Also A. Eu.596; Ar. Lys.1135.

849. Παλληνίδος: Euripides here involves Iolaos in a rather improbable chase of Eurystheus from Pallene to the Scironian Rocks in order to reconcile the two legends of the burial of Eurystheus at the Scironian Rocks (Paus. 1.44.10) and at Gargettus, near Pallene (Strabo 8.19).

(Thuc. 1.9 simply: Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδων ἀποθανόντος). But of course in the play Eurystheus is captured alive and asks for burial at Pallene (1030ff.). (For a fuller discussion v. Introduction.) For the temple of Athena here cf. Hdt. 1.62 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πειρίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μεγαθῶνος ἤσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συνιόντες ἀπικνεύονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηνῶν ἱερῷ καὶ ἀντὶα εἴθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

852. ἀποτείσασθαι δίκην ἐχθροῦ: the phrase is an extension of the use of the cognate accusative (i.e. τίσασθαι τίσιν), with verb plus accusative taking a direct object, ἐχθροῦ .

Cf. 882; Hom. Il.5.361 ἔλκος, ὃ με βροτοῖς οὐτάσεν λυγρῶ;
 Od.23.74 οὐλὴν, τὴν ποτέ μιν σὺ ἤλασε λευκῶ ὀδόντι;
 E. Med.261 πόσιν δίκην τῶνδ' ἀντιτίσασθαι κακῶν;
 Ba.345 τόνδε τὸν διδάσκαλον δίκην μέτειμι;
 A. Eu.230 δίκης μέτειμι τόνδε φῶτα.
 KG 411.3(b).

(For the sentiment v. on 881ff.)

853. ση': marks a new stage in the narrative: "now for the remarkable part....." GP 238.

πάρσι'σαι: Wecklein adopted the ingenious, but quite unnecessary conjecture of Naber, πέρα τῶδε. (For the phrase cf. 868.)

855. λυγαίω: cf. S. fr.535 ἀπ' αἰθέρος δὲ κ' ἰπὸ λυγαίου νέφους;
 E. IT 110 νυκτὸς ὄμμα λυγαίω.

νέφει: i.e. the gods co-ncealed themselves and the chariot in a dark cloud, through which they shone like stars against the background of night.

856. ση': emphasizes σόν . GP 210.

υ': epexegetic, i.e. "yes, your son". GP 139.

Pearson considers that the particle belongs to the whole

clause and compares 632 (but see my note there).

Possibly θ' (Reiske) should be read.

οἱ σοφώτεροι : i.e. "people who are more expert in interpreting such phenomena say so....but (certainly) he...."

857. Ἥβην : for the post-Homeric legend of Hebe and Herakles (Hom. Od.11.602-4 is probably interpolated) cf.

Hes. Th.950 Ἥβην.... ἢ Ἡρακλῆος παῖδα Διὸς μεγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης
Χρυσοπέδιλου αἰδοίην θεῖτ' ἄκοιτιν ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ νιφόεντι.

Her appearance here is in her double capacity as the wife of Herakles and the goddess of youth.

Συσαιθρίου : cf. λυγαίῳ νέφει , 855. The darkness and the cloud pierced by the radiance of the stars add to the impressiveness of the transformation of Iolaos, whose rejuvenated body is silhouetted against the light.

858. τύπον : "form, outline"; i.e. the muscular shape of his arms and shoulders contrasted with their former scragginess; cf. A. Th.488 Ἰππομίδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος;
Eu.49 οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργεῖοισιν εἰκίσω τύποις.

860. πέτρας Σκιρωνίειαν : v. on 849. For the robber Skiron, killed here by Theseus during his wanderings

back to Athens v. Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth.2.2 (Die Nationalheroen) p.715ff.

861. ἑκροθίνιον: the plural form is mostly found, but the singular is particularly appropriate here of one person, i.e. Eurystheus; cf. E. Ph.282 *Φοίβω μ' ἔπρασεν ἐνθάδε ἑκροθίνιον.*

863ff. Cf. 608ff. for this general reflection on the instability of fortune, which is of course directly relevant to one of the themes of the play (v. on 385). Messengers often end their speeches by pointing a moral; cf. E. Andr. 1161ff.; Supp.726ff.; Hel.1617ff.; Ba.1150ff.

863. πείθει: as in 385 and 747. (Pearson compares 617 "for the inversion of natural order", but see my note there.)

864. ἄμπερ: adverbial; cf. ὄρθιον, 830, note.

865ff. This reflection is developed at great length by Solon in conversation with Croesus, Hdt. 1.30ff., esp. 32 *ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρο με, οὐκ ἔγωγε λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι.*

Cf. also E. Andr.100; Tr.509; IA 161; S. OT 1528; Tr.2; frs.588, 601; A. Ag.928. (V. also Mayor ad Eur. 10.274: Et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis respicere ad

longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.)

866. πῆ: referring back to the unexpressed subject of Ἰηλοῦν, i.e. "a man".

867. τροπαίε: Zeus, who routs the enemy. Cf. 937;
 E. El.671 ὦ Ζεῦ Πατρῶε, καὶ τροπαί' ἐχθρῶν γενοῦ;
 S. Ant.143 ἔλιπον Ζηνὶ τροπαίῳ πάχλακα τέλη;
 Tr.303 ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαίε.
 (Cf. 402 τροπαία τ' ἐχθρῶν, of sacrifices.)

869. Χρόνω: "in process of time". Because of the contrast Χρόνω μὲν.... Χαρίν δ' there is an implied reproach here, as in E. Hel.645 τὸ κακὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν σέ τε κέμε συνάγαγε, πόσιν χρόνιον and E.1.578 ὦ χρόνω φανίς (Electra has previously referred to the dilatoriness of Orestes, 245, 275), but not generally - cf. 941, Or.1201, A. Ag.126, 463 and elsewhere.

ἐπεσκέψω: "favourably regarded": Paley. Cf. of tutelary gods E. IT 1414 Ἴλιον τ' ἐπισκοπεῖ στυγρὸς Ποσειδῶν;
 S. Ant.1136 of Bacchus Θηβαίης ἐπισκοποῦσ' Ἰγυιάς.

871-2. Contrast the unhesitating belief of Iolaos, § 9.

873. νῦν δὴ νῦν: "now at last". GP 206.

874. τοῦ κακῆς ὀλομείνου: the phrase is not to be taken

literally, as "he who is about ~~to~~ perish wretchedly".

It occurs in comic settings where it clearly means no more than "accursed", the equivalent of coll. Eng.

"perisher"; cf. E. Cys. 474 εἰ τοῦ κύκλωπος τοῦ κικῶν θλουμένου ὀφθλήμον... .

ἐκθύφομεν ; fr. 915 νικᾷ δὲ χρεῖα μ' ἢ κικῶν τ' ὀλουμένη γαστήρ ;
S. fr. 697 < κικῆ > σου πρὸς θεῶν θλουμένη, ἢ τὰς ἰρυστίαι ὡδ' ἔχουσ' ἐκώμασας .

Cf. especially the use of the phrase by Ar.: Pax 2

τῷ κίκιστ' ἀπολουμένῳ ; Th. 879 τῷ κικῶν ἀπολουμένῳ ; Ach. 952
τὸν κικῶν ἀπολούμενον etc. Cf. also the use of the aorist
participle as a term of abuse: Hom. Il. 1.1.2; E. Hel. 231;
Med. 1247; Ph. 1029; Or. 1363; HF 1061.

Also, of course, so far from thinking of some particularly shameful future death for Eurystheus , Alkmene expresses her surprise that Iolaos has captured him alive (879-880).

876. κλήρους : Paley, followed by Jerram, sees an allusion here to the lots drawn for the Peloponnese by the Herakleidae, Temenos, Cresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemos on their eventual return (S. Ai. 1285ff.; Apollod. 2.8.4). More probably the meaning is simply "landed estates, inheritances" (LSJ s.v. II.2 and 3), a view supported by the use of the legal term ἐμβατεύετε ,

"enter into possession of"; cf. Is. 9.3; D.44.19. V.
Wyse on Is. 3.62.4, and Harrison, Law of Athens, pp.86,
95, 156. The Herakleidae will of course be returning home
to their father(s) possessions.

877. θεοῖ πατρώοις : Pearson considers that "their
separation from the θεοῖ πατρώοι was a sign of loss of civic
rights". Cf. 14-15 πόλις μὲν οἴχεται . . . φεύγομεν δ' ἀλώμενοι , where
Pearson says however: "it means home rather than rights
of citizenship". (V. my note there.)

878. πλανήτην : i.e. of wanderings in exile because
of the pursuit of Eurystheus (15ff.; cf. ἀλώμενοι , 15;
ἀλήται , 51; ἀλήταις , 225, 319; ἀλητεύω , 515; ἀλήταν ,
615, note).

879. ἀταρ : cf. 661, note.

κεύθων : cf. 762, note.

881. παρ' ἡμῶν : cf. 201, note; 370.

881ff. For an almost exact parallel in expression and
meaning cf. E. Andr.437ff. Ἄν, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐν ὁμίῳ τοῖ παρ' Εὐρώπῃ
σοφά; Με. καὶ τοῖ γε Τροίᾳ, τοῦ παθόντας Ἰντιδραν.
For other expressions of the Greek acceptance of the

Principle of retaliation on enemies cf. 852, 940, 965; E.Med.809; Ion 1046; 1328, 1334; Ba.877; fr.1092; Archil. fr.65; Solon 13.5; Theognis 869; S. Ant.643; A. Ch.122; Fr.1041; Pi. P.2.83; Hes. Op.708ff. According to Adam as Pl. R.331E "Plato was the first Greek who systematically protested against the doctrine and supported his protest with arguments drawn from a loftier view of man's nature and work." Cf. Pl. Cri.49Bff., but note that Socrates is represented by Xenophon, as one would expect, as accepting the normal Greek view: Mem.2.3.14 *καὶ μὴν πλείστου γε δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐπαίνου ἄξιός εἶναι, ὅς ἂν φθάνῃ τοῦ μὲν πολεμίου κακῶ ποιῶν, τοῦ δὲ φίλου εὐεργετῶν.* As is shown by 965ff. the idea of retaliation in full was not completely accepted.

881. σοφόν : = καλόν (cf. 965, and E. Ba.877 *τί τὸ σοφόν;* ἢ τί κάλλιον παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῦ ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπερὶ κορυφῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κτείνειν);

882. ἐχθροῦ ... ἀποτείεσθαι δίκην : cf. 852, note.

883. τὸ σὸν προτιμῶν : with the accusative only, i.e. "putting you and your feelings before his own"; cf. E. Alc.154 *πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξειτο τις πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν.*

ὀφθαλμοῦ ἴδεις : cf. 571, note.

884. † κρατοῦντα† : the reading of LP can be defended only by treating καί as = "actually", a particle of emphasis (GP 316ff.) and not as connecting two ideas, i.e. "so that you might see him, once conquering and now brought to heel", as Méridier, who compares S. OT 1082 οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς μῆνες με μικρὸν καὶ μέγαν διώρισαν, and translates: "tour à tour puissant et asservi à ton bras." Such an interpretation seems improbable: what Euripides wrote here must have been originally clear and unmistakable, and yet at some time a mistake was made!

Of the numerous conjectures, all unconvincing, Pearson recommends κρατοῦσα, Reiske, and explains καί as epitatic (τῆσσι, Paley). As he rightly says, any word which describes Eurystheus as "fearful" or "cowering" (as ταρβούντα, Herwerden; κλαίοντα, Orelli) would be quite out of place in view of his behaviour in 983ff. Murray's suggestions (v. App. Crit.) seem equally improbable.

885. οὐ μὲν.... γ' : adversative: i.e. "he certainly was not willing". GP 335.

πρὸς βίαν : Iolaos has treated Eurystheus as he wished to treat him and the Herakleidae; cf. 71, 79, 97, 112, 221, 225, 243, 254, 286.

886. ἄνευ δ' ἀνάγκης : cf. A. Pr. 108 ἀνάγκης τὰσδ' ἐνέψευχαι;

S. Ph.1025 κλοπή τε κίνδυνου Σουαί.

888. μοι : μου LP: corr. Reiske: ethical dative. KG
423.18(d).

889. εἶπα : i.e. 788ff.

890. ἐλευθέρωσεν : Porson: ἐλευθέρωσον LP: perhaps
the sentence would be improved in smoothness (so Pearson)
by the emendation, but the reading of the mss. should be
allowed to stand.

δέ : practically = γάρ ; cf. 70, note.

891. γενναίους : note the emphasis again on εὐγένεια.

FOURTH STASIMON

892 - 927

There are many joys in life, and it is especially pleasurable to see the happiness of friends. Athens has always honoured the gods and the defeat of Eurystheus and the success of the city and the Herakleidae proves that she is right to do so. The Chorus then address Alkmene and assure her that Herakles has indeed been received among the gods and lives with Hebe. As Athena once helped Herakles, so her city has saved the children of Herakles. The defeat of Eurystheus serves as a warning to the proud and the arrogant.

(Alkmene is of course present throughout the stasimon; cf. 911, and her address by the messenger in 927.)

892ff. With the reading of LP there can be two punctuations - either a stop or a comma after $\delta\alpha\iota$. In the first alternative, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ must be supplied with $\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, and in the second $\epsilon\iota\eta$ is taken both with $\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ and Ἄφροδίτα , i.e. "whenever....." (V. Jebb ad S. Ant.1031, 666; Tr.92; OT 315, 979 for the optative in $\gamma\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.) (Hence Elmsley's suggestion of τ' for δ' in 894.)

However, it is clear that 892-894 contain a parallel listing of the accepted pleasures of life, contrasted with the particular pleasure of seeing the happiness of a friend - the $\delta\epsilon'$ of 895 responds to the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ of 892. The meaning is not that A is pleasant whenever B and C are present, but that A, B, and C are pleasures in themselves. For this type of formula - a "priamel" (= praeambulum), i.e. a series of detached statements which through contrast or comparison lead up to the idea with which the speaker is primarily concerned....." (Fraenkel, Ag.ii, p.407, n.3) - cf. E. fr.316 $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu'$ $\text{ἰδ\epsilon\iota\upsilon}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\lambda\eta'$ $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$ $\text{ἰδ\epsilon\iota\upsilon}$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\text{ἰδ\epsilon\iota\upsilon}$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\omicron\varsigma$;
Sapph. Supp.5.1 $\omicron\iota'\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\text{ἰ}\pi\pi\eta\eta\omega\upsilon$ $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\omicron\iota'\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omega\upsilon$, $\omicron\iota'\delta\epsilon$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$ $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma'$ $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\upsilon\alpha\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\kappa\eta\upsilon$ $\sigma\tau\tau\omega$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$;
Pi. O.1.1 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$, $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota'$ δ' $\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\theta\eta\lambda\alpha$ $\gamma\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\delta\epsilon\alpha\iota$;
Hes. fr.163 f. $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ $\text{ἔ}\sigma\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\alpha\iota\tau\iota$ $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$;

E. Ba.902 εὐδαίμων μὲν ὄς... εὐδαίμων δ' ὄς...

Pl. Lys.211D-E ὁ μὲν γὰρ τις ἵππους ἐπιθυμῆι κτῆσθαι, ὁ δὲ... ἐγὼ δὲ...

Anth. Lyr. Graeca (Diehl) II.p.183.7 ὀψιάνειν μὲν ἄριστον...

Δεύτερον δέ... τὸ τρίτον δέ... καὶ τὸ τέταρτον...

For other exx. v. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus, p.55 ad

Sapph.fr.16 and Fraenkel Ag. ii. pp. 407f.

Therefore I should be inclined to adopt Haupt's $\eta\delta\upsilon$ καὶ λῆγεια (or Herwerden's $\eta\delta\upsilon$ $\chi\eta$) in 892 and $\eta\delta\upsilon$ for εἴη in 894 to produce the meaning "Sweet is the song and dance, and the sound of the flute at a banquet, and sweet the pleasures of love."

892. λωτου: this word for the flute is not used by Aeschylus, Sophocles or Pindar. As Denniston (ad E. El. 716) notes, it is not confined (as LSJ state) to lyric only: cf. HF 11; IA 438; Ba.687.

893. τενιδαιτη: all attempts to emend this line and force it into responsion with 902 (which is itself probably corrupt - v. infra) have been unconvincing. Dindorf's εἰνὶ δαιτι' involves a use of the epic εἰνί' impossible in tragedy (cf. his similar suggestion ad E. Hipp.734).

δαι — seems sound enough: cf. Hes. fr.163 quoted above.

Perhaps $\lambda\mu\phi\iota$ δαιτα : cf. E. fr.147 οἱ κατ' οἶκον $\lambda\mu\phi\iota$ δαιτα καὶ τρέψαν, and Ph.728 ἀλλ' $\lambda\mu\phi\iota$ δειπνον οὐσι προσβλήω δόρυ.

894. εὐχάρις: for this epithet applied to Aphrodite
cf. E. Med. 632 εἰ δ' ἄλλης ἔλθοι Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεῶν εὐχάρις οὕτως.

E. in his plays refers several times to the dangers of
love in excess: cf. IA 543ff. and the reference there to
the δίδυμα τόξα of Eros, τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐλαίῳσι πότμῳ, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βίῳτα, and Hipp. 525ff. Ἔρως... μή μοί ποτε σὺν κικῶ φανεῖται μήδ' ἄρρυθμος ἔλθοις; ibid. 443 Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἦν πολλὴ βύνη.

Here of course the Chorus speak of love as a blessing upon
men.

(χάρις εὐχάρις : the reading is absolute correct
of course, and should serve as a warning against a change
of mss. reading wherever in E. there is such close verbal
repetition. V. on 315.)

895. ἴδρ': "marking realisation of the truth" GP 45;
(cf. 116, 268). I.e. "there are many purely personal
pleasures in life, but as we perceive by our feelings now,
it is also a great joy to see the happiness of friends."

896. ἴδρ' εἶσθαι: v. on 29.

897. τῶν παρ' οὐ δοκοῦντων: sc. εὐτοχήσειν, from εὐτυχίαν:
i.e. "not formerly thinking that they would succeed." (Or
possibly sc. εὐτυχεῖν, i.e. "not seeming to be successful.")
Cf. 871 οὐ δοκοῦσ' . Elmsley, followed by Pflugk, Pearson
and Méridier, accepts the translation of Brodaeus: "qui

nullo antea in numero habebantur", i.e. "of no importance", and quotes in support E. Hec.294 *λόγος γὰρ ἔκ τ' ἰδοσούντων ἴων κἀκ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτῶς οὐ ταύτῳ σθένει;* and Tr.612 *ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργούσ' ἔνω τὸ μηδεὶν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντ' ἀπώλεσαν.*

But in these passages the sense is clearly marked by contrast and by general statement, while here the meaning is particular, i.e. qualifying *φίλων*, and it is quite unsatisfactory to describe Iolaos and the Herakleidae as "insignificant" (Pearson) - they are unfortunate - and they have never been reduced to the state of captives and slaves as has Hecuba in the passage from Hec. quoted above.

899. τελεσιδότηρι' : cf. A. Pr.511 *Μοῖρα τελεσιφόρος*

900. Αἰών : i.e. passage of time with reference to an individual or group as opposed to *χρόνος*, absolute time. Similarly, E. Supp.787 *χρόνος παλαιὸς πατήρ ἡμερῶν.*

Pearson draws attention to the note by Wilamowitz, Herakles, ii. 154ff.

901. δίκιον : fem. as E. IT 1202.

902. ῥφέσθαι : Herwerden: *ῥφέσθαι* LP: because of the corruption of the line 893 (v. supra) the mss. reading cannot be entirely rejected on metrical grounds, though

the probability is that the line is an aristophaneus, as are 896=905, 897=906, and not a dactylic hemiepes. But *ῥηλείεθαι* would certainly require a subject different from *πόλις* to give the sense "one must not take this (*τιμῶν Θεοῦ*) away from you", and to supply such a subject is awkward. (There are not any parallels for *ῥηλείεθαι* = tollere, delere (Elmsley) or amittere (Musgrave), i.e. "you must not ~~destroy~~ destroy, lose this".) Consequently Herwerden's *ῥηίεθαι* is a convincing improvement: "you must never let go of this."

τοῦδ': (LP). Triclinius deleted *[τοῦ] δ'* in a mistaken attempt to secure responsion with the corrupt 893. However, his *ῥδέ* in 903, *ἐπίσημα[τα]* in 906, *ῥῥίει* in 909 (v. App. Crit.) "are generally accepted" (Zuntz., Transmission, p.87.)

903. τιμῶν Θεοῦ: for this self-praise of the piety of Athens cf. S. OC 260 *αἴ τ' ἄ γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβειστάτης εἶναι, μόνος δὲ τὸν μακρόμενον ζέον σῶσειν;*
A. Eu.869 *Χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.*

and for independent witnesses Paus. 1.17.1; Acts 17.22

Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονοτέρους ἡμᾶς θεωρῶ.
Of course one of the features of this play and the Supp.

is the piety and humanity of Athens.

ὁ δὲ ἴμῃ γε φέλοκων : sc. "that you do not honour the gods."

904. ἐγγυῖ... ἐλαύνει : the metaphor is taken from the chariot race, i.e. of a charioteer driving too close to the στήλη or pillar, when turning to make another lap (cf. the ~~xxx~~ reported gate of Orestes who hit such a pillar in the chariot race at the Pythian Games: S. El.743ff.)

Cf. E. Ba.853 ἔγω δ' ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν, and the elaboration of the metaphor in A. Ch.1022 ὡς περὶ ζυῖ ἵπποις ἠνιοστροφῶ δρόμου ἐξωτέρω;
 Pr.883 ἔγω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι μέγῳ, γλώσσης ἰκρατῆς;
 Pl. Euthphr.4B πόρρω που ἤδη σοφίας ἐλαύνοντες;
 Grg.486A τοὺς πόρρω λέει φιλοσοφίας ἐλαύνοντα.

μανιῶν : "fits of madness": Fearson. The word is frequently used in the plural. KG 348.3(b).

906. γὰρ τοι : "each particle retains its proper force": GP 549; i.e. "for, just see...." (Cf. also GP 538.)

908. φρονήματος : partitive genitive, as (presumably) E. Hipp.1104 τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ'... λύπη παραιρεῖ;
 Cf. Thuc. 3.89 καὶ τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρείλε;
 Hyp. Epit.41 δμως δὲ χρὴ θαρρεῖν καὶ τῇ λύπῃ παραιρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον;
 E. IA 1609 λύπη δ' ἀφαίρει καὶ πόσει πάρεσ χόλον.

In the light of these examples Wecklein's φρονήματ' εἰς λέει' is unnecessary. (V. on 926.)

910. ἔστιν βεβακῶς : in the periphrastic perfect each part retains its full force: i.e. "he has gone to heaven and exists there." MT 45; KG 353, An.3.

911. τεὸς γόνος : τεὸς Stephanus: θεὸς LP: θεὸς Ἰσός
 Wilamowitz: ὁ σός Nauck: Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.49) concludes that ὁ σός is to be preferred here. He demonstrates that the LP reading θεός could easily have arisen from αός, and makes the points that (a) a possessive pronoun is required before γόνος; (b) τεός is not used elsewhere by E.; (c) "θεός is not applied to Herakles in Hes. Th. 950 nor in any other poems which, on this model, describe Herakles among the Olympians...."

912. φεύγει λόγον : LP: φεύγω Elmsley: neither of the two possible interpretations of the text is satisfactory:-
 (a) "Filius tuus ad inferos descendisse φεύγει λόγον, i.e. οὐκ ἔχει λόγον, res est incredibilis": Matthisae; (b) "Procul abest (sc. Hercules) ab eo qui de ipso vulgatur sermone": Brodaeus, followed by Hflugk, Wilamowitz, (who compared P. O1.6.6 τίνα κεν φύγοι δῆλον κείνου ἀνήρ) and Pearson. Elmsley suggested φεύγω (adopted by Wecklein), i.e. "reicio illum sermonem", and this interpretation and emendation is tempting.

My suggestion is ψευδῆς λόγος, i.e. "the story that...."

is false." Cf. the use of this adjective and its negative $\lambda\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ in E. Med.354 $\lambda\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ λόγος (where Page: "the word $\lambda\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ is almost a technical term of oracles, seers etc., hence adds to the solemnity of the king's sentence.");

IT 569 $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma$ ὄνειροι, 571 $\pi\tau\eta\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ ὄνειρων εἰσὶν $\lambda\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$;
 HF 1315 $\lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omega\tilde{\nu}$ εἶπερ οὐ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma$ λόγοι.

The Chorus are therefore rejecting as $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ a mythological tradition, asserted as $\lambda\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$, that Herakles descended to Hades after his death on Mt. Ceta (S. Tr.1191ff.).

Jebb (intr. to S. Tr., p.XV) draws attention to the fact that Homer knows nothing of the apotheosis of Herakles:

Il. 18.117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα.... ἀλλὰ ἐμοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλῆος χόλος Ἥρης.

The passage in Od. 11.601-5 which refers to Herakles among the gods with Hebe is probably interpolated (v. Jebb, loc. cit. for discussion.) Cf. also S. Tr.1256 where Herakles says of himself $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta$ τοῦδε τᾶνδρῶν ὑστάτη; he has no presentiment of immortality. His death is the welcome release from his Labours and present afflictions.

914. δαῖσθεῖς: edd. ascribe this participle variously to $\delta\alpha\iota\omega$, "burn", and to $\delta\alpha\iota\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$, "feed on", "devour"; probably both verbs are from the same root.

σωμα: accusative of respect; KG 410.6(a).

915. Ἥβη : for Herakles and Hebe cf. Hom. Od.11.603 (v. on 912); P. N.1.71 δεξιμένον θαλάσῃ Ἥβην ἔκοιτιν καὶ γάμον δαΐσαντα παρ' Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ; I.4.49 τετιμῆσθαι τε πρός Ἰθναίων φίλοισι Ἥβην τ' ὀπίσει χρυσέων οἴκων Ἰνάς καὶ γαμβροῦ Ἥρας ; Apollod. 2.7.7.12.

ἔρατον : apogr. Par. (ἔραστον LP): this reading is in any event required by metre (v. Metrical App.) and Zuntz (Pol. plays, p.124) notes that the form ἔραστός "does not occur in poetry prior (si quid video) to the second century A.D....." (The adoption of ἔρατον involves a correction of LP ἔρασις to ἔρατον in 924 to preserve metre and responsion, justifiable also by sense: it is the final act of ἔρασις , or rather the "basic ἔρασις " (Zuntz, loc. cit.) to which Athens has put an end.)

Χροΐσει : "touches" = χρώσει (E. Med.497; Ph.1625). Used here of sexual intercourse as Theocr. 10.18 μάντις τοῖς τῶν νύκτα χροΐσειθ' ἑ καλαμαία.

916. Χρυσέαν κατ' αὐλαί : the equipment of the gods is regularly of gold; cf. E. Hipp.69 Ζηνὸς πολὺ χρυσοῦ οἶκον ; Hom. Il.4.2; H. N.10.88 etc.

917. δισσοῦ πατρὸς Διὸς : Hebe was the daughter of Hera and Zeus; Hom. Od.11.604; Hes. Th.922; Apollod. 2.7.7.12.

918. ἡξίωσας : "you have honoured". For the "absolute" use cf. E. Hec.319; Cr.1210; S. Ai.1114; A. Ag. 903.
919. συμφέρεται : i.e. as Pearson: "the world is full of coincidences." Cf. E. El.527 *ἔπειτα χρίτης πᾶσι συνοίεται πλόκος*. It is better to take *πολλοῖ* as neuter, and not as masculine, as Elmsley, referring to Herakles and the Herakleidae. The coincidence is of course that Athena protected Herakles, and now Athens has protected the Herakleidae.
921. ἐπίκουρον : for Athena as protectress of Herakles edd. cf. Hom. Il.8.362 *οὐδέ τι τῶν μένυται ὅ οἱ πολλὰς υἱοῦ τεύρομενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλοιο Λέθλων*, quoted by Paus. 8.18.3; v. also Paus. 6.19.12. For her intervention when Herakles was killing his children v. E. HF 1001ff.
924. ἔσχεν : "checked"; cf. E. HF 1005 *ὅς κιν φόνου μαργώντος ἔσχε* ; Ph.1156 *ἀλλ' ἔσχε μαργωντ' αὐτὸν* ; Supp.711 *ὦ παῖδες, εἰ μὴ σχίσσετε, στερρὸν δόρυ σπαρτῶν τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν* ; Ba.555 *φόνιου δ' ἀνδρὸς ὕβριν κατ' ἔσχε*.
- ὕβριν : *ὕβρεις* LP: corr. Heath: v. on *ἔρατον* , 915. Cf. H. Ba.555 quoted on 924.
925. πρὸ δίκης βίαιοι : *βιαιῶς* LP: corr. Musgrave: i.e. "a man who preferred violent, lawless behaviour to justice."

βία is contrasted with *δίκη*, its opposite, throughout this play: cf. 64, 71, 79, 97, 102, 104, 106, 112, 221, 225, 243, 254, 286, 366, 368.

For *πρό* = "before", in the sense of "rather than", "in preference to" cf. Pi. P.4.140 *κέρδος λινῆσαι πρό δίκης*;

Pl. R.361E *τούς ἐπαινοῦντας πρό δικαιοσύνης ἰδικίαν*;

Thuc. 1.141 *ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἢ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρό δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη*. KG 429.2.3(d).

For the juxtaposition cf. E. A. Eu.554 *ἄγοντα πολλὰ παντόφουρτ' ἴνευ δίκης βικίως*.

926. *φρόνημα*: the word, when unqualified, does not necessarily have a bad sense, i.e. pride or arrogance; cf. 387 *φρονημάτων τῶν ἄγων ὑπερφρόνων*, and 909 where the partitive genitive implies excessive "spirit" - i.e.

"arrogance". *ψυχή* and *φρόνημα* are coupled by S. in

Ant.176 *ἰμῆχανον δὲ παντός ἄνδρός ἐκμαθεῖν ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἢν ἀρχῆν τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῆς φανῆ*.

(Jebb ad loc.: "*ψυχὴν*, the man's moral nature; *φρόνημα*,

'the spirit' of his dealing in public affairs..... *γνώμην*,

the intellectual aspect of the man." However, this is

perhaps too rigid a definition: v. Webster, JHS LXXVII

(1957) p.150.)

EXODOS

928 - 1054

The servant of Hyllos re-enters, bringing with him the captured Eurystheus. Alkmene follows her abuse of him for all the wrongs he has inflicted on her son, herself, and the Herakleidae with a threat to kill him. There ensues 14 lines of stichomythia variously attributed to Alkmene, the Chorus and the servant, the tenor of which is that Athens has released Eurystheus into the charge of the Herakleidae and that he should not be killed. Alkmene objects strongly and maintains her intention to have her revenge. The impasse is broken by the speech of Eurystheus (982-1017). Contrary to expectation he is revealed as brave and dignified. His treatment of Herakles was forced upon him by the goddess Hera, and after the death of Herakles his persecution of the Herakleidae was merely self-defence against their future vengeance on behalf of their father. He points out that once spared from death he cannot now be murdered without blood-guilt, and ends his speech with a hint that if he is so murdered his death will benefit the Athenians (1015).

Alkmene suggests a scheme whereby she will have her

revenge and yet the order of the city will not be disobeyed: she will kill Eurystheus and yield his body up to the Argives.

Eurystheus promises (1026-1044) that when he is killed he will protect the land of Attica if he is buried where he is fated to be, and predicts an invasion of Attica by the descendants of the Herakleidae.

Alkmene (1045-1051) urges upon the Chorus that he must be killed at once, and with the Chorus declaring that their actions will not involve the kings of Athens in blood-guilt Eurystheus is led off to his death at the hands of Alkmene.

928. Θεράπων : Rasso: Ἄγγ. LP: there seems no reason to suppose that this is not the servant of Hyllos of 630ff. and 784ff. (v. ad locc.) He has been specially charged by Hyllos and Iolaos (938) to bring Eurystheus to Alkmene.

μὲν : answered by ἄλλ' ; GP 6. Cf. 464, 997.

ὅπως εἰρήσεται : i.e. so that the audience will be left in no doubt who the prisoner is.

930. τῶδε : τῶνδε LP: corr. Canter.

τύχην : Stephanus; τυχεῖν LP: the mss. reading can be defended only by supplying ἄεπτον τι (or τύχην), i.e. "an unexpected sight, and for him something not less unexpected to befall", for the captive himself cannot be said "τυχεῖν" and "ἄεπτος ὄψις". The correction of Stephanus is palaeographically sound (by iotacism ην < ειν) and gives excellent sense: "and for him a fate no less unexpected." ἄεπτον ὄψιν and τύχην are of course accusatives in apposition to the sentence. KG 406.6. (For the nom. in apposition cf. 71, note.)

931. ἠύχει : "believed"; v. on 333. Pearson also compares A. Ag. 506 οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ἠύχουν τῆδ' ἐν Ἀργεῖα χθονὶ Δανῶν μεθέξειν φιλήτατου τάφου μέρος ; E. Hel. 1619 οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἠύχουν οὔτε σ' οὔθ' ἡμῶν λαθεῖν Μενέλιον.

Χείρας : for the expression cf. 449, 512, 976; Hom. Il.

10.448 ἐπεὶ ἴκεο χεῖρας εἰς ἄμυγ' ; Od. 12.331; X. An.1.2.26
 ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔβη;
 Cyr.7.4.10.

932. πολυπόνω σὺν ῥοπίδι : Hermann: πολυπόνων σὺν ῥοπίσιν LP:
 of course the mss. reading makes sense of a sort, but the
 adjective is out of place with Μυκηνῶν and fits ῥοπίδι
 (singular used collectively as often in this play; v. on
 276) much better in the sense "toiling, war-worn, & war-
 tried" (cf. S. Ai.637). Pearson objects to this trans-
 lation of the adjective and he argues unconvincingly from
 E. Andr.695, S. Ai.1112, that πόνος , πονεῖν can be applied
 to the service of the common soldier, and translates here:
 "consisting of many rank and file", hence numerous.'

But Jerram correctly explains: "the force of this epithet
 is increased by contrast with the result, which proved
 all this labour to be in vain." For the whole phrase
 cf. E. Ph.78 πολλὴν ῥοροῖται ῥοπίδι Ἀργείων ἔχει.

933. μείζω : LP: μείζον Cobet: v. on 258.

πόλιν : Jacobs: πολὺ LP: Jacob's suggestion is not
 absolutely essential but the phrase μείζω τῆς δίκης does
 not need amplification by πολὺ . Cf. 258.

934. τὴν ἐναντίαν : Pearson is probably correct in

supplying ψῆφον rather than τύχην (or οἶδόν : Elmsley).
 He quotes Pl. Lach.164D τὴν ἐναντίαν γὰρ, ὡς ὄρεῖς, Λίχης Μικίης εἶθετο;
 D.. 19.65 τὴν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Θηβαίοις ψῆφον εἶθενθ' οἶδοι περι' ἡμῶν.
 He admits that the middle voice is usual in the expression,
 but compares τιθέναι / τίθεσθαι νόμον, where the distinction
 is between an absolute legislator and a body (i.e. people,
 state, legislature). LSJ s. τίθημι A.V. Cf. Wackernagel,
 Syntax i. p.125. Here δαίμων is certainly an absolute
 arbiter.

936. μὲν οὖν : transitional use, explaining why the
 servant is present. GP 471.

βρέτας : for the erection of this image cf. E. Ph.1250
 Πολύνικες, ἐν σοὶ Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας τροπαίων;
 1473 οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαῖον ἴστασαν βρέτας;
 Supp.647 πῶ γὰρ τροπαῖα Ζηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος ἔστησεν.

937. Διὸς τροπαίου : v. on 867.

ἴστασαν : ἴστασαν LP: corr. Elmsley: the imperfect
 tense is followed by the historic present of ἐπιπέλλουσι.
 Pearson compares S. Ant.419 where πύμπλησι comes between
 εἶθαλπε and ἐνεμεστῶθη. Jebb (ad loc.) gives the
 further examples of S. Ant.406; Ai.31; Tr.359ff.; OT 118ff.

939. ἐκ εὐτυχασ: to be taken with δυστυχούνθ'. For ἐκ expressing "change from" v. on 796. This is the servant's sentiment, explaining why the sight of Eurystheus might be expected to gladden Alkmene's heart.

941. μίσσας: cf. 52.

χρόνῳ: "finally"; v. on 869.

εἶδε: simply "caught"; cf. S. El.528 ἢ γὰρ Δίκην νιν εἶδεν. The metaphor is not "from the legal sense - 'convicted'", as Pearson suggests; rather, the legal use of αἰρῶ (LSJ s.v. A.4) is metaphorical, and the underlying sense is "catch" - and thereupon "deal with": hence the frequent meaning in Homer of "kill".

942. μὲν οὖν: "right then, firstly...."; cf. 936, note.

943. ἐναντίον: ἐναντίους LP: corr. Elmsley: adverbial accusative as in the exx. quoted by Pearson: E. Hec.968 αἰσχύνομαι σε προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον; Med.470 φίλους κακῶν δράσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν.

944. κρητῆ: passive, as E. Tr.730 κρητῆ δὲ οὐ . For κρητῆ οὐ κρητῆς v. on 531, and for the sentiment cf. the (corrupt) line 884.

946ff. Eds. have with good reason found difficulties in

these lines. Firstly, καθυβρίσαι is intolerably close to ἐφυβρίσαι; secondly, the asyndeton of κατήγαγε and ἐπειπε is not easy to explain; thirdly, the descent into Hades by Herakles for Cerberos is in all ancient accounts of the Labours later than the Nemean Lion and the Hydra, if not the last of the Labours. (V. Preller-Robert, Die Gr. Heldensage, ii. p.431ff. and cf. E. HF 426 τόν τε πολυδάκρυον ἔπλευσ' εἰς Ἅιδαν, πόνων τελευτάω.) However, this last difficulty is not as serious as the first two: chronological exactitude cannot be expected in such an outburst of anger from the hysterical Alkmene.

Various remedies have been proposed: Wilamowitz (GV p.544, note, and again in Hermes 62, 1927, p.290) placed 948-949 after 952. Herwerden boldly proposed κατὰ (or κἀτω) χθονός in place of κατήγαγε. Paley suggested ὕδρας τε θήρας τ', comparing the description of the Nemean Lion as θήρ in E. HF 153, 363. Dobree simply proposed χθόρας, which removes the asyndeton. Pearson was in favour of transposing 948-949 to follow 951. Perhaps the best and certainly the neatest solution which removes all difficulties is that of Jackson (Marginalia Scaenica p.6ff.) who transposes three lines, 950-952, between 947 and 948, and changes the finite verb ἤξιωσε to the participle ἰξιώσας. This suggestion removes the asyndeton, separates καθυβρίσαι from ἐφυβρίσαι more tolerably (cf. ἠράμην, 987 and 991),

gives a better order to the Labours and ends with an effective climax. He considers that it was "rather the trick of a flagging brain, which induced the scribe, on completing a line which ended with - υβρίσαι, to append at once the similar line which he knew beforehand would have to be written. When he had done so, 950-2 were no more. Their absence of course, was quickly detected, and they were reinstated, but unluckily after the wrong -υβρίσαι."

His version would therefore run:-

- 945 ἐκέλευς εἴ σὺ - βούλομαι γὰρ εἰδέναι —
 946 ὅς πολλαὶ μὲν τὸν ἄνθ' ἔπου' στί νῦν ἐμὸν
 947 παῖδ' ἰζήσας, ᾧ πανούργ', ἐφ'υβρίσαι
 950 ὄδρας λέοντάς τ' ἔφαπλόθυται λέγων
 951 ἔπεμψες; ἄλλα εἴ οἱ' ἐμηχανῶ κακὰ
 952 σιγῶ. μακρὸς γὰρ μῦθος ἂν γένοιτο μοι.
 948 τί γὰρ σὺ κείνον οὐκ ἔτλης κλυβρίσαι,
 949 ὅς καὶ παρ' Αἴθην ἴωντά νιν κατήγαγες;

946. μὲν : answered not by δ' in 951, but by ἀλλ' in 954 (cf. 928, note), i.e. marking the contrast between the outrages offered to her son on the one hand, and on the other the ill-treatment of herself, Iolaos and the Herakleidae.

τὸν ἄνθ' ἔπου' στί νῦν : ead. compare E. Alc.1092 κείνην

ὅπου περ ἔστι τιμῶσθαι χρεών for the euphemism. Paley finds the euphemism "curious" in view of Alkmene's expressed belief that her son was with the gods (871-872); but she means to say simply "my son who is no longer on earth" (cf. 9, *8τ' ἦν μὲθ' ἡμῶν*; which the pious Iolaos follows with the statement *νῦν δ', εἶπεῖ κατ' οὐρανὸν ναλεῖ*), which need not, of course, necessarily imply that she means that he is among the dead.

949. κατήγεγες : i.e. "you made him go down."

950. ὕδρα λέοντάς τ' : Alkmene wildly exaggerates. Jerram compares E. IT 1359 *κλέπτοντες ἐκ γῆς ἰόανα καὶ θυηπόλους*, where there is only one image and one priestess.

λέγων : = *κελεύων* .

952. μακροῖ : i.e. as Pearson: "tedious, i.e. too long". He compares A. Fr. 875 *ὅπως δὲ χῶπη, ταῦτα δεῖ μακροῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν, οὐτ' οὐδέν' ἐκμιθούσα κεραυνῆς*; S. El. 1335 *καὶ νῦν ἀπαλλάχθε ἴτε τῶν μακρῶν λόγων*. Also cf. E. Supp. 638 *λόγου δέ σε μακροῦ ἀποπαύσω*; Hec. 1177 *ὡς δὲ μὴ μακροῦς τείνω λόγους*.

955. ἱκέτας... κληθμένους : cf. 33.

956. γέροντας : i.e. including Iolaos not mentioned in

954.

959. κερβανειή ἄπαντα : i.e. as Pearson: "the gain will be all on your side", who compares E. Med.454 πάν κέρδος ἡγού σημιουμένη φύγη.

χρήν : χρή LP: corr. Reiske: χρήν expresses an unreal supposition. In support of Reiske, Elmsley quoted E. Med. 573 χρήν γάρ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν βροτῶν παῖδας τεκνοῦσθαι , i.e. "men ought to....(but they cannot)." Here χρή would mean "you ought to....(and it is possible)." MT 417. (V. also Barrett ad E. Hipp.467: " χρή simply states the obligation, χρήν (when ~~κα~~ used of a present obligation) regrets that it is not fulfilled.")

961-972. The mss. divide these lines between the Chorus and Ἄγγ. (962-963 are given to Ἄγγ.) - v. App. Crit. - and then assign 973 to Alkmene. Barnes substituted Alkmene for Ἄγγ. , and then Tyrwhitt gave the lines assigned to the Chorus to Ἄγγ. . The resulting arrangement is accepted by all recent editors with the exception of Murray, for whose distribution of lines between three actors there is no parallel. There must be two speakers only, and one must be Alkmene - which , apart from dramatic considerations , is proved conclusively by the sense of 973. The other speaker is the servant of Hyllos, not the Chorus, for in his lines he speaks of the Athenians in the third person

plural, which the Chorus, as themselves Athenians, would probably not (966); he knows of Hyllos' attitude to the decision to spare Eurystheus (968) which the Chorus could not know, and throughout the lines he expresses strong opposition to Alkmene's intention (961, 964, 972, 974), while the Chorus in 981-982 express sympathy with her feelings.

However, in this correct distribution of the lines 961-973 between Alkmene and the servant of Hyllos (and 974 should also be assigned to him in spite of the LP attribution to the Chorus) there is the difficulty of 962-963 which are obviously delivered by Alkmene but infringe the laws of stichomythia. But Denniston (ad E. El.651) gives examples where stichomythia is broken near the beginning of a series, as here, including our play 660-663. Dodds (ad E. Ba.927-929) states that such breaches "seem to occur chiefly at places where the actor may be expected to pause and make a gesture." Both he and Denniston refer to A. Gross, *Die Stichomythie in der Gr. Tragodie und Komodie*, who considers that E. is fairly strict in observing the laws of stichomythia even in his earlier plays and increasingly strict from about 420 B.C. onwards. Zuntz (*Pol. Play*, p.126ff.) believes that "it

follows from both the wording of 963 - δὲ ἤ' - and the established laws of stichomythia" - and here he refers to Denniston loc. cit. - "that after 962 a verse has dropped out in which the interlocutor reasserted that Eurystheus must not be killed." J. Heiland also thought that a verse had been omitted, while Wecklein put 970-971 between 962 and 964 and deleted 963.

It should be noted, however, that 961 simply means "you cannot kill him", and it then seems quite reasonable that Alkmene should ask two questions: "what then is the point in capturing him if I cannot have my vengeance?" and then, indignantly, "what law says that I cannot kill him.?"

963. δὲ ἤ' : "In E. and Ar. often in surprised, or emphatic and crucial questions." GP 259.

965. τί ἤ' τόδ' : expressing incredulous surprise, as in English, "what's this, then?" Cf. E. Ba.822, Ion 275 (τί δαὶ τόδ' LP: ἤ' Elmsley, followed by Wilamowitz; v. GP 262.)

κλονὸν : cf. 882, note.

966. The sentiment is of course part of the glorification of Athens, one of the themes of the play (v. Introduction).

Edd. quote Thuc. 3.58, the appeal of the Plataeans to the Spartans: *προνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐκόντας τε εἰλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προειροχόμενους* (ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους; but there, of course, τούτους are those who surrender voluntarily, which Eurystheus did not (843-859), and in any case the Plataeans were put to death (they had, of course, themselves executed their Theban captives in 431 B.C.). The Spartans at Pylos were not executed when they surrendered to Cleon and Demosthenes, but were held as hostages to increase the bargaining power of Athens with Sparta. According to Xenophon (HG 2.1.30ff.) Lysimachos put to death his Athenian prisoners, because they had thrown the captured crews of two triremes, one of Corinth, one of Andros, over a cliff and had voted to cut off the right hand of any enemy they captured at sea. The Athenians behaved with great brutality at Mytilene (1000 executed: Thuc. 3.50), Scione (execution of the remaining males: Thuc. 4.122), Melos (execution of the male population: Thuc. 5.116), while at Mende the soldiers were only just restrained from massacring the people (Thuc. 4.150). But it seems likely, that unless bitter feelings were aroused, the normal Greek practise was to spare the lives of captives and hold them for ransom.

967. ταῦτα δόξανθ': lit. "this having seemed good", i.e. this decision; cf. S. El.29; D. 3.14. For the participle

after *ἀνέχομαι* and compound v. KG 482.5. Pearson refers to MT 148, where the aorist tense of the participle is explained as representing a single act, not simply past time, i.e. in the same way as the other moods of the aorist (apart from the indicative) differ from the present tense. V. also Wackernagel, Syntax i. p.173ff. Here a specific decision of the Athenians is meant.

968. The question is of course ironic: "and he should, I suppose, have disobeyed this land?" For *δέ* in questions which do not contain an interrogative word v. GP 177.

Χαίρ: v. on 959.

969. τὸ φίλον ἔτι: the sense is clear and the metre easily restored by either *μηδ' ἔτι εἰσορᾶν φίλος*, Erfurdt (cf. E. Alc. 18) or *φίλον τόδε*, Barnes.

970. "Then he was unjustly treated for the first time when he did not die." But how can this be interpreted? In view of 971, "Can he not still rightly pay the penalty?", Bothe and Pflugk would make *ἡδίκηθη* = "injustice was done in his case", i.e. the messenger agrees that he should have died, but honourably on the field of battle. (So, it seems, Barnes and Musgrave: *tum primum est iniuste factum quod iste in bello non est necatus.*) And so

Alkmene utters 971, seeing some hope of having Eurystheus put to death now. Pearson thinks the sense is that Eurystheus was wronged then, by not being allowed to die in battle, and should not be wronged again now; similarly Beck and Jerram.

These interpretations all depend on a meaning of ἡδίκησθαι which it will not bear as it stands now in the text. Perhaps Zuntz is right (Pol. Plays, p.127) when he suggests that a line has dropped out before and after 970, e.g. after 969 the servant may have said something to the effect that the prisoner would be unjustly treated (ἡδίκησθαι δὲ) if he were killed now, after being spared in battle, and Alkmene savagely seizes upon the word (cf. ἄδικον , 968, 969) and twists the meaning, viz. "injustice was done when he did not die." The servant agrees: "perhaps, but it is right (καλόν , εἰς καλόν) to obey the city", whereupon Alkmene retorts with 971: "well, is it not right that he should pay the penalty?"

It may be a sign of something wrong with the text that 969-972 are not attributed to any character by name but the attribution is conveyed by means of small dashes only, in contrast to the rest of the stichomythia, and further, that the attribution by name is probably quite incorrect anyhow (v. on 961-972).

971. ἐν καλῷ : = καλόν (cf. 965). Cf. S. #1.384
 νῦν γὰρ ἐν καλῷ φρονεῖν; E. Hel. 1227 ἐν εὐμαρεί γούν σὴν κωσιγνήτην λαθεῖν;
 1277 ἐν εὐσεβεί γούν νόμιμα μὴ κλέπτειν νεκρῶν;
 IA 1106 ἐν καλῷ σ' ἔγω δόμων ἠὲ ῥηχ'.

οὐκ οὖν : v. on 255.

972. ὅστις ἂν κατακτείνῃ : the optative is more "remote" than the future tense; contrast 977 ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται .

973. καίτοι φημί... : καὶ τί φημί κἄν μείναι τινα LP: the error of the mss, which Trywhitt brilliantly corrected was caused by faulty "dictée intérieure" (Dain, Les Manuscrits (1964), p.44).

καίτοι : the "logical" use of the particle. GP 562.

τινα : simply picking up the ὅστις of the preceding line, i.e. "there is no one.....I will! And I say that I am someone!" Edd. wrongly quote as parallel E. Ion 596 ἴητῶ τις εἶναι and El. 939 ἠὲ ἔχεις τις εἶναι τοῖσι χρημασι σθένων, as if the meaning here also were "someone (of importance)" (LSJ s. τις , II.5).

975. οὐδὲν ἀντιλεκτέον : cf. E. Med. 364 κακῶς πέπρακται πανταχῆ· τις ἀντερεῖς.

976. εἰς χεῖρας : for the phrase cf. 449, 512, 931, note.

977. Cf. E. Alc.848 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεται;
 Med.793 οὗτις ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται (IA 972 εἴ τίς με τὴν σὴν θυγατὴρ'
 ἐξαιρήσεται); and the parody Ar. Pax 316 οὗτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν
 αὐτὴν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται.

978. πρὸς ταῦτα: Pearson mentions that Cobet (Novae
 Lectiones, p.271ff.) objects to the text on two grounds:
 firstly, that πρὸς ταῦτα introduces a threat, a use of which
 he gives many examples, and is incompatible with λέγει; ;
 but, as Pearson points out, the sense is concessive, i.e.
 "people will say....but all the same....", and appositely
 quotes S. OC 956 πρὸς ταῦτα πράξεις ὅσον ἂν θέλῃ; secondly, that the
 articles of τὴν Θρακίαν and τὴν φρονούσαν are wrongly added
 since λέγειν is not the equivalent of κλεῖν (cf. 1015).
 But Pearson refers to KG 461, An.4 for the use of the
 article marking a quotation, particularly relevant as a
 parallel being Pl. Grg.489E τοῦ βελτίου καὶ κρείττου πότερον τοῦ
 φρονιμωτέρου λέγεις;

979. For the expression cf. E. Hipp.640 μὴ γὰρ ἐν γ' ἐμοῖς
 δόμοις εἶη φρονούσα πλείον' ἢ γυναικῶν χρη.

980. λέξει... ἔργον: the emphatic contrast between
 what people will say and what she will have done.

πεπράσεται: the tense expresses "certainty or likelihood

that an action will immediately take place": MT 79; KG 388.2. Cf. Ar. Pl.1027 φράζε, καὶ πεπράγεται ; S. Ant.91 οὐκοῦν, ἔταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι.

The sense is that even before people can abuse her, she will have done the deed.

981. καὶ : "and yet...." Cf. 554; GP 292.

συγγνωστόν : cf. E. Andr.955 Σο. συγγνωστὰ μὲν νυν σοὶ τίδ'.

982. πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε : to be taken closely with νέϊκος as D. 19.85 τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τοῦς Θηβαίους ; Thuc. 1.18 μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ; 1.98 πρὸς Κερυστίους αὐτῆς πόλεμος ἐγένετο.

982ff. Eurystheus says he will not beg for his life: he will say sufficient only to show that the quarrel between him and Herakles was forced upon him by Hera. When Herakles died, he dare not let the children live for fear of their vengeance. Alkmene would have acted just the same in his place. Athens has spared his life but now he does not care whether he lives or dies.

983. Θωπεύοντα : cf. E. Med.368 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἄν με τόνδε Θωπεύσαι ποτε ; Andr.459 ὡς ἄθωπευτον γέ σε γλώσσης λήθσω τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ παῖδα σὴν.

984. τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς περὶ : "to save my life"; cf. E. Hel.

945 τοῦ δὲ Μενέλαου ποθῶ λόγου ἀκούσαι τίνας ἔρει ψυχῆν περὶ;
 (Ph.1330; Or.847; S.El.1492; πρῆξιν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς,
 Hdt. 7.57; 9.37; cf. Pl. Tht.172E.)

985. δειλίαν ὀφλεῖν τινα : a legal metaphor: cf. E. HF 1348
 μή δειλίαν ὀφλῶ τιν' ἐκλιπῶν φίλος; Alc. 1093 μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις;
 Hel.67 μή μοι τὸ σῶμα γ' ἐνθάδ' ἀσχύνην ὀφλῆ;
 Med.1049 βουλομαι γέλωτ' ὀφλεῖν; S. Ant.470 σχεδόν τι μῶρον μωρίαν
 ὀφλισκάνω (on the basis of which last example and others
 Elmsley once proposed τινι here instead of τινα .)

986. νεῖκος ἤρασαν : cf. 504, note; for the repetition
 of the verb at the end of 991, v. on 946ff.

987. Λύτανέψιος : Sthenelos, father of Eurystheus, and
 Elektryon, father of Alkmene, were both sons of Perseus.
 Additionally, the mothers of Eurystheus and Alkmene were
 daughters of Pelops.

Eurystheus admits that the tie of kinship should
 have prevented him from attacking Herakles (just as it
 compelled Iolaos to assist Herakles - 6-7 - and influenced
 Demophon to protect the Herakleidae - 240 -), but pleads
 as excuse the overriding command of Hera (cf. also 1039).

(At the impending birth of Herakles Zeus had announced to the gods that a son of his blood born that day would rule over all men around his birthplace. Hera, jealous of Alkmene, made Zeus swear that that this would be so, and then delayed the birth of Herakles, so that Eurystheus was born on the appointed day and thus assumed the birth-right of Herakles. For Sthenelos was the son of Perseus, son of Zeus. So Hera was responsible for the quarrel between Herakles and Eurystheus. Cf. Hom. Il.19.95ff.; Apollod. 2.4.5.)

990. νόσον : cognate accusative: KG 410.2(b). For the phrase cf. Pl. R.408E, and for the word used of mental sickness sent by the gods, E. Hipp.766 *δεινὰ Ἀφροδίτης νόσῳ*

ἔθηκε : for the construction of the verb with the acc. and infinitive (which Pearson says is confined to poetry) cf. E. Med.717 *παίδων γονὰν σπέρμαί σε θύσω* ; Hec.357 *πρῶτον μὲν με τοῦνομα θανεῖν ἔρω τίθῃσιν οὐκ εἰσθόῃ ὄν;*
S. OC 1357 *κἄθῃκε Ἰππολιν καὶ στολὰν ταύτης φορεῖν.*

991. δυσμένειν ἤλιπον : v. on 986.

992. ζῶντα τὰ δ' ἀγωνιούμενα : cognate accusative: KG 410.2(a). For the phrase cf. E. Alc.648; Supp.427; Ion 939; Hel.843; Or.1124.

993. σοφιστής : "deviser of woes", i.e. the Labours which Herakles had to perform. Pearson compares A. Pr. 61 ἴνα μάλιστ' σοφιστής ᾖν Διδὸς νωθέστερος.

994. νυκτὶ συνδακῶν : Pearson: "sitting in council with the night"; edd. cite the proverb ἐν νυκτὶ βουλῆ but no justification is needed for this fine Aeschylean phrase.

996. συνοικίην : the word continues the metaphor of συνδακῶν, though perhaps this use of the verb is rather a worn metaphor: cf. E. Andr.237; Hipp.163; fr.369.2. In Hipp.1220 it means no more than "being associated with" - ἰππικοῖσιν ἤθεσι πολλῶν συνοικῶν.

997. μέν : misplaced: cf. S. Phil.279 δρῶντα μὲν νῦν... ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἐντοπον ; 1136 δρῶ μὲν ἀσχράϊ ἀπάτη, στυγνὸν δὲ φῶτ' εἰχθόδοπον. Jebb (ad Phil.279) explains that the order is "due to the writer having begun as if he intended to repeat the participle of δρῶ : as here, δρῶντα μὲν δρῶντα δὲ (OT 25 φθίνουσα μὲν φθίνουσα δ' .n.) Cf. Ai.372ff."

οὐκ ἄριθμὸν : i.e. "no mere cipher". Cf. E. Tr.476 οὐκ ἄριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν. Ar. Nub.1202 ἀριθμοί, ἀριθμοί, πρόβητ' ἄλλως.

ἀλλ' : answers μέν as 928, note.

998. καὶ : with participles = καίπερ . Cf. E. Med. 314 καὶ γὰρ ἠδίκημένοι σιγησόμεθα; 866 καὶ γὰρ οὐσα δυσμενῆς.
(For καί γὰρ v. GP 108.)

999. ἀκούσεται ἑμοί γ' ἐρῶν : ἀκούσεται γ' ἐρῶν LP: ἑμοί add.
Wilamowitz: τῷ add. Canter: γε χρῆσται Meckler, followed by
Wecklein: γού Headlam, followed by Méridier: γ' ἐρῶν
Broadhead: of the suggestions, Meckler's is linguistically
the most appealing, but assumes the replacement of χρῆσται
at some time in the history of the transmission of the
text by the synonymous ἐρῶν . For ἀκούσεται cf. 718.

1002. ἔχθραν πατρῶν : i.e. the hatred inherited from their
father.

πάντα κινῆσαι πέτρον : i.e. to leave no stone unturned: cf.
Hdt. 5.96 κινεῖν πᾶν χρέμα . While the meaning is clear, the
origin of the expression is obscure. Photius, quoted by
Musgrave, suggests that the metaphor is from crab-hunting:
Praxill.4; S. Fr.37 ἐν παντί σκορπίον φραυεῖ λίθῳ ; Jerram refers
to the proverb ὑπὸ παντί λίθῳ σκορπίος, quoting Ar. Th.528

ὑπὸ λίθῳ γὰρ παντί που χρεὶ μὴ δάκνη βήτωρ ἀθρεῖν .

(For a similar expression = "to make every effort", cf.
E. Med.278 ἤρῃσι πάντα δι' κάλων, and other examples there quoted
by Page of that nautical metaphor.)

1003. κτείνοντα : edd. stress the conative sense of the participle, "trying to kill", and compare E. Ph.1600
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγενόμην, λυθῆς δ' σπείρας πατὴρ κτείνει με ; IT 27;
 Ion 1224; 1300; 1326; 1408; 1544; Andr.810, (cf. also Hom. Od.9.408; 16.432; S. OC 992), where the present and imperfect tenses are used in this sense. But here the participles ἐκβάλλοντα and τεχνώμενον are syntactically parallel to κτείνοντα, and they have no conative sense: Eurystheus did constantly drive out the Herakleidae and did contrive against them (20ff.). Perhaps the present and imperfect tenses of κτείνειν are always "conative" in the sense that they imply attempts to kill: cf. the meaning of δίδοναι and πείθειν in these tenses; v. KG 382.7(a) and Wackernagel, Syntax i., p.165ff. (Note that E. Andr. 53 ἤτησε Φοῖβον πατρός οὐ κτείνει δίκην, is a locus nondum sanatus: τίνει AP γρ.Σ : ἔκτεινεν Hermann.)

1004. δρῶντι : sc. ἐμοί from τῷμ' .

ἐγίγνετ' : "my position was, I thought, secure." The sentence represents a reported form of ἐὰν τοιαῦτα δρῶ, τῷμ' γίγνεται ἰσχυρῆ . Cf. E. Ba.612 τίς μοι φύλαξ ἦν, εἰ σου συμφορῆ τύχοις, where Dodds notes: "This is simply the past form of a general supposition in present tense,

τίς μοι φύλαξ ἐστίν, ἐὰν σου συμφορῆ τύχῃς ; cf. Hdt. 9. 13.3 ἐξήλαυε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι... εἰ νικῶτο συμβαλῶν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἦν, where the thought reported is ἐὰν νικῶμαι, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἔστιν. "

Similarly Pl. Cri.47D *διαφθερούμεν ἐκείνο καὶ λυβησόμεθα,*
ὃ τῷ μὲν δίκαιῷ βέλτιον ἐγίγνετο, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ λπώλλυτο.
 Cf. MT 38; KG 383.5.

1005. οὐκουν : = nonne, with the predominant element being the *οὐκ* , while the *οὐν* is connective. The particle, according to Denniston (GP 431) is far less frequent in mid-speech (but for examples cf. E. Alc.794; Hec.592). Paley takes the sentence here as an ironical statement, but *οὐτίν' ἔν πίθοις* seems more apt if following a question.

ἀναλαμβάνουσα : the LP reading should be retained. The sense of "taking upon oneself" (LSJ s.v. I.3), even if there exists no parallel with *τύχη* , is exactly what is required here, and the resolution of the second longum presents no difficulty (cf. 70, 211, for two resolved longa in one line.).

1006. δυσγενῆ : LP: in view of the parody by Ar. Vesp.1160, *δυσμενῆ κλητύματα* , and because there is nothing "base-born" about the children of Herakles, *δυσμενῆ* (Stephanus) has rightly been adopted by all recent edd. except Murray.

1007. σωφρόνως : i.e. "with moderation", especially

ironic when referring to the hate-filled Alkmene. She, of course, would not be the sort of person to show any mercy to her enemies! For the sentiment that one must destroy the children of one's enemies to forestall

retaliation Paley compares E. Andr. 519 *καὶ γὰρ ἀνοία μεγάλη λείπειν ἐχθροῦς ἐχθρῶν, ἔξου κτείνειν καὶ φόβον οἴκων ἀφελῆσθαι;*
 HF 168 *οὐκ οὐκ τραπεζῶν τῶνδε τιμωροῦς ἐμοῦς χρεῖσιν λιπέσθαι τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην.*
 Cf. also Cyp. fr. 25 (Allen), 22 (Kinkel) *νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείναι παῖδας καταλείπει*; Hdt. 1.155.1; Arist. Rhet. 1376A6.

1007. εἶδος: sc. *δὲν*. The aorist tense of the single act of "granted" is contrasted with the imperfect tense of the preceding *ἤλαυνες* = "you would have kept on harrying them" (cf. *ἐκβάλλοντα*, 1003).

1009. τότε: i.e. in the battle; cf. 970.

1010. πρόθυμον ὄντα: note that Eurystheus here accepts that he is going to die at the hands of Alkmene and reminds her that he was equally prepared to die in battle.

τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις: instrumental dative, "by the laws".
 To be taken with *οὐχ ἄγρός εἶμι*.

οὐχ ἄγρός εἶμι: i.e. his death will bring pollution upon

his murderer, which it would not have done had he been killed on the field of battle. (For a full discussion of the notion of pollution (μιάσμα) v. Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, Ch. V; Rohde, Psyche, Ch. V.3.)

1012. ἔφηκε σωφρονούσα : Jerram: "showed her wisdom in letting me go, in that she regarded...." Cf. E. Ba.329
 Τιμῶν τε Βρόμιον σωφρονεῖς, μέγαν θεόν.
 For ἔφηναι = "let go", cf. 1019, 1027. (Also E. IT 739; fr.463; S. Ai.754; OT 320). Eurystheus emphasizes that if he is now murdered, Athens will suffer no pollution.

τὸν θεόν : i.e. the ordinances of the gods, not any particular god, Apollo, as Pearson thinks.

1013. τῆς ἐμῆς ἔχθρας : i.e. "hatred for me". For this objective use of the possessive adjective Pearson compares E. Hipp.965 εἰ δυσμενείῃ σῆ τὰ φίλτατ' ὤλεσεν; Hel.1236 μεθείημι νεῖκος τὸ σόν . Cf. also A. Pers. 700 τὴν ἐμὴν εἰδῶ μεθεῖς; S. OC 332 σῆ προμηθεΐα . KG 454, An.11.

1014. προεῖπας : Elmsley: πρὸς ἄ εἶπας L: πρὸς ἄ γ' εἶπας 1P: ἄ γ' εἶπας Hermann: Elmsley drew attention to the fact that the resolution of the metron involved in the "correction" by l., i.e. υυ — for χ — , spread over three words is impossible, though resolution occurs several times in

E. where the line begins with a preposition but where two words only are involved. Therefore his *προεΐπας* seems a better correction of *πρὸς ἂ εἶπας* than simply $\langle \gamma' \rangle$ which is the common addition of $\gamma\epsilon$ used frequently by l (Triclinius) as a metrical panacea.

1015. τὸν προστρόπαιον τὸν τε γενναῖον: the basic meaning of *προστρόπαιος* is "turning in supplication to", illustrated by 108 *ἱκεσίαν προστρόπαν*; S. Ph.930 *οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνει μ' ὄρων τὸν προστρόπαιον, τὸν ἱκέτην*; Ai.1173 *θάκει δὲ προστρόπαιος ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων κόμης ἐμῆς*; A. Supp.362 *ποτιτρόπαιον αἰδόμενος*; Eu.234 *ἐγὼ δ' ἄρῃσω τὸν ἱκέτην.... δεινὴ γὰρ πέλει τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφ' ἐκῶν.*

The word is also used in the special sense of "turning in supplication" to obtain purification through a god, i.e. on the part of a polluted murderer, as A. Eu.445

οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχων μύθος πρὸς χεῖρὶ τῆμῃ τὸ σὸν ἐφέσθμην / βρέτας (cf. also *ibid.*237); E. HF 1259 *ὅστις κτανὼν μητρὸς γεραιὸν πατέρα προστρόπαιος ἦν ἔγχε τὴν τεκοῦσαν Ἀλκμήνην ἐμέ.*

Then the word is used of the murdered man himself

appealing for vengeance as Antiph. Tetr.1.γ.10 *ἤμιν μὲν προστρόπαιος ὁ ἀποθάνων οὐκ ἔσται*; A. Ch.287 *ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων*, or of the spilt blood itself, as E. Ion 1260 *κἴν θάνης γὰρ*

ἐνθάδ' οὐσα, τοῖς ἀποκτείνασί σε προστρόπαιον αἷμα θήσεις;

HF 1161 *καὶ τῶνδε προστρόπαιον αἷμα προσλαβὼν οὐδεὶν κικῶσαι τοῦ ἀναιτίου θέλω,*

and also of the avenging spirit of the murdered man, as distinct from the man himself: cf. Antiph. Tetr. 3.44., 3.β.8 οἱ τῶν λποθανόντων προστρόπαιοι, ὁ προστρόπαιος τοῦ λποθανόντος, Paus. 2.18.2. (V. also Rohde, Psyche, Ch.V, nn.148, 176, and Pearson App. B.4.)

In this line the sense is "the murdered man calling for vengeance", as Paley was the first to see. Elmsley and Barnes interpret simply as "supplicem". Elmsley considers that the speech of Eurystheus is concerned with pleading for his ~~life~~ life - this in spite of the opening lines, 983-985, and 1010, 1016-1017! Pflugk adopts the sense of προστρόπαιος = "polluted man", and translates "improbum vel nefarium"; Méridier also, referring to E. HF 1259 (misprinted in his note as 1250), translates "le criminel impur".

The epithet γενναῖον is no less difficult to interpret. Pflugk, followed by Méridier, takes it as in opposition to προστρόπαιον, i.e. "tu vero me vel improbum et nefarium dicas læcet, vel fortem et egregium"; Méridier: "qu'on m'appelle maintenant le criminel impur ou l'homme de coeur!", and in his note compares for the adversative sense of τε, supra 22. Pearson suggests that γενναῖον refers to the gracious act of Eurystheus

in absolving Athens from blood-guilt, and compares E. Hipp.1448-1452 where Hippolytus absolves Theseus from the consequences of his death (cf. D. 37.59 and Barrett ad Hipp.1449), at which Theseus says, 1452, ὦ φίλταθ', ὡς γενναῖος ἐκφύνη πατρί'. But by the act of sparing his life by releasing him to Alkmene, Athens has no responsibility for the death of Eurystheus, and this is made clear in 1012, 1019, and 1055. More importantly, to whom are 1014-1015 addressed? Clearly to Alkmene, as προσβίπαις ἀντήκουσας makes certain. So in effect he is saying to her that when she kills him, as he knows she will, thenceforth he will be the injured party, not she and the Herakleidae, and also the noble hero, meeting death bravely, no longer the wicked coward who insulted Herakles and persecuted his children. The point is crucial for a proper interpretation of the play: the cruel behaviour of Alkmene in her triumph begins a new chapter of vengeance. As Zuntz says (Pol. Plays, p.82): "she refuses to acknowledge, and to act upon, that nomos to which she owed her salvation."

1016. ἢ μὲντοι : adversative (cf. 267, 593): "but, whether you say so or not, that is my position." GP 412.

ἔχει: LP: ἔχει Aldine: the mss. reading should not be changed: the sense is "now you have my position". For similar expressions at the conclusion of a speech cf. A. Ag.582 πάντ' ἔχει λόγον ; S. Ai.480 πάντ' ἑκμήκων λόγον ; Tr.876 πάντ' ἑκμήκων ; Ph.241 οἶσθα βῆ τὸ πᾶν ; v. also Fraenkel ad Ag.582. For ἔχειν in the sense of "mental apprehension" cf. LSJ s.v. A.I.9.

ἔχει, adopted by Wecklein, Pearson and Meridier, is the lectio facilior = "my position is so", i.e. the common use of ἔχειν with an adverb = "to be....." (KG 419.1; LSJ s. ἔχω B.II.2).

1018. Murray (v. App. Crit.) believed that there was a lacuna after 1017. But ἀφίεναι (1012, 1019, 1027) does not mean "hand over" but simply "let go" (v. on 1012), and as regards 961-972 the servant states that the Athenians do not kill their prisoners and that Hyllos has respected their wishes and so should Alkmene, if she does not desire to offend Athenian opinion in this matter.

1018-9, 1021 should be attributed with LP to the Chorus: the sentiments are typically conciliatory; cf. 981-2.

1019. ἀφίεναι: explanatory infinitive with παραινεῖσαι.

δοκεῖ πόσει: for the decision cf. 967 ταῦτα δοξάνθ'.

1020. τίδ', ἦν: for this colloquial use v. P.T. Stevens, CQ 31, p.84, who compares for τίδ', εἰ E. Hel. 1043; IT 1024; Ph.732; Iōn357; Andr.845 (ἀλλ'εἰ); Hel. 832 (φίρ', ἦν δὲ). Add also for τίδ', ἦν Ar. Pax 140; Av. 1655; Lys.157, 366; Nxb.1444; Theoc. 8.26 πῶς... ἦν ; Hom. Od.18.223 πῶς νῦν εἶ.... .

1021. οὖν: for the position cf. exx. in GP 427.

1022. βαδίσω: i.e. to Alkmene's savage nature the problem is simple.

1024. τὸ σῶμα: Pearson: "acc. of reference"; cf. KG 412.3. She proposes to "let go" his (dead) body.

οὐκ ἀπιστήσω χθονί: i.e. "disobey" as in 968. (Certainly not, as Beck, "I will not hesitate to commit it to the soil.")

1025. Cf. 971. Alkmene is determined to have what she considers δίκη in spite of everything.

1026. κτείν': v. on κτείνοντα , 1003.

1027. ἀφῆκε: v. on 1012, 1017.

κατηδέσθην : for the use of the verb with the infinitive cf. 43; E. Ion 179 *κτείνειν δ' ὑμῶν αἰδοῦμαι* ; IA 451 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν αἰδοῦμαι δάκρυ, τὸ μὴ δακρῦσαι δ' ἀδῶν αἰδοῦμαι τέλος.*

1028. σωτήσομαι : construed here with the dative of the thing which is presented and the accusative of the person to whom it is presented, as E. Or.117, Supp.1168, Kx A. Fr.778. For the opposite construction (as *διδόται*) cf. Hdt. 2.126; 5.37; A. Fr.251.

1029. δοκεῖν : Pearson objects to the mss. reading on the grounds that the meaning "too great to be thought of" (MT 764) makes *χρόνω* lose force, as the sense required is "will in the latter days profit you more than you now believe" (his translation). He therefore adopts Wecklein's *δοκεῖ* . But the meaning of the mss. seems apt here: no one would expect that the king of an invading army, killed and buried in Attica would defend the land which he invaded from future attackers.

χρόνω : cf. 869, note; 941.

1030. θάψεθ' : LP: *θάψαθ'* Dobree: the use of the future indicative = imperative is well attested: KG 387.6; MT 69.

μέροικον : sc. *θάψαι* .

1031. For the capture of Eurystheus at Pallene cf. 849ff., and for the choice by Euripides of this place from the various traditional tombs of Eurystheus v. Introduction. (V. also 1050, note.)

παρριθε : sc. ναοῦ .

1032. σοί : LP: χούμῳ Kirchhoff, followed by Wecklein: the mss. reading should not be changed. As Murray says (v. App. Crit.) Eurystheus is here addressing the Coryphaeus personally as the representative of Athens.

πόλει is not superfluous, for it refers to the city in future times.

1033. μέτοικος : edd. refer to A. Pers. 319 σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς ; Cho. 684 εἴτ' οὖν μέτοικον, εἰς τὸ πᾶν λείψενον θάπτειν for the application of the word to the dead buried in a land not their own. Eurystheus will become a ἥρας σωτήρ of the land; cf. Oedipus, S. OC 459 τῆδε μὲν πόλει μέγαν σωτήρ' ἄρεισθε, τοῖ δ' ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς πόνοισι ; ibid. 616-628; and Brasidas of the Amphipolitans, Thuc. 5.11.1 οἱ Ἀμφιπολιταί... ὡς ἥρωί τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμᾷ δεδωκόσιν Ἀγώνων καὶ ἑτησίους θυσίας. Cf. also the statement of Orestes, A. Eu. 765ff. that he will from his grave harass any future Argive invader. (Note that the word is not used simply in the technical sense of resident alien as E. Ba. 1355.)

1035. ἴταν: as Pearson, simply "when (in the future)"; he refers to his article in CRXVII, 249ff. The reference is of course to the Peloponnesian invasion of 431 (v. Introduction). (ἴταν seems a regular oracular formula.)

Χερί: for the collective singular cf. 156, 276, note.

1036. τοιοῦτων: emphatic and connective; Pearson: "such are the friends which you championed." For the verb cf. 306, 349 (προσάγει).

1037. ταῦτ': i.e. the oracle that he should die in Attica and protect the land.

1038. ἠρώμεν: LP: ἠδόμεν Musgrave, followed by Pflugk, Paley, Beck, Jerram: ἠρώμεν Cobet, followed by Pearson and Meridier: the LP reading is unsatisfactory. Χηροῖ as the object of ἠρώμεν seems impossible, and if the meaning intended was "ask the (oracle of) the god", this is awkward as the oracle had already been delivered (v. 1028), unless Eurystheus is supposed to be asking for confirmation of the previous oracle. ἠρώμεν seems the most likely conjecture (cf. 600).

1039. νομίσων: νομίσω LP: corr. Barnes: Eurystheus

answers his own question; cf. E. Hel.56; S. OC 1308.

(He is unlikely to state now that he believes that Hera is far more powerful than oracles.)

1040-1041. Eurystheus asks that the Herakleidae (*αὐτοῖς*, 1042) should not be allowed to make propitiatory offerings to his spirit (v. on *προστρόπιον*, 1015), so that his anger may be disastrous to them when they return now to the Peloponnese and when their descendants come to invade Attica (1034-5). (Euripides may be explaining here why there is no cult of Eurystheus at Pallene.)

1040. *Χοῖ*: for the offerings of wine, honey, water or oil at the tomb cf. A. Pers.609ff.; Ch.84ff.; E. IT 159ff.; Or.114; Hom. Od.10.519 .

1041. *ἄμ'*: Pearson compares E. Hec.536; Pi. ~~α~~ O.1.90; Paus. 10.4.7. V. also Rohde, Psyche, Ch.V, n.167.

Χοῖ...ἄμ'...στάζει: there is no zeugma here; although the expression *Χοῖ στάζει* is not found, *Χοῖ* are liquid offerings and the parallel *Χοῖ χεῖσθαι* is common (LSJ s. *Χοῖ*).

ἰδὼς: Eurystheus is again addressing the Coryphaeus (cf. *σοί*, 1032, note.)

τόπον : LP: τάφον Heath: Heath's suggestion makes better sense at the cost of a very slight alteration. Cf. E. Hel. 556 Ἰστυμ', ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦδ' ἐφάπτομαι τόπου , where Elmsley suggested τάφου .

1042. νόστον : i.e. the return of the Herakleidae to the Peloponnese (cf. 310) as αὐτοῖ makes clear. Hyllos was killed in single combat with Echemos, king of Tegea. According to the agreement made before the battle the Herakleidae then withdrew and made no further attempt to enter the Peloponnese for a hundred years, when Temenos, great-grandson or great-great-grandson of Herakles, tried again and was successful. (Hdt. 9.26; Paus. 1.41.2; 8.5.1; 3.1.6; 5.3.5; Apollod. 2.169ff.)

ἀντὶ τῶνδ' : "in return for what they have done for me."

1043. δωροῦν : the adjective is illogical: the "boon" is simply that the Athenians will be benefited by the injury done to the Herakleidae, but Eurystheus seems to imply that he will gratify his hatred for the Herakleidae and at the same time help Athens - in this way the κέρδος is "two-fold".

1046. ἐξ ἡμῶν : LP: ἑμῶν apogr. Paris., first conjectured by Brodaeus: Alkmene is hardly likely to

speak of safety for her descendants in view of what Eurystheus has just said (1035, referring to her remote descendants; 1042, referring to the Herakleidae), and therefore *ἑμῶν* should be read, i.e. "safety for the city and the Athenians of later generations."

She is so obsessed with vengeance that even if the death of Eurystheus brings disaster upon her own descendants she will use any argument to secure this vengeance. (Cf. 1048-1050). (For the genitive of origin v. KG 430.3(a)).

1047. Wecklein, followed by Zuntz (CQ XLI, 1947, p.50, n.2) wrongly considers that this line is an interpolation. On the contrary, the emphasis by Alkmene on the killing and death of Eurystheus: (*κτείνειν* , here; *κτεθῆναι* , 1049; *κτερόντας* , 1051) well expresses the savagery of her nature and the bitterness of her feelings against the king.

1050. εἶτε : LP: *ἴθα* Madwig: as Zuntz remarks (loc. cit. ad 1047), it is doubtful whether *κοιφέτε* alone could mean "carry off", "take away" without any indication of place. (Cf. 528.)

κυσίν : edd. have found it difficult to reconcile this

order of Alkmene with her statement of 1023-4; hence

πυρί Elmsley; *τάρω* Haupt; *κόνει* Housman. But, firstly, the savagery of *δοῦναι κυσίν* is very much in harmony with the character of Alkmene (cf. 958-960; 969; 973; 1025), and secondly, there is the tradition that the head of Eurystheus was cut off and brought to Alkmene who gouged out the eyes (Apolloed. 1.8.168), and also the story that the head of Eurystheus was buried at Tricorythos and the trunk at Gargettos near Pallene (Strabo 8.377). (V. also Introduction.) So there is sufficient basis for the subsequent ill-treatment of his dead body here. Would the Athenians have allowed this? They have "let go" (1012, 1027) Eurystheus into the hands of Alkmene, and he has stressed that they will benefit by his death (1032ff.). However much they may deplore her treatment of him, she alone will bear the blood-guilt (v.. further on 1053).

1051. *ὅπως* : for *ὅπως* = *ὅτι* in indirect statement cf. S. El. 963 *καὶ τῶνδε μέντοι μήκέτ' ἐλπίσῃς ὅπως τεύξῃ*.
KG 550, An.1.

1052. *ἴω* : as Pearson says, the emphasis is on the participle: "do not hope to live to cast me out again."

1053. *ἤμιχ* : Murray: *Χορ*. LP: Hermann, followed by Murray

and Pearson, suggested that there is a lacuna after 1052 (v. App. Crit.); the difficulty lies in the interpretation of ταῦτα δοκεῖ μοι. Murray believes that one half of the Chorus had expressed in the lacuna their revulsion at what had been proposed by Alkmene, and then in 1053 the other half agrees with them. If this were so, ὁπρὸς would seem to be addressed by the Chorus to themselves, as they prepare to leave in disgust. But ὁπρὸς is never used of the Chorus, always of attendants, and these attendants are clearly the δμῶν of 1050.

However, it must be remembered that if the proposed attribution of 961-982 is correct (v. ad loc.) the Chorus have never raised an objection to the killing of Eurystheus; they have merely remarked (981-2) that Alkmene's quarrel with him is terrible but pardonable.

1054-5. The Chorus finally stress that the kings of Athens are not involved in blood-guilt.

τὰ γὰρ ἑξ ἡμῶν : i.e. "our conduct" (τὰ is probably nom.). The genitive is as ἑξ ἡμῶν (δμῶν), 1046, note.

καθαρῶς : for the adverb, cf. 369.

βασιλεύειν : cf. 294.



METRICAL APPENDIX

THE PARODOS

73 - 119

The Parodos is composed of iambic trimeters and dochmiacs, the parts of Iolaos and the Herald being entirely in iambic trimeters, while that of the Chorus is partly in iambic trimeters, partly in dochmiacs.

All edd. (with the exception of J.H.H. Schmidt, who divided 73-110 into seven short dochmiac commata) have regarded 73-110 as antistrophic in form (proved by the unusual dochmiacs of 81-82 = 102-103: v. infra), although they differ somewhat in their arrangement. All assume the loss on one trimeter either before or after 77 (v. Commentary) - though Kirchhoff combines 97-98 to respond to 77 - and consider that two lines, if the strophe begins at 73, or four lines, if at 75, have been lost.

The arrangement by Pflugk is: strophe α 73-77 (assuming one trimeter lost after 77); strophe β 78-89; mesode 90-92; antistrophe α 93-98; antistrophe β 99-110. Schroeder simplifies to strophe 73-89 = antistrophe 93-110; Mesode 90-92.

Later edd. and Murray arrange as: strophe 75-94 = antistrophe 95-110, assuming the loss of one trimeter after 77'; and four lines = 90-94 after 110.

In these arrangements the dochmiacs, apart from 91-92, for which there exist no responding lines, respond exactly, except that 103 is obviously corrupt (v. Commentary) and should scan $\text{uuu} - \text{u} -$ to respond with 82; in 83 ἴφραυ (v. Commentary) is required to respond with 104, i.e. $\text{uuu} - \text{u} - / \text{u} - - \text{u} -$. The scansion of 81-102 is $\text{u} - - \text{u} - - / - \text{u} - \text{u} -$ (reading $\chi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ in 102), i.e. the "iambo-trochaic pentasyllable" (Dale, *Lyric metres of Greek Drama*², p.108) with hypodochmiac. (Cf. A. Pers.976, 986 = 1001; Fr.580 = 599; S. OT 1339 = 1359; Ph.1173; Dale, loc. cit.; Wilamowitz, *Gr. Versk.* 403, 333n.; T.C.W. Stanton, *CR (New Series)* 15, p.145).

In 91 it is doubtful whether $\chi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ (I) or $\chi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ (LP) should be read, i.e. whether the dochmiac $\text{u} - - \text{u} -$ is preceded by an iambic metron $- - \text{u} -$ or a choriamb. Dale (op. cit. 107) quotes A. Th.888 and Supp.347 for the coalescence of iambic and dochmiac, while Ritchie (*Auth. of Rhesus of E.*, 316) quotes E. Rh.699 = 717 for the appearance of a choriamb in a dochmiac context.

FIRST STASIMON

353 - 380

Strophe and antistrophe 353 - 361 = 362 - 370

Εἰ σὺ μέγ' ἀρχεῖς, ἕτεροι δὲ πόλιν ἐλθῶν ἑτέραν	— υυ — — υυ —	Choriambic Dimeter
σοῦ πλέον οὐ μέλονται οὐδὲν ἐλάσσον' Ἄρχου	— υυ — υ — —	Aristophanean
ὣς ζεῖν' Ἄρχοθεν ἐλθῶν θεῶν ἱκτῆρας ἀλάττας	— — — υυ — —	Pherecratean
μεγαληγορίαισι δ' ἐμὰ φρένας οὐ φοβήσεις καὶ ἐμὰ χθονὸς ἀντακένου, γένος ἂν βραχίως	υυ — υυ — υυ — υυ — υ — —	Archebulean
μήπω ταῖς μεγαλῆαισιν οὐ— ἔλκεις, οὐ βρασιλευσιν εἰ—	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
τω καὶ καλλιχόροις Ἀθή- ζας, οὐκ ἄλλο δίκαιον εἰ—	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
ναί, εἴη· σὺ δ' ἄφρων, ὅτ' Ἄρ- πάν· ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἰ—	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
γὰρ Σθενέλου τύραννος ἢ παρ' ἑὸ φρονουσίην;	— υυ — υ — —	Aristophanean

Epode 371 - 380

Εἰρήνη μὲν ἔμοι γ' ἄρι-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
σκεῖ· οὐδ' ἴ, ἠὲ κακὸφρων ἄναξ,	— (—) — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
· λέγω, εἰ πόλιν ἤξεις,	(—) — υυ — —	Reizianum
οὐχ οὕτως ἂν δοκεῖν κυρή-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
σεις· οὐ σοὶ μόνῃ ἔγχος οὐδ'	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
ῥατ' ἂν κτελέχαικός [εἴστιν.]	— υ — υυ — —	Pherecratean
· ἄλλ' οὐ πολέμων ἐραστῆς,	— — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
· μή μοι δορὶ συνταραξέεις	— — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
· τὰν εὖ χαρίτων ἔχουσιν	— — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
· πόλιν, ἄλλ' ἰνδύσχοι.	υυ — υ — —	? Reizianum

(so Wilamowitz, Gr. Versk. 611; but V. Dale, op. cit. 138, n.1 and ad E. Alc.903-910.)

The cola are throughout aeolic. As the linking by enjambement, commonly used by E. (v. Dale, op. cit. 146, n.2), is evident in the strophe and antistrophe, it seems that an arrangement to produce this in the last four lines of the Epode, as Schroeder, should be adopted, whereby the difficulty of the final colon is resolved:-

· ἄλλ' οὐ πολέμων ἐρα-	— — υυ — υ —	Telesilleian
· στῆς, μή μοι δορὶ συνταρα-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
· ξεις τὰν εὖ χαρίτων ἔχου-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
· σαν πόλιν, ἄλλ' ἰνδύσχοι.	— υυ — υ — —	Aristophanean

SECOND STASIMON

Strophe and Antistrophe 608-617 = 618-629

The metre is dactylic, and the arrangement preferred by Dale (op. cit. 39, 42) is as follows:-

οὐτίνα φημι θεῶν ἄτερ ὄλβιον, οὐ βρῦποτμον ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ προπίτνυν τὰ θεῶν φέρε, μηδ' ὑπερλάγει ἄνδρα γενέσθαι.	Hexameter
φροντίδα λύπη.	Dimeter
οὐδέ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λείβεβλναι δόμον εὐδόκιμον γὰρ ἔχει θανάτου μέρος εὐτυχίῃ. παρὰ δ' ἄλλαν ἄλλα ἄμελέα προτ' ἰδελφῶν καὶ γῆ.	Tetrameter
μοῖρα διώκει.	Dimeter
οὐδ' ἄκλεῆς νιν τοῦ μὲν ἰφ' ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ἤκισε, δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται.	Tetrameter
τοῦ δ' ἄλσταν εὐδαίμονα τέχει. ἔδ' ἄρετὰ βραίνει διὰ μόχθων.	Tetrameter
μόρσιμα δ' οὐτι φυγαῖν θέμις, ἄξιμα μὲν πατρός, ἄξιμα δ'	Trimeter
οὐ σοφίῃ τις ἀπώσεται εὐγενίᾳ τὰδε γίγνεται.	Trimeter
ἀλλὰ μάταν ὁ πρόθυμος ἀεὶ πόνον ἔσει εἰ δὲ σέβει θανάτου ἰγασθῶν, μετέχῃ σοι.	Fentameter

THIRD STASIMON

Strophe α and Antistrophe α 748-758 = 759-769

Γὰ καὶ παννύχιος σελή- δεινὸν μὲν πόλιν ὡς Μυκή-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
να καὶ λαμπρόταται θεοῶ νας εὐδαίμονα καὶ δοροῦ	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
φρεσίμβροτοι αὐγαί, πολυαίνετον ἑλκῆ	(^{υυ} —) — υυ — —	Reizianum
ἄγγελίαν μοι εὐόγκαιτ'. μῆνιν ἐμῆ χθονὶ κεύθειν.	— υυ — υυ — —	Hemiepes
ἰαχῆσατε δ' οὐρανῶ κεκὸν δ', ᾧ πόλις, εἰ ζένους	(^υ —) — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
καὶ παρὰ θρόνου ἀρχέταν ἱκτῆρας παραδώσομεν	— υ — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
γλαυκῆ ἐν Ἀθήναις κελεύμασιν Ἄργους	— υ — — υυ — —	Reizianum
μέλλω τῆ πατριωπίδος Ζεὺς μοι σύμμαχος, οὐ φοβοῦ-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
γῆς, μέλλω καὶ ὑπερὶ δόμων μαι, Ζεὺς μοι χεῖρην ἐνδίκης	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
ἱκέτης ὑποδεχθεῖς ἔχει· οὐποτε θνητῶν	(^{υυ} —) — υυ — —	Reizianum
κίβδουον πολὶν τῆμεν σιδάριον. ἦσσοις (δαίμονες) ἔκ γ' ἐμοῦ φανούνταί.	— — — υυ — υ — υ —	(Phalaecian)

Strophe β and Antistrophe β	770-776 = 777-783	
ἀλλ', ᾧ πόνηε - σὸν γὰρ οὐ- εἶπαι σοὶ πολύβουτος ἀεὶ	$\bar{u} \text{ --- } uu \underline{uu} u \text{ ---}$	Glyconic
δαξ [γᾶς], σὸν καὶ πόλις, εἶς σὺ μάλ- τι μάλ κραινέεται, οὐδ' ἑλ' -	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} uu \text{ ---} u \text{ ---}$	Glyconic
τηρ δ' ἑσποινά τε καὶ φύλα } - θει μηνῶν φθινάξ ἀμύρα,	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} uu \text{ ---} u \text{ ---}$	Glyconic
πόρευον ἄλλ' αὖ τοῦ οὐ βικαίω νέων τ' ἄοιδαι χορῶν γε μοῦσαι.	$u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} \text{---}$	Sync. iambic trimeter catalectic
τᾶδ' ἐπάγοντα δορυσσῶν ἀνεμόεντι δ' ἐπ' ὄχθρα	$\text{---} \underline{uu} \text{ ---} uu \text{ ---} \text{---}$	Pherecratean
στρατὸν Ἄργόθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμᾶ γ' ἀρετῆ ὀλοχύματα παννυχίῳσ ὑπὸ παρ-	$uu \text{ ---} uu \text{ ---} uu \text{ ---} uu \text{ ---}$	Anapaestic Dimeter
δίκαιός εἰμ' ἐκπεσεῖν μελέθρων. θένων ἰαχέη ποδῶν κρότοισιν.	$u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} u \text{ ---} \text{---}$	Sync. iambic trimeter catalectic

The system is polymetric, mainly aeolic but containing two iambic trimeters, to the latter of which is linked by word overlap an anapaestic dimeter without diaeresis (v. Dale, op. cit. 52; Wilamowitz, Gr. Versk. 362, 452.)

FOURTH STASIMON

Strophe and Antistrophe 892-900 = 901-909

Ἔμοι χορὸς μὲν ἠδύς, εἰ λίγεια λω- εἴχαι ὁδοῦ τιν', ἢ πόλις, δίκαιον - οὐ		Iambic Trimeter
τοῦ χάρις τ' ἐνὶ δαίτῃ. χρῆ' ποτε τοῦδ' ἰδέσθαι,	— υ υ — υ — —	Aristophanean
εἴη δ' εὐχάρις Ἀφροδί- τιμῶν θεοῦς· ὁ <δὲ> μὴ σε φά-	— — — υ υ — υ —	Glyconic
τα· τερπνὸν δέ τι καὶ φίλων ἴρ' σκων ἐγγύς μανιῶν ἐλαύνει,	— — — υ υ — υ — —	Hipponactean
εὐτυχίαν ἰδέσθαι δεικνυμένων ἐλέγχων	— υ υ — υ — —	Aristophanean
τῶν κέρως οὐ δοκούντων. τῶνδ'· ἐπίσημα γὰρ τοι	— υ υ — υ — —	Aristophanean
πολλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ παραγ-	— υ —	Cretic
τίκτει Μοῖρα τελεσιδωῶ γέλλει τῶν ἀδίκων παραι-	— — — υ υ — υ —	Glyconic
τειρ' Αἰῶνί τε Κρόνου πάς. ρῶν φρονήματος λίεί.	— — — υ υ — —	Pherecratean

Strophe and Antistrophe 910-918 = 919-927

ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βεβα- συμφέρεται τὰ πολλὰ πολ-	— υυ — υ — υ —	"Choriambic Dimeter"
κῶς τοῦς γόνος, ἦ γεραι- λοῖ. καὶ γὰρ πατρὶ τῶνδ' ἄθλι-	— υ — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
λ. φεύγει λόγον ὡς τὸν ἦλι- λόγους ἐπίκουρον εἶ-	— — — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
δα δόμον κατέβη, πυρὸς ναί, καὶ τούτδε θεῶς πόλις	— υ — υυ — υ —	Glyconic
δεινὰ φλογὶ σῶμα δαίσεθεις. καὶ λιοῦ ἔσωσε κείνας.	— — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
"Ἦβη τ' ἐρατὸν χροῖσει ἔσχευ δ' ἔβριον ἑνδρόν ἦ θυ-	— — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
λέχος χρυσίαν κατ' αὐτανύ. μὸς ἦν πρὸ δίκης βίβλιος.	(—) — υυ — υ — —	Enoplian
ὦ γαμέλιε, δίσπου πᾶ- μή ποτ' ἐμοὶ φρόνημα ψυ-	— υυ — υ — υ —	"Choriambic Dimeter"
δαί Διοῦ ἠδ' ἰώσαί. χρ' ἔτ' ἐκόρεστος εἶη.	— υυ — υ — —	Aristophanean

The metre throughout is aeolic, apart from the iambic trimeter of 892 = 901. For the enjambement of 910-913 = 919-922 cf. the First Stasimon.