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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(a) **Editions of the Hkld. mentioned in the Commentary**

**Note**  
T = Text only.  + = Part of a complete ed. of E.

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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 ἐγγον ποτὲ καὶ Ιολον ὠς τιμώμεντι νυν ἐπταπυλοί Θήβαι τοῦ, Εὐρυσθῆς ὁπεὶ κεφαλὰς ἔχεις φυγῶν ἤμι, κρύψας ἐν ναῷ μόνῳ διὸ ἐφιστήθη Ἱαμησίους ἵματι.
   Schol. ad loc. ὅ γερ Ιολος τεθνήκης, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔκλεισαν Εὐρυσθῆς ἐπιταφιον πρὸ Ἀθηναίων τοῦ Ἡρακλῆδας καὶ ἐπαυξόμενα πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ διόφθει σοι ἀναβιώναι (καὶ οὐ αὐτὸ εὐρείως καὶ κακὸς ἀνόητος), καὶ ἀναβιών ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Εὐρυσθῆς καὶ κάθεν τεθνήκην.
   ὅ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πιθανῶτερον ἔλεγον τινες θεότατον, δὴ ἐγὼ ἴδον μὴ ἀναβθεῖν, καὶ τελέσας τὸν Ιολον εὐθέως ἐτελέσατη.
   (For the tomb of Iolaos cf. Fi. 0.9.98; 1.1.16; Arr. Anab. 1.7.7. For Iolaos as a Theban hero cf. also Fi. 1.5.32 ἐν δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἑορτάζουσι Ιολαος γέρας ἐχει.)

2. Apollodoros 2.8 Μεταίηντος δὲ Ηρακλῆος εἰς θεοῦ ἔστη μὲν παιδείς αὐτῶν φυγοντες Εὐρυσθῆς πρὸς Κημάκα περεγίνοντα μὲν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκδιδότας λήγοντος Εὐρυσθῆς καὶ πόλεμον ἐπιφύλασσαν, ὥστε ἡμέρα καταλύοντος εἰς τὴν Σκύθων ἐγχειρον, διακυμονοὶ δὲ Ἰλίδων εἰς Ἰδρύμη, καὶ κατεσθοῦσι θεὸν τοῦ ὀλίβου βομβῷ ἤσθων ἰσόντες δυνάμεις. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὀς ἐκδιδότας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυσθῆς πόλεμον ἑτέρας, καὶ ὄν
μὲν πάσης αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον Πτέρηδα Ἐδρύμον Μέντορα
Περίμεθος ἀπεκπάνε. οὗτος δὲ Ἐδρύμος φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
καὶ πέτρα ἑαυτῷ περιστεῖντα ἑκάστῳ διάβολον ἔλαλη, καὶ
τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτείμαν Ἀλέξανδρον δίδαξεν, ὡς δὲ κηροὶ τοῦ
ὀρθῶς ἐκέρατον αὐτῶ.

3. Ἡρέκυδης (Antoninus Liberis Met.33). Μετὰ τοῦ
Περίμεθου ἑξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἐδρύμος ἐξέλαβεν αὐτὸν
καὶ πᾶσα τῇ παρακείμενα ἐξηγεῖσθαι οἷς ἐχεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος καταφύγει
ὅτι Ἕρμηνεύουσα τόν Θεόν ὕπαρξαν τὴν τετάρτην τῆς Ἀττικῆς
Ἑδρύμος δὲ πέμψας Ἀμφέτων ἔν Χαρίν πόλεως ἔρρησεν τοῦ
Ἀχαϊοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλαβενοι, οἷς μὲν ὂν Ἀδριάνος
τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπολέγονται, Ἐδρύμος δὲ ἐνείβεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
καὶ παρατέκμενος αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἰπποχηρῆς μαχομένος, ὡς δὲ πάλης
ἐπάτημα τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν. Ἐλλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ιλλοὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Λἰαῖ
σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπολαβάντος Ἐδρύμος κατακαίσαντα πέλας ἐν Ὀξύβωρῳ.

4. Ἡκατέαος of Miletus (ps.-Longinus peri Ὁμήρου 27)
Καὶ δὲ ταῦτα δεινὰ ποιομένος αὐτὶκα ἠκέλαν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐκχαρεῖν. ὂς γὰρ ἡμῖν διὸ ἑμῖν ἔγραψεν, ἡμᾶς ἃν αὐτὸν τε
ἀπολύσατε καὶ μὲ τρόπῳ, ἢ Ἐλλῆν τίνα δύναν ὀμήρει.
5. Diodorus 4.57 Μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλείδας τοίχων ἀποθέωσιν οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν κατὰ κοινὸν ἐν Θάλαμῳ πρὸς Κήρυκα τῷ βασιλέῃ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ὀλίπου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, Ἐλευσίνη φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἡμῖν ἐνικήσεως γενικῆς ἐκπέμψε τῇ ἐν Καρίας βασιλείᾳ, ἐγὼ τῷ Ἡρακλείδᾳ ἐξ ἁλυθρῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φυγάδος. διὸ Κήρυκα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως προηγότομος τοῖς Ἡρακλείδᾳ καὶ τοῦ Λικυνίου παῖδας ἐκβάλει, ὡς ἐν Τιόλαμ καὶ τοῦ συστήματος τῶν Ἕλληνων τῶν Ἡρακλείδων αὐτοπρομαχητῶν, ἡ ταῦτα μὴ ποιοῦντα πόλεμον ἀναβίβασιν. οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλείδαι καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν θεοφόροις αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξηγήσασθεν ἄντι τῆς Ἐλευσίνης πολέμων, ἐγνωρίω τινος ἰσχύος φέροντα τῇ Ἐλλάδῃ. ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεων τὸν Ἑλληστικόν ἰδίοντο διατηροῦν ἀρκετοῖς συνοικίαις, μηδὲν οὖν ἡ γονίως ὑποθέτοντες μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὴν ἐκφυτὸν πρὸ ἄντων ἑπιτίκειας προσεῖβοντο τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις. κατὰ κακὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν συμβουλῶν εἰς Ἰσοπάθον πόλιν, ἑτοὶ ἔστιν μὲν τῷ διαφημετροῦ τετραπολεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τῶν Χρόνων ἐπάνω τῶν Ἡρακλείδου παίδων ὑποφιλακτών καὶ φρονηματικῶν ἀναμετροῦν τῇ νεανίσκῃ γιὰ τὴν Ἡρακλείδου δοξάν, ωφορούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν λαυδίαν Ἐλευσίνης ἐκφρατουσιν ὡς αὐτοῦ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλείδαι, θεοροῦνταν αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ἐκδοτῶν Ἰόλαμ, καὶ τοῦτο τέ καὶ Ἡρακλείδους καὶ Ἰόλαμ τὴν στρατηγικήν παραδόντης, ὑπόκινοι παρατάχθηκαν τῷ Ἐλευσίνῃ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέγαν πλεῖστοι μετὰ τῶν μετ᾽ Ἐλευσίνῃ
κατεκόπησαν, αυτοὶ δὲ Εὐρυστεύς, τοῦ ἱμηροῦ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν 
συνηργῶντο, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος ἐπηρεάθη. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ ὁ 
υἱὸς τοῦ Εὐρυστέου πάλιν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐκτελέσθην.

Μαραθῶνα ὕπε τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος πάλιν καὶ Ἰολάων, δημιουργοῦντα Ἀθηναίων, 
εὑρετεῖται πελών ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς Γαγρέπτη ταφῆλιν, 
τῷ δὲ κεφαλήν Ἱλιστήν Ἰολάων, ἀποκόμμαντος ἂντὶν Ἰολάου 
περὶ τὴν κρήνην τῆς Μακριάς ὅπου ἠμφιόταν καὶ δὲ τότε καλεῖται 
Εὐρυστέου κεφαλή.

7. Pausanias 1.32.6 ἦστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι προς ἐλαχιστὸν 
Μακρία, καὶ τοιοῦτος ἔγεν εἰς αὐτὴν λαγοὺς. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ 
Πήνων ἀνθέφθη Εὐρυστέου, περὶ Κήκης φιλῶν ὄντα μετοικισθῆναι βασιλέαντα Τραχύνοις. 
ὅτι δὲ τετελότους ὡς 2000 μεταξὺ Ἡρακλῆος ἐφήτης τοῦ πάλιν Εὐρυστέου, 
ἐς Ἀθηναία πευτὴν σφαίρα ἐς Τραχύνοις ἀπεφεύγαν τὰ λέγαμα τῆς ἁρτοῦ καὶ 
Ἀθηναίαι ὄντα Λεύκην τοῖς τιμωρεῖν ἐφίκησαν δὲ οἱ πάλιν καθαίρεται πρῶτον 
τὰ Πελοποννησίων ποιοῦν πόλης πρὸς Ἀθηναίαν, ἐφίκησαν ἀφῇ ὁδὸς ἔκ 
ἐκβολῶν ἄριστον τοῖς Ἐπίσκετοι. λαγοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίαις ἐγκαθέσθαι Ἡρακλῆος 
πᾶσαν ἀποβάντων ἱκανὲς τῶν Ἡρακλῆος τοῖς ἐθελοντῖς, ἦλθεν τοῖς γά 
ὄκτω εἰς κινῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἔκβαλε Ἀθηναίου τοῖς παρεῖν τοῖς μικρὸν καὶ 
τῇ προθος τὸ ὁμόλογο λυχνὶ 200 ἀστυ.
8. Pausanias 1.44.10 Προλεθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρός (κ. τῶν Σκιρμίδων πετρῶν) μνήμη ἐκείνη Εὐρυσθέων. διῆγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείας ἑαρὰ μέσῳ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πελάγου λέγοντα.

(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; 60.6. Isoc. Paneg.60 adds of Eurystheus that ἐς τοσαύτην κατάστασιν μεταβολὴν ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδί τοῦ ἑαρίνου (κ. Ἡρακλέους) γενόμενος ἐπονομάζεται τοῦ βίον ἐπεθύμησεν; 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King of Athens</th>
<th>Killer of E</th>
<th>Manner of E's death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pindar</td>
<td>Iolaos</td>
<td>Head cut off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollodorus</td>
<td>Hyllos</td>
<td>Caught in his chariot at the Scironian Rocks; head cut off by Hyllos and given to Alkmene, who mutilates it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pherecydes</td>
<td>Demophon</td>
<td>On the field of battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diodoros</td>
<td>Theseus</td>
<td>Hyllos Chariot wrecked in the rout; killed by Hyllos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strabo</td>
<td></td>
<td>On the field of battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausanias</td>
<td>Theseus</td>
<td>Iolaos Killed by Iolaos at the Scironian Rocks while fleeing after the battle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 compel 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 Thucydides (Musebius 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 (Trag. 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 Ἥκτι (Hktl.) 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 Heraklids when they come "hither" (διάφορος) 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. 274 τοσοὺς μαίνισκον τὰ πράγματα — παράδειγμα γε τοι πάρασιν ἢ Χριστοῦ ἐφίπτου. 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.)
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 Παραισκευασμός, the games in honour of Herakles, held there cf. Fr. 0.9.89; Schol. ad 0.13.110; F.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; Esch. 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 Thrissian Plain, and the Ἥρατα ὄροι (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 Pleistocanax
in 445 and by Archidamus in 431 (from the direction of Ceneoe 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 Eyrystheus 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 Herakleidæ (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 Herskleidae (45).

The rejuvenation of Iolaos clearly offered Euripides an opportunity to show virtue triumphant. Iolaos 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." (647-8). 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 1.4 = 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 θυσιαστέρων (Westermann, Mythogr.345) as offering herself for sacrifice on behalf of her brothers, and by the Paroemiographers in connection with the proverb ἄμμας ἄμμας τῆς μακάρειας (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, quor 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 $\kappa\mu\pi\omicron\omicron$ 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, $\kappa\mu\pi\omicron\omicron$ 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 \( \tau\alpha\upsilon\etah\mu\nu\ \mu\epsilon\delta\nu\ \epsilon\delta\gamma\nu\mu\nu\eta\upsilon\eta\rho\delta\beta\nu\sigma\delta\alpha\nu\ \iota\iota\mu\mu\nu\ ) \); and secondly, the fragments found in the florilegia (quoted by Murray, CCT, at the end of his text of the play), which, while attributed to the Ηκλδ., 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 Ηκλδ. of Ε., 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 Ηκλδ., 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 Μακαρία 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 \( \varepsilon\upsilon\rho\iota\pi\iota\nu\iota\ \iota\pi\nu\iota\rho\iota\nu\ \iota\nu\kappa\lambda\upsilon\kappa\iota\ ) \( \iota\nu\kappa\lambda\upsilon\kappa\iota\ ) \) 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 "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, 43) 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, χείρε... 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 χείρε... could equally well be used to suggest that 630 – 798 are interpolated! But certainly τώ... 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 fabulum, 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 "epeisodic" of plays. To dwell on this would have meant the holding up of the
flow of action to lay stress 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 δίκη γίνεται goes unrewarded while his opposite is ἀστήρ Ἰορίας. Iolaos has always acted in accordance with ἀδίκη, i.e. the code of conduct which the ἡγεμόνια must always follow, and yet he has been constantly harassed by Eurystheus because of his protection of the Ἑρακλείδες and has suffered exile and the threat of death since the apotheosis of Ἑρακλῆς. But he triumphs 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 ἀδίκη, has prevailed over its opposite, βίλα.

The sacrifice of Makaria is prompted by her ἀδίκη also, stemming from her ἡγεμόνια (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, l, 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. 603+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).
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 (αἵρεσις, 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 Hyllus 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) Elmsley quotes E. Alc.685 γενν. γεν. εύτυχιος είτε εύτυχιος ἔρως; IA 1386 πάντα γεν. μ' Ἰλλησι κοινών ἔτηνες, οὐχί οὐθεν. (Ion 646, which he quotes, should not be read οὐλοῦτος ἤτοι (LP ἡ δ' ἑλπίσης; Dindorf ἑλπίσης ἤτοι, Wakefield μ' οὐλοῦτος ἤτοι) but ἤμων ἐβαθεῖν (Badham), which is "almost certainly right" (Gwen ad Loc.), and adopted by Murray.) None of these suggested parallels seems at all convincing.

Reiske strongly felt the lack of a predicate to δικιόν πέρικε and believed that a line had dropped out after 2, the form of which he suggested as πράξεως (or εὐκρήσθης), εὑρίσκοντας, οὐ κέρδη βλέπειν, 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 καὶ διπλῶς πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Med. 294 ἡ τοὺς ὄφος ἄρτιφων πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Hipp. 1031 (ὁλίγω) ἢ ἢ κακῷ πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Ibid. 1075 καὶ μαρτυρήμεν' εἰ κακῷ πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Ibid. 1191 ζεῦ, μηχαίτ' εἶ ἡν, εἰ κακῷ πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Or. 540 ἐνω ἢ τῆλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Fr. 325 (Danae) κρίνων γὰρ οὕς ἔρτασαν πέφυκ' ἄνηρ.
Fr. 425 (Ixion) δόσι γὰρ ἢ τῶν πλὴν εὖν 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 ἤχλδ. 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 Σίκνος ἔντρη. 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 πέλαγος: Pearson: "'others' generally, not limited to relatives or friends." V. Elmsley ad Med.85." V.
Barrett ad E. Hipp.441 τῷ πέλαγος: "other people". Cf.
E. Med.86 ἂς γὰς τῇ ἀστοῖ τῶν πέλαγος μὴλλον φιλοί.
3. **λυγμένον**: "unrestrainedly pursuing gain".

For the literal use of Λνίζειν cf. S. Ant.579; El.516; E. Andr. 598 and for the metaphorical use of the verb as here cf. Hdt.2.167 τού ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ λυγμένον

E. Andr.727 λυγμένον τι Χρήμα προσβούν γένος.

4. **πόλει**: public life contrasted with private life; cf. E. Fr.425 (Ixion) διά τό ἄστων πλέον ἐκεῖν πόλις λίθος, οὗδεν φρονίς δίκαιον οὗτος βουλεύει, φίλος γ' ἡμικονές ἐστι καὶ πόλις πόλει.

Fr.187 ἥγος μέν οἶκοι (ἄστος Elmsley) καὶ πόλις γενέσται, φίλοις δ' οἴκεις.

Fr.194 οὔτ' ἄλλης φίλοις' ἀλλ' αὑτῇ φίλοις πόλει δ' ἀριστος.

**συνελήφθεν**: 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. **ἀπ' ἀριστος**: cf. E. Fr.194 (quoted on 4; "πόλει τ' ἀριστος scripserim" Nauck); Hel.1290 ἄριστος γιὰ συν πιστὰ πρὸ το θυγάτου; X.Cyn.13.17 ἀγαθὸν καὶ πόλις τῷ ἐκεῖνῶν πόλει καὶ ἐνὶ ἑκατέραν τῶν φιλῶν καὶ πολιτῶν.

For the structure of 4-5 cf. S. Ai.967 ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τίνηκεν ἢ κείνης γλυκῷ — ἀπ' ὰρτῷ τερμούν.

**οὐ λόγῳ**: "not by hearing from others, but by personal experience", 6ff. Cf. A. Fr.336 ἤγαμ' κοῦλοις τεκμήριοι;

Hdt. 5.24 τούτῳ δὲ ὀπὸ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐργοις δὲ ὀπὸ μάθησι.
There is an implied ἅλα ἔργον. For the common antithesis in Greek literature between λόγος and ἔργον v. Heinimann, Nomos und Physis, esp. p.42ff.

6. ἀδικεῖν; ἀδράνείς 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 ἔργον, v. Barrett ad E.Hipp.78, 244,333-5, 385-5, 772-5, 1258-9.

7. ἔσον: 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. πλέιστον... ἐσ: the ἐσ reinforces the πλέιστον; the common idiom, "one person........the most"; cf. A. Pers.327 ἐσ ληπθεὶ πλέιστον πόνον ἐξάφοι παρέσχων.
S. Tr.460 πλέιστε ληπθεὶ ἐσ θεράλν έγρας ἐγ.
E. Or.743 ἐ πλέιστον Ἀχιλλεϊν ἐλεην γυνή μί.
E. Rh.946 καὶ πλέιστον ἀξιώσθεν.
X. An.1.9.22 δοῦμ ἐσ πλέιστα μεν, ὑμεῖς, ἐσ γε ληπτὸν ἐν ἱλήμβαινε.
9. κατ' οὖραν ναιέι: Iolaos already believes that Herakles is with the gods, Alkmene, overwhelmed by her afflictions, not until 871. (Cf. 910).

10. ὑπὸ πτερεύ: the common metaphor of those under protection, as 239 νεοσσών; E. Andr. 441 νεοσσών. Tr. 751 νεοσσώ δει πτερεύς ἐσπίτυν χαίρων. Ἑ 71 οὕτω ὑπὸ πτερεύσ τιμῶ νεοσσών ἔτις ὀμορφών. A. Eu. 1001 Περικλῆς δ' ὑπὸ πτερεύς ὀντυ.

11. αὐτὸς ἔσθενος εὐπρεπί: probably parodied by Ar. Ec. 412 ἐπὶ τε μὲν με ἔσθενος εὐπρεπί.

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

14. ἀπήρητος: (ἀπηρητός LP. Corr. Reiske). The only instance of this word, or any other compound of ἀπήρητος in tragedy, except for S. Ai. 167 ἀπήρητον.

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 - ἐνει γὰρ Ἥρας αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶναι ὑπὸ.

16. ἔσορεῖται: in 257 ἔσοριε is definitely transitive - "expell from your boundaries", and the difficulty here is the seemingly intransitive use of the active voice. Hence Barnes suggested ἔσορεῖται, but as Elmsley remarked the present participle is required with θεῶνειν and Ἀλυμαίοι. For the simple verb, ὑπερεῖσθαι, used intransitively, editors following Elmsley quote E. Med. 433 διαφέροσα διήνυσα 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 ἔσορεθ ἑκόν τε ἐκεῖνιν καὶ τῆν ἑνωρία γῆν is all that is needed. This latter sense is also found in A. Supp. 545 πόρον κυματίων ὑπερεῖσθαι, which Elmsley quotes as an example in support of the intransitive use here of ἔσορεῖσθαι.

Paley says: "properly: making one city after another a limit to our flight; the ἕσορεῖσθαι seems to carry out the force of the ἁπλο-". 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 διψα; El. 435 επιλη; Ph. 1117 κρύπτοντα; to which Paley adds Alc. 897 διψα. He could have added the very common "intransitive" use of βελλεν in the phrase βελλ’ ἵς κόρμας. Cf. also the use of ἄφεν (67 ἀπ''). 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 ἄρρητος ἢς θηλή πόλεως λαμπροσύνη καὶ ἑλαμαλὲσθαι (In E. Hipp. 1380 ἐσοφιζέται [κενοῦ] is probably middle, and not passive, as LSJ, and means "comes out of its boundary"; v. Barrett ad loc.).

17. καὶ τοῦτο: explained by 19ff., as the ἀγγελήτον makes clear.

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

19. ἐσπανάτινος: sc. ηὗτος.
20. ἐξαιτεῖν: the technical verb corresponding to the noun ἐξαίτησις (extradition). D.49.55; IG II² 4577b19.

21. σμικρῶν: the IP reading σμικρῶν 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 σμικρῶν on the basis of Kirchhoff's E. Andr. 86 emendation:

Εγνονὴ γὰρ οὗ σμικρῶν φίλας MS: σμικρῶν φίλαν Ambr.; σμικρῶν φίλας Kirchhoff.

Undoubtedly the correct reading προτείνων was recovered from the IP προτείνω by Canter. Musgrave helped further with φιλεῖν ἐξαιτεῖν in place of the IP φιλεῖν ἐξαιτεῖν, and finally Bindorf completed the restoration with φιλεῖν, supported by E. Supp. 387 φιλεῖν τε θεσσαλὸν πάντα ἑρεθισκάκαν λεών. For προτείνων cf. E. Hel. 28 τομῷ δὲ κήλλος .... Κύριος προτείνων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γαμεῖν.

23. τὰ ὅμοια: "what I could do"; lit. "the things coming from me." Cf. E. El. 280 καὶ βρισκόμεν τίνος; Tr. 74 ἣ τομῷ δ' ὤν τὰ ὅμοια; ibid. 1154 οὐ καὶ τὸν τὸν τὰ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ κίνδυνα (Cf. also infra 1054 τὰ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ). Almost = τὰ ὅμοια = ἔριζ; cf. E. Andr. 235 ὅτι ὃς ὁδὲ σαββῶν, τίμω κἀ' ὅδε σάββῳν.
28. ὀνήματι προσδίων: here is the basis of the αἴδης of Iolaos (v. supra on 6). He will not betray the children of Herakles for fear of what people will think of him.

29. ἱδεῖθ: the middle used by the poets for the active. LSJ s.v. II.4.

30. συγγενεῖς γενέω: 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 σίμαιοι, they will certainly help him and the Herakleidae just as he helped both Herakles and his children.

32. σύγκλητον ἔδωκα: i.e. the other three demes, Oenoe, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus, which with Marathon formed the Tetrapolis, the τετράπολις Ἴνανκλητος 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 Ἠθος δέ τῆς Ἑραλδῶς σωματέρα γῆς, κόσμος τῆς τετράπολις τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Οἰνόης, Μαραθώνος, Προβαλίνθου καὶ Τρικόρυθον. Also the scholiast ad S. OC 70 says λάκη διμονίως τῆν λοιπήν γῆν έδρονες, τῷ μὲν τετράπολις ἀπόκειτο διὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδας, τῷ δὲ μορίων, διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς.
Herodotus mentions (5.108, 116) a temple of Herakles at Marathon (cf. Pi.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. ἵκεται προσφέρετον: to be taken together, as in 345 ἵκεται ἐς ταῖς πόλιν. Cf. Thuc. 3.67 ἵκεται ποιοῦνται γυναῖκες τέμνομεναι; 3.59.2 ζυγώνειν ἵκεται γίγνεσθαι. 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 Παρθένου 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. Σιδεράς ὀνείρου παῖδι: Demophon and Acamas. Acamas enters with Demophon at 119 but is a κυριον πάσων 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 γίνοντι Πανδιόνος: Fandion 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. τῶν ἐξουσίων ὑπάρχων: i.e. related to the Herakleidae, by the genealogy of 207-212 (v. note).

38. δὲν: LP: τῆς", ... δὲν Stephanus: τὸν de θ' ἱκόμενος. Murray. The ms. reading can only be explained as apposition, but τέρμονας and δὲν 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".


39. ἰόν 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).

__66__: for the postponement v. GP 187-8 - "more probably as a matter of metrical convenience".

40. ένωμεν...καλὰίνων... τῇ...σῷσει: 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 στρατηγεῖται = στρατηγοῦμεν, with the complication that a finite verb σῴσει balances the participle καλὰίνων.

41. καλὰίνωο: "deeply concerned about". Cf. S, Ant.20

43. ιδούμεθα: 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 ετὸς έφτινη παρθένους αδίδυλων. IA 678 δεξίνι κόμη πηκόν (England's punctuation, but even with a comma after κόμη the sense is not radically changed); ibid. 992 βολή νιν ἔκει σι σῳ περιπούσαι γόνις; ἀπεφένεστα μετ' αυτής? Ph.92ff.; El.343 γυναίκα γοι αἰθέρα μετ' ἄνθρωποι έστανε νεανίδοι.
For the construction Elmsley compares E.Ph.510 ἐκδότα ὡς οὐκ ὁπλος τότε .... τινὲς ἐκεῖν τοῖς ἡμέρας.

44. ἐπιβεβαιώσατε γινομ.; for the strangeness of this compound, compare also ἐκμακρύνατον 495. Both words are certainly genuine.

45. ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύει 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 γένος πρότερος, Il.3.215 has γένος in the sense they seek. Even so πρεσβεύει presents a difficulty, not to be resolved by a comparison with S. Ant.720, where it means "be best". Jebb ad loc. refers to Ἀκλ.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 πρεσβεύει γένος must mean "represent, speak for, the family". (Faley, 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:—

οἶον ὑνος πρεσβεύεται = "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. ἔμφορο: for the following imperative, Pearson compares E. IA 1377 ἔμφορο ἀπεκτάσι μεθ' ἡμῶς.

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

51. Λήφων: cf. 244, 318, and 515 (Λήφωνος).

52. ἁμοιός: "object of hatred": cf. E. Med.1323; IT 525; infra 941; A. Ag.1411; E. Andr.261 (κ... αἰχμηρος ἄρα).

53. πολλά...ἀγγελιας...κακά: Hom. Il.15.639 Κορείτας...σὺ Ευρυσδίμης ἐπὶ άνθρωπον ὑπερερχόμε θεῖα ἱππαλή. The reference is to the commands of Eurystheus to Herakles concerning the Labours.

55. Κοπρεύς: LP ΚΥΡΥΣ Murray. The mss. always
give a name rather than a description to the dramatis personae whenever possible; cf. E. Andr. Μολόττος for παί, Alc. Εὔμηλος for παί, and in this play Μακρινός for παρθένος.

H πού: ironic. GP 285.

Τὴν Εἴρην: the temple of Zeus Ζυγόσ (70, 79) which was in Athens; Hesychius Ἀγοράν Κλείσ. Ἰσθμος: schol. ad Ar. Eq.410 Ἀγοράς Ζεύς ἔρυθαι ἐν τῇ Ζυγῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἤγουν Ἀθήνας. It is probably the Θύσια Εἴρην 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.

Εὔρας: accusative as in 393 (note).

56. κακός φράσων: "fool"; cf. E. Med.250, 892; Or.824 (κακόφρασων).

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

58. τὴν σὴν: sarcastic; v. on 284.

61. ὁ ἐπίτη: GP 275 - "giving the lie to a positive statement".
_Βυμός_: i.e. rights of sanctuary.

62. Ἡλευθεραὶ τε ἡγία: "the land is free"; sc. ἐξ, not ἐρυθ'ες.

63. ὁ τῷ τοῦ Χερί: the "whole and part" construction (ὁ Χερί Τιμίσιν). τῷ τοῦ Χερί defines more closely. Cf. E. Ba.619; HF 179; Tr.635. KG 406.9.

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

64. γε κ' LP: γ' ἶ' 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 (ἀναφ' ) and sends him sprawling on the ground.


τέδε: accusative as if μίνης ἤτοι = ἐμανέβησον.

Cf. E. IA 1255; A. Ag.1091. KG 409, An.4.
67. \( \text{περρο} \): "on your way". For the intransitive use v. note on 16. (Pearson prefers to follow Cobet's emendation \( \text{περρο} \), comparing E. HF 260 \( \text{περρο} \ \delta' \text{ευδων} \) \( \text{ηλθε} \ \text{εν \ Αττικε}, \ \text{ὁ̣ρμηξ}. \).)

68. \( \text{κοιμῆσω} \): i.e. "believing them to belong to Eurystheus, as in fact they do." Elmsley's \( \text{κοιμῆσω} \) 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 \( \text{τὸ} \ \text{κρατεῖται} \ \text{ἡ \ πόλις} \ \text{κοιμηθεῖται} \). E. Andr.12 \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{δι' δούλη} \ \text{τῶν} \ \text{εὐνωρωτῶν} \ \text{οἰκών} \ \text{κοιμηθείσω}. \)

69. \( \text{σάρῳ} \): flatteringly referring to the Athenians as the original inhabitants of Attica (\( \text{Ἀττικὸ} \ \text{πόλις} \)); cf. E. Ion 29; Ar. V.1076; Lys.1082 etc.

70. v. on 55.

\( \text{Sr} \) = \( γράφ \). Cf.890. GP 169.

71. \( \text{ζυγίσθη} \): passive as S. Ant.66, 1073.

\( \text{άλειπος, ἀτμία} \): nominatives in apposition to the sentence; KG 406.6.
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 expel 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
κούρασθ' ἰστήκε μοι; s. Ph. 1263 πρ... ὑποκόψα ἴστηκε βοήν;
Ε. IT 1307 ἴστηκε βοήν.

75-76. Lachmann correctly gives these lines to the Chorus. However, it seems strange that the Chorus should speak in excited dochmiacs and then 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 so far been revealed of Iolaos, not to speak of the brave, though tottering, warrior depicted in 680ff.

75. ἔμαλλον: restored from LP μάλλον by Hemsterhuis from Hesychius (v. App. Crit.); = "feeble, weak".
(Ialey unconvincingly suggests that the word is a synonym of ἶππος, and should be taken closely with ἤμπυεν, i.e. "lying prostrate".)

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

77. ἐν ξή: for this pregnant construction (= ἐν γῆν) v. KG 447. A(a). For the omission of the article with γῆ, ἴππος, σελήνη, θάλασσα etc. v. KG 462(b) and (f).
78. ἀτυμᾶσιν: Cf. E. Supp. 230, 302; Hipp. 886
to σέμνον Ζηνοῖς ἤμι ἀτυμᾶσιν.

79. V. supra on 55.

80. τετράπτολοιν: v. supra on 32.

81. γύνοικον: this word may be a gloss which has
supplanted σώγυληον (32). A long first syllable here
would respond better with 102 (v. Metrical App.), and
γύνοικος seems a weak adjective here.

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

83. κατέχετ' Hermann: κατέχετ' LP. the emended form
is required to respond with πότνια, 104. κατέχετ' is more
usual where the sense is "put into land" (LSJ s.v. B.2).
For the accusative cf. E. Hel. 1206 πόθεν κατέχετε γὖ ν;  
Cf. 223 λησταὶ τίνις κατέχειν η κλέκες ἡθοίν;

ἀκτῶν: ἄκραν is required to respond with πτισταὶ, 104
(v. Metrical App.). Cf. E. El. 442 where the reading
of LP is Εὐβοῖδας ἄκρας η changed by Orelli to ἄκρας.
The corruption there arose because of ἄκρα in 441. (V. Denniston ad loc.). Cf. S. Tr. 788 Ἑὔβολος τ' ἄκρα and Jebb’s note.

84. οὐσίωτην: the epithet is used contemptuously as E. Rh. 701 ἡ οὐσίωτην σπόρας κακτηται βιόν; Andr. 14 τῷ οὐσίωτῳ Νεοπτολήμω δορας γέρας.

τρίβω βίον: again contemptuous. "I do not live the mean and wretched life of an islander." Cf. S. El. 602 δυστύχη τρίβει βίον; Ar. Pfr. 526 ὀδυνηρότερον τρίβει βίον; Pax 589 γεωργοῦ βίον ἐπιρρομεν. Cf. the similar use of ἵλκιν: E. Ph. 1535 ἤλκεις θάνατος; Or. 207 βίοτόν ἤλκω.

88. παραστώτην: cf. E. Ion 198 λιπισταὶ Πόλας, ὅς κανοῦ τρόμουνταν πόνον Δίω παλι ἑμαντλητεί; and infra 216 ὑπαστίζων.

89. σινὴ...τόδε: = ἕως; cf. 528, note. (Dobree’s emendation, ἄγων, adopted by Wecklein, is quite unnecessary.)

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

91. ἄζηρι: for a discussion as to whether ἄζηρι or ἄζηρι is preferable here v. Metrical App.
95. ἵνα ἔρωτι = the more common ἵνα ἔρωτι (633, 646, 709), simply "why?". Elmsley translates "quid rei est?", which Fraenkel accepts for A. Ag. 85. V. LSJ s.v. II.2.


96. ἐνεπέ = ἐνεπέ LP: corr. Hermann.

μελούσι: Canter: μελούσι LP. For the middle voice of μελεῖν with the infinitive, cf. A. Supp. 367 ἡμι μελεύσει λαός ἐκπονεῖν εἰκή; Anacr. 65. If μελούσι is retained and construed in parenthesis, with Bothe, as ἐνεπτ μοι μελούσι ("tell me as I care"), τούχει is then explanatory of τι ἔρωτι. But μελούσι 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 μὴ θεῦν αὐτοπαρόδεντος εἰς Προσ μολείν.

ἐκδότις: as Pearson says, this refers to extradition as E. Med. 1238; cf. infra 319. (V. note on ἐκτυπεῖ, 20.)
99. | τοῦ ὅπν | a sarcastic echoing of Iolaos' τῶν ὅπν above. "It is not a question of 'your gods', but of your masters."

100. V. on 68.

103. | ἀπολείπαν | : LP: ἀπολίπαν Seidler: ο' seclusit Murray: οφ' Musgrave. Most editors adopt the correction of Seidler metri gratia (= ἐν ἀλήθειᾳ, 82) and accept Musgrave's οφ', 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 (οφ' ; or ο' omitted) should leave the seats of the gods compelled by violent hand." If ο' 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" (θεῖον ξέρι, sc. Χρήστου; cf. 106). (Fflugk's suggestion).

Although Pearson points out that ἀπολίπαν "does not imply voluntary separation" and in support of this quotes E. Cr.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. συλλεγόμενος, 243) is
required which would allow $\sigma'$ to be retained, avoid an awkward change of subject for the verb, and express a strong reproach to the herald personally.

Reisle's suggestion $\text{Ipolitein}$ ("strip": he explains $\text{Iposul\text{an}}$, vi nudare suis supplicibus insessoribus) Elmsley dismisses as follows: "Reiskii connecturam, qua nullam unquam $\text{rei\text{e}xim\text{i}m\text{e}x\text{e}yst\text{e}f\text{a}n}$ vidi, Hermanno placuisse miror." He himself believed that $\sigma'$ should be kept, but was convinced that Euripides wrote neither $\text{Ipolitein}$ nor $\text{Ipolitein}$.

Wecklein adopts F.W. Schmidt's $\text{Ipolitein}$, which keeps $\sigma'$ and makes good sense, but is palaeographically unconvincing.

Worthy of mention is Vonhoff's $\text{Ipoli\text{e}\text{e}n}$ $\sigma'$ $\text{e\text{b}e\text{n}}$. Certainly $\text{Ipoli\text{e}\text{e}n}$ is a rare enough word to be ousted in favour of $\text{Ipolitein}$ 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 $\text{pei\text{z}m\text{e}i}$, quoting A. Th. 1065 $\tau\iota$ in $\tau\acute{a}\tau\iota$ $\pi\omega\alpha\omicron\omicron\tau\circ\iota\omicron$, but it is certainly the future of $\tau\acute{a}\sigma\chi\omega$: "....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 μετείναι as dedere, tradere, (E. Med. 728 μετίνη ἄνδολος καὶ σε μιᾷ μεθά τινι θ., but insists that πόλει, meaning Argos, must be taken with it: "hand over to the city". He therefore proposes to read πέλει, i.e. θεον πέλει, "it is impious". Pflugk and most other editors take πόλει with θεον, though Paley takes it with προστροφαί: "who have appealed to the city for protection." This latter interpretation seems convincing on grounds of word order.

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

109. ἦσσω πραγμάτων ἐξε χείр πόδα: cf. the examples of this expression given by Barrett ad E. Hipp. 1293:
A. Ch. 697 ἦσσω κο̂ινῶν ὀλέμψον πήλων πόδα; Pr. 263 ἐτοι πραγμάτων ἦσσω πόδα ἐκείνη.
S. Ph. 1260 ἦσσω ἐν ἐκτός κλαμάτων ἐκείνῃ πόδα.
E. Hipp. 1293 προμηθός ἦσσω πόδα τοῖς ἐκείνῃ.
(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. αἵρεν ἔσω πόδα πῆλον ......... then the mud is replaced by non-metaphorical nouns." For the expression used in an exactly opposite sense, cf. Pl. P.4.288 πότε ἀναρρότατον, καὶ γενώσκων, ἀνάγκη ἐκτὸς ἐξαν πόδα sc. τῶν κατὰν.

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

110. τῇ ἀνωθένοις: Paley: "sc. ἡ μὲν ἡμέραν ἐστὶ:"

εὐθευσείας: considered by Sinclair (Hist. of Gr. 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.Prt.318E) claimed to teach it."

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

πόκοιν: GP 436.
112. **πρὸς βίαν**: to be taken absolutely, not with διὸν; 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. **καὶ μὴ**: "and not."

113. **φιλήσευτε πόλεμον**: "if you respect a free land."

114. **κατ'**: purely connective. GP 173.

115. v. on 35.

116. **πρὸς τὸτε**: 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.

**λόγου τὸ τοῦ τῶν λόγων**: ( λόγω LP: corr. Hermann). "the burden, content of what I have to say"; the metaphorical sense of λόγω (LSJ III.5). Cf. Thuc. 3.44 αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἡμείας ἐπιχείρησεν ᾧμίν στὸ λόγῳ; 7.61 ὃ μὲν λόγῳ δὲ μελλὼν... πρὸς τε ἀπομνημονέυσα; 7.64, 66, 68.
E. Med.235 ἐν τῷ τῷ λόγῳ μέγειράς; 403 μὲν λόγῳ τείχες. Ph.588 αὐτὸ λόγῳ ἐθ' λόγῳ; S. El.1491 λόγῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν λόγῳ. (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 τι ἐμνημονεύει ταῖς λόγοις Ὀχυρώ λόγων; Thuc.3.67 αὐτὰ λόγων τοὺς λόγους προσέχουσαν ἐν τῷ τρόπων.
Cf. also E. Med.546 ξαίρων γιὰ ὑπὲρ προφήτης λόγων (= Supp.428).

ἐπει: "drawing a conclusion" GP 45.

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

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

119. Ἀκροβ. v. 35, note.
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 asls the herald from what land he has come.

Then the follows the ἴγων, a feature of Greek Tragedy particularly common in Euripides. Duchemin says
(L. ἰώτις dans La Tragédie 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 tragédies conservées qui soit totalement dépourvue d'ἵωτις." Cf. especially Andr. 147-274; Hec. 234-437, 1129-1286; IA 317-414.

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 five lines 220-225 (v. Commentary) were omitted as Paley suggested. But, as Duchemin points out (op. cit. p.160), the principal 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 Herakleidse 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. ἐφ' Ἀπειθήματι: the aorist participle with ἀπειθέω 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.

7οβήμιον: "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 Βοηθᾶμεν: infra 339; Or.1290; El.963; Or.1571; Ph.1441.)

121. ἔξηραν Δίος: ἔξηρα is a hearth-altar for burnt offerings while Ἀυμος is the raised altar, but the terms are interchangeable: cf. infra 127 and esp. E. Th.274 Άυμοι ἔξηρα "structured altars" LSJ s. ἔξηρα. (V. St. Byz. s. Ἀυμοι).

122. Λοφίζωται: the middle voice of the verb, cf. X. Cyr.3.1.19, and for the similar use of a compound E. Ph.1163 ἄλλα νῦν πάλιν κυναρέω κἀνεὶ πᾶν ὁμ ἐπί Λοφίζωται.

124. καταστέλλωσι: 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 (στρεφὴ μιαντεῖ), 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. **παρομοία**: the Chorus repeat the term by which Iolaos had proudly described himself in 88 as the comrade in arms of Herakles.

126. **γῦμνος**: 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 (F. 94) that the supposed parody by Ar. Eq. 214 τῷ τῷ καὶ ἵππῳ ἐς τῇ ἀναγάλαι (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 γὐμνος 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 473, σταναμίτων). Cf. also 127 Βοιήθησας and 73 τις γ' βοή.

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

128. Βοιήθησας: v. on 121.

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

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

129. μ' ψηφίζων έπιμεν: μ' Βαριν LP: corr. Reiske. For the expression cf. E. Hec. 298; IA 451, 477; Hel. 1547; Ion 924; Hipp. 1396.

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

Ελληνα: Elmsley would not accept this masculine
form used with a feminine noun and once proposed Ελληνα τε to associate the adjective with the masculine ρυθμόν. This is quite unnecessary because of the examples, which Pearson quotes, of A. Ag.1254 Ελλην ἐπίστημα φάσει; E. IT 341 Ελλην ἐκ γῆς, 495 παρ' ις Ἐλληνος. (Elmsley suggested emendations also for the latter two examples.) For nouns of this kind used attributively v. KG 405.1.

δομος παθην: i.e. the way in which the herald wears the στολή Ελλην, the chiton and himation. The tone is of course sarcastic (v. on καταν συπρα): "he looks like a Greek, but his behaviour is far from Greek."

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

132. μη μέλλων τ': parenthetically interposed, yet still governed by σον ἐσσι; εμοί is to be taken with ἄριστα. Matthiae's μέλλων is unnecessary. Cf. Thuc.7.49 ὁδοι τροποι σα ἰδεα διέπεσεν ἐν τροποι ἵστανεν, λλ' ἰδε ταξις ἰδε καὶ μη μέλλων ομανίσταται. (Classen, however, changes the order: ἰδε ομανίσταται καὶ μη μέλλων )

134. τοῦτο γάρ ἂν ἐχήσουσιν: cf. S. Ph.233 Ελλην ἐχειν. τοῦτο γάρ σαλ πολύ μελετη. 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) σφήμα μοι γὰρ Ἑλλάδος ἀπόλυτη ὑπὸ ἐμῶν προσφιλετάτην ἐμοί.

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

135. ἐφ' οἷοι: taken by most editors as heuter, "for what purpose" (Pearson), "for what object" (Jerram), "on what grounds" (Beck), "pourquoi" (Meridier: note ad loc. 'οίοι est un neutre'); they compare E. Πθ. 463 ἐφ' οἷοι ήτοι, ταῦτα χρή μονὸν σκοπεῖν. But IT 1040 ἐπὶ θεοὶ σφιλεταί, ἐφ' οἷοι πεπλουκέας (v. Platnauer's note ad loc.), S. CT 507 and OC 1472 (v. Jebb ad locc.) suggest that here οἷοι could be masculine - "for whom" or "against whom" in the hostile sense of the preposition exemplified by KG 438.3f. Then ἐφ' οἷοι and πεφ' ἀδ would balance chiasmically the explanation by the herald in the following lines - Ἐνυγμάζεται and τοῦτο - The Greek would in any case be ambiguous to the audience until the later clarification.


The herald is eager enough to boast of his king (cf. 58, 68, 105).
136. ὑμηθήσεται: used interchangeably for the Argives and Argos (cf. 85, 87, and 176, note).

137. ἀρρογαντέρα πρὸς Ἰναφ: Musgrave. The herald is perfectly well aware whom he is addressing (118) yet refuses Demophon the courteous address of Ἰναφ.

138. δικαίοι: Pearson states that this is the substantival use of δικαίοι (≈ iura), cf. 368; E. Andr. 1162; Supp. 437; IT 559; IA 810." (But the singular δικαίον 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", δική. V. Further Fraenkel ad A. Ag. 812 δικαίων ὁ ἐπίφρον μόνον ἐπίφρον, 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.

ςυρτή: Barrett suggests (ad E. Hipp. 1195) that ςυ - might probably be written for the form of the adverb, which occurs only four times in Attic, all E.; mss.:-ςυ- Supp. 839; Kh. 313; Hipp. 1195; ςυ - Hkld. 138 (LP), and BM Pap. 2652B (3rd Century B.C.) of Hipp. 1195.
139. ἥμων: not, as Pearson, a conative present, but an arrogant statement of his present action.

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

ἐρατίσας τούς; Bothe ἐρατίσας τούς γ’, which with a slight change of order, preserve the reading of L.

ἐρατίσας: cf. 14, ἐφαρμομέν. 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.

ἐκαυτός: more emphatic than ἡμί, and reinforcing Ἀργείας and Ἀργείας.

141. ἐκοθεν: for ἐκά, 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 ἀνὴρ τῶν ἔστε ἐκάλεσε; Hec.731 ἐκαθάρισεν γὰρ ἐκ πεπραμεθ' ἐγών; Ph.294 τοῦ ὦκαθεν νόμον εἰμοῦς; Med.506 τῶν μείν ὦκαθεν φίλοι ἔλαβα καθελτήν τ’; IT 1182 τῶν Ἀργοθέν τοίς φίλοις ἀγγείλλοντες' μοι; 1410οι τοῖς ἔκαθεν ἐρωτάνει τοῖς; Supp.182, where ὦκαθεν = ὦκοι.
A. Supp. 390 ἔδω τοῖς φιλονομοῖς κατὰ νόμους τούς οἰκοβεν. For this attraction v. KG 448, An. 1.

ἔφη φίλουνος: perf. Pass. — "having been condemned by vote to die". LSJ s.v. III.

142. δίκαιος ἔμνις: the personal construction, commonly used instead of δίκαιον ἐπινήμιο. KG 477(d). Cf. 776.

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

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

κυψίον: proleptically used with κραίνων, i.e. to pass sentences which are binding and enforced. Cf. Pl. Cr. 508 B δίκας δικαζομαι κυψεῖς; D. 24.1. For the verb cf. A. Ch. 462 ν τοῦ Διός, κραίνων ἐνδεικνύτων; Newman, <δίκας> Hermann, on the evidence of this line in the Hkld.; B. 12.45 δίκας ὑπατίας κραίνων. Also A. Supp. 943 ψήφος κέκραναι; E. Hec. 219 ψήφον τε τὴν κρατικήν; Tr. 785 ψήφος ἐκκραίνη; Andr. 1272 ψήφος κέκραναι.
144. ἄφημενοι: Wilamowitz's emendation (KS I.5. p.106) is to be preferred to mss. ἄφημενων. 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 καλῶν.

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

145. τοῖς ... τοῖς: Canter's satisfactory change for mss. τοῖς ... τοῖς; cf. S. Ant.1076 ἐν τοῖς μύτῃς τοῖς. For other less satisfactory emendations v. Wecklein's Appendix.

145. ἐστήμεν: as Pearson says, this must be the pluperfect. Cobet proposed ἐστήμεν, the aorist. Wecklein suggested τοῖς ἐν together with ὕπερ for κοίτη, retaining ἄφημενων 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 Plu. ser. num. vind. 6.p.551C ἀν δικαίωσεις ἀν παρ' ἄνθρωπον μόνον ἔχοντι τὸ ἀντίλυπτον ἔργον ἐν τῷ κακῷ τοῦ δεσμοκτονία παθῶν ἐστάντων.
146. 

προσδέσθαι: "bring upon himself"; cf. A. Pers.

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

ἳδια: Pearson appears to support Elmsley's notion that ἰδια 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 ἰδια is the opposite of κοινος, 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 ἰδια can be the opposite of κοινος and also of ἀλλυριός (LSJ s. ἰδια I.1 and 2).

147, 8 ἐ τιν'... ἥ κίνδυνον: Jacob's emendation of the mss ε' τιν'... ε'ς κίνδυνον, which is unacceptable unless one assumes that the apodosis never comes and neglects the parallels (v. infra) of the use of κίνδυνον and βίττειν without the preposition. Certainly etacism accounts easily for the change of ἰ into ε', and again into ε'ς.

ε'ς με μὴριάν εκκυμένοι: a combination of two ideas, "looking at you and seeing folly"; cf. S. OT 536 δείλαν ἦ μηριάν ἰδιαν τιν' εν γασ; E. Hipp. 943 σκέφτεθε δ' ε'ς γοῦδ'.
(Elmsley takes ις ου with ηλεον, 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): "μωρός is a strongly condemnatory word denoting culpable lack of intelligence."

(E. very often uses μωρός 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 βίπτετες: cf. E. Rh.154 κίνδυνον...βίπται; Fr.402.6 κίνδυνον μέγαν βίπτετες.

For the compound in the same sense cf. Hdt. 7.50; Thuc. 4.85, 95 (LSJ s.ληπτός II). The metaphor is obviously drawn from dice; cf. Photius: κίνδυνον ληπτόμενοι λέγοντες, μεταβείνοντες λέγοντες τὼν κύβων. KG 410.2(c).
Cf. also Pl. R.617E τίτιστα κύβων βίπται ἐπὶ πάντας τῶν κύριως.

εἴ Ἰμηράνην: "from their desperate situation."
Cf.: E. El.624 εἴ τις ῥωπίς ἢ Ἰμηράνην; S. Ai.176 εἴ Ζέλτεν; A. Supp.357 εἴ ζήλεσα κατρακάνθων.

But in the above examples εἴ 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. εἰτ' ὁὖν εἰτέ μὴ γενέσεται: the subject of γενέσεται 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 εἰτ' ὁὖν ....... εἰτε v. GP 418.

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

151. μένιν = cf. οἴσει, 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.).

ην: Elmsley suggested ἐν, comparing Ε. Med. 296 Χρωτὸς γιὰρ ἄλλην ἔτσι ἵνα σωσήν ὑμῖν and S. El. 763 μέγιστα πάντων ἵνα ὑπάρχῃ ἵνα γίνη. But v. KG 555, An. 3 for other instances where the relative attraction is disregarded.

152. ἡ βουλή: as Pearson remarks, there seems no parallel for ἡ βουλή = ἡ ἰμφάνοις in the sense of "helpless", "without resource" (as Elmsley, Paley, Jerram) and so Kirchhoff’s suggestion of ἡ βουλή, 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).

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

153. ἰπεν ἀναθέσε γή: for this position of γή cf. Ar. Nub. 218 ἰπεν τῆ γῆ ἄνευ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀμφίβολης ἄνηρ, and for a similar postponement of ἰδί', E. Hel. 1043 (GP 96ff.) ἰπε', ὃτ' ἐτι ..........: ἰπε' 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).

τ'..... τ': used to imply a disjunction, cf. E. Ion 853 ὅλω .... ὑπεν τη σφυρ τη φέρησε εἰσίν: Hel. 321; 1393. (GP 515). But as the participles replace the protasis of a conditional sentence τε ..... τε really stand for ἐκίθε ..... ἐκίθε. Of course Reiske's emendation of τ' in 153 for γ' is correct - a common majuscule corruption.
παρεύ: "allow to enter"; cf. E. Supp. 467 ἔως δ' ἐπικοβ πλη τε Καλπίνης λινη Ἀθηναίων ἐς γῆν ἕπεδε μὴ παρεύ.

155. τὴ παρῆμων: "our offer" Pearson. KG 440.122e.

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.

Χείρα: "so great a force"; for χείρ cf. 1035.

157. προοίμιον: 146, note.

158. λόγοι: i.e. "mere words" as opposed to ἐργα, the practical advantages of the powerful friendship of Argos which the herald offers. Pearson follows Elmsley in taking λόγοι and οἰκτίσματα with τὰνκε. Elmsley quotes E. Med. 1366 Ἡρα, οτε τε σοι νεομιμητες γύμοι, and Pearson adds S. OC 1399 οἴμοι κελεύου τῇ τ' ἐμῇ διπλασίᾳ. Cf. also S. OT 477/4μηρὸς τε καὶ τοῦ δοῦμαιρὸς and v. KG 607, An.4. However, it is better to keep λόγοι distinct from οἰκτίσματα, so that the herald sneers at "words" in general, and "lamentations" in particular.

159. ἔφαναι: "are softened". ἔφαναι fundamentally means "grow ripe", X. Oec. 19.19; Ar. Fak 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.
160. *Hyperbaton:* cf. 205, 844. This probably accounted for the mss. error (corr. Barmes) Ὑσης (ὑση ἅμα).

161. *Χαλυβδικός:* the Chalybes, although placed by Aeschylus in Scythia (Fr.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 ὅς ἐνεργεῖτον Ἀμας' ἐπίθεσιν ἄρων. There edd. supply κοπήν or μίξην; here sc. Σίφοι or Σύχοι, not σίδηρος which would be rather tautologous.


163. *τι̃ ο̃υ̃ ̃α̃ρ̃ε̃ι̃ς:* Kirchhoff: τι̃ ο̃υ̃ ̃α̃ρ̃ε̃ι̃ς ὅ̄̃̃ ΛΠ.
"Kirchhoff's brilliant emendation" Pearson; "two glories of the critical art, which no editor resists, are Kirchhoff's conjecture τ' ρυσιάσθη in v.163 and Reiske's κελεύματι ἀργος in v.765" Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.107. Less successful were Elmsley's Τίρυνθης γῆς, and Matthiae's Ἀγαθίς τ' ης 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 ρυσιάσθη 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 μὴ ἀδελφός μ' ὑπὲρ πολυθήν ρυσιάσθησαν.

164. ἐτοίμας: 162, note.

πίνας δ' ἔπεσον: to be taken with πεδίνας, not as Pflugk "scil. έμύναιν ἀπόκα.

166. γέρωντας τύμβων: cf. E. Med.1209 τής τοῦ γέρωντα τύμβων ἐφαινοί σ' ὅπερ τύμβων; Ar. Lys.372 ἡ τύμβῳ; Plautus Ps.1.4.19 ex hoc sepulcro vetere.

167. τὸ μύσκι: here μύσκι is not declined: cf. S. Ai. 1231 τὸ μύσκι καλύτερα ἔτοξ; E. El.370 τὸ μύσκι ὀντα (v. Denniston ad loc.); Tr.613; Fr.332.8. But it can be declined: cf. S. Ai.1114 τῷ μύσκῳ. KG 512.4 and
An.2.

τα είτεν ήπος: the phrase qualifies το μηδεν ήπος; cf. E. Hipp. 1162 Ἰππόλυτος οδέκει ἵλιν, τα είτεν ήπος.

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

168. εἰς εὐρέον: v. on 109. Εὐρέον is lit. "bilge-water", i.e. "trouble".

ὑπόθεσθαι: cf. 802 ἑκάστῃ ὑπόθεσθαι; E. El. 94 Βαίνειν ὑπόθεσθαι, 1173 Βαίνονσιν ὑπόθεσθαι; Or. 1470 θεβίλαν ὑπόθεσθαι; Ph. 1412 ὑπόθεσθαι δι' κιάλον δειδών; Alc. ε. 69 ὑπόθεσθαι, 1153 νόστημεν δι' ἦλθει τ' ὑπόθεσθαι (v. Dale ad loc.). This expression can be explained as an extension of the cognate accusative, e.g. νίκην νικεῖ (KG 410.2(c)). Pearson considers that "it is possible that ὑπόθεσθαι 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 οὐφυθεῖν depend on ἀλλ' 'εστίν: "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 

εἰπὼ τῷ ἱστόνῳ ἐπὶ ἑλπίσι εὑρήκομαιν. 

an emendation which eases what is really only a slight 
difficulty, ἐρώκειν used where the middle voice might 
be expected. (But see his note on S. El.1061; cf. ib. 
1305 and E. Med.1107.) Certainly τὸ ἱστόνῳ is in apposition 
to the sentence as E. HF 196 ἐν μὲν τῷ ἱστόνῳ.

170. τοῦτο: i.e. ἑλπίσ; cf. E. Andr.332 τοῦτο δ’ ἵστροπε ἐνδεικνύει 
referring to πλοῖῳ; Tr.401 εἰ δ’ ἵστροπε ἐνδεικνύει, referring 
to πόλεμον; Hel.1637 οὐδὲν referring to γυναῖκα; 
S. OT 542 οὐδὲν referring to τοπορρύθα.

πολλῷ ἐνδείκτ.: ἐνδείκτ. (= "inferior") is regarded as 
a comparative adjective, hence the use of πολλῷ, dative 
of measure of difference; cf. E. Ph.701 πολλῷ γὰρ ὑπὸν ἐνδείκτ. 

διὰ λαγᾶς. For the genitive of comparison after 
Elmsley quotes Fr.141.2 πολλῷ γνησίῳ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνδείκτ. γνησίῳ 
V. LSJ s. ἐνδείκτ., 3, and especially Thuc. 1.102 τοῦτο 
ἐνδείκτ. ἑρωτό (sc. πράγματι).

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 τὸ πρῶτον as "the present offer 
of alliance with Argos" (Pearson and others). The whole 
of 170 is parenthetic; the γὰρ of 171 explains the ἑλπίς 
of 169.
Hermann suggested an ironic καί and Paley sought to increase the irony with καί γ' ἦν (retaining of course ἀναφηλοῦτα). These suggestions are attractive, but the mss. reading must stand.

**∑πλίκτες** : Schenkl: σώματιυνοι LP. The irony and καίκαί 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 (οίδε deictic, as τῶνε 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. **ἐριζ** : Elmsley's weak addition of the missing syllable, adopted by subsequent editors, is probably better supplanted by Barnes' ἐριζεῖν τοῦτο: "if really..." (GP 487) has the right note of sarcasm.

**ἐκ... ψυχή** : the "whole and part" apposition; v. on 63. Cf. S. Ant. 319 ἐ βρασὺν ὅ σε ὡς τῇ φρένισιν, ἦς δε' ἔτη ἔγειρ. Ph. 1301 μοίδυ μαχημάτα ; Tr. 831 σφ...Χρίσι πληρά. Contrast however E. IA 125 μη παύ Ἀχιλλ...ο...ομοί ἐπερεῖ...οι σοι τ' ἱλ' Χήμ. 173. **χρόνον μεσον Χρέας** : "the time in between", i.e.
the time until the Herakleidae grow up; cf. E. Ph. 588

174. ἐκείνα: for this word, so grimly euphemistic, cf. E. Hec. 369 ᾿Αγος με, ῾Οδος, καὶ διήμεσι μάχην.

175. μηδέν: because δοῦ is virtually equivalent to an imperative δοσ (or rather, δοσ).

176. μὴ γὰρ ἦπερ: 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 (ἐβούλομαι).

177. τοῦ Αγος: the accusative absolute, more common in Ἡ than in A. or Ἐ.

τοῦ Αγος: edd. quote [Xen.] (Old Oligarch) Ath. 3.10

Δοκεῖοι δὲ Ἰβύνοι καὶ τοῦτο μοι ὡς ἐμαυτῇ βουλεύομαι, ὅτι τοῦ Κέρων ἀφροντεί ἐν τῆς πόλει τῆς ομασιασίσσων.
But there of course Χειρον 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).


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 δικλίνοι πρὶν ἣν ξυφοῖν μόδον ἱκουσίν.

Cf. E. Andr.957 σοφοῖ τι κήρυμα τινὶ διδάγαντο βρότωι λόγου ἱκουσίν των ἱλιατίκων πέρα (here the meaning is "from the other side"); A. Eu.428 δυσὶ παράλοιποι δικίως λόγος πέρα.

Ar. V.725 ἢ που σοφὸς ἢν θύρῃ ὀφείλει, πρὶν ἣν ναφοῖν μόδον ἱκουσίν, οὐκ ἣν δικλίνοι.

Cf. the ἱλιατική ἀρκος; Isoc.15.21.
181—184. I should prefer:-

Most edd. have adopted Valckenaer's ἐν μέρει in 184, quoting in support E. Ion 1284 τί δ' ἐστιν δι' αὐτὴς τε κοινωνία ἐν μέρει (cf. also E. Tr. 54 καίνη ἐμφυτή τ' ἐμπίστευσαν, ταύτης). As there is then no contrast between 181—2 and 184, Wilamowitz proposed γαρ in 181 in place of ἐν μέρει (v. Pearson's note in support), which Murray also accepted to avoid the asyndeton of ἐπάθεια and παρεστη. (However, this is surely explanatory asyndeton). Now ἐν μέρει in 182 quite clearly means "in turn"; LSJ μέρος II.2, cf. A. Ch. 332 κλεί̇νει τοι, ἔπειτα, ἐν μέρει; Eu. 198 ἀνέκδοτον ἐν μέρει. (Therefore Vitelli's conjecture of ἐκαστοῦτε is preferable to LP ἀκούσας 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 debaters 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 herald 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 οὐδέν ἐν ὧν ἐν μέρις πολεμῶν γὰρ (v.alsp LSJ s.μέρος
III.a; Denniston ad E. El.797 ἐν μέροι ; Tucker ad A.
Ch.145 ἐν μέροι ). So although it appears at first sight that ἐν μέροι of 184 was wrongly imported from 182 - Elmsley: "natum videtur sc. from 182" (and if 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 οὐδέν ἢδ' of the mss. is surely a scribal echo of οὐδέν ἢτιν of 184. Are we to assume then that the scribe made two bad errors of the same kind in four lines?

185. ὃ μέρος': v. on 184; Dobree's correction must be accepted.


Iolaos implies in φθυγμέναν πάθειν and 188 ἄπλαναν Χρόνον
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 νοσίγο go in punishing its citizens? φύσιν 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. Μυπνιλόι: v. on 176.

188. ομ: should be retained (v. App. Crit.): "being exiles."

189. Σίναις ιτηίνα: the sum of his argument. All connection with Argos was severed when they left Argos.

190. Τιγώγος: the article gives a sarcastic tone; cf. 4195, and 284 το σοι Ούγοσ, "your famous Argos". He asks if the Argives claim that their jurisdiction extends to the whole of Greece.

191. οικούμενα: introducing an emphatic negative answer (GP 423).
193. ὥσει τι: for this combination favoured by Ἐ.
cf. 384; Alc.210;417, 632, 815; Hipp.792; Andr.871;
Supp.117; Ph.112.

Πρακλίδης: the Herakleidae had fled for refuge to
Ceyx, king of Trachis (Apollod. 2.8.1; Paus. 1.32; Ps.
Longin. 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 Achaea Pthiotis
(Strabo 9. p. 453); cf. Ἐ. κ.ν. 236 Ὄθιδα γένων ποτ' ἐπ' Ἀγωγα
βαίν. Ἑσπόντου πεθαυνή Ἀχαιῶν; Ion 64; A. Pers.458.

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

195. ὅτά δι' ἐνοφ: v. on 190.

ὁξίνων: "extolling" and thus deterring Ceyx from
accepting the Herakleidae. The verb is contrasted with
τὴν ὄσιν μεν οὐ of the previous line.

ὁπερ: sc. ἀγών; or, alternatively, cognate acc.
(KG 410.2(c)); "making such boasts as now you do".
197. \(\text{κρίνωςι}\\) : Heath: \(\text{κρίνουσι}\\) LP. Heath's correction aligns the tense with the parallel verb \(\text{ισταί}\\). For the future indicative with \(\text{ισταί}\\), used in a present conditional clause, v. MT 407-8.

\(\text{κρίνω}\\) = "decide in favour of", "approve". LSJ s.v. II.7.

Elmsley suggested \(\text{κρινοδος}\\), comparing A. Supp.608 \(\varepsilon\phi\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\nu\ \lambda\delta\varepsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\iota\tau\upsilon\nu\lambda\omicron\nu\upsilon\) (cf. also the examples of \(\text{κρίνω}\\) cited ad 143 supra), and remarks that \(\text{κρίνω}\\) and \(\text{κρίνωςι}\\) are often confused. Certainly there is a good case for \(\text{κρινοδος}\\) 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 \(\text{κρινοδος}\\), 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 \(\text{κρίνουσι}\\) where the First Edition read \(\text{κροδοσι}\\), and in his long note ad loc. he does not mention Elmsley.)

198. \(\text{οὐκ ὅσ}\\): is this another case (v. on 184-5, 321, 405) of scribal error in transporting \(\text{σῆς}\\) here
from 199? Kirchhoff's αἰσθήμα makes much better sense: "If the Athenians accept your arguments, I declare that Athens is no longer free." Then ᾧ· 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 αἰσθήμα could be: "I no longer recognise Athens as free").

For the sentiment cf. the speech of Perikles in 432 B.C. (Thuc. 1.141): τὴν γὰρ ἀμφῦ δίκαιη βουλὴν ἠτε 
μεγίστη καὶ ἐθνικὴ δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ἰμαίων πρὸ δίκῃ ῥος 
πολύ ἐπιστροφῆνα.

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

200. ἀισχὺν: = ἅσθη, "honour" (cf. on 6). Elmsley compares Thuc. 1.84 ἅσθη συγκοινωνίαν πλεῖστον μετὰ, ἀισχὺν δὲ ἐνυγμένων. V. Barrett ad E. Hipp.244: "........... ἀισχὺς in Attic (sc. by the time of E.) was obsolescent in favour of ἀισχὺνωσία."
remembered Supp. 818 and several other tragic verses ending on βῆσαν." However, βῆσαν has met with general, and silent, adoption, and is supported syntactically by 57.

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

202. τολύμ: attempts have been made to explain the accusative as that of respect (cf. τό γὰρ εὖμ' ἄεικ λατρεύον οἴκοιν, 1024) — e.g. by Elmsley: "quod ad civitatem attinet, satis dictum est"; but S. Ant. 211 υπὲρ ἀρέσκει, καθ Ηπισκόπου, Κρὴν τὸν τῆς δούναν καὶ τοῦ εὐμήνη πόλει which he compares has aroused discussion (v. Jebb ad loc.). However, he is followed by Beck, Jerram and Meridier. Others supply an infinitive — τοιαδ' ἐπινόησεν: Pflugk; τοσοῦτον εἰνέλει: Paley. It is better to accept Kirchhoff's slight change, τολύμ.

καὶ φητέον: connective and assertive: "for indeed...."

GP 112.

203. ἐξ: "many times indeed"; Ἰόλαος 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, ἐπιφθον ἔχων carried the implication of a superstitious belief in the dangers of too much prosperity; it is not simply a question of good taste.
βρωνθεί: with ὁδ' , i.e. "I know that I was vexed", while λίνομενος is a temporal participle, i.e. "whenever I was praised excessively". For βρωνθεί = "vexed" cf. S. Ai.41 ἔλυ βρωνθεί; OT 781 κλη βρωνθεί and for the general sentiment, E. Or.1162 βασις τι καὶ τῆς ἐπανέκτισιν, λίνομενοι λίν; IA 979 λίνομενοι γάρ εἰς ζυγωθεὶς ἑρπεῖν τινα μετοχαὶ τοῦ λίνομενα, ἓν ἀνάθ' Ἰαν.

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

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

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

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

Pelops - Hippodamia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pittheus</th>
<th>Lysidice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aithra</td>
<td>Alcmene - Zeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theseus</td>
<td>Herakles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demophon and Acamas</td>
<td>The Herakleidae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Zuntz, Fol. Plays, p.104). (Also according to Apollon. 2.4.5 the mother of Alkmene was Anaxo, daughter of Alcaeus.)

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

ἐνεμτιμ: "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, μάλιν δ' ἕρωτι, seems completely satisfactory.

211. μακνεφίν: μακνεφίν LP: corr. Reisig:
μακνεφίν (= children of ἄνεψ) 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 έτευγμένων (sc. Theseus and Herakles) ήκε και γένος κοινωνίας, ήθος κοινωνίας). However, άνευδιά 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. έν ες: 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.


Παύξα: Paley, Beck, and Jerram say = προσφέρει; but compare S. OC 738 ὅνη μόι γένος and Jebb's note: "in such examples (sc. E. Hkld.213; Alc.291) ήκε, ήκα cannot properly be regarded as mere substitutes for προσφέρει, προσφέρει."
"further", "moreover". KG 499.2. Cf. X. Cyr.

8.8.16 οὐ μόνον ἄλλη ἡγή; Ar. V.426 τόσο μείτοι δύναν ἡγή; S. Oc 1586 τούτ' έστιν ἡγή κατά σωματικό πρόσωπον.

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

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

216. δόσοι.....παρ' : Kirchhoff: φησι.....παρ' 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 ἔσπειράνω, but in what respect could Herakles say of his own Labour (v. infra) that he acted as "right-hand man" to Theseus? For ἔσπειραν cf. παρετάτη, 58 and 125, describing the relationship of Iolaos to Herakles, and E. Ph.1073 οὖν παρ' ἐπίθεν βικτήρια ἐστὶ πολλών εἰρήνων βόηθη, said of the attendant of Eteocles; also Pi. N.3.37 where Telamon is described as Ἰοθ παρετάτη, and Bury's note ad loc.

σύνταξει: to be joined with ἐπιθεῖ, 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 his 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. *poluktōn* : because many were killed to obtain the girdle; cf. E. HF 415 Ἰωσήφος ὀλέθριον Ἰηρῶν.

*μέτα* : "after" i.e. "to seek", as E. Alc.485 ὄρη καὶ τέρμα Ἰεραμᾶς Ἀμεδρίων μέτα KG 439.III.1(a)(γ).

218. Pearson comments that ἵππηγαγέω 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 21, 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. Freller & Robert, Gr. Myth. 2 (Gr. Heldens.) pp. 462ff. and 730ff.)

_εἴσανθεσις_: 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 σώρας με νήρον.

_ερυμωνία_: "well-defended" or "sheer, steep"; cf. E. Hel. 68 δύναμε; Arist. Pol. 1330b 18 τόποι. Most edd. except Murray prefer Barnes' ερυμωνία: "black, shadowy". The word does not occur in E., but cf. S. hi. 376, A. Ag.1390 where it is used of the colour of blood, and S. Ant. 700 ερυμωνία φάτνη (Jebb: "darkling rumour"). V. LSJ s.v. and cf. ἑνδομος. It is likely that the common ερυμωνία could have ousted the rarer ερυμωνία 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 influence in at least ten places in the plays. (For a more cautious viewpoint, v. Duchemin, L' \\textit{lyre} dans La Tragédie Grecque, p.160.)

Certainly 221, 222 at least are superfluous here; it is clear enough what favour Iolaos and the Herakleidai ask from Demophon; and if 220-225 are excised the way is then open after the reasoned argument for impassioned appeal, commencing 226, \textit{\ ζναι}.

223. \textit{συγκρ}., \textit{το ἐπὶ τὰ χρόνια}: 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 μικόν was imported from μικὸς in the following line (l: μικῶν). He proposed ἵπποι τῆς πόλεις. Jackson (Marginalia Scaenica, p.54) follows up this suggestion with ἐν πόλει τ' ἰόνων. However, χωρὶς itself has been overlooked as a possible corruption: I tentatively suggest that a non-metrical χωρὶς replaced γῆ, and then this was replaced by χωρὶς in an unsuccessful attempt to restore the metre, the line originally reading σει γῆ τοδ' ἰόχρων, γῆ τε καὶ πόλει μικόν; cf. 72 πόλει τ' ἰόνων.

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

224. ἔστεις ἐλήπτης συγκεντρ. for the asyndeton cf. 230; E. Hec.281 πόλις πλυστή μίστρω.

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

225. βλέψον πρὸς οὕτως 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. Χεθοῖν: the evidence of E. Hec.752 ᾠδεῖν ἐς τὸν ὑματίν καὶ τὸν γένειον δόσης τ' εὖλαμονος
and Hipp.605 μὴ πρὸς σε τῇ σῇ δεσία has been adduced to support the view that πρὸς of 227 governs χερῶν also (cf. 756, note). However, χερῶν seems too vague an expression to justify such a view, and further the deictic οὐκ or the possessive adjective is usually found in such phrases; v. Barrett ad E. Hipp.605 who gives examples in addition to those quoted above. Furthermore, to take χερῶν with πρὸς leaves καταστάφω strangely isolated—parenthetically, as Pflugk, or coupled awkwardly with ἄναμμεν, as Paley.

Elmsley is right to take κατάσταφω χερῶν together: "I wreathe you with my hands" as with suppliant boughs;

227. μὴ: the mss. reading is corrupt, caused either by the wish to link χερῶν and ἔφη γενέσθη, or by the misreading of a minuscule abbreviation (Kuntz, P61. Flays, p.107). Hence Kirchhoff's μὴ should be accepted, as it has been by Pearson and Meridier.

228. Λυφῶς: IP: Λυφῶς Elmsley. Λυφῶς is just possible: "do not reject them now that they are in your
hands", but the construction found with ἀναστάσειν is accusative and infinitive as S. Ant. 544 μή τοι, καθιστήρια, μὴ ἀναστάσει τὸ μή αὐθάλειον; E. HF 608 οὐκ ἀναστάσει βεβαία προαναγνωστέων; Pl. La. 162C μὴ ἀναστάσειν αἰτοῦν; A. Fr. 255 μὴ ἀναστάσεις μοιέν. KG 514, An. 9(b).

229. γενοῦ: i.e. "prove yourself".

230. For the asyndeton cf. 224.

δεσπότης: "even a master; for anything....." ἔπαιρε γὰρ τ' of course refers particularly to δεσπότης.

231. πάντως: instead of ἦ. KG 479.2 and 540.1, An. 5.

232. ὑπηρέτη: 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 ὑπηρέτη ἱκουσάν. συμφορη: genitive of cause or origin after ὑπηρέτη; 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.).

_τὸ ἄξιον νικήμενον_: genitive of comparison; cf. E. Med.315 κρατοῦν νικήμενοι; A. Supp.1005 ἐμφοι νικήμενος

KG 420, An.8.

234. ἵστησον: aorist as in 232.

235. __συμφέρετά_: 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. Ἰδοὺ, τὸ συγγενεῖ (with τὸ προφέρειν), τὸ ἀσθενεῖ.

_ὀβός_ as a metaphorical "way" or "path" is adequately substantiated by E. Hec.744 σὺν ὀβοὶ βουλήματιν; Med.376 πολλῷ ὁ ἴχθυς ἐνωρίζεται μέτωπι ὀβός; Hipp.290 γνώμη ὀβοὶ; Ph.911 θερμίτων ἐμῶν ὀβοὶ; S. OT 67 πολλῷ ὁ ὀβός ἐλθεῖται φρονίσκει, but what meaning can be extracted from _συμφέρετά_? It cannot mean "misfortune". Elmsley interprets "τίς ἐστὶ τῆς συντροφίας", and Verrall, possibly influenced by this,
proposed οὐμφαρρις. 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 οὐμφαρρις leaves ὅσον awkwardly isolated.

Has οὐμφαρρις been imported from 232? (Cf. ἐν μέρει, 182 and 184; ὓπ' 198 and 199; v. notes ad locc.). If so, a word expressing "thought", "reflection", which is metrically acceptable and bears some resemblance to οὐμφαρρις may be suggested. Hence, F.W. Schmidt's conjecture σύννοις (cf. S. Ant.279) is attractive. Perhaps φροντίδας? Cf. 5. OT 67, quoted supra, and Ant. 225 φροντίδας ἐνισχεῖται.

237. τούτο σοι ζένους: Elmsley substituted τουρκή for τούτο σοι, and Kirchhoff λόγους for ζένους. As Zuntz says (Pol. Plays, p.107), "the Herakleidae are not ζένοι of Iolaos", and τούτο σοι cannot mean "the strangers under your Protection (Paley). λόγους is to be preferred. For if ζένους is retained, then Iolaos seems isolated from them and the protection they are to receive.

238. Τοῦ μὲν...Τε...Τ': GP 374-5 states that "the contrast conveyed by μὲν, δὲ may be so slight as hardly to be a contrast at all. It is therefore not surprising
that, instead of ἦ, 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 πρεσβύτερον: apposition, as 169, .

ιδέθεδ: 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 βασιλεύς (cf. 33).

239. γραβάτι: cf. 10, note.

παντέρυμα: Nauck preferred ἀνθρώπινα as E. HIPP. 1180; A. Ag. 4; Ch. 10, presumably because he regarded παντέρυμα as too all-embracing: cf. A. Th. 220; Ag. 845. But cf. E. HF 1283 πᾶλιν παντερυμα (where however Wecklein would read ἀνθρώπινα).

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

τὸ προσφέρειν: i.e. the facts of 215–219.
for the development of the use of ἄριν from accusative in apposition to the sentence to preposition with the genitive case, v. KG 406, An.5; 430, An.(b). Here ἄριν is parallel to ἔμιν ἄριν, and = πατέριν (or πατέραν) ἄριν. (Pflugk needlessly paraphrases as τὰν τοῖς πατέριν ὕμαν ὑπημένων ἄριν). The meaning is "for the sake of their father", or "for the sake of the friendship of their father and mine". πατέριν embraces both the comradeship expressed in 216-217 and the rescue of Theseus by Herakles in 218-219.

242. τε τ' ἄριν: cf. 200, 223.

243. συλλέχθη: for this notion that the god is robbed when the suppliants are forcibly removed cf. S. OC 922 οὐκ οὖν συλλέχθη τιμή καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, βλέποντα μετὰ ἀθήναν ἐνώπιον.

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

245. Ἀγείων ἄκυρον: Ἀγείων Dobree; ἄκυρο Musgrave. Ἀγείων ἄκυρο 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. ἀλλὰ Ἰεραμών : a colloquial expression here (cf. P.T. Stevens (op. cit. ed 214) p.190). For the literal sense cf. S. CT 1374 ἐρχ' ἐστίν κρίσαν, ἀλλὰ Ἰεραμών ἐδραμάτων; A. Eu.746 νῦν Ἰεραμών μοι τέμνετ' ; E. Alc.228 μεν οἰκούς τέμνετι, καὶ πλέον ἂν ἀφέω ἀπὸν ὑμῶν πεθάνει; while for the colloquial use cf. Ar. Ach.125 ταῦτα δ' οὖν Ἰεραμών ; Aesch. 2.38 τούτο δε' ὦν ἔρα Ἰεραμών καὶ λύσει τοῦτον.

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

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

248. μὴ τρίγεις ὅπως ἰσχυρέται : 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
is regularly used with such verbs. MT 370; KG 553.b.9(a).

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

ἐγκλήτη: with accusative of charge and dative of
person, as S. El.778 ἐγκλῆτι δὲ μοι φόνων παρήγαγα. KG 382,
An.12.

Σίμη: i.e. international law; so Paley, Jerram,
and Pearson. Σίμη is opposed to the following ὁμοίως ἀφεθεί
to the word ἐπιστήμη 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 Σίμη κυρίων cf.
Hdt. 9.116 (κυρίων with the genitive is very common in
Hdt.). V. further on 460.

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

255. οὐκ ὅν: 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 οδικων 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."

Musgrave: Fearson 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 COI, which is clearly correct. However, without the οΥ 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 ομόι 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 ...φονῆς οὐκ ἄνυσκα γ' ἡγ.

μέλαν γ'...........: Hec. 396.

[φήλωσθοί]: the middle voice. COI is the indirect object of μεθώ. KG 484.29; cf. S. El. 628 μεθεσθα μοι λέγειν (Jebb: "μεθέλων (prop. 'to let go') seldom (sc. as here)
means 'to permit'.

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

ἐξορισέ: 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 Herakleidēs 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 ἢ: : on the contrary it is most emphatic.

258. ἄκαδημ: 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, μαρτίων ); the ἄκαδημ ἴσηρ has no conception of his duty to god or man or of the proper way in which to behave; ἄδεους, ἀῖξικης and τὸ ἀῖξκερι, 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 ἂν ἄκαδημ ἴσηρ μὴ ἱμαναυ ἰδενο ἰδενο .... τὸ νὰ ἱκε Πλεόν κατε τῇ ἑκεσίας; Fr.951, of parents who will view with sympathetic under-
standing the love affairs of their sons, if they are not ὑπερήφανοι. Cf. also ἀμπελώ (459, note); the meanings of both words range from "tactless" to "cruel".

ΠΗΣΙΩ: Pearson prefers here the singular ἑρων. He refers to Cobet (Nov. Lect. p.268ff.) who shows that μίχω, μέσων, ἔλαταν φοροῦν etc. tend to be corrupted in favour of the corresponding plurals; cf. here with 933; 386 with 979. Nauck suggested μέσων.

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


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

262. οὐκ ὡς: v. on 255.

Τῶν: Reiske's correction of ἸΠ τῶν', which was caused because the scribe was thinking of the Ἡράκλειδαι, and wrote the deictic τῶν' (cf. 252, 256 τῶρε). Κύριος: v. on 143.

263. Λύ: Elmsley's addition gives the sentence a very idiomatic appearance if Matthiae's 'correction' of
for LP άν 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 βλέπων ἄθικτον explanatory of άν συμφέρων; if the comma is kept, βλέπων becomes a conditional participle with άν συμφέρων 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 les es pas les autres."

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

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

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

266. μὴ συμφέρομαι: the middle voice with the genitive case. LSJ s.v. III; contrast μὴ οδ., 256.

τοιοῦτο: s.c. τῷ γυναικί, "of the same opinion"; cf. A. Ag. 1360; E. Or. 1680.
267. ἔχειν: introduces an objection. GP 412.

268. ἐπ': draws a conclusion. GP 45. (Elmsley ὁτί ἐπ' = ὀτί πρ' . GP 555).

269. ἰδιαίτερα: emphasizes the participle: "I will try it and see, then." GP 236.

 translators: cf. γνώρις συ , 65.

270. ἅλινν: "to your regret": cf. A. Supp. 925 ἄνεθος ἰν, ἐν μαρτυρίας, οὐ μάλις ἐσμενάτω ; E. Andr. 577, 758. LSJ s.v. I.2.

ἐπ': "and soon, too!" GP 2.

ἰσ ὑπόθεσις: cf. E. Hel. 1297, and ἵσ ἑρμαγέρασ 904
(Dale ad loc: "adverbial: 'by way of lawful seizure'.")
Thuc. 7.15 μὴ ἵσ ὑπόθεσις πράσετε.

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 ἐκφορά from black to white. Previous 
tok his time, he says, καὶ τῇ προφήτῃ ἔμεινεν, πενθοῦντων 
δημοσίως Ἀθηναίων τοῦ κήρυκα τούν Κάρπη, ἄν αυτοὶ ἀπεκτείνων 
τοῦ Εὐκείδας τοῦ βυθὸν ἰπόσσαντα.

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. ἐὰν μὴ: cf. Ἄλκ. 493 ἐὰν μὴ γε ποὺ πνεόντος μικτήματι ἰπτο. 
GP 132. As in 256 γε is affirmative, yet, here, limiting 
at the same time.

Demophon picks up the remark of the herald 
of 263.

276. ἄλκυμ: collectively for a large number of 
spearsmen; cf. δορὰ 500, 803, 842; ἔστιν 932, E. Ph. 78;
278. Αλκάθους: 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. ταύδενες: ταυδεθε would be more logical, but less usual! V. on 141 and cf. E. Med.1117 καβακών τιμίαν οί προφήται; Εα. 49 ταυδεθε ουγας αδ; S. El.1307ιιδογιν τιμίαν.

καβακών: 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 εύφως γαρ ουι λαμπρός η’ ή αυτή καμάγγα καιδεσ (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. 

\[
\text{D} 25.57 \text{ ἄγε} \text{ πολέυσαι κλασσαει λαμπρῷ;}
\]
Hdt. 2.29 λαμπρῷ ἄγε; A. Ag. 1180 λαμπρῷ δ' ἐφικεν ἡλίου ἀντολὺς πνευμὸς ιδάειν (v. Fraenkel ad loc.).

But in all these examples a verb stronger than φαντασθείων seems required to point the metaphor. Paley, following Barnes, suggested that here λαμπρῷ = γοργός, ἱπποκάτων, "in gleaming armour". In Λ. Fr. 628.5 μὴ οὐ τοῦ φανταζόσθαι ἐς ἔναν φαντ — the similarity to our passage is deceptive: σοι is there ethic dative, and λαμπρῷ means "brilliant", "splendid" (LSJ s.v. III). I would suggest, following Paley's hint, that λαμπρῷ may originally have been a gloss on γοργό; cf. Ε. Andr. 458 νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργῷ ὀπλίτης φαντ (cf. ibid. 1123). γοργός ἡ means firstly "fiercely flashing", of eyes, and later (LSJ s.v. 2) "spirited", "vigorous", a meaning very close to the metaphorical use of λαμπρῷ. Clearly something stronger than λαμπρῷ is needed here to express the effect of Eurystheus on σοι καὶ πολίτης ἓν τέ εἰς τὴ θυσία καὶ φοι τοῖς: ἰδαίω: i.e. the threat of violence by Demophon to the herald, which he will exaggerate to Eurystheus (v. on 271, and cf. 292ff.).
281. 

\[\text{φυτεύ}:\] 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. \[\text{κυτίμεθα}: \] v. on 212.

\[\text{ἀλλά}:\] looks forward to the conditional participle \[\text{μὴ τιμωροῦμενοι};\] hence \[\text{μὴ not αὐτῷ}.\] KG 513.2.

284. \[\text{φθείρω}:\] cf. E. Andr. 708 \[\text{εἰ μὴ φθείρῃ πᾶρ' ἐν τῇ κήπῳ}]; and ibid. 715 \[\text{εἰ πῆλθῃ πῆλε}]; HE 1290 \[\text{οὐ γὰρ τῆς πῆλος}]; 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. Perim. 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 γοῦν Ἐρεμαγ: the contemptuous use of the possessive adjective as in 58, 190, 195, 690. Cf. E. Hipp. 113 τὴν γὰρ δοῦναν πεθ' ἐγὼ Χριστίνας; S. El. 1110 ὑμὶν ἀδα τὴν γὰρ μὴν θάνατον'; Ph. 1251 οὐλοῦ αὐτῷ τὸν σοῦ πολιμοφόβον; Ant. 573 ζῶν γα λυπη καὶ σοὶ καὶ τὸ σοῦ λέγεις.

285. οὐκ ἠμέλεσε: Pearson: "it was not likely that you would..." Cf. E. Med. 1354 οὐδὲ οὐκ ἠμέλεσε τὴν ἀμήνας λέγει τοπτοκ διότι βίοτον ἐγγελων ἤμελη.

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

287. ἐλευθερία: Demophon's address to the herald ends on the note of λεκίαν and ἄλλην ἐλευθερία, which recalls the argument of Iolaos, 190ff., and its acceptance by Demophon, 242ff.

288. Πεδίας: intransitive as in 44.
289. Ἀγρίαι...Μυκηναι: 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 Ἀγρίαν to avoid the close repetition of the genitive plurals.

291. δι' ὑποποίησιν: 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 τοῦτον. KG 438 II(c).

292. μὴ διογείσθαι: 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 Hes. 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. παραγίνω: cf. E. Med. 526 ὅπειρα καὶ ἵνα παραγίνῃ Χίην; Tr. 612 ὅρει τὰ των θεῶν, ὥς τε μηδὲ παραγοῦν ἄνω τὸ μηδὲ οὖν.
_τῶν γιγνόμενων: "the actual facts"; genitive of comparison. KG 420.2(b).

294. _πασίδεοι: plural for singular; cf. 99, 367, 1055; E. Ion 233, 751 δεσπόται; Alc.132 _πασίδεοι, 138 δεσπόταις; S. OC 295 Ζίνκας; A. Ch.53 _δεσπόται.

295. _προμεκρ' ἤλθεν: KG 440.III.3(c). In this and similar expressions, πρ' ἐνδεί, πρ' ἀλίγον, the preposition expresses the point of reference. V. LSJ s.v. III.5(b).

_δικαιάσα: δικαιάσω, lit. "grate to bits" (Dale ad E. Alc.109) can be used of destruction generally; cf. A. Ag.65 δικαιάσεως τ' ἐν προτεστασίᾳ κήματος.
E. Alc.109 ἔν τῶν λιγδῶν δικαιάσεως πονεῖτι.
Med.163 ἐν ποτ' ἐνδεί νύμφῃ τ' ἐνδείδομα, αὐτῇ μελίφης δικαιάσως.
El.1306 μ' ἡμέραις τῇ πατέρῳ δικαιάσως.
IA 26 γνώμαι πολλαι καὶ εὐσάρχως δικαιάσας.
(For the original notion of a slow and painful death, cf. A. Fr.93 Σέρασθος οὖς λίχαλως δικαιάσεως τοιύς κριόντα Ιδάδων.)

Paley finds it difficult to understand how a man can be said δικαιάσων την μοίων 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 ματέρος αὐτοῦ δεσπότας πρὸ παίδων Ἀθηναίων κρυφῇ δούλως.
Perhaps, as Elmsley seems to suggest ("interpretare, διόλογα"), the expression is parallel to the Homeric μορφή, θυσία, φυλή, ἔπος ὀλέθα = "to lose one's life".

297. τῶδε...: strictly, only τῶδε or ἦ is required in the comparison, but cf. E. Med. 553 π' τῶδ' ἐν εὔφρα μιᾷ ἑτεροτρόπῳ ἦ τάξις γῆμαι βασιλῆς φυλῆ γενόμεν. 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 ἦσαν οὐδ' εἰπ' ἐκδικ.σον, which links περικυκλ. and γῆμαι as explanatory of τῶδε.

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

299-301. These lines are deleted by Murray, following J. Niejahr. (Wilmowitz 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 ἹΡ: 

καὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἦσαν τῷ ἰπ' νέατιν.

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 γυνικός, which, as Pearson remarks, should be ουτέ. He says "it is not the marriage of the children, but that of the father which is relevant." He would read, as does Wecklein, γυνικός, the suggestion of Musgrave. But the use of the verb with ἐνθέωρος or ἐκ is well exemplified in E: cf. Andr. 974 ἐπὶ εὐγενείας; ibid. 1279 ἐπὶ γυνικός ἐπὶ ἐκ τε γενεαίων ἤρειν; Ἡ. 168 ἐπὶ εὐγενείας; γυνικός οὐκόν; Fr. 59 ἐπὶ ταῖς γενεαίων οἱ κακοὶ γυνικαίς. Consequently the text here is probably correct - but the lines themselves spurious. Zuntz (Eol. Plays, p. 110) considers that the lines "are likely to come from some other play (sc. of E.)", and rightly insists that it is eὐγενεία, descent from Hekkle, which is the point of this speech, and indeed plays such an important part throughout the whole play (cf. for eὐγενεία 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, Hekkle can hardly be taken as the model of marital propriety and any references in the speech to ignoble affairs would
be most inappropriate.

301. Διαστήματα: this use of the infinitive could be taken, as by Pearson, as parallel to the employment of the infinitive after ὐδικίσθην, μακαίν, and ἔκραγεν (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 τοιούτῳ ἐπιβίων δήτα ὡς κτησιμί φίλοις; EL.1322 σὺν ἐπιβίων; OC 664 ἐφεύρει μὲν ὁν ἐγνωκέ ὁ πάντω ὁ ἔμος γυναῖκας ἑπιβίω, where the infinitive could be taken simply as the verbal noun, the object of ἑπιβίω. Then in our example ὅτε δὲ .... relates to an implied subject of Διαστήματα, i.e. τοστον. Other editors, following Elmsley, explain the infinitive as epexegetic = ἔτει ........(Matthiae suggests Διαστήματα; cf. supra.)

302. τὸ δὲ μέσον κτῆ.: Iolaos proves triumphantly that ἐγκνεύσει is not νικαριζήν παρρησίας as the Chorus remarked in 233. For the sentiment cf. E. Andr. 766ff.

303. ὅτε: introduces an element in the proof of a proposition. GP 66. (The rule that no word can end after a long anecps 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 ἔν αυτόν. Cf. Maas, Gk. Metre, paras.48, 135. Cf. E. Hel.1552.)

304. ἐκ τοῦ ξατοῦ: cf. E. Cr.447 κρής, ὅπερ οὐκ ομορρηθείς ἐστὶν; Hel.510 μὴ καὶ ἐκατον; Ion 836 τῶν δὲ ἐπάνω ἔκατον μικρὸν.

305. τοῦτος οἰκείων: cf. supra 151 (τούτοις άδελφοις), 156, 411. I.e. "of all Greece, large as it is."

306. προδέχασθαι: cf. 349, 1037.

307. οὐτε....οὔτε: v. on 225. For the sentiment edd. compare S.OC 1632 δε μει χρῆς πίστιν ἄξιον τὴν τέκνην (ἄξιον variously emended); Ph.813 Χρῆς πίστιν; E. Med.21 δεις πίστιν μοι ἀληθήν (v. Fage ad loc.).

309. μεν....δὲ σοῦ: GP 465: "as Paley observes, ὅλις is copulative here, not, as usually adversative." The sense is well expressed by Beck: "they do their part - you must do yours."

ἐστὶν: 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; πείρᾳ ἐφευρετοῖς (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 πείρᾳ 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 Ρέναι ὡ τὴν πείρᾳ ταῦτα μυστικόδ (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 509, e.g. ἢ μὲν ἐν τὸν εἶναι ὀψεῖς φιλανθείς, or similar, which states that the πείρᾳ φιλαν 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.

ἐλπὶ: the LP ἐλπὶ is a scribal slip.

311. οἰκυφήσατε: this verb can clearly have διόμετ' only as its object. Edd. unite in explaining its combination with τιμῇ as an instance of zeugma, supplying variously λίθης, ἐνλίθης, κατάλιθης. Pearson mentions the
further difficulty of having to supply from ἔπιπλων of 309 an object for ναοῦσα 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)  
311. ———— (311a)  
310  
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 Crestes A. Eu. 765ff.
313ff. These lines point to the Spartan invasion of Attica in 431 B.C.

This explanation would be quite acceptable were it not for the mixture of imperative (νομίστε) and infinitive (for imperative). As Pearson remarks, KG 474a gives examples of this alternating use from Homer and Ηεροδοτος.

Pearson himself refers to E. Or.624 μὴ πᾶς ἰδσκευα νόσον ἐννυστός θεός: ἐκ' άπταν καταφυλασμένου πάθους; A. Ευ.1006 ἵπτε καί...... καταφύν. But neither of these examples is really parallel to the use here of νομίστε and διπερέπτει, both of which are "full" verbs in the way in which ἐκ and ἤτε are not. E. Ion 98 and 101, which Pfluck, followed by Χ 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 μεμνημένοι; if τὰν ἤτε is retained it will not now be
taken with the verb of remembering, but with γῆ, i.e. "the land of these Athenians". However, Murray's τῆς is plausible, for if μηνηδέμοι is correct, των' replaced τῆς when μηνηδενω replaced the correct reading.

315. τοισιτέρ: 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 τοισιτέρ.

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

317. Πυλαγγελτο: an unparallelled use of the middle voice, hence the conjectures: Πυλαγγελτο Pflugk, who cites Philo Iudaeus de Ioseph. p. 528D Πυλαγγελτον.
(cf. id. 1.137 ἀντιδ. βίον ἀντ' ἄλλων); ἱναλάβετο Musgrave, who cites S. Ai.208 τ' ὑπάλλακται τῷ ἀντιθετικῷ ἐνά τοὺς Ἀργοὺς.

It seems, however, that if the compounds ἔν- and ἔν- , the former late Greek and the latter contemporary with E. (not to mention ἔν-, LSJ s.v., and ἔννεμα itself, LSJ s.v. III), can bear the sense of "change one thing for another", then ἔννεμα 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 ἔν:- 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. ἐκείνως: concessive, and emphasizing the generosity of the Athenians in choosing the Herakleidae, poor wanderers, in preference to the powerful Argives. ἐνομοι: sc. ἄνευ. Beck draws attention to the distinction made in Ar. Pl.552-3 between ἐνομοι and ἐνομί.
A πώλος is completely destitute, a πόλη works hard for a meagre living.

319. ιτιστήριος: as in 51.

they did not comply with the ιτητής, or request for extradition, (v. on ιτητής, 20), made by the Argives.

320. καί τρόποι καὶ ωμόι: the main verbs of the sentence, λέει and εἰπέω refer to ὁμόι only, but τρόποι is coupled with ὁμόι as a cliche and subsequently lost sight of. There is no need of emendation.

321. οὐ τοῦτο: 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.93) and by E. 4 times (here and infra 688; Ba.602; Cyc.536). In prose, cf. Pl. Ap.25C; Ep.319E; D. 1.26; 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: ἐνδημία τὴν τήμπτην λέξεως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ εἰρήνης πολλῆς.

In the light of these examples from Tragedy ἐνδημία 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 ἐνδημία must be suspect here.

Firstly, ἐνδημία may have been carelessly imported from ἐνδημία of 320 (the kind of scribal error noted on 184, 199, 315) and further corrupted by "itacism".
Secondly, edd. feel that πέλης requires a participle: Pearson: "sc. ἐν ", who attempts unconvincingly to justify the ellipse by comparing S. El.61; OC 586; Paley: "standing near him in Hades"; Bezk: "as I stand by the side of Theseus". Therefore the suggestion of Broadhead (Tragica, p.141), ἔστη in place of ἔνων, is very tempting. It is certainly to be preferred to ἔνων F. Gu. Schmidt, or ἔνως Herwerden, which are based on an incorrect idea of the origin of the error.

322. ἕστη: sc. ἔστην.

323. ἕστη: sc. τεκνα.

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

327. παῖς μετ' ἰλλον: edd. from Brodaeus onwards have recognised here an echo of Hom. Od.2.276 παῖς γὰρ τοῦ παῖδος ὁ μαλαπάτη πάλαι, οἱ πάλαις κακίας, παῖς δὲ τε παῖς ἀρείος.
328. ἄδηλος...μη: for μη v. KG 558.5 (οὐ...οὖν = 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 πίστους ἐκ ἄλλω δρώντες κτίμετα τὸν φίλον. Cf. E. Med.848 πόλις ....... φίλων κύριον, and the comic description in Ar. Ach.541ff. of Athens rushing to help her most insignificant ally.

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

καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ: 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. τοιγή: GP 566. The particle "bears a strong logical force, 'therefore', 'in consequence'.'

δη: here precedes the emphatic word. GP 228.

332. πελαγ: Pearson compares S. OC 29 πελαγ γαρ ἡμῖν τὸν θνήσκεις μην ἰθανάτω; Ant. 580 οὐκ πέλαγ ἢ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου εἰσφαγει τοῦ βίου.

333. ἃ τι τυχεί: i.e. the conduct of the Herakleidae.

ἀποφαίνομαι: "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. H. Riesenfeld on A. Ag. 1497.)

334. ἀπατταί: i.e. as Iolaos asks the Herakleidae to
behave in 310-318.

\textit{μεν μονεσθαι}: the future middle in passive sense as E. Alc. 322 \\textit{ληγομαι}; Hipp. 1460 \textit{αγρίμινα}, 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.)

\textit{φέρω}: 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 \textit{φέρω} is the feeling which prompts the performing of a favour. (V. also Fraenkel on A. Ag. 354: "\textit{φέρω} is used on the one hand of the delightfulfulness, the 'favour', in short everything through which a \textit{χαριστικό}, manifests itself; on the other hand, of the effect of the favour on the receiver.")

335. \textit{μιν}: answered by \textit{οὐ} εἰ 340.
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 συλλογής as a simple "collecting together" or "mustering" of the people, especially in view of the following τάσω (or τάσαι, v. infra), viz.: "I shall marshal them", and πολλὴ Χρίστα of 337.

336. τάσω δ': LP. To avoid the asyndeton with πρῶται μεν ........ τάσω , the suggestion of Kirchhoff, τάσω δ', (τάσαι θ'), Koch), followed by Wecklein and Pearson, should be adopted.

διὰ τοῦ: cf. KG 553.5(a); MT 328 for the use of ἐν in a final clause.

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


πρῶται μεν: answered by μάλλον τ'. GP 375. (Not δ'). Lentinæ, followed by Murray. V. note on 238, and cf. E. Hipp. 996 ἐπιστήμη γὰρ πρῶτα μεν θεοῦ γε γὰρ φιλόσοφον ἢ φιλόσοφον; Med. 125 τῶν γὰρ μετὰ χρήσεως πρῶτα μεν εἰπεῖν τοῦτον νῦν ἢ μετὰ μικρῶν λίπους βρατεῖται.
338. ἐνι on ἵνα used without ἵνα or ἵνα expressing purpose, v. MT 307. (The phrase ἐνί Ἰἄμμεν προστοιχία is used in S. Ph.46, 156.)


Ἰᾶος ἑπιστρέφειν: 121, note. Not quite as Pearson: "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. βοήσειν, 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. ὄνομα: for the middle voice cf. LSJ s.v. II: "cause (a victim) to be offered; consult the gods." Wackernagel, Syntax I p.126: "Οὔει νόμος: θυσίαν ὀργάνωσι." ὑπὸ βοῦν: Demophon's palace.

341. Ἰηροῖς ἐπὶ Κέραν: v. on 55.

343. ἠλίθω: as Ἡλαός does not stir, Demophon
repeats his request of 340-341. For ἀλλὰ in commands and exhortations, v. GP 13.

344. ————: Jebb (ad S. OT 343 οὐκ ἐν ὑπὲρ φρόνῳ) calls this use of the potential optative a "courteous formula". Cf. also Fraenkel (ad A. Ag. 838 ἄγωμ' ἄν): "the restrained form of expression ..., reflects the urbenity of Attic society." But polite though the expression may be, it is nevertheless strongly emphatic: cf. 547, and E. Med. 616 ὡτ' ἐν ζευγῷ τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἤρχομεν ἐν, ὡτ' ἐν τις δεξιότερον. KG 396.4; MT 235.

Σύναπτές: Elmsley's correction of LP Σύναπτες. However, the point at issue is with what to construe the infinitive εἰς πρόσευμα. In 33(note5 the infinitive is governed by ἐκεῖ, and the parallel seems to be completed by the use there of μὴ δοξασθείπ (i.e. the whole phrase = ἐκεῖ πυθών). 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, Σύναπτές ἢ: "the following infinitive thus gets the suitable governing word." The infinitive could also be governed by μένορει, i.e. "waiting till the city has succeeded": cf. E. Andr. 255 μοῦ μενὶδ πόσι μολεῖν;
While syntactically possible, such an interpretation would make a passive coward of Iolaos and make the following lines δαν...ιανην οίκοις 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. Ἀργα: for the association of Hera with Argos cf. Hom. Il.4.51 ἐν ἑαυτῷ θρόνι μεν πολύ φιλήτατο εἰς πόλιν Ἀργυς τε Σπάντη τε καὶ συμφυγεῖν Μικρίνην. Paus. 2.38.2; 4.27.6. For Ἀργα 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 Ἀργα Ἡρα βῇσα θεοτρέγει). 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. ἐνοχὸς: cf. 181: ἐνοχὸς. ἐνοχὸς, as Pearson says, is used here of a basic requirement, i.e.

Ως ἡμέραν τοῦ Χειμ: the normal use of the verb.

352. οὐκ ἀνεμφορεῖ: "will not endure being conquered". (The usual construction of ἀνεμφορεῖ 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. ἠὔξει: 333, note.

ἐτεροί: i.e. the Athenians.

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

μὴ λεγον: v. on 96.

355. ὁ Ἱέρων Ηράκλης: ἐπειδήν 1: ἩΣ Ἐρφυρτ. Either the addition by Erfurdt is retained, when this line (= 364) will be a pherecratean, or 355 is left as in L and ὅεων deleted in 364, the line being then scanned as a reizianum. V. Metrical Appendix.

358. μὴ τῷ: Pearson: "not absolutely equivalent to μὴ τοτε: 'long may it be before'." He compares S. El. 403 μὴ τῷ νοῦ ταυτὰ ἐφ' ἐμναία; E. Hec. 1278 μὴ τῷ μαντίνι Ἐνδήρεν τοῦτο ἢ μὴ. 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 οὔτω, esp. p.292.

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

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

Ἄλλων: dative of possession.
360. Ἀγαμ.: v. on 339.

361. Ἐθένελος: Hom. Il. 19.123 Ἰδοὺ δὲν Ἐθένελος παῖς Περσείδας. Apollod. 2.4.5. Sthenelos was the son of Perseus and Andromeda.

362. ὁ: refers to the herald, ὁ of 360, as βιών ἔλεγεν makes clear.

365. ἅρματοι: so Nauck for the unmetrical ἅρματοι LP. But elsewhere (e.g. 226, ALC. 1098, ANDR. 921) ἅρματοι takes the accusative case. The difficulty is not resolved by Pearscn: "'having taken refuge in our land'.....it (sc. ἅρματα) 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 ἅρματα." Dindorf's ἅρματοι gives excellent sense, but he then had to emend 356 to μετέχοισιν ἐνγ' ὧν, which besides conjuring up a very unconvincing γ', produces a very strange colon instead of an archbeulean (v. Metrical Appendix; Dale, Lyric Metres of Gr. Drama, p.163; Wilamowitz, GV p.427). However, Meridier adopts his emendations here.

366. ἔτος ὂν βιών ἔλεγεν: 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. Δικαίωμα: plural for singular; i.e. kings generally, not specifically Demophon and Acamas. Cf. 294, note.

368. Σίμιον: 138, note.

369. οὖν: expresses indignation: "can such behaviour surely be right?" Cf. 510; E. Ion 528 οὖν δέ μεν πάντας ὑπ' ὑμᾶς; S. Ai.1100 οὖν ὁ δέ στρατηγὸς ῦολὲ; OT 390 οὖν ὁ δὲ μάντης ὁ ισαφίς. The literal meaning is not excluded: "where do people think like this?"


370. παρ' = 201, note.

371ff. For the sentiment "we don't want to fight, but..." J. de Komilly (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 αὐτῷ ἀδέσποτος ψυχήν ταῖς σφυκτοῖς, πολλὶς ἦνα πολλαμφώς. οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖοι ἤν ἡ εἰς τούτοις σοθῇ τοῦ πέλαγες ἀποκέφαλον ἡ κυμασεύσας περισσῶς, ὡς φυγὼν τὸν κύκλον τὸν διαστάσας μεθαπτάνοις.

374. σοθῇ: edd. follow Elmsley in comparing Ε. Alc. 680 οὗ βλέπατι σοθῇ ἄρα (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 τούχλων, κυρέω with the accusative (incl. E. Med. 758 τούχλως ἐπολύμων, 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 οὗ βλέπατι κυρέω ἀργῇ. 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 τούχλων etc. in what is clearly an adverbial sense (KG 410.3, An. 5; v. also note on τάξε, 437). Therefore αὐτῷ σοθῇ ἐπειδὴ κυρέω may be interpreted as ἐπειδὴ ἐπειδὴ κυρέω, i.e. "you will not fare as you expect — your force will be met by force."

376. ἱπτα, ἐκείνος: cf. E. Tr. 1193 ἠλκόνων ἵπτα

377. L places a stop after ἐπειδὴ, sc. ἐπειδὴ: "but I am not a lover of wars." As Aley points out, the usual
form of this kind of parenthesis is ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ (GP 98), though if εἷς 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 ἐπιτηδεύς to vocative form with Musgrave (followed by Meridier): I cannot agree with Pearson that the ellipse of ὅν is defensible. There is no need for Canter's ἀλλ’ ἀφ’. There is a parallel: Ar. Nub. 296 ὡς ὑμήν ἐκφέρειν ἐπί τινας ἐκφερόμενον (Elmsley: ἐκφέρειν, ποιήσας mss) (The subjunctive is probably doubtful in these expressions.)

For this use of ὡς with the future tense to express a strong prohibition, v. MT 297-301; KG 514.9, 387.7.

378. ἀναί: ethic dative. KG 423.18(d).

379. ἐφίλετος: Elmsley's correction of LP ἐφίλετος on the analogy of E. Hipp. 462 ἐφιλοῦτο ἐδ φειλαῖν. For this genitive used with adverbs of quality v. on 213.

ἐφίλετος: Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p. 81 et seq.): "to the argument of the Herakleidae, the concept of ἐφίλετος 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 μεγίστην and μαλακόν), 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."
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. **Σὲ τὰ**  : 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 **Σὰ νόειν**

**Σὰ νόειν**  : "anxious thought", as A. Pr. 437 σφυκτρίας ἕως ἐπομονεῖ καρδ ; E. Andr. 805 σφυκτρίας , 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).


**νέον**  : euphemistically for μᾶκαρ ; Beck: "new and strange." **Σὰ νόειν**  (supra) confirms this meaning here.

**μέλλον**  : not quite as Pearson, "do they tarry?" or Meridier, "tardent - ils?", but rather "are they still
making preparations?", i.e. μελλόνων προερχόμην, 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. ἔφθασεν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ οἰνοῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἐμβάλειν. 

384. Most eds. adopt the conjecture of H. Stephanus λόγος (λόγοις LP), with or without the conjecture of Elmsley εὲ for LP γέ. (As Pearson remarks, θυμὸν certainly requires an expressed object.) The sense will then be: "for certainly ther 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 to fulfill his threats" (Jerram). Pearson favours Murray's suggestion of retaining λόγος and γέ and reading θυμὸν: "for surely thou wilt not belie the herald's words", on the supposed parallel of S. Ant. 389 ἑδέσθαι γὰρ ἤν τοις τὴν γνώμην. But there the φάκος who utters that sentence is presented as a rather sophistical quibbleer (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 θυμὸν 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 τί μὴ ἀξιωματικὸς λόγος.

i.e. "there is no likelihood that the word of the herald will prove falsely spoken"; cf. S. Ph. 1342 Ἰ ἢ τίς ἀξιωματικὸς λόγος. "if this his word prove false" (Jebb).

οὐ...τί: 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 βεν: Tyrwhitt's conjecture τὰ προσδεν ἦν 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 ἔν τὰ πρὸς βεν ἰδοὺσι), 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 διότι - 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. ἐσιν: Elmsley: ἐσιν, LP: the mss. reading arose from the feeling that ἐσιν required a verb.

ἐσιν is required not so much because "the emphatic οὐδ’ ὀδὸς would be unwarrantable merely as a support for the assertion ἐσιν..... ἐσιν" (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....."

καί μάλα: for καί = "and" simply, cf. S. El.1178 τέδ’ ἔτοι ἑκένο, καί μάλ’ ἐδώθ’ ἔσιν; and ibid.1455 πάντως δέ, καί μάλ’ ἔσιν ἔνα. though as Jebb points out (ad El.1178) "καί μάλα sometimes = velm maxime" as in X. Cyrr.6.1.36 ἐν ὑπότους..... καί μάλα κοκωδής φρονίμου εἰναι (cf. E. Rh.85 καί μάλ’ ὅτι οἶνος καί μάλ’ ἐπουθήν ὡσεύ στειχίσαι).

387. ἐπὶ τῇ ἄφραγμ: probably to be taken, omitting the
comma, with οὗ δικαιών φρονεῖ; cf. E. Hipp. 6 σφήλων δ' ἐσοὶ φρονοῦν εἰς ἃ ἦν μέγα. The preposition ἐς seems too weak to express a hostile intent after ἐσοὶ here, which is strongly emphasized, and separated from the rest of the sentence by the parenthetical ὑπάρχει. (V. on 386).

ἐλλείπει τῶν φρονημάτων: edd. compare A. Pers. 827 Ζεύς τοι καλεστὶ τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγεν φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν (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. Znntz (Pol. Plays, p. 106) considers φρονημάτων .... ὑπερκόμπων 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 Ixii). 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. ἢκει: answers the question of 383: Eurystheus and his army are on the borders as the herald said.

392. οὐκ: with ἄγγελοις. For this instrumental dative used of persons cf. S. Ant. 164 ὡς ἡγησάμην .... ἦσσαν ἵππος. KG 425, B7.

393ff. Musgrave, Beck (following Bothe) and Pearson quote Hdt. 6.102 who describes Marathon as ἐπιθεσάτων Χάριον ἔνποιεσε, as if the πολίς 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 Pleistarchus 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 (Ἀστραζών ἀκραῖς) 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 παύσιν τῷ ἄρχοντι is used quite generally of Attica.

393. ἕτεροι: Stephanus. ἕτεροι? IP seems quite wrong in the sense of reinforcing ὅκ ... παυ, "not yet up till now", "usque adhuc", and is retained by Pflugk, Jerram, and Kirchhoff only.


δηθήκαμε: as in Hdt. 4.181, 182, 185. The accusative as in 558 and E. Cr.956 τρίτος καθὼς. KG 410.5, An.13.

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

η: emphasizes σηκόησιν: "I must stress that it is only an impression of mine." GP 214.

For the parenthetical σηκόησιν .... λέγομαι cf. E. Ba.629 σύ ἐνοικεῖ καὶ πάντας, σοι λέγω, where σοι λέγω has the same sense as σηκόησιν 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 διαλόγη αι γης η Γερμανία και ομορφοτεχτε λει ζητή Αθηνά). Obviously τα νυσ σοφος is quite wrong and has received much attention. Musgrave suggested τε τιμιν σοφος on the basis of A. Eu.289 κηρυται δι τιμιν σοφος. 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, έν σοφος 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)"

- άλλοπλευρ εν ταυ τμολιας αρ δισημίων των ξετιων και των πλω χειμων δια από τον φΛαγγας οι ξικα πέταν διαφέρει πολεν διαφανιν.

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

Wecklein conjectured τε ινι δορος , comparing E. Supp. 905 δι τε ινι δορος. This seems impossible: τε ινι δορος must refer to individual skill at arms and not to strategy, the sense required here. There is no great difficulty
in πολ. (sc. ἐκφ.): Pearson compares Ar. Av. 1219 πολ. γάρ
ἐλήνυ Χρῆν κατέχοιν τοὺς θεοὺς, and for the common ἐπὶ, τῇ, τὰς, τῷ, ἐλήνυ
used in this way cf. KG 426.1(b). προσῆνε is regularly
used of moving an army up to the attack (cf. E. Supp. 1104
προσῆνεν Κῆρες πολύς, and LSJ s.v. I.6) and the object of
the attack is put in the dative or a preposition is used.
(Verrall's προσῆνε 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:—

πολ. προσῆνε ομαλότερον τῇ τοῦ, δρον

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 ἔσσετο δ',
αὐτὸν ἐν Βοιωτοῦ περιοχήν ἐκείμενοι ἐν τῇ τροχείᾳ ἀφενότατα διαφιάλοντα.

397. ἐν λοφεῖ: generally taken with θῆκ' ... Χαρός;
 cf. E. Hipp. 725 ἐν λοφεῖ βίον. But the parallel is not
convincing: perhaps θῆκ' ... Χαρός is an example of
the use of the genitive = inter, trans; cf. S. CC 1165
ἐν λοφεί τ' ἐπνευμα τῇ δείπνοι δοῦναι and other exx. in KG 419.2(a).

ἀποφεύεται: the middle voice, where προσῆθει is active;
 cf. 338-340, πολ. ὡς, ὑποσμα (note) and 664 καθήθει,
πλοῦται. The difference is between the general's
initiatory orders and their administration by subordinates.

398. καὶ ... μετήτοι: GP 413: "It (sc. μετήτοι) 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 μεὶς ἐν παντ' (but μεὶς ἐν is found in Ar. only of the dramatists, and there twice only (GP 3965), and μεὶς νῦν παντ', presumably to point the contrast with ἔξωθεν δ' of 403: "I have done all that I can, but on consulting the oracles I find......" (V. on Ὑποτείται, 401.)

399. Explanatory asyndeton: cf. 19, 408.

σφάλια: 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 σφάλια, but this seems unnecessary, as 402 could sum up the two different types of sacrifice, i.e. the σφάλια as ἕξορυξ, and the sacrifices implied in Ὑποτείται (v. infra) as πολείς σωφρία. (For the apposition cf. 72.)

401. Ὑποτείται: an intransitive verb used in the
passive voice; cf. E. IT 367 ἀπείρων ἀνδρόν; E. El. 691 ἄπολυσαν ποιμήν; S. OT 1092 ό γάρ (ὁ Κιδιψίου), Ἱκτεών οὗτος, and further exx. given by Pearson ad E. Hel. 1434 ἔναν ποιμήν ... ἱερεύς. KG 378.10.

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

404. Ἀγαθάκη: Paley is right: "ὁ σύνεργὴς ὁ λόγιον, those accessible to all, or such as were cited on every occasion by Χρησιμολογεῖν, 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 Χρησιμολογεῖν τοῖς Χρησμοῖς πάντοιοίς; 2.8 καὶ παλλή μέν λόγιον ἄγειστο, παλλή δὲ Χρησιμολογεῖν βοών ἐν τῇ κλάδῳ πολεμίσαν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁλλῷ πόλεις; 2.54; Ar. Pax 1046ff; Eq.195ff.; 961ff.; 999.

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

λόγια: according to the scholiast on Thuc. 2.8.2 these are distinguished from Χρησμοῖοι by being in prose, the latter being in verse, but this distinction is not invariable. V. LSJ s.v.
406. *θεράτων*: the emendation of Kirchhoff, adopted by Wecklein, Murray, Pearson and Meridier for LP *θεράτων*, which arose under the influence of τῶν ἠλλων. *θεράτων* is then possessive dative, τῶν ἠλλων genitive with *διάφωρα* (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 μεθ ἠλλων *διάφωρα* ἐστίν τοις θεράτων ἠλλων.

407. *γυμνὀς*: = *γυμνός*. The scribe illustrates the word in the margin from A. Ag. 1352 κύρια τοιοῦτον γυμνότατον κοινωνίαν ἤν.

πέρι: Triclinius quotes this line in his scholia ad S. Ant. 174 and Tr. 593, with πέρι where LP read πεπωτόν (Zuntz, Transmission, p. 127; 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.

σφαγί: Johanna Schmidt (Freiwillige Opfertod bei E., p. 78) draws attention to the ritual language, i.e. σφαγί - 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.
Kōrē: Barnes is credited, quite undeservedly, with this correction, which is certainly right, for LP kōrē. 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: παρβίναν κόρη Δήμητρας." Of course it is to Persephone as goddess of the underworld that the maiden is to be sacrificed; cf. E. Alc. 358

409. *έγη τις* : indefinite; cf. 328, 414; E. Alc. 17 os ἣς πλὴν γυναικὸς ὡς (ὕς ὡς) ἔδει. KG 558.6.

413. ἕκκλη: with ἔσοι; placed out of order to contrast with ἱκονθ'.

415. ὑποτάτης: "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 συστάργη γιγνόμενον ἐν πάλιη ἐπιδε ἦν.

πίπτεται: "bitter, "angry". LSJ s.v. III. The adjective seems excellently descriptive of συστάργη, and there is no need to follow Wecklein and adopt Bothe's ματτήματα.

ἐν...ἐν: according to KG 398.7 and 8 there are two reasons for the repetition of ἔν: (a) ἔν comes early in the sentence, there is an intervening clause, then ἔν 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 ἔν 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 ἔν 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.

ἐν εἰσῆδον: 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. 

Schaefer's correction of LP ἢ (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. ἔργον ὑπέρ: edd. generally agree that Elmsley's proposed ἐρόω would be an improvement here, as Euripides always uses a genitive of person after κατηγοροῦν; 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. τόσο: i.e. compel the sacrifice of a maiden.

419. ἐξηρασμένος: "dynamic" present (cf. 159, note), reinforced by ἤδη = "immediately". Cf. Wackernagel, Syntax i.p.162 who quotes Thuc. 6.91.3 καὶ ἦν ἐν ἡ πόλις λησθεὶσα, ἤδη καὶ ἦν πᾶσα Ζικελία.

ἀιτίος πολέμος: i.e. civil war. Pearson compares Thuc. 1.118, where ἀιτίος πολέμος is used of the Helot wars in Sparta.

422. εἰσαλογίζομαι: 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. ἔφτε = ὑπέρ. 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 τὸ βαρβάρων γὰρ ἀσύλλη πᾶντα πλήν ἐνοῦ.

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 ἵππων πόλεις; cf. also A. Supp.397ff. esp. οὐκ ἴππων ἔσομ, τίς ἡ πράξεις;

δίκαια...δίκαια: for the relationship between δίκαιος and τίθηκεν, expressed in the phrase δίκαιον 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. ἔκαβτοι: gives "lively expression to a feeling of surprise or incredulity": GP 27.

426. Χρησισιουν: Χρησισιουν. LP. Murray, Pearson, and Meridier adopt Herwerden's suggestion. Pearson: "the redundancy of Χρησισιουν after πρόβημαν ὀδῷ would be inexcusable." Certainly Χρησισιουν makes excellent sense (Wecklein suggests also τόρος in place of πρόβημα): "do not the gods allow the city, although eager, to give aid to strangers who desire us to aid them?"

427. έδοξεν: for έδοξε; cf. 681; Cy.99; S. Ai.1239; Ich.95.

429. ἐσ Χείρα: a difficult phrase. Exx. of the literal meaning (= "join") in Σ. are: Ba.198 ξύλατε καὶ ἱστομεν Χέρα; IA 831 δεξιω καὶ Χείρ συνιήσετε; Ph.106 ἰδου δέων (sc. Χέρα). Elmsley and others explain ἐς Χείρα on the analogy of Ph. 702 ὤς ἐς λόγου εὐοπήθη Πολυήμερος, and the phrase ἐς Χείρα implying close contact is common enough: LSJ s.v.ΙΙ.οδ. Paley translates: "within grasp", and Pearson compares IA 951 σι ἔτσι σις οὔσιν Χείραν χούμενας δια, οὐδείς σις ξεραν Χείραν.

(for Χείρα cf. E. Ion 1166 ὂς τ' Χείραν ὁδοί; IT 266 άρωμα Σακτύλοις; S. Ai.1230 κατ' Χείραν ἀδιποτρόφες), and refers to
Headlam (Journ. Phil. XXVI, p. 237) who quotes Galen, Gloss. Hippocr. XIX, p. 101: ἐὰν ἔχει τὴν ἱδρυμα τὸν πληγην. But there seems no parallel for the intransitive use of ἐπιμελήσεως with a personal subject until Polybius, apart from E. Ph. 702, previously quoted, and S. El. 21 ἔποιησεν λόγοιν (Jebb ad loc.: "the modal dative takes the place of ἔτοι λόγοιν"). (E. Ph. 1101 ἔστησεν συνηθεῖς ἑρυχ is justifiably suspect.)

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


τ' ἔτη: cf. 162; GP 270.

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

τὰ τόποι: i.e. Demophon's conduct, explained by τῷ μὴ Ωθήνι ........

436. διέρευσεν ἐξαναλ.: Valckenaer: αἰνοῦ βέβαγ ΛΠ. 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) λινεται ἵπτερα; cf. 485 λινεται ἵπτερα (for ἵπτερα + the infinitive = posse, cf. KG 473.3.). For the meaning of λινεται cf. Dale (ad E. Alc.2): "λινεται 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. Cr.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. τεῦδε: "the present situation". ει..... δοκι is then explanatory of τεῦδε; hence the asyndeton. (Wecklein deletes 437-438, and punctuates with a comma after τεῦδε, and a stop after ἵπτερα, which makes the asyndeton of οὕτω ιδομεν difficult to account for.)

τεῦδε: edd. unite to produce many examples of πράττω with neuter adjectives and pronouns which they interpret as either "adverbal accusatives" or "cognate accusatives" (cf. KG 410.3, An.5); E. Ε1.1359 κυβερνεῖν πράτσαν; IA 346 πράσσων μεγάλα; Alc.605 νομίζειν πράσαν; 803 πράσαν ποιῆσαι...
438. Elmsley: soi IP. The conjecture of Elmsley should not be adopted. Paley quotes in support of the mss. E. Rh.338 Ἐξάγω γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀναγκαία διδάσκειν. Further, because of the "double nature" of Ἐξάγω (v. on 334), the meaning of the word Ἐξάγω 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.

439. Ἐξάγω: 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 ἔπειτα ἐξεστή δὲ τι Ἐξάγω and ibid.521C οὐδὲν ὡς δὲ τι Ἐξάγω ἀρτι to show the interchangeability of the moods.


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

440. Ἀρακλείδες: cf. 124. The Herakleidae have laid
suppliant wreaths on the altars of every god in their wanderings.

441. ποιεῖν γαλακτόφυλλα: hypallage for ποιεῖν γαλακτόφυλλα ἵππος; cf. S. El.1390 τοὺς φυλώσας ἄνθρωπος; Ant.793 τοὺς μυκήνας ἄφησαν ἰμάγων; Ph.952 ἐπηρεάσει πέμπει ἄτυχον; A. Eu.326 ἱματίαν ἀμφιμάχοντος. Not to be translated as Beck, and Jerram (alternatively), suggest: "what place of refuge in (all) the land of Helles." The meaning of this line and the previous one is quite straightforward: "What god, what land, have we not approached?"

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

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


ἐμὸν: genitive after μένω (sc. μοι).

444. For the sentiment cf. S. Ai.79 ἀδελφοὶ γείτονος ἔμοι ἐκφράσω γείτονα; Ant.647 πολὺ δὲ τοῖς ἐκφράσατο γείτονα; E. El.1152 φοβοῦσθαι λόγον ἐκφράζω γείτονα γείτονα τοῦ ἔμοι γείτονα; 383 ἀδελφοὶ γείτονος τοῦ ἔμοι ἐκφράζω γείτονα.
797 αν γε μελόσκει ταμόν τώ έξωμον; HF 285 έξωμον γίνεται το τοιαύθε; 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. φόβος: genitive of cause, or origin, commonly used in tragedy with τάλαν, μεθοας etc.; cf. also the similar genitive after ούνα, οίμη etc. KG 420.1(a).

(The use is parallel to that with verbs of pitying, grieving; cf. on 232). Cf. E. Hipp.366 ίηλαμας παρόλαγς, 554 ειναι ουνα, 570 δυστάλαμας τώ έξωμοι παλαιάς; 811; 1407; Med.1028; Ion 960; Hec.661; A. Pers.445; 517. For ούνα etc. v. on 224; E. Hipp.591 ούνα εγώ μικρή; 814 εις τοχύν; 817; 936; 1454; A. Pers.918; S. El.1179; Ai.980; and for the two combined cf. E. Hel.1223 ζ' έξω τώ έξωμοι τόμαρν Μικρίν. As Barrett remarks (ad Hipp.366-7), this genitive is found in exclamations only.

448. πολλά: adverbial accusative (cf. τι, 439, note).

KG 410.3, An.6. The neuter adjective replaces the cognate accusative of the adjective plus noun, i.e. here, πολλά μεθοας μεθοας; cf. E. HF 1250 δ πολλά έξη μεθοας ζήσει πάλιν. KG 410.2(c).
449. ἔμελ: i.e. "so, then, we were destined...."
MT 417; cf. E. Hec.629 ἔμελ ἔμελ συμφόραν, ἔμελ ἔμελ προμον ἀνάβας, ἄτρ....
For the anadiplosis cf. 225, 307, Hec.629 and Andr.943
 hoof, hoof — σοφή εἰς στάδια. (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 ἔμελ ἔμελ προσεύχα: cf. 512, where the phrase is
repeated almost exactly (cf. 387, note, for such repetition).
Cf. 429, note, 931, 976.

450. ἀδὲ ἔμελ: the worst possible fate for an
( cf. 444, note.)

451. οἴδας μὲν εὐφράγον: KG 397.3, An.3; MT 253. The
explanation of the construction is clarified by parallel
exx. of οἴδα with a mood not imperative; cf. E. Supp.
932 λαβε ὅμοι οἶδα βαῦλοι τοὺς πέρι;
Med.600 οἴδα, ς μετέχει, καὶ αὐστήρει φανῇ.
Cyc.131 οἴδα ἀδεία 
S. OC 75 οἴδα, ἄ λυτο, ὑμ. θοᾶ.

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 CT 543), of the imperative for
future indicative. A bolder example of this flexibility is E. IT 1203 ὅσε ὕμν ά δο μ γενήθων, 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 ὅσε with the imperative are S. CR 543 ὅσε γένηθον (the only example); E. Hec. 225 ὅσε ὑμνίκησον (so Ar. Eq. 1158; Av. 54, 80; Fax 1061). Cf. also Ar. Ach. 1064 ὅσε γένηθον τοῦτο (with which cf. S. OC 75, quoted supra.).

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

μοι: with οὕτως. KG 425.1.

Στέφανος: Stephanus' correction of LP Στέφανος.

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

452. \textit{\textipa{m\textepsilon}}: dative of personal interest; KG 423.17.

453. \textit{\textipa{\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron}}: cf. 442, 319, 97, notes.

454. \textit{\textipa{\mu\nu\pi\tau\epsilon\ldots\tau\epsilon}}: cf. \textit{\textipa{\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron}}, \textit{\textipa{\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron}} 605; E. Hel. 156 \textit{\textipa{\mu\upsilon\tau\epsilon}} \textit{\textipa{\sigma\upsilon\theta\nu\mu\beta\omicron\acute{\iota}}}, \textit{\textipa{\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron}} GP 508ff.

456. Bothe suggested a re-arrangement of the order (v. App. Crit.) to allow for \textit{\textipa{\mu\nu\epsilon}} in place of the enclitic \textit{\textipa{\mu\epsilon}} to emphasis the personal pronoun. But, as Pearson points out, Iolaos has already sufficiently stressed his
personal involvement in 453, ἐπί ὄναρ, and 455 ἐπέτυχεν (V. on 64.)

457. τοῦ Ἀριακέαν δυνάμεων: Iolaos' proud boast as 7ff., 88, 216.

καθαρσίας: 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. ὁμοία: v. on 258. The word is explained by what follows: a man like Eurystheus is ignorant of the ἀξίωσι proper to a hero and would not treat an enemy as he should be treated (i.e. κατά δίκην, δίκαιως). 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).

tοῖον ὀφείλει: dative of agent, regularly used with verbal
adjectives in -τος, -τος. KG 423.18(c).

459. συνάπτειν: v. on 429. Here the use of the verb is more readily understandable; cf. E. Hel. 54 καὶ δοκὶ προδοῦσι ἐμὲν πάσιν συνάψα ὁλόμεν Ἑλλησσόμεν.

ζωδέα φρονήματι: i.e. abstract for concrete, the thought for the person. ζωδέα here is the lack of intellectual understanding of the right way in which to behave (contrast σοφοῖ, σοφῶ, 458), which leads to coarse and brutal behaviour on the part of the άσωτόν άνήρ. 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. μυρία, 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 ζωδεῖς (ἢ τοσοῦτον ζωδεῖς ἐλθεῖν; cf. ibid. 987 μὴ ζωδεῖς ποιῇς θεῖς) as to barter their own cities in return for the prize of beauty; (cf. also ibid. 964 εἰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θείοις βοῶς, τὸ ἵππων ζωδεῖς ἐπὶ σοι τὸ δέα); 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" — συνέκκινον τοις οικογενείαν φιλον. Ξανάκε η τη χίλιον επιτοιχία; Ion 916, ἄθλητον ("almost certainly an apostrophe", Owen ad loc.): Verrall translates "unfeeling one"; ibid. 574, where ἄθλητον is an attempt to make the gods reveal what they do not wish to do. In Med. 223 it is the ἄθλητον man who offends his fellow citizens ἄθλητον; he goes his own obstinate way because he does not know the "rules" of correct behaviour (cf. Ηκλιδ. 2ff.). Cf. the definition in Pl. Σμπ. 204A μύη δ' ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἄθλητος ἄθλητον, το μη δ' ειπ' καλεΐν γε κρίνειν εὼτα δεν, εἰς αἰνον, i.e. ἄθλητον = "ignorant complacency". Also cf. E. Fr. 407 ἄθλητον τοι μη δ' εἰπ' αἰκροτίν δικρύ τοίσιν.

φρονήμα 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. αἰχματος goes with both φυκε and φρονήμα. However, the word used absolutely does often have a bad sense: cf. A. Fr. 963 σεμνότητας γε και φρονήματος οἷον οραία ἔστιν; Ar. Fax 25 τοιτο δ' ἑσπερ φρονήματος ημεδιεταί.

For the sentiment Pflugk was the first editor to
draw attention to the parallel with E. HF 299 φησιν
συμεων ἐνδρ' ἐξέγονεν χρώμα, σοφιάν δ' εἶχεν καὶ τοποθημένην καλοῦ. βλέπον
γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ὑπολογίσων φθ' ἐν τῷ ἔδρα (ὑπολογιῶ; Brunck: τόχοι
Stephanus). Cf. also E. El.294 ἡ τινὶ δ' ἔδρα γεμιζὴν μὲν ἀκραῖαν,
σοφίαν δ' ἀνδρὶ, where there is the parallel of abstract opposed to concrete. In the following lines Orestes makes the point that to have λέγον μισημόν (i.e. to be too sensitive of the correct way to behave, and too appreciative of the feelings of others) is ὡς ἡμῖνον (i.e. makes one's own life painful).

460. δίκαιος: v. on 6, and 28: "correct behaviour";
Elmsley quoted Antiph. 1.27 καὶ μὴ τοῦ κακοῦ μηδ' ἰδοὺ μηδ' ἓκασθ
μηδ' ἵστατος μηδ' ἠκούας παρ' ὑμῖν, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν τοῖς πλεῖστοι.
It comes to equal "mercy, compassion, forgiveness".

δίκη: Faley and Pearson believe that ἡ δίκη is corrupt. They both quote E. Hipp.672 δικαίως as = "to be punished", and Pearson quotes D. 21.142, Flut. Alex. 10 for the meaning = "to obtain satisfaction". Paley would adopt Barnes' κατάχθη (i.e. "even the unfortunate man") while Pearson suggests κατὰ δίκη = "in the cause of justice". Pearson seems to admit, however, by his examples (Hes. Op.192; Fl. Prot.322C, D) the connection between δίκαιος and δίκη.
But edd. do not mention δίκης κυράσαι, 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, αἰτω, as opposed to violence. Cf. on 458, and on δικαία, 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 exigat nisi quod iure ac praecipientibus civitatis alicuius sive etiam naturae fieri potest." Jerram translates δίκη as "equity").

461: οἴνοιω: the difficulties which edd. feel here are probably caused by accepting ἀπαιτεῖναι as = "accuse". If one considers the root meaning of the uncompounded verb ἀπαίτεῖναι, "allege as the cause" (LSJ s. ἀπαιτέω 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 blame 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, ἱπσοῦ, adopted by Paley and Beck, is quite wrong. ἠποβείν (Nauck) seems a reasonable correction of LP ἱπσοῦ.)

464. ἄλλα: answers µὲν. GP 5; cf.928, 997.

ἀπαθής: an impasse; cf. 472, 487, 492, 495.

Demophon makes it absolutely clear: there is no way out, except if a maiden be sacrificed.

465. ἄξις: as Beck remarks, it is surprising that Eurystheus of Argos is so described without further qualification by Demophon of Athens. Elmsley quotes E. LF 589 ὁμιλίας ἂν τὸν ἱπότην, where ἂν refers to Lycus who was last mentioned by name in 541.

466. ἀνέω: sc. ἵνα. The common phrase = "gain": KG 423.16, An.20.

ἐκδών ἐμφύλα: causal genitive absolute: "by the death of an old man." Contrast the cruder language of the herald, 167.
for a rhetorical question v. GP 5.

468. **θειον** : cf. E. Fr. 736 ἢδ' ἦν θειὸν ἀνδρόν ἀφέλει φίλοι; Fr. 628 πολεῖ γὰρ στρατοῦντες ὡς κακοὶ νόμοι; the participle and noun are treated as a verbal noun, i.e. τὸ + the infinitive. KG 485.3, An. 1.

469. **περίπλου** : contrast with γέροντος, 466. It is the young men whom Eurystheus dreads.

470. **ἀγαπ** : it is unnecessary to follow Elmsley, as do Kirchhoff, Wecklein and Beck, and read ἁγαπ. He thought that LP ἁγαπ was a Doric genitive, although he realised that ἀγαπ in E. Hel. 589 ἁγαπ was simply a scribal error, accusative plural for the required genitive ἁγαπ. ἁγαπ is here accusative plural, quite possible after μενημένα; 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". (παῖς is of course objective genitive.)

**Πίνακα προσκοπίων**: cf. S. Ant. 688 οὐδ' ἃς ἄριστον καὶ πάνε προκοπήν ὅσα λέγει τι γ. (Here the genitive is governed by the verb and "expresses the idea 'in thy defence' better than οὐλ 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. τὰτ ὅσιν ὅπο ὁ ὁμα πίπια ἡμῶν...

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.

Ὥς: for this aspect of the ἕτη, 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 Clytemnestra, 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 Clytemnestra, the "modest" Achilles
is shocked by the suggestion that he should clasp hands
with the queen: it would be "\textit{μηδὲν θέλεις} '', quite contrary
to the accepted standards of behaviour (833 \textit{μηδὲν θέλεις
Αγαμήμων, εἰ ἡμᾶς ἐν μή μοι ἑστιν} ). The Chorus in
the play (164ff.) is composed of young married women (176)
of Chalcis 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. Fidard-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.

edd. agree that this dative is causal (cf. KG 425.9), and \( \text{moi} \) the indirect object of \( \text{prostibhos} \).

\( \text{moi} \) 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 θεοι προσθη τιμήδιαν;
Andr.218 ἐπηκεῖν ἄρχον τέκνα γυναικί προσθηθείς; Ion 1525 τοι θεῷ προστίθη τῇ αἰτίᾳ.
( \( \text{prostibhs} \) in its various senses is very common in E.; in this play cf. 63, 147, 158, 505, 690.)

475. \( \text{prostibhs} \): future tense referring to the present time; cf. E. Alc.164 παλισταίνειν εἰς προστίθην αἰτίσιμοι. KG 387.4.

476-477. For the sentiment cf. S. Ai.293 γυναῖκι κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει; Fr.61.4 ἕς κόσμος ἢ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὰ πάροιχα;
A. Supp.232 οὐδὲ δὲ τῷ σιγῷ καὶ μένων ἔσωμεν
(Also cf. supra 43-44, and the remarks of Perikles about the αἵτησι of women in the Funeral Speech (Thuc. 2.45)). V. also on ὀρθοργ., 474.
476. **τὸ εὐφροσύνη**: there is really no equivalent in English. Barrett (ad Hipp. 79-81) draws attention to the definition in Pl. *Smp.* 1960 ἔγινα ἐξολοθήται εὐφροσύνη τὸ κρατῶν καὶ ἐπιδεικνύειν. In the *Hippolytus* and other plays of *E.* (e.g. *Med.* 635, 1369; *IA* 544; *El.* 1099) εὐφροσύνη and **σύφρων** 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 εὐφροσύνη might be said to mean here "what men consider good behaviour in women", i.e. the **ζεύγη** of a woman defined by Perikles (v. supra 476-477) in Thuc. 2.45

478. **στεναγμάτων**: i.e. 439-450. If the "groans" of Iolaos seem rather remote in time, cf. 126 ἤμα, which refers to the cries for help of Iolaos 69-72 (v. note on 126).

479. **πρεσβευῶν**: "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. Ιφ. 752E φρονίμην Κυρίον διὰ τὸ πρεσβείαν των Ἴλλην
πολέων ἱμῖονι; 879Ε τὸ πρεσβύτερον οὖν γέμιον τοῦ πατήρου ἐστὶ πρεσβύτερον
ἐν τῇ θεών καὶ ἐν λαβρόνος; S. Αι. 1389 Ὅλην τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερον πατήρ.
(To which add S. Φρ. 270 ἱλέκτα . . . . . μηγα πρεσβείαν ἐπιγείον γελάν.
LSJ s.v. πρεσβείαν, I.1.c. But LSJ explains πρεσβείαν 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 παρα
dispatches of the sense of "being the eldest"; it is
difficult to imagine how anyone could be so "appointed."
(The conjecture of A. Palmer, τῆς ἐπαφή (from τίκτως ),
shows the result of rigid concentration on this meaning
of πρεσβείαν.)

480. πρόφορος: "suitable". Most edd. rightly under-
stand πρεσβείαν. Pearson, Heridier, and Elmsley
prefer to understand ποιάσθαι. (The latter explains:
"propri or scilicet ostio templi quam avia aut sorores."(1) ).
Pflügk supplies τὴν πράγματι :"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 οντ' ἐπερ οὐκ, and 47ff. τὸ βῆ οὖν γίνομ  ὑπηρεσιακὰ. 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. ἕνεκ' 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 irrepressible parallel of 532, ἄνεξαν δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἑαυτήν ἑαυτῆς ἵπτερ, πέρι must govern ἰδίαν τὴν ἑαυτὴν and ἑαυτὴν, coupled by καὶ. Any punctuation which destroys this phrase must be wrong.

If the clause ἡς ἐσμέν γὰρ ποιεῖ προσέφορος is taken as what Denniston (GF 98) terms "simple", i.e. sc. ἐγγάρεον, then μέλος and βῆ οὖν become verbs of parallel weight, καὶ is needed to couple them, and a comma is necessary.
after πᾶσα. This is generally the punctuation and/or interpretation of Matthiae, Elmsley, Paley, Beck and Serram. Edd. who rightly regard the clause as "complex", i.e. ἐδώς is the main verb after ἀλλ', and ἐπί and μέλει are explanatory verbs after γένσ', punctuate after ἰδέασ', so making πᾶσα refer awkwardly to the immediately preceding ἰδέασ'. 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 πέρι and πολίτιδα. He would also place a comma after γένσ' in 479, on the grounds that ἐδώς balances ἀποκρίθα; 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 πολίτιδα (v. infra).

So then the lines should be punctuated as follows:

228 ἐδώς ἐπί τῆς πρόσφορος, μέλει ἐπ' ἰοι
μελετή ἰδέασ' πάρει γεμιστή πέρι,
ῥητὰ πολίτιδα μη ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλι πάντως.
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 ἔναν γὰρ is "complex": οὖν is the main verb; εἰμί and μέλει are in the parenthetical γὰρ clause. For περὶ with μέλει, Pearson quotes A. Ch.780 μελέος ἔστων ἄντερ ἐν μέλει περὶ; v. also KG 417.6, An.15; ISJ s.μέλει, A.I.4. οὖν δὲν can certainly be followed absolutely by an interrogative clause; cf. S. OC 11; 993; (LSJ s.v. Ι.7), but can μή..... δίκαιος be considered such a clause? It probably can. Cf. the following exx.: S. Ant.278 ήν ηδὲ τοιαύτην δεχόμενον τούτον τὸ τῆς γύναις βουλεύει πάλιν. ibid.1253 ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμοῦμαι, μή τι καὶ μετέχοντον κρατῆσαι καθ' ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς. E. Or.209 μη... μή καταβαίνῃς σε γύμνον ήλπιδος δέ. IT 67 μη, φυλάσσομαι μή τι πρὸς μεθύσκῃ. Hel.119 σκατρίται, μή δέουσιν οὐκ' εἰς θεῖον. Ph.92 προσπερνύοντας τοῖς, μή τι πολιτών εἰς τρίβην φαντάζοντι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκδοτικὼς μή κατάληψαι φόβος. Tr.177 ἐπικοινωμεῖν ..... μή με κτισῦν δοξήθην κατακρέσσαι μελέται.

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. ἱκλδ.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 ποιςδείχαι, 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 δικό μή παρεχει πρός, wo wir μή mit 'ob nicht' wiedergeben.........(he then refers to KG 553b, An.3)."

483. προσεξευταν: i.e. "added to".

ἐπί: "over and above". LSJ s.v. B.I.1(e).


484. ἔξη: emphasizes οὖν ἐστι (="νῦν ἐν μιᾷ τιμῇ").

GP 207.

Τέκνων: partitive genitive with μακίστα. KG 414.5(b), An.6.

485. ἀνείπτε ἀκόμη: v. on 436.
486. ἑρόμενος: Jacobs: βοήμος LP: Weckleig, Murray and meridier accept the emendation of Jacobs. Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.107) compares E. Hel.1671 τὸν μὴ τοξίνον βοήμον, restored by Paley and Wilamowitz (τῶν βοήμων LP), and says that Jacob's suggestion "has proved as compelling as it looks simple." Jacobs himself compared E. HF 95 ἔτ' ἐν γένοις, ἔσμεν, ὡς βοήμος ἐν τῷ παρόντων τῶν ἐνοίκων τινῶν. cf. also S. Ai.889 ὁμίλων μὴ πέλεαί βοήμων.

Although Pearson illustrates the freedom with which E. uses βοήμος to stand for its members (e.g. 610; Ph.20, 624; Med.114; Hipp.792; Andr.548; Cr.1538) in order to account for the use of the metaphorical προχάρημα, the point at issue really is whether Iolaos would say βοήμος of himself and the Herakleidae without any qualification, e.g. τοῦς οἱ Ἡρακλείδες. Moreover, the metaphor of βοήμος suits exactly the simile of 427ff. of the luckless voyagers beaten back from land.

(For an example of scribal confusion of βοήμος, βοήμος cf. E. Andr.1099.)

προχάρημα: 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.
The difficulty in the LP reading is really μητρὸς.
The emphasis throughout the play is on the κόινωνία 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. πατρός, μητρός),
differ slightly only, and could easily be confused, so Brodaeus suggested παραγοντισθη "υνανατος (ουγενης) to parallel 409.

Pierson's suggestion is more difficult to account for palaeographically, but it is certainly attractive in view of 408-9 and 607. 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 boble father.

I should prefer to accept Elmsley's interpretation of κηλειν (v. supra) and read with Brodaeus, as accepted by Paley, Pflügk, Beck and Jerram, εφευρη κηλειν παγονισθη υνανατος.

491. ἅτι: ανω and ἐδ here have no antithetical force and are practically equal to τω .... κυ.

This use is particularly the case in anaphora as here; KG 370.

492. τῶντι: adverbial accusative, i.e. "in this respect", "on account of this". KG 410.3, An.6.
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 πάντα ὁδῷ ἔμην κτεῖνο---οὗτος ἄνεγκάσω.

But the present infinitive could represent a present indicative, i.e. "I do not sacrifice - it is not my practise to sacrifice......"

Λέγει μὲν ἡγημόνι: cf. E. Ph.161 διότι ἐν' ὁδῷ σέργη, δρέῳ δὲ, ποι. For ποι cf. S. Ai.327 τούτων γάρ πως καὶ λέγει καὶ ἄρετα.  

οἱ δὲ σίφων: i.e."not in so many words, but his meaning is such."

Συμφωνεῖ: conjectures are unnecessary for this easily understandable ἡγημόνι: cf. ἰππημοσσατιν.  

The word is deliberately used in reference to Συμφωνεῖ 492; τούτων corresponds to παῦετα there, and τι is adverbial = "in some way".

Συμφωνεῖ: the common prose usage with ἴσχυν = "order" is the dative and infinitive, but the accusative is often found in tragedy, e.g. E. Or.269
(the phrase ἤκαθον λέγειν is common and colloquial in both prose and comedy; LSJ s. III. 2. c; cf. Pl. Phaedr. 272E
πολλ' ἔποντα ἤκαθον λέγειν τῷ Ὄμηρῳ; R. 406D.) KG 475.2, An. 2.

497. θυσία: where θυσία (so Keiske) might have been expected; but then there would have been a zeugma
in the use of λέγει = "order" and λέγει = "say". Hence
the anacolouthon in the return to the infinitive mood. ?

498. Κλέοχισσα: Elmsley. (The IP κλέοχισσα is
difficult to parallel: "do we then pray to be saved on
these terms?"). Elmsley compared Thuc. 1. 25 ἐν ἄποινῃ ἄψητο
Οἰλίδα ὅ το πρῶτον, and Pflugk X. An. 6. 1. 9 ἐν τῷ μεθ' ἄψητον ἀντικτύχον μέτοχον ἐν ὧν ἡ ἀθυμία ἐπιστάσθη ἐν ἄψητο
while Pearson draws attention to similar phrases in Hdt.,
e.g. 9. 37 ἐν πάσῃ τῇ μικρῇ Κλέοχίσσῃ; ibid. 98 ἐν ἄποινῃ ἄψητο ὡς ποιέσαι,
and S. Ai. 272 μέτοχον μὲν ἐθανάτω ἔποντα ἔπον ἐπειτ' ἐν μικρᾷ.
Parallels involving a similar use of ἐν but with ἐρωτ etc.
are: E. Alc. 278 ἐν ὧν ἐρωτευόμεθα καὶ ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμενε; IT 1057 καὶ ἐν
ἐρωτευόμεθα καὶ ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμενε (where edd. compare Pl. Prot.
313d ἐν ὧν ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμεθα; Med. 228 ἐν ὧν ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμεθα;
Ion 697 ἐν ὧν ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμεθα; S. OT 314 ἐν ὧν ἐποίημεν καὶ
OC 247 ἐν ὧν ἐποίημεν καὶ ἐρωτευόμεθα.
It appears then that ζεπηρημ 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 ζεπηρημ. If indeed μέσαν had manuscript authority it would still be a puzzle: as an emendation, however widely adopted, it is quite unsatisfactory.

καλ': expresses surprise, and is closely connected with the word that follows it. GP 316.

λόγοι: 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 ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὄρθρον ἱπτάμενον), or "line of argument", or even "Hermophon'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 ἐπίθεσις of Makaria, as J. Schmidt remarks,
Freiwillige Opfertod bei E., p.28), follows the rhetorical
στάσις, viz. Prooemium (500-502), Probatio (503-524),
couched in the negative form of refutatio.

500. ἐπιθέτα: v. on 276. (I cannot see that ἡγείων,
Elmsley, is 'a great improvement' (Pearson).

502. ὄψιν ὅστομα: cf. E. Ph. 969 ὄψιν ἔστωμα; S.
ὁμός εἰδήμων for the adjective without ἔστωμα.

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 ἔστωμα ἐν μὴν πρὸς
σφυτὴς πῶρος/πῶρος 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 ἔννομον ὑπὸ μὲν ἐπὶ
ἡμῖν πάντως; IT 1313 (v. supra); Med. 887 καὶ παροιμία λέξεως.
(σφυτὴς, the dative of σφυτῆς, Herwerden and Palmer,
is far too coarse for this context.)
504. ἱππεύειν: "incur". Cf. 986, 991 νέος, 

506. ὁς ἐσήματο: Nauck's conjecture for ἐσῆμα, 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.) ὁς ἐσήμα 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 οὐδεὶς makes clear, the safety of the Herakleidae is uppermost in the thoughts of Makaria. Therefore the LP οὐδεὶς should not be changed.
verbs which imply a negative, as for example verbs with the meaning to deny, doubt, prevent, forbid, oppose, avoid, etc. very often have  
with the following infinitive where in English no such negative is required. The basic notion seems to be that e.g. ἐγγυς ομήρος ὥσπερ ἵναι = "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. ὥσπερ: the expression answers a rhetorical question as E. Med.1048; Hipp.1062. For a slightly different use cf. 61 and v. GP 274-276.

τοι: GP 546: "τοι ὥσπερ is in Euripides and Plato almost invariably followed immediately by Καί." (Cf.744). The particle emphasises the reason for Makaria's ὥσπερ earlier in the line.

τῆς σόμος: v. on 444; cf. E. Alc.803 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὅλαιν ὦ ἄνδρα κύριου καὶ τῆς σόμος ᾧς.

αἰα: 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. Αἰ.887;1126; Ph.524, 628;
E. Cr. 413; Supp. 1233; Hipp. 269; Med. 703. KG 366.

508. στέκεται μίν: 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. μακροχρόνως ἔργαι: = κακοὶς φιλίσθει (sc. ἀντί), "be revealed as."

ποῦ: v. on 369.

ἐν ὑπνότητι: KG 423.10, An. 12, is wrong in suggesting as a parallel X. Cyr. 2.1.24 ὑπερ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐξεύρεσιν, for the sense here is as S. Ant. 225 τὸ ἔστιν ἐν θεῷ καθό, (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 τὸ ἐν ἄνθρωπος πνεύμον.). For the identical sense cf. 369. Once again, "what people will think" is the basic thought. (Contrast πνεύμα with the dative, 426).

511. σιμαία: ironic; cf. 968. (Not so, of course, in 670.)
Lentinge's observation is unnecessary. For the plural cf. άντι, 507, note.

This deprecatory formula does not invariably precede the words of ill omen; cf. Ph.571.

512. This line in L suggests an illegibility in the exemplar of L. Certainlly (P) can have little authority. Kirchhoff proposed ἕλπις, 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, ἅ σώματι), and this emphasis on honour above all things strongly supports ἕλπις. (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. θὰ: for the particle introducing the proffering 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.

ὑπερεύσα: Stephanus: ἤπευσα 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.) ἤπευσα 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. ἤπορος, 224; 318; ἤποται, 51.

516. κακὰς...μετά: expresses indignation. GP 273.

ἐγὼ: cf. E. Supp.314 ἐγώ. Paley better interprets: "if, as doubtless they will, people will say...." than Pearson: "practically equivalent to 'thereupon': 418 n."
517. ἐκείνης κάκας: cf. 124.

518. φιλοψυχίας: v. on 455.

519. κινευ γρ...: i.e. "cowardly"; the meaning is "we will not help those who will not help themselves."

520. ἅλλου μέντοι: Makaria now proceeds to examine another alternative: if the rest of the Herakleidae died........ GP 411.

521. εὐτέρως εὐδοκεί: for the participle in the nominative used in parallel with the genitive absolute, Pearson quotes S. Ph. 171 μη τοῦ κηδεμόνα βραχίονα ἔχων ἰατροφόρον ὀμηγέον, and notes that "such variation is especially common in Thucydides, e.g. 1.2 τῆς γῆς ἀποθείων οἰκ. οἰκής οὐδ' ἐπιμεγινθεὶς ............" Cf. also S. 06.737 οὐκ ἐν ἄγων οὐκ ἀνέτου, ἡ δὲ τούτων κελευθερείν. Tr. 291 μὴ οὐ τέρμης οὐρανίας κυρεί, τῷ μὲν περάντων, τῇ δὲ περιστοίχι θύμιοι.

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.)

_ён_ : i.e. "before now".

_ёюα_ : sc. ἤπειρος .

523ff. ἐγκέφαλος ἔναν ὑποστηθέντα : cf. E. Andr. 4 ἐγκέφαλος . 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 ὑποστηθέντα
v; Harrison, The Law of Athens, p. 2, n. 4; 17.)

525. εὐκ ἀνέρ : v. on 255.

526. ἔρισιν : sc. ἄθικον ; cf. 513, note. Why this
should not happen to her with her noble descent from
Herakles is explained in 526-527.

_κύλπ_ : Scaliger and Hartung: κύλπει IP. The
"unqualified assertion" of the mss. reading is, as
Pearson says, not acceptable here. The implication of
κύλπει would be that there is in fact some person to whom
such behaviour is fitting.
527. ἀλκαίον: i.e. τούτων of 525.

ὑπὸ μὴ: generic as 409, 328, note.

528. ἀπὸ: = ἐκεῖνο ἀπὸ.

ἐπίτηδε: = ἐμπερ.; cf. 89, 539 (τὸ σοῦ κέφαλά); E. Alc. 636 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σῶμα παρῆ; Hec. 301 ὡς τὸ μὲν σοῦ κέφαλα ἥττον ἑαυτοῦ ἐμί.

529. κατάρχεσθαι: "begin the rites"; cf. 601; E. Alc. 74 ὁ κατάρχεσθαι ὕπατε, where Dale understands this correctly as of the cutting off of some hairs from the victim's head, and compares Hom. II.3.271ff. In E. IT 40 κατάρχεσθαι means the sprinkling of the victim's head with water (cf. ibid. 54 ἵππον ἤνει ὑπέρ; 443 δρόμον; 622 ἱππίου), the purification of the victim before sacrifice. (V. further Denniston ad E. El. 791.)

κατάρχεσθαι εἰς δοκεῖ: elision occurs only four other times at Forsom's Bridge (v. on 303), i.e. S. Ai. 1101, Ph. 22; E. Cy. 304, Ion 1 (where K. Witte suggested νωτέρ' for νωτή); v. Maas, Gk. Metre, para. 139). For this reason several emendations have been proposed: καὶ κατάρχεσθαι δοκεῖ Paley; καὶ κατάρχεσθαι δοκεῖ Bothe; κατάρχεσθαι διδέ Ρίφα (cf. E. Alc. 74) Mehler; καὶ στίγμα τούτων ἐκ κατάρχεσθαι 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 ἢ for ἃ in 528 and then κατ' ὁμολογίαν καὶ κατ' ἴδιαν δοκῇ.

530. ἐκάθεν ἔφεσα: cf. ἀπέματο πολε 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' ἐστι μεμεῖα ἐπειδή ψυχή; Or. 526 ἐγὼ τινὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ τίλη, ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦτο; Med. 473 ἐνακοφθήσειν ψυχή; S. Ant. 175 ἀληθῶς γὰρ παντὸς ἄλοχος ἐμμεῖαν ψυχή τοῦ καὶ φρονίμως καὶ γνωρίμως.

531. ἐκάθεν καὶ καλωσύνη: cf. E. Andr. 357 ἐκάντος ἐν ἐκαντεῖ; Hdt. 2.43 ἐμπνεῦσαι, ἐμπαίδευτα; Thuc. 6.87 ἐν ἐκαντεῖ, παρακτολήθη ἢταται and exx. in KG 601.8. The purpose of this pleonasm is of course purely emphatic. (In S. OT 1229-1230, ἐπιστευί' ὁπὲρ τὸ ἐπὶ καθ' ἀλλ' ἐκάντος καὶ καλωσύνη, there is, as Jebb notes, dramatic point in the contrast between evils caused consciously and evils caused unwittingly.)

ἐπιγγέλλομαι: 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 ἐπιγγέλλομαι (hence Madvig's καταγγέλλομαι). They quote S. OT 147 τόπος ἔφερεν ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτόν καὶ διὸ  ἐσχήματον ἢ ἢ ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐγγέλλομαι; E. Ign. 1605 ἐκδίκησεν ἐφοίτησεν ἐγγέλλομαι; and for the simple verb, S. Ai. 1376 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ γίγνεται .... ἐγγέλλομαι .... ἐτύμω χρής.
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 θεολογικός of Glaucus who speaks on behalf of a divine will.) Jebb translates ἰππάλλω 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, 528-551) and now she emphasizes the reason why she is sacrificing her life to ensure that she dies εὐχρήστως (554).

533. οὖμνα.....γέρες: cf. E. Med.553 τι τοι δίν οὖμαν ἵππον εὐτυχήντες; ibid.716 οὖμαν εἰκόνιοις, ὅπως τίμησε; Ion 1518 φίλον μεῖν οὖν ἐν οὖμαν μητέρι, γέρες.

As Pearson suggests, οὖμαν is not to be explained simply as cognate accusative; like εὔμαινον it has the sense of "a lucky discovery" (Page ad Med.553; LSJ s.v. II.)
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 ἵνα μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν, eiπφον ..." 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, Madvig's emendation, τῇ μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν, 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 μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν would seem too repetitious.

535. ἤπειρος: admiringly said, as in 552; cf. Ar. Av. 1724 ἤπειρος τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλλου.
μέγαν λόγον: obviously in a good sense here, but usually of boastful utterance; cf. S. Ant. 127 μεγάλης γεύσεως; ibid. 1350 μεγαλόν λόγον; E. HF 1244 μέγα λόγων (cf. μέγα φρονεῖν).

536. πέρι: cf. περιοδε, 583; = βρέφ. LSJ s.v. E.III.2.

538. ἐπί: = "in the future"; not to be taken with μείλλον.

ἐπιδρέειν: i.e. put the words into practice. As Pearson remarks, the awkwardness is caused by the frequent antithesis of λόγων and δρᾶν elsewhere in Greek literature.

539. τό σοι κόρε: = σύ; cf. 528, note; E. Ion 1476 οὐκέτι... ἐπὶ τικέ τοι κόρε.

540, 541. Pearson punctuates after ἐς ικεῖνον, making πέρικες explanatory. This simplifies the structure of the lines, but is not absolutely necessary, if, as is generally agreed, Προκλῆος (IP) should be rejected as the only instance of this Epic genitive in the iambic trimeters of tragic dialogue. Hartung's Προκλῆος (adopted by Wecklein, Pearson and Meridier) is better than Χ. Elmsley's Προκλῆος (Murray) because E. IA 524 το Σίωφιον ονόμα; IT 988 το Παυκλῆον ονόμα. (Elmsley's
comparison with E... Or. 1512 ını does not seem apt: as Paley notes, "the ellipse of \( \text{παι} \) makes all the difference."

Pearson draws attention to the real difficulty in the lines: the meaning of \( \text{δεύει} \). 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 \( \text{δεύει} \) elsewhere by Euripides to suggest such an interpretation here. Nor indeed can a parallel be found where \( \text{δεύει} = \text{γυνὴ} \). \( \text{Θείας} \), 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 \( \text{νοῦ} \), as Pearson thinks "not improbable".

I am convinced that there is corruption in 540: perhaps a genitive of \( \text{Ηράκλης} \) has been mistakenly replaced by the last three words; certainly \( \text{ἐξων\varepsilonυ} \) needs a proper name.
541. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνέγκαια: i.e. Nakaria'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. (Méridier is quite wrong to translate the phrase as a kind of litotes: "mis si je suis fier de ton langage, ton sort m'affligé."

τῇ τοῦ λόγου: causal dative, as 474; cf. E. HF 1160 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνέγκαια γὰρ τοῦ δοκεόμενων μικρών.

542. τὴ τύχη: i.e. the fate which made your intervention necessary.

543. ἐπικεντήσας: for this form of the comparative adverb cf. E. IT 1375 ἐπικεντήσας; IA 379 ἐπικεντήσας (ex Stob.). Elmsley quotes several examples from Thuc. and Antiphan.

544. τὰς ἱδρυμένας: for these other sisters cf. 41ff.

τὰς: 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 τὰς (Lenting) should be adopted.
545. Ληξέουσα: 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. ληξέοντας η κακολεοντης 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. ἀν ἐν θεόνη: v. on 344.

τὴν τοῦχη: i.e. "by mere chance as opposed to my own decision." Cf. S. Ant. 1182 ἂτοι καλόντω πᾶσιν ὅ τοῦχη πέρα. Ph. 546 τοῦχη β' πώρι προ' παύτως διαρκεία πεδίων. B. Andr. 323 μὴ τοῦχη φρονεῖν δοκεῖν.

Makaria here (v. supra) seems to be thinking of "sortition" as a mere gamble.

548. Χαρίς: v. on 334, 379. Makaria means that selection by lot brings no sense of freely conferring the favour for the person so selected.

μὴ λέγει: i.e. do not talk of selection by lot.

549. Ψεκάλη: sc. τοῦ μονή λόγου; ISJ s.v. II.1. (In Thuc. 7.49, quoted by Pearson as an instance of the
absolute use — ὅσον Δημοσίην περί μὲν τὸ προσμετρεῖται αὐτοῦ πάσην ἐνέδεικνυ — λόγον has probably to be supplied.)

550. ἐπίθεμα: LP: ἐπίθεμα. Barnes. The mss. reading seems unsatisfactory. If ἐπίθεμα is taken with ἐπίθεμα there is tautology because of ἑκοσθ; if it is taken with ἔπεσα, 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. ἔδω: v. on 535.

554. ἡκείνος: i.e. "and yet that was........" GP 292.

ἐπιθέμα: ἐπιθέμα 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 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. ὑπολείψῃ: ὑπολέγει is here adversative. GP 340.

556. Iolaos leaves the decision entirely to Makaria. All the ἄρχω is now hers as she wishes (548).

557. ἐ', ὑ': 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 ἀνίθημι. An asyndeton here is not easy to explain.

ἐπεδήλυσε: dynamic present = ἔπιθελήσει - 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 ἔτι αὐτόματα 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 οὕτως is unexplained and μὴ τρίγων ἀκαὶ 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. **σοφά**: "wisely", i.e. by implication, as explained above.

μη τρέψω... θάνω: μη τρέψω prepares the way for the hortatory 1st person subjunctive, which is generally found prefeded by ἔγει, φέρε, δεῦρο. KG 394.4.

μείζονα τά: "pollution". For the implication of this word v. Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, Ch. V (esp. his reference to Pl. Lg.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. **ελευθέρως**: i.e. "as a free woman"; cf. E. Hec.

560 ἐλευθέρως δέ μ', δ' ἐλευθέρως θάνω, πρὸς θέων μεθώντας κτέινα. ἐν μνείαν γῇ δουλῇ κεκλήτων βασίλης ὁδὸς ἀλσώσεις, where Elmsley (ad Hkld.559) suggested ἐλευθέρως ; Or. 1169 ἔν οὐ κεταίσχυν δοῦλον παρεκχων ἄνατον, ἐλλ.' ἐλευθέρως πολεμήσω τύχαν ἐλήφθη, Fr.245 μ', ἐν δουλείαν ποτὲ ἔμεν ἢ ἄλλως παρον ὑπὲρ πολεμήν ἡμοῦ ἐλευθέρως (? ἐλευθέρως ).
Though the above parallels are very close, possibly has an additional meaning here: Makaria 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. 1449πατὴρ ἀδικίαν ἔλεησε ἐνδοκιντήριον τον Ἰακώβα, and Barrett's note. I.e. ἐλευθερίαν = "in such a way as to free from pollution".

561. μὴ ἀκούσῃ: cf. the description of Polyxena's modesty at her sacrifice (E. Hec. 568ff. ὁλοῖρα πρὸς ἐκεῖνα εἰκῇ ἔξω ἑξῆς πεπέλευκα). She asks Iolaos to be present ( ) and cover her body as she falls.

562. καὶ: 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.

προς τὸ δεινὸν εἰπά: Fearnson compares E. Med. 403 ἐπὶ ἡττήσαντος... Hec. 516 ἀπὸ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον... S. Fr. 322 ὅτε ἔτυσεν ἀκούσαντος; E. Med. 594.

(Verrall (ad Med. 394) sees a distinction in metaphor between τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν καταροῦν and the expressions in ibid. 403, Hec. 516 and here. Presumably there καταροῦν could be a variation of phrases like τοῦ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ + 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.

\[\text{*\text{εἰπὸν} \& \text{πολιτείαν}}\] sc. \text{περιπλεύσεσіμα}. Broadhead (ad A. Pers. 876):

"\text{εἰπὸν} \& \text{πολιτείαν}, \text{with or without \text{ἐπαναλήψεως}}, \text{meaning 'I state with pride'}, \text{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. \text{οὐ} \text{δὲ} \text{Σωρὰζωγ}: cf. 547, 344 (note).

\[\text{προσεκύνα}: \text{v. on 502.}\]

565. \text{οὐ} \text{δὲ} \text{Σωρὰζωγ}: cf. 257, note; 80. Makaria, as Iolaos has \text{ἐρωτήσαται} refused her request, makes an alternative demand... \text{ἐπαναλήψεως}, as Dennistons remarks, is adverbial rather than connective in force: "well then, if you will not do that...." Cf. exx. in GP 10, Med. 391; Hec. 391.

\[\text{τοῦδε}: \text{sz i.e. Demophon.}\]

\[\text{τοῖς: the verb with the genitive of person is very common in Hdt. LSJ s.v.2b.}\]

567-573. Attributed by IP 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. ἡλικία ἀρμοδίως: partitive genitive; cf. E. Hec. 716 
B καί μουρτ' ἐνθατ; alc.460 ἡ φιλαγγίακα (so Hipp.848, where Barrett notes: "An old use: Homer (κιλιγγίακα, ἡμέρα, etc.), and then occasionally in poetry (apparently always in the vocative).") KG 414.5(b).

568. τὸς αἰχμάθης: cf. 200, 242, 255. Demophon will "lose face" if he does not see that Makaria has splendid funeral rites appropriate to her noble deed.

κοσμιάζει: here of the attiring of Makaria for sacrifice and for her subsequent funeral; cf. S. Ant. 900 ἐνῷ ἐνῷ ἔλοουν κλήσειμα; E. Hel.1061 ἦ καλύπτομεν κόσμον τοῦτον σε; Tr.1147 σὺν σῷ κοσμίζεσθαι νόκιν; Alc.149 κοσμήσει ἔσομος, ἐπερουμένης ἂν; ibid.161 εὐφήτη κόσμον τ' ἑπιρρήτῳ ἐγχάριτο.

570. τὸ βίον: i.e. because it is the correct way for me to act; cf. 424, note.

τὴν κορυφὴν: "most courageous"; cf. E. Hec. 562, of Polyxena, ἐδώκει πάντων τὴν κορυφὴν λόγον. Not, of course, "most wretched", another meaning. The basic sense of the
verb τασ seems to be "to bear, to suffer", hence the meaning of the derived adjective εται refer either to the way in which the hardship is borne, as here, or to the fact that the hardship is being borne.

571. επον ἄφθασις: emphatic redundancy; cf. 883;
E. Hel. 118 ἐστέρ γε σε', ζόμω ἔλεον, ἄφθασις ἔρωθ;
A. Eu. 34 δειν δ' ἄφθασις γενίν; S. Ai. 993 ηὐστόν ἐν προσβον ἄφθασις ἔρωθ; Ant. 763 οὐ τ' ὄνομα τούτῳ προσβείν κρατ' ἐν ἄφθασις ἔρωθ.

572. Τασθέα: i.e. Nakaria's brothers.

573. προσβέληστε: 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 προσβέληστε in farewells cf. E. Hipp. 1099 προσβέληστε ἡμᾶς καὶ προσβείτε Ἑκατος; Med. 1069 πάλι προσβείτε βούλμας;
Ion 665 προσβείτε, μείλινον Δαλφήθ' ἐκλευνη σόλιν; Alc. 610 προσβείτε, εὑροντες σοτάτος σοφοί.

Στάσει προσβεληστειτιν: Blomfield: Ἰωσέφ (Στατός P)
προσβεληστειτιν, LP. The correction of Blomfield is preferred by Pearson to προσβεληστειτιν (Elmsley), προσβεληστειτιν (Tyrwhitt), προσβεληστειτιν (Hermann) for the mss. μοι imported from the next line, which caused the corruption
of ἀποσφέυγε. 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 τὸ ἐξ ἐμί σας τῶν ἐμῶν προσφέυγειτον, and Ion 401 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Ὁδης τῶν ἐμῶν προσφέυγειτον λαβὼν ἀπερχαὶ Χαρέως.

On the conclusion of his speech, Demophon leaves the stage and does not appear again.

574. ἔχε... ἔχε: Fraenkel (ad A. Ag. 22) considers that "the H 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. 855, 1097; Men. Georg. 41.

ἔχε: ethic'dative.

575. τοιοῦτο;: proleptic: "to be such as you are". Cf. E. Med. 295 πάλιν περισσα ἐνδιδόμενος οὐκ ὁρωσ. El. 376 διδομεὶς δ' ἐν ἔντεκα ἐνδίπερ τῇ Χρείᾳ κακῷ Fr. 715 Χρείᾳ διδομείς, καὶ ὑμῶν τῷ τῇ Χρείᾳ οὐκ ἐπείδη πῶς κακός. S. Oc 919 καὶ τοι αὐτῷ ὦ θεσία ἐπείδη πῶς κακός. Ph. 1360 οἰ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη μετα μὴν μυστήρθη γενήται, πάντα πατεῖς κακοῖς.
Exceptionally wise...

576. ἀπειθεῖν ὀλίγον: Pearson and Beck see a philosophical reference here: Pearson compares Heraclit. Fr.40 πολυμάθης νὲν 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!"

577. μὴ: because ὁδὸν involves the negative idea of preventing them from death; cf. 506 (note) φυσικῶς μὴ ἀνείπει and KG 514.3(a), An.7.
The emendation of Kirchhoff (καὶ, = καίστερ, instead of μὴ) 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 πειράγμα τοῦ προσεπειν σίκειν μῦν. (The sense given by Elmsley's punctuation, comma after οὕτω, "not being eager to die", is far too banal.)

πρὸβευχῇς μῦν: Pearson: "with all thy heart" = προβευχῇς ἰδιοτι. Others interpret more simply, as Jerram, "as you are already desirous of doing."

578. ἐν μέν ... σεῖ: 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. ἔραν γυναῖκα: cf. E. Hel. 12 ἔραν ἐλθεν ἀρείαν γυναῖκα. i.e. her youth, the time for marriage, to which she refers again 591-592.

580. ἐναμὸν τοῦτο: her youth in return for them, i.e. her life to save theirs.
Pearson says that this agrees with ἵππον, but surely it is simply explanatory of ἱππόταν and agrees with ἦσ.

581. ἱππόταν: "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 ἐμφύριος (which he would read also in 239 (note); cf. A. Eu. 57 τό φθονόν οὐχ ὀπτεύα τρόπος ἱππόταν, S. Al. 872 ἣμιτ γε ναοὶ κοινότητον ἱππόταν.

For the periphrasis cf. B. Hipp. 1179 μὴ ἅν τοῦ ὀπτεύειν γὶς 'τοσχ' ἡλίκαι αἰ ἐμφύριος; Alc. 606 ἀδρίων ἐρείπων εὐμενῆ προφίλαι; S. El. 417 ἄτικαν παρά τοῦ οὐτα ἡ καλὴ διπτέρα ἱππόταν : Tr. 964 χεῖλι γε ἐγκυμοσύνης ὡδὲ πρὸς; Ph. 868 οἰκορρήμα τῶν τῶν γελῶν.

582. Ἰένω περιστε: i.e. γένοιτο καὶ ὄνομ, "may there happen to you all the happiness to ensure which I have sacrificed myself." For περιστε = ὑπὲρ, cf. περσι, 536 (note).

583. καρδία: for this meaning of καρδία = "life", cf. B. Hipp. 840 πολλαὶ διάφορα τοιχα, γυμνα, καὶ ἰθα, τόλμα, καρδία; Hec. 1026 ἐκποιήση ὀδύναμον καρδία (a locus corruptus). Faley seems to take the word literally and quotes A. Eu. 103
i.e. "in your (sc. Crestes' heart); he consequently finds difficulty in ἀφεναι, which, he correctly states, is "properly used of wounding the throat" (LSJ ἀφιν/II). The emendations which have been suggested because of this literal interpretation (v. Wecklein's Appendix) are unnecessary.

584. ἐσώ: for the use of ἐσώ, ἐσώ where there seems no idea of motion, cf. E. Hipp.2 ὄμος τ' ἐσώ; ibid. 4 τρικαλοντες Ἀθηναίων μισηθεῖσω; IT 624 ἐσώ δέων τῶν ἔδω; Tr.651 ἐσώ μελλόν; A. Th.232 μένειν ἐσώ δέων; LSJ s.v. I.2.

587. νοθρύ: i.e. the return of the Ἕρακλείδαι to the Peloponnese. They did not succeed until the third generation after Hyllos under Temenos. (V. Frellero-Robert, Gr. Myth.ii.2, pp.656ff.)

ἐκ χειρε: this use of the preposition is found with passive and intransitive verbs instead of ἐν. 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 ἐστὶν ἄρχοντων, 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. ἡ: i.e. "how", answered by μετ'αυτα in the following line (note).

διὰ: her body must be re-interred in the Peloponnesian.

589. μετ'αυτα: the mss. reading forces ἡ 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 ὡδὴ ... γένος seems to explain. Consequently, Reiske proposed ἐλάχιστα μετά; Nauck more simply μετ'αυτα, a common early minuscule confusion of μ and κ, which should be adopted. Makaria is not concerned here with the manner of her burial.

ἐνδειξα: adverbially here with παρέστηκα: lit.: "for I did not come to your aid inadequately."

590. προσήναγα γένος: for the genitive governed by the προ - of the compound cf. ο. 4.383 οί προδρόμοι τεσσαρείς; ibid.684 παρέστηκα προδρόμου τεσσαρής; (cf. also ibid.682 ούδεν ὁποίῳν οὐδεν).

591. τε: i.e. the reflection that she died for her
family. (The demonstratives agree with κειμηλία as in E. IA 1399 πάντως οὕτωι, quoted on 591-2.)

κειμηλία: for the plural and the notion of "treasures" for the dead below the earth cf. S. El. 437 ἱδέαν εἶχα, κειμήλια, αὐτῷ τῶν ὁμορρώσων κάτω.

591-592. For similar sentiments cf. E. IA 1398 πάντως γὰρ μυνημεῖα μοι διὰ μέκρου, καὶ πάντως οὕτωι καὶ γάμου καὶ δοσκόλας; Or. 1050 τάδε ἐντὸς παίδων καὶ γυμνᾶς οὖς λέξους.

These parallels have caused edd. difficulty in interpreting ἐντὸς παίδων ... καὶ παρθενελήσῃ here, because they expect to find γάμου or similar linked with παίδων. Jerram translates: "in place of children....and a compensation for my unwedded state;" Meridier: "Les 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 ἐντὸς (cf. 580, note). Pearson cannot accept this treatment of the preposition and proposes τῇ παρθενελήσῃ in place of καὶ παρθενελήσῃ, quoting C.I.A. 469 οὕτως παρθενελήσῃ. Καὶ γὰρ κακλημονία οὕτως, ἐντὸς γάμου περὶ δεῦρο τὸτε λαχάος δόγμα, i.e. "the treasures of my virginity". But παρθενελήσῃ can
surely = ἀληθῶς 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 παρθένεια with the idea of subsequent marriage cf. E. Tr. 676 πρῶτος τὸ παρθένειαν ἐσθήσω λέξεις; Supp. 452 (τι' ἐστὶ) παρθένειαν παρὼν ἐν δόμαι καλῶ, τερεύς τυράννας ἰδοναί, ἵνα δῆλη, λάμπε κ' ἐτοιμάσωσι, where the point is that tyrants take for their lust the daughters whose virginity has been safeguarded for marriage.

592. ἐὰν...ἐὰν: "if indeed..., if really.....; for ἐὰν in conditional clauses v. GP 223.

For the sentiment cf. E. Alc. 744 εἰ δὲν μὴ καταπλῆν ἐστιν λύσθη; S. El. 244 ἐὰν μὴ μάθησιν ἡ δὴ καὶ ὄνειδος ἢν καλεστήται ταῖς. But elsewhere the conviction is stated that there is no after-life: cf. E. Alc. 381 ὀδῶν ἐρθ' δ' μαθηταί; Tr. 633 τὸ μεῖον (sc. τὸ μαθήματι) γνώ ὀδῶν; IA 1251 τι' νερβῆ β' ὀδῶν; Fr. 536 μαθηταί δ' ἐς τῇ ἐνώπιᾳ γῆ καὶ ὁμώς ὁ μὴ πέφρακτο εἰς ὀδῶν πέφρακτο; (On Hel. 1014 σαμὶ τών καταθέντων μη μετέοι, γνώσθη δ' ἐπει.... v. Dale's note: "a piece of high-toned but vague mysticism appropriate to Theonoe."); S. El. 1165 τοιαῦτ' ὡς ἐσθήθη μεν τοῦ τοῦτος ἐστιν, τὴν μῆκος εἰς τὸ μῆκον.

593. ἀλλ' ἀλλ' ΚΕΚΤΩ: adversative: "I certainly hope there is nothing, for...."; cf. 267. GP 412.
594. KAIΣEI: for έκεί meaning Hades cf. E. Alc.745 (quoted above on 592); Med.1073 οὐδ' έκεί; S. Ant.75 έκεί γιὰ νὰ ξεσημάζει; Ar. Kan.82 έκεί μεν έν Ἀδ.άσκολος δ' έκεί; in full, E. Hec.418 έκέi δ' ἐν Ἀδ. ησ.μανι.

595-6. For the sentiment cf. E. Fr.830 οὗ οὐδ' έκείνος οὐδὲν νοσοῦσιν οὐδὲν κέκτημα κακά; Or.1522 οὐδ' ἄγων φαφῆς τοῦ Ἀδ.ν, οὗ ο' ἀπάλασι μακάν; (also the cynical statement of Pheres, Alc.726 κακαὶ έκοιν τιμοῖς φίλωντες μακαίς); A. Supp.803 τὸ γὰρ οὖν έλευθερωτεὶς φίλωντες μακάν; Fr.255 Ἀδ.ν 6' οὖν έισταται νεκρὸς; S. OC 955 οὖν οὖν 6' οὖν 6' οὖν έισταται; Tr.1173 τόν γὰρ οὖν μόνης οίδι προσέγγισταί; El.1170 τόν γὰρ οὖν μόνης οίδι προσέγγιστα.

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. έΔΕΙ: explained by Denniston as a "sympathetic reaction to the previous speaker's words or actions." GP 19. Tr.: "well,..."
Murray suggests πρίσοι, comparing here E. Rec. 579 ἐόθ τι δώσων τῇ πρώτῃ ἀνεστάλη πυρήνας τῷ ἔριστῳ, said of Polyxena.

-caligier’s correction of LP εὐφυκή; cf. E. Supp. 641 πόθεν ποθ' οἶκε διαρρέουει εὐφυκή θυμίαν ἔφωσαν; Alc. 642 ὥρα πάνω διαρέουει εὐφυκή. For this use of the instrumental dative v. KG 425. B.9 and 420.2(b), An.11. For εὐφυκή v. on 812.

599. Τὰ... οὖν: cf. 320 (note). Here again the two words are coupled as a cliché whereas the emphasis must be on οὖν, as Makaria is leaving now for the sacrifice.

the prepositional phrase, because τυμίωσεν is treated as the equivalent of a passive verb; cf. Thuc. 1.130 ἦν ἐν μεγάλη ἱματίσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. X. An.7.6.33 ἦκαν ὅτι τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐχαλίαν. KG 442.2(a).

quoting the superlative τυμίωση; KG 349.7(b); 410.5(b), An.15.

600. ὧν... ἔχε: explains why he has said ἱατρεία, "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.

Greek: for the accusative cf. E. Hec.181 τί μοι δισφημίζῃς; S. El.1183 οὕτω ποτ' Ζήλην ἢ μοι δισφημίζῃς, ηὕτως.

The accusative is used by analogy with verbs of speaking good or ill of; cf. A. Ag.580 εὐλογεῖν τελεῖν. KG 409.2.

καταφερθήσθαι: v. on 529. For a parallel to this passive use of a middle verb which takes the genitive case, Pease son compares E. El.1142 λιπεῖ δ' ἐνίσχυτοι. 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.


603. κἀπίστευτα: i.e. "support me on my way back to the altar."

κἀπίστα: "here", i.e. at the temple.
πίπλουσι: for the custom of covering the head in extreme grief or suffering cf. E. Supp. 110 σε τον κατήφρο Χλαδής Άντωνιδ. λεγ' εικαλπή κρατα και πρευχ γ' ον; ibid. 286 ματης, τι κλακ' λεσιν' έτ' εμάτων φηρη βαλεστα τιν' σων; Ion 967 τι κρατα κρύσμα, η γ' ήσον, δικρυφροι; S. Ai. 245 ἄρα τιν' ἄδη κακανθήμενος κρυφεμένον πολίσθη επομένα δρόμοι; A. Ch. 81 δικροί β' ϑε' εμάτων; Pl. Phd. 117C ἄρα εὐκαλυφτός δικλακον εμνυστή; ibid. 118A με εὐκαλυφτός, ἐνεκκαλυφτὸ γάρ, ὑπερ. Cf. Latin capite obvoluto.

605. ΠΕΡΙΑΚΛΕΟΣ: 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.

οὔτε...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.

οίς μεσίγμοι: cf. Σ. Ion 670 άβιντον οὐμέν; S. Ant. 566 τι γ' ἀδημήν κατ' ἄραρ' άβιντον; Hdt. 1.45 οδε' α' εν' βίντον, Pl. Cri. 47D ἦμα βίντον οὐμέν ὅτι.
"χτυ... συμφορά: "ruin... grief" contrasted. Pearson draws attention to Verrall's note on Ε. Med. 54 Ἐιρηνοεινος σολλοι συμφορά τε δεσποτών αλλυρίως πνεύμα (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 Ἡλαος retires with the assistance of the Ηερακλείδαι to the temple at the rear of the stage.
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 Erodæus first drew attention, ἀδελφός ἱλαροτόν οὐτ' ἀδῆσος οὖτε πινηχρός οὖτε μικρὸς νοσήν ηλικομυθούς οὖτε λυόσος.

ἐκεῖν ἔτη: "without the will of the gods"; cf. 385, note, εὐτυχία τὴν ὑπὲρ θεῶν; Ἐ. Βα. 764 ὁ ἐκεῖν ἰσχύς τινος, and more significantly, Thgn. 171 οὗτοι ἐκεῖν γίνεται ἱλαροτόν οὐτ' ἴδιοι οὖτε κακί.

609. ἐλθαί: LP: Murray's conjecture φύτα (and others, e.g. γ' ἐλθα: Heath; τ' ἐλθα: Hartung; βαρυτόμων: 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 ἐλθάτε (οοοοο) at the end of a dactylic pentameter, quoted by Dale (loc. cit. p.33).

ἐλθαί: for this sense of the perfect tense, "walking in", i.e. being in an established state of, cf. S. El. 1056 ὅταν γὰρ ἐν κακοῦ ἔδω βεβηκομέν; ibid. 979 ὡσεὶ ἡ ἐκαθαρσία ἐν βεβηκομέν; ibid. 1093 μοιχὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἔδω βεβηκομέν; (Hdt. 7.164 τοι περιτα ..... ἐν βεβηκομέν); Ant. 67 τοῖς ἐν γείσαι βεβηκόσα; ΟC 1358 ὅτι ἐν ποίῳ πώς βεβηκός τοῖς κακῶν ἑμῶν; Ἐ. Fr. 196 ἐν ὑδάμω μὴ σαφῆ βεβηκότες;
Fr. 1058 ὑπαυξ ἐν τοῖς βραχοῖς.
(Because no parallel exists for the simple dative with ἄτικαν, Pearson (comparing also 910) would read μπραχάν, comparing S. OC 400 γυς δομή βραχών ἔρων).

Σομον: the objection to this word is not so much the metaphor, which seems acceptable here if not in 486 (note?), but that throughout the stanza the emphasis is on the individual person, e.g. ὁτίνα, τῷ μὲν τῷ δ', τῷ ἐπιθύμην. The conjecture of F. Gu. Schmidt, Σομον ἐδόξασα, seems untenable: this would make Σομον cognate accusative (as βραχών βραχών, KG 410.2(c)) and would ignore the parallels with βραχών quoted above. However, τοῦ ἐν, suggested by C. Busche, would be very satisfactory on all accounts; τοῦ αὐτοῦ would now be personal and ἐδόξασα would have the desirable preposition. Unfortunately this conjecture is difficult to support palaeographically.

611. τετρά δ' ἱλλον: the preposition means "past". The imagery is of man pursued by different fortunes which in turn pass each other and catch him. (Ἱλλον: LP (Ἱλλον 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 περ’ οὖσαν θέαν ἀπειρωμένην
tοῦ οἰκείου, 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 ἄμεσα δ’ ἔρεος ἀμετάβλητα πήματ’ ἐν Χρόνων μέσῳ. βροτῶν δ’ ὅπη
διάθεμα τοῦ αἰωνίου; Hipp. 1158 ἠλθα γὰρ ἅλοπον ἀμετάβληται, μετὰ δ’ ὅταν ἰδοὺ ἠλάττα
ποιμάναντι αὐτὰ.

612. διώκειν: probably transitive, sc. Ἰνδρα, (or
dομον, Pearson.)

613. ἡφ’ ἐμφάνιν: a use of the preposition difficult
to parallel. ἡν, which is used often in the sense of
"as a change from", "after", would rather be expected here;
however A. Supp. 95 οπότε δ’ ἐλπίσαν ἡφ’ ἐμφάνιν παῦτες βροτοῦ.
The meaning is quite clear: "from their position" = ἅφος.

The sentiment has many parallels: E. Tr. 612 ἥρως ἐν ταῖς
Θεῖν, ἦ τ’ μεῖ πρόγονοι ἔνοι τ’ μηδέν ἄντε, τ’ ἕδ’ ὑσώντ’ ἀνάλογα;
Fr. 424 μὲ ἡμέρα τε μεῖ καθεῖλον ἅφος, τ’ ἡ τρέπ’ ἔνων;
S. Ai. 131 ἦ ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κανάγει πλῆν Ἀπόλλων τοῦ ἄνδρον.
Hes. Op.6 ἑδρὰς χαλάς ἔστησεν, καὶ ἑδρὰς θάλας θάρσεις ἐφηγμένης;
P. Pl.2.49 ἔνακτος (ἐν ὀ Θέον) ποτὲ μὲν τὰ κεῖσαι, τον ἄλλον ἄλλον ὅμως κομίζει.
Luc. Evang.1.52 καὶ ἔσσαν ἁμαρτήματα ἄναμα κόμμων, καὶ ἔφυγεν ταπείνως.

οὐκ ἔσσαν: the metaphor as, as Pearson says, of the humble house contrasted with the lofty palace. The tense is gnomic aorist. MT 155; KG 326.7.

βραχύν: "humble", "weak", "insignificant"; cf. S. OC 380 τοῖς τοῖς δικαιοῖς καὶ βραχύν νικά μέγαν.

614. ἄνθρωπος: Murray: ἄνθρωπος IP: The metre here requires ὁ τινὸς to respond with 625 ἄνθρωπος. Obviously what is needed here is a word to fit the metre which will afford a suitable contrast in meaning with ἐκδικοῦν, and many suggestions have been offered. Murray's conjecture (= "grindeō"; cf. E. Cy. 240 of those sold into slavery to work at a corn mill) is not very convincing. Wecklein, Fflugk and Meridier adopt, and Pearson recommends, Lobeck's ἄνθρωπος (= "without position"; for a discussion of the meaning of ἄνθρωπος, v. Fraenkel ad A. Ag. 72). It is possible that this rare word might have been displaced in favour of ἄνθρωπος, which of course occurs in 51, 224, 318, and might seem especially appropriate here. Schroeder (Euripidis Cantica) would read τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ὧν: "de metathesi dactylica cf. Find. Nem. 6. str. 5; Paean6 str. 14 (:136); S. Ai. 230; Phil. 1216."
615. μόρεμαν κατα: cf. P. P1.12.30 τὸ ἕμερον αὐτοῦ παρθένον;
A. Supp.1047 ὃ̂ τι μόραμν ἐστιν, τὸ γενήτ' ἐν. Διὸς ὑπὲρ χαμένης ἐστίν μεγάλη ἀρχὴ ἐκτός; Th.281 αὐτοὶ τοῖς μᾶθεσι βραχὺ φυγῆς τὸ μόρημα.
ibid.719 οὖν διδότων αὐτῷ ἐκφύσας κακί.
J. de Romilly (Thuc. and Ath. Imp., p.136, n.1) draws attention to the parallel with Thuc. 2.64.2 φέρειν τὸ ἔμοι τὰ δημοσία λεγόμενο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐνθρόνιος.

616. πρόθυμος: sc. ἀποσκευαζόμενος.

617. ἐδί: more naturally taken with ἐσεὶ: "he will labour in vain for ever". Pearson, however, takes it with πρόθυμος, comparing E. HP 509 ἐδί τινα ἄνωθεν ἐμφανεῖ τῷ άγει, πρόθυμοι ἐστίν, ἢ προμιᾶμα ἐδί εἴρην.

619-620. There are severe difficulties of meaning and syntax here. The reading of L is προσπήνων, but written above by Tr3 (Triclinius in his third revision of the ms.: Zuntz, Transmission, p.85 and note‡) is πριτίων.

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 προσπήνων." The reading προσπήνων (προσπήνων or προσπήνων is of course unmetrical; v. Metrical Analysis) has therefore not the ancient authority which Wilamowitz
(Anal. Eur. 18) believed that Elmsley had restored. \(\text{προπεττω} \) should be read. (Kirchhoff).

The reading of LP \(\epsilonι\) is of course unmetrical and quite meaningless; it was probably imported from \(\epsilonι\). Elmsley's suggestion, \(\varphiι\), has been generally adopted (cf. E. Ph. 382 \(\deltaι\) \(\varphiι\) \(\xi\) \(\tau\) \(\tau\) \(\theta\) \(\omega\)). He takes \(\text{μη} \) with \(\text{προπεττω} \) = erecto corpore et animo. Most edd. follow this interpretation. (Beck and Jerram take \(\text{μη} \) with the participle; Paley: "prostrate on the ground"; Pearson: "fainting, cf. \(\text{προπεττω} \) S. Tr. 976."). As Zuntz remarks (Pol. Flays, p. 43, n. 4), there seems to be no evidence for \(\pi\), \(\pi\) used in this sense of physical collapse. Yet there are many instances of the verbs in the sense of "falling forward in supplication"; cf. \(\text{προπεττω} \), E. Supp. 63; \(\text{προπεττω} \), A. Pers. 558, S. El. 1380; \(\text{προπεττω} \), S. Ai. 1181, Tr. 904, OC 1157, E. Or. 1332, Andr. 860; \(\text{προπεττω} \), 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, \(\text{προπεττω} \) certainly can mean
in a state of collapse"; cf. S. Tr. 976 ἐπὶ τὸν προστάτην.
For this reason Hartung conjectured προστάτην here, and
in fact the ms. reading may be a gloss on the adjective.
The slight awkwardness of μὴ with the participle
paralleled by μὴ ὑπεράλγη can be easily resolved by
reading ὑπεράλγη, i.e. "bear the will of the gods, not
by collapsing or grieving excessively."

τὰ Ὑδώρ: "the will of the gods"; cf. Thuc. 2.64.2,
quoted on 615; E. Ph. 322 (quoted above); Hel. 1140 ὡς τὰ
Ὡδώρ ... εἰσφέρῃ κυρίον;' S. Ph. 1316 ἄνθρωποι, τῇ μεθ ἐν ἴδιῳ τῷ Ἑλ
βοθείᾳ, ἵνα ἀναγκαῖον φέρῃ.

620. ὑποτάσσομαι: accusative of respect: "in your heart!"
KG 410.6(a). = ὑποτάσσαμαι, cf. E. Med. 48 νῦν ὑπὸ ὑποτάσσαμος ὀφέ
thren φιλεί.

621. Ὀνίστου μέρος: i.e. a portion which is death;
the genitive of apposition. KG 402.2(d). Cf. E. Med.
153 Ὀνίστου ρολέων; (ibid. 156 ὡς ἧ τις ἐπὶ θάνατον);
S. Ant. 146 ἡ ἡκτὸν κοινὸν Ὀνίστου μέρος μάρτυς; A. Pers. 917 Ὀνίστου
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. ἀντί : i.e. "dying on behalf of". For the position of ἐκ τ' ὀνειρτῶν καὶ νυκτιπλήγκτων δειλιτων.

624. δούλος : usually implies good repute, but can be neutral (cf. Thuc. 2.11 καὶ μεγίστην δούλων ἀλογμονοι...) 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: δούλα περί πολλον, κληρ περί σπουδασχ.

625. For the sentiment cf. Hes. Op.289 τῇ δ' ἐρετῇ ἑδραί θεοὶ προφοροίς έθνες ἔθνοτι Ε. II 114 τοῦ πόνου γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ τοιαῦτα, δελθοι δ' εἰδοὶ αἰκαίν οὐδέμεν ; Simon. 58.1 ἐστι τῇ λόγῳ τῶν ἀφετέρων διὰ μισμάτων ἐπὶ πέτρας.

δι' ἐπάθειαν : for this metaphorical use of δι' cf. E. Andr.416 δι' ἐφιλότητι πάντως ἰδίως , an extension of the more common expressions, i.e. E. Ph.479 καὶ μὴ δ' ἐκχύσῃ πόρβα καὶ φθόνου μείνη ; Or.757 δι' ἐχόμων γὰρ ἀλλὰ . KG 434.1(1)(b).

626. ξύλην...ξύλον : v. on 491. Note again the emphasis on noble descent (v. on 513).

628. θάνατος : i.e. her death for the Herakleidae.

629. μετέχων : "I share your feelings." - so edd. But the use of μετέχων 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. τεκνα: the servant of Hyllos enters and sees the Herakleidae in 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. ἀποστάτη: here literally: "is she absent from?"

632. ἕως ὑπ' ὑπ': GP 220, ὑ' with ὑ' 'the note of disparagement, irony, or contempt is rarely quite absent."


634. οἰκίας: personal and private, opposed to ὄνομα. As Pearson remarks, this is a stage device by which the repetition of the story of Makaria's sacrifice and the expression of the savant's sympathy is avoided.
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 altern und poetischen Griechisch auch die medialen Formen des Aorists Passivbedeutung haben konnten." It appears then that the ms. reading could be retained here, although the imperfect tense would be more appropriate in the sense of "I was being troubled by....."

For συντάξαμαι, = "be distressed, troubled by", cf. A. Fr.655 συνταξάμεθα, and LSJ s.v. 5.

635. ἐς ἄνευντος: for the phrase cf. E. Andr.717, 1077; Alc.250; Ar. Vesp.996; Lys.937.

ἀρθόμον κεφαλή: cf. E. Äh.7 ἀρθόμον κεφαλή; Alc.388 ἀρθόμον πρόσωπον; Hipp.198 ἀρθόμον κεφαλή; Ba.933 ἀρθόμον κεφαλή.

(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 Ph. of Ε, p.205, the combination of this verb with this object is not found in the other tragedians.

637. ἱεροντα: "Yes, but I have come...." Cf. 593, 267. GP 412.
638. ἵπποι: i.e. "I do not remember where I have met you." The expression seems to be a confusion of ἵπποιον καὶ εὐτυχόν and άθικήν ἵππον ἵππονον; Meridier: "où t'ai-je rencontré? J'oublie". Cf. KG 490.5.

639. πενήθη: = "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 πενήθη συν τέκνων σέσων.

640. ἃ σφικτέοι: most edd. take this as addressed to the absent Hyllos. But cf. E. L. 228ff., where the disguised crestes speaks to his sister: ἑώς ἔφημος χω καθαλνητον λόγον, and she replies ᾧ σφικτόν, ἑώς ἠτύχη: τελευτάτης. The parallel is very close (especially ἑώς , 637, and ἑώς , 640); there σφικτέον refers to the supposed stranger and τελευτάτης to crestes. Cf. also infra 788, where Alkmene addresses this same man as ἃ σφικτέον (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 ἃ σφικτέον will refer to the absent Hyllos.

ἐνδρία: "then, so it seems." GP 49.
swtpr, vwp: 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 vwp is, as Pearson remarks, as closely connected with swtpr as θέλων, i.e. it is part of the single "word-group" (v. Naas, Gk. Metre, para. 135), and there is no breach of the Law. Pearson compares S. CC 1543 θελων οφω παρεί.

641. ἀλλάτη: for this colloquial use = "yes, indeed", v. P.T. Stevens, CQ XXXI, p. 187, who quotes E. Tr. 62; Med. 677, 944; Hec. 999, 1004; Hkld. here and 793; Hel. 851, 1415; Cr. 235; Ba. 812.

προϊ: adverbial: "besides"; cf. E. Med. 704 και προϊ γ' εξελατων νεάνοις; Hipp. 893 και προϊ γ' εξελατω σφα προμ ηφς; Ορ. 622 και προϊ τας κυρσες ειπέντε προϊ; Hel. 110 και προϊ γ' Πριξιον.

γ': reinforces the adverb, as in most of the examples quoted above.

Τά νυν τάτα: "here and now." The phrase occurs in E. IA 537; HF 245; Ar. Pax 858 (έναντιον οὗτος ἐλέγω ἄντι τοῦ νῦν). (cf. infra 385, though here τάτα limits τά νυν not κατ' ευτυχία.) KG 467.6, who quotes also Hdt. 1.189 οντόμοι ὑμῖν; 4.80; 9.11 οντόμο τῆς. (V. also KG 461.6(c)).
ToOŁ: Elmsley: τούσκα LP. Elmsley's suggestion is an improvement, as drawing the attention of Alkmene to the arrival of the servant.

644. ἀναφέρει...; or ἄναφθερει: indirect question with a verb of fearing. KG 553b; cf. 791; S. Tr. 666 ἄναφθερει ὑπὲρ πάλτου; Ai. 794 μὲν ἀναφέρει τί φῆσσ.

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644. ἀναφέρει...: better taken with νότος rather than as causal genitive without a preposition (i.e. πρὸς τὸν ἀναφέρει), for which there is no parallel of such a use with ἀναφέρει. Pearson gives examples of the early introduction of a genitive which belongs to a subordinate clause.

645. Υὐχαῖο: accusative of respect. KG 410.6(a); cf. E. El. 208 Υὐχαῖο ταχυμένα.

υότος: i.e. return to the rest of the Herakleidae; v. 45.

646. Υὐχαῖο: cf. 633(note), 709.

ΥIALIZΗ: instantaneous aorist; cf. 232(note).

ἄ νοιγότα: lit. "battle-cry" (but cf. A. Ch. 564 ἄνοιγότα ἄνοιγότα), 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 ἰψη Cli need refer only to the loud and excited delivery of 69ff., and no lacuna need be postulated.)

647. υπηγάγων... ἦς: 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 were frustrated by the Athenians. She knows nothing of Makaria's sacrifice or the coming battle. (V. Introduction for a fuller discussion.)
(For μην = surely not? v. KG 589.5)

648. ἰούνι... κινήσατο: oxymoron. Pearson compares E. Or. 68 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκραίας ἐπέμεινα τὴν ἱερὰν ρύθμον ἐκπέμπων.
For the thought cf. 632.

649. τὸσεῦς: "this much"; spoken to the servant, whom she imagines to be an envoy of Eurystheus.

651. Alkmene uses almost the same phraseology as Iolaos used in 66.
651. ἡ τὸρ": (ἡ τοι ἡρά) of very emphatic statement.
Elmsley lists the six other instances of this combination
in W. viz. Hipp. 480, 1028; Alc. 642, 732; IA 1189 (ὁ τὸρ' IP:
ἡ τὸρ' Valckenaer: ὁ τὸρ συντόμως Wecklein); Fr. 645. GP
554; KG 505.4.

κήνευ...μιήσαμαι: another aspect of εὐγένεια; Makaria does
not disgrace her father (539ff., 563): Alkmene does not
disgrace her son.

ἐτ': "any more": Pearson.

προσδίσαμαι: Elmsley's correction of IP προσδίσαμαι. The
middle form only of the future is found.

653. ἄνωθεν γέρεσθαι: cf. 39. For the dative with
λύσωμαι v. KG 425.3.

αὕτη καλῶ: "to your dishonour"; cf. 268, αὐ...ραίω.

656. γῆρ: "why, then....", expressing surprise.
GP 81; i.e. an elliptical expression: 
"(you surprise me;)
for why (in that case)...."

βοηθήσατε: cf. 74, note; 128.

657. σε: ἔδ. explain as elliptical accusative, sc.
καλῶ; cf. S. Ant. 441 σε δ' ἐστιν νεόνερον ἐγὼ πάλιν κρώ μη ὡς ἡ καταρρίπτω;
E. Hel. 546 σε τὴν ὁρεύμαν ὅτι ἔμαθε...μείην;
KG 412.1(a): or, as Pearson, as accusative after 
βοηθήσατε.
treated as a periphrastic form of address: cf. S. El. 556
εἰδε μοί πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀφέρχεσθαι; O Ο 1120 τίνω εἰ φανέρτ' ἀναπταμένων 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 ἐστησα in the sense of "I called
for help to you." Perhaps it would be better to read
with Erodaeus, followed by Wecklein. (Hartung's οἱ....καὶ
is mere improvement.)

657. ροδιὴν μετά τοῦτος: i.e. outside and therefore in front
of the temple. Alkmene has of course been till now
(42).
   ῥέλυ: adverbial with βαῖν, not prepositional with
   τοῦτος (i.e. the servant) as Musgrave and Méridier:
"Pour t'appeler devant le temple en sa présence."

658. οὐδὲ ίηγεν τοῦτα: i.e. "I do not understand this."
Elmsley: "nescio quid dicas." Cf. E. Ba. 1268 τὸ δὲ πτορίδι
τὸ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ φυλή πάρα; οὐδὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο τοῦτο.
τῇ γὰρ ....makes it clear that this is the sense: ἦνομη
(ζητή Hermann, followed by Kirchhoff Pfluck 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 γιὰ quite awkward to interpret.

659. Cf. 640, note.

660. ἐὰν: v. on 574.

καὶ: the pronoun is emphasized; GP 320 and 585.
Pearson, for this use (epitatic) of καὶ, compares 754,
884, and Pl. R.573D τὰ τῶν μούντων, ἢ ἐφ', τοῦτο καὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρεῖ,
"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.

Ἀλκάδων: causal dative, as ἦσος 474 (note).

661. ἤτοι: expresses a change of topic. GP 52.

Πῶς: i.e. a double question, viz. τί λέγεις; πότε λέγεις;
why is he absent, and where is he absent? Cf. E. Hel.
1543 πώς ἐστιν νεώ χωτε Ἀχίλλης Ἐρετώντι μάκις σκόπος;
Alc.213 τι πόσιν ἔχου άδυντος; Ion 793 πώς βε ποτ νιν ἠτίδων;
(ibid. 683-4, 948, and perhaps Hel.86 are probably better
punctuated as separate questions.)

662. \textit{τι... συγράφει}: the neutral sense here (contrast 607): = simply "what happening...?", i.e. "what has happened to prevent...?"

663. \textit{δεόπτη}: the pregnant construction of the adverb, as if \textit{φανέρω} were a verb of motion. Cf. S. OC 1253 πάρεστι δεοπτο Πολυκλήνης ὁδός. KG 447, An.4. For \textit{φανέρω} = "be present" cf. E. Ba.646; HF 705; S. OC 77; Pl. Frt. 309A πόθεν, ὡς ἐξήκρατος, φανέρω.

\textit{τέρψαι}: the infinitive without \textit{μή} after a verb of prevention. KG 514, An.9(a).

664. \textit{στρατος}: lp: \textit{στρατός} IP: Pearson's objections to the generally adopted \textit{στρατος} are not convincing:

\textit{μαθησε}: in Thuc. 3.107 is certainly intransitive, as he says, but the transitive use occurs in 4.90 καὶ καθός το ν στρατον and 6.66 καθ' ἵππῳ καθιζαν τὸ στρατεύμα. Further, as he admits, there are parallels for the middle use of \textit{τάσσεσθαι} also: cf. Thuc. 2.90 ὅτι ἐπετελεσαν τοὺς μνημονεύοντας; E. Andr. 1099 ἀνταπάντα: 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 ἔστησε (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, τοῦτον ἔναρθρον κτίλεν Παιζε; Il.6. 490-493 πόλυ θανοῦ ἐναρθρωμένοι πάλιν. (Perhaps this line should be punctuated as a question; cf. 670-1 ἰδαν ... ἰδαν.)

ἐξαίτης: 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 ζύοι το στρατεύμα. 469. ἱλιαν: i.e. "other than 'many'" - "I cannot give you a definite figure."
671. Καί γὰρ: approximating in sense to ἀρχ. —"already".
GP 252. Cf. 673.

Κέρας: edd. generally take this as cognate accusative;
cf. Ε. Supp. 657 δεξιόν τεταμένον κέρας; ibid. 987 τ' ἵπτ' ἀπερίν
ἐστηκε πέτραν; Hel. 1573 Ἰλεοὶ δ' ὀκείου δεξιοῦ λαιοῦ γ'...κοῦν';
Rh. 485 ἦλθεν λαίον ἐκεῖ δεξιοῦ κέρας...πάρεστινοι πέτραν ἐρεβον.
V. KG 410.5, An. 13. However, κέρας could be taken as
the subject of ἐστηκε, i.e. "the left wing is already
in position" (cf. 400, ἐφίληκαν ἐστηκε), 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 (Mêt.
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. ἢς ἢς ἐπιγραφή: cf. Thuc. I.62 ἵνα τοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιμελήσασθαι νοστὸς (cf. also 2.20; X. An. 1.8.1; 6.2.21); 1.48, 4.13 ἢς ἢς ἐπιγραφή. In such phrases ἢς 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 ἱμένος in the sense of "deeds of war, action" v. LSJ s.v. I.1.

673. καὶ ὅμοιος: cf. 671, note.

ضارαγή: "have been brought up."

Ἐξής: Murray quotes Thuc. 6.69 ἵνα δεμένης ἐς ὑφήλης προσφέρον τε πολιτικῶν ἐπεφέρον τε νομοθετήμασι 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 (ضارαγή), and kept some distance away (Ἐξής) until the battle is about to begin. There is therefore no need to read ἐς θέας (Dindorf) or προσφέρει (Hartung). Cf. also 820ff.

674. πόσον τι ... τίτονικε: as Pearson: "about how far?" Cf. 668, note.
for a host of spearsmen; cf. 276 (note), 803, 932.

Eurystheus, as the time for battle draws near, is personally supervising his battle order.

here expecting, but not receiving a negative answer (contrast 647, note). KG 589.5. The original force of μὴ seems to be forgotten; v. LSJ s. μὴ.

i.e. as Pearson notes, "I did not hear his actual words of command": cf. ἔτοπος, 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.

here the servant regards the conversation as at an end and prepares to leave. GP 8.

καθότι: qualifies ἀναγκάζω (cf. S. OT 1509 πρὸς ἀνάγκην, πλὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ καθότι), i.e. "without me, if I can help it". For this adverbial accusative phrase cf. KG 410.6, An.20.
680. ἥγυψε: sc. εἰς.

Τοῦτο: i.e. I cannot leave my friends to fight without me.

681. φίλοις: with ἄφεσιν; cf. προσφεσίν, 330 (note).

εἴρωντε: emphatic: "by my presence".

οὗ ἔσχατον: this is certainly the personal equivalent of οὗ ἔσχατον parenthetically, but Paley interprets as "as it seems", referring to τοῦτο προσφεσίν, while Pearson "as it is fitting." There are parallels of the personal use in the sense of "it seems" (ὡς ἔσχατον: E. Hel.793; IT 591; S. El.516; Tr.1241; ὡς εἴρων: E. Hel.497), but none where the phrase could mean "it seems fitting". Pearson refers to A. Ag.1079 τοῖς θεοῖς...οὖν προσφεσίν ἐν γονίῳ προσφεσίν. Certainly the note of personal obligation would suit Iolaos here much better than a rather casual "so it seems", but unless προσφεσίν is poetic plural (which does not seem likely - contrast ἥγυψε), 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: οὗ θεοῖς Vitelli: ὡς εἴρων Musgrave: ὡς οἴνων Jacobs: ἑπτή εἰκοσὶ Hartung.)

682ff, Edd. generally describe the rest of the Ἐπεισόδιον
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 παρουσία of Herakles (88, 216); his character has been noble throughout: his behaviour in extreme disappointment has been that of a ἱλείας true to the code of ἱλεία (esp. 435ff.). Therefore his feeble attempts to totter off to battle with his hoplite armour carried for him are pathetic not comic. Cf. the portrayal of Teiresias and Cadmos in Ε. Βα.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 Λ. Ανδρ.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 compel 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. προφευκτής: i.e. in accordance with your character. Cf. E. Hel. 950 καίτοι λέγουσιν ὅτι προφευκτής ἐγενεθη ἐν γυμνορρίινε διότι ἔστιν ἀδῆλητον ἐλεύθερον; ibid. 1278 προφευκτής ἐστι οὕτω πρόθυμων; HF 585 προφευκτής μου, ὅτι τό φίλον τ' ἐνίκην φίλον τ' ἐκ νόμος μου εἴη; Ba. 641 προφευκτής γὰρ ἐνθαύμασθη οὐκ ἐνθαύμασθη εἰσοργαίνας; Fr. 28 αὐτοῖς, γοργόν προφευκτής ἵππυ.... KG 441.1.(2)(b).

Ὄν: the past tense refers to the remark of Iolaos in 680, the sense being "it was uncharacteristically foolish of you to say that."

683. οἷς μιθρὰς λέγει: sc. ἡμιταξαριστή ἰσμοῦ.

Δεσποινώ: an Homeric epithet, though not found in Homer with μάκες. The veteran Iolaos is thinking of his mighty deeds of the past; cf. Ἰδωρ, 711, 761.
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. Θε. οὐκ ἐστίν, ἢ τώ, ἢ ποτ' ἢν βάλῃς ἔσον.
687. Ιο. οὐδ' ἐστιν ἐξαρχῶν προσβάλλεται ζωζητεῖ.
684. Θε. οὐκ ἐστιν ἢ ἐόμεν τρεῖσθαι μη ἐρως Χερσ.
685. Ιο. τε δ', αὖ Θεομυ κἀν ἢν οὐ δι' ἐρωτηθος;
686. Θε. Θεομυ λυ, ἀλλὰ πρώτον ἢτοι ἢν πέσω.
689. Ιο. ἀλλ' ἂν μεχριται γ' ὀργήν αὐταί καί ἐλεοσ.'
690. Θε. ἐμπρός τοῦ σοφίμα τροστίδος φίλος.

Because of the οὐκ ἐστί 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, 684-636, 691, makes equally excellent sense, but presupposes a change of position of two groups of three verses and the transposition of 687.)

688. ἦτέριος: v. on 321.

687. Paley compares E. Rh. 335 φοίνικι γίνεσθαι πολέμιος ἀφθηγμένον.

685, 686. ὀδύνη, ὀδύνη: IP: ὀδύνη, ὀδύνη: Pierson. There can be little doubt that Murray was wrong to retain the mss. reading, and take δι' ἰδίῃς = "in battle" here, though elsewhere it has that meaning (Pearson quotes 819, E. Supp. 902 δι' ἰδίῃς δεινὸς ἐσφαγμένος, Ph. 1326 εἰς ἰδίῃς ἠτέλειν (Σ: εἰς μάκτριν)). For there is the convincing parallel in the Autolycus Fr. of E., 282.20, where the question is asked concerning athletes: ἵππος ὀδύνης ἐκ μάκτρος πολέμιος; (There can be no doubt that ὀδύνη should be read there, not ὀδύνη). It is not a matter of the athletes' strength of foot, but of the application of that strength.) Cf. also 738 where Murray ——
retains the mss. Ἀὐτόν. 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 ἅρθεν is illogical because τὸ θέην must be supplied, whereas if ἥνος is retained, τὸ ἥν θέη can easily be supplied. This seems unconvincing: Ioleos 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." πηπτεῖν here = "fall over" rather than "fall in battle" as in 838 (note and exx.). ).

685. τιδί: elliptical, as English: "What! Could I not.....?" Cf.712 (also τις ἐστι , 795, note). GP 175.

689. Ἠλ' ἀνάφα: "Well, anyway......" GP 442.

Μάκσυντα: Madwig: Μάκσυνα 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 μηχοται, of which μηχοται would be an easy majuscule 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 Hyllus, which seems harsh after the emphasis on φιλω in 681, but nevertheless possible. Perhaps οῦκ εἴλτεσαί is meiosis for πλέον, 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 δείχνοι = "mere number" cf. 997, note.

690. έπικενθής: weight thrown into the balance.
Edd. compare for the metaphor E. Rec. 57 ἀντισημασία 6ς παφος τοις προιδ' οἴκοςίς; A. Pers. 436 τοιαύτα' ἐπ' αὐτήν ἠλθε συμφόρ' πάσης, οὐ τούσδε καί οὐ δι' ἀντισημασία βούλη.

το' σοvio: spoken in mild contempt; cf. 284, note: "the kind of weight such as you can throw into the balance."

691. τολ: emphasizes the negative command. GP 545.

κατ: probably better taken with παρειςμασίαν than ἐρωτε (cf. A. Th. 440 κατ' παρειςμασίαν ). The following line, κατ' μεν οὖ γ' οὐκ οἶγ' τε, supports this view.

693. οὐκ ἐμοι ἐκπαίδευτα: accusative absolute; cf. E. Ion 964 ὁδ' ἐστιν ἐκπαίδευτα παρειςμασίαν; ὃ τοῦ ὄλγος ἐτοιμάζεται τοῦ γ' ἑατόν γένος; Eh. 714 ὃ μαθημάτου τέκνα; Rh. 745 ὃ συμπενηταίμη.
S. OT 101 ὃς τέσσαρα χειρήματα τοῖς.
KG 488.1(d), An. 6; MT 853. In such phrases with οὐκ 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 aliquid de ea sententiam exprimit.")
Kirchhoff, followed by Wecklein, altered μη to μοι on the grounds that the usual negative with μη and the participle is μοι. But if the main verb is an imperative, or an imperative sense is implied in the sentence, then μη is used. V. exx. in KG 513.3 (esp. S. OC 1154 and Thuc. 1.120 which Pearson quotes.)

κοινν επιστ = κοιν ετε here.

694. ὅτι την: LP: ὅτι την Elmsley, who quoted E. Andr.458 ὅτι την γυναικα γορρος ὅτι την φωνη. Pearson considers that a preposition with the accusative is needed in this sense of φιδερξαι, though he contrasts E. El.104 γυνη την ἀδρατη την εικανη γυνη φανερω μιν with Ph.1747 της ἰκετης γυνη φωνην. The sense with ὅτι την is not so apt: "how will you appear as a hoplite without arms?", whereas with ὅτι την the meaning will be: "how will you appear before hoplites when you have not any arms." (For this sense of φιδερξαι, be present, turnuup, cf. φανερωμαι, 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, ὅτι την γυναικα ἡ παλαιη καλλεργεσι; Rh.180 Θεον νυτα (sc. τη λειψα) πασαλλειν ρης δεμοι; Tr.575 (ὁτα) ὅτι
XIXLX: i.e. the full equipment of a hoplite, arms and armour; cf. 699, 720, 727.

696. ἔναν ἔξοστα : Lf: τῶν ἔξοσταν, Tr 2. 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." τῶν ἔξοστα ' seems essential to qualify δόμοιν and to make it clear that δόμοι is the temple of Zeus and not the palace of Theseus (cf. Ἰεραπεῖα 340, 343), though τῶν ἔξοστα ' is far removed from δόμοιν, whereas τῆς θοίν, i.e. "the arms which are available", while quite possible, seems the inferior reading.

697. ἰντῆ...οὐκέτα : conditional; i.e. "if we live.... if we die...." Here the juxtaposition makes logical sense. Contrast 320, 599 (notes).

ἀφε : i.e. Zeus Agoraios, the god to whose altar and temple the Herakleidae have come in supplication.

698. ἴνῳ παραλαβὼν : v. 695, note.
κώμαν: i.e. the full equipment; 695, note.

διπλή: used adjectivally; cf. 800; the original use of the word (LSJ s.v. I).

700. λοιπόν: the κύριον of the warrior will not allow him to stay at home while others fight.

οικουργήμα: 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 ὁς ἐκλέξειον βίων ἦσαν μετ' οἴκους, ὃι δὲ μηύνται δοτί; Hipp. 787 πικρὴν τὸς οἰκουργήμα δεσπότης ἑαυτῷ, where οικουργήμα is the action of the wife; S. OC 342 οὐ μὲν εἶναι ὄνομα πενήν τε, οὐτ' οἷον οἰκουργῶν ἔστε παγεμνών. The later use of οἰκουργία has the implicit meaning of οικουργήμα here, i.e. to stay at home and avoid military service (LSJ s.v. II.1).

701. τευχή: causal dative. KG 425.11.

τοῦ μὲν...τοῦ δὲ: 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. ἴμπρα: = "courage, spirit", as in 200; contrast with 3.

στρέψις: for the metaphor cf. Thuc. 6.18 ἵππας 
Πελοποννήσου στρέψιμεν τὸ ἴμπρα.

703. ἱματία: cf. 708 ἱματία, 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.

φροῦδον: for the meaning of loss of physical power
cf. E. Cr.39073 ἰματία φροῦδον, Andr. 1077 αὖθις εἰμί ἄπολυτος.
φροῦδον μεῖν ἱμάτιον, φροῦδος δέ ἔχει μου ἴματιον.
(V. Pace ad E. Med.722, who draws attention to the frequent use by E. of this word, and cites the parody of
704. relative to an unexpressed neuter cognate accusative with ποιήσα . KG 410.3, An.5. Cf. σμικρὰ, 705.

706. ὕδραμαξεῖν: Hesychius: γνωσμαξεῖν. τινὰς οὖ ποιήσα τὴν ἔλευσιν ἐν ἑνέτειν, τὴν τε τῶν ὑποτιμῶν ἐκχών. ἄλλοι τὸ γράφον, ὅτι πρὸς κριτῶν θεῶν ἀρτοῦ μέχριν, ἐξέχειτε ἡ μετάνοια. Of 5th century writers the word occurs in Hdt. 3.25; 7.130; 8.29 and Ar. Av.555 κἂν μείνῃ φῆς, πολλὰ ἐδείξεσθαι μηδ' εἴδομεν γνωσμαξεῖν, ἵπποι πόλεμον προσδιορίσατο. 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 ἐπιτελεῖν ὕδραμαξεῖν συμβουλεύειν τι κοινὸν λυμάσον πρὸς ἑαυτῷ αὐτῷ, quoted by Pearson. Edd. generally translate here in 706 as "to change one's mind" (Pearson, Beck, Jerram, Meridier), but they are wrong: the following phrase, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πολ. εἴη, supports the case for the original meaning, i.e. "age must realize its limitations and not attempt the impossible." A change of mind is again implicit, but by no means means an essential part of the meaning. The phrase has a proverbial ring. For the sentiment cf. E. Hec.227 γνωσμός δ' ἁλλὰ; Andr.126 γνῶσθι γὰρ .

τὴν ὕδραμαξήν: here of course the word means the "age" implied in the context, i.e. old age. In view of A. Pers.
944 of the Persian elders (v. Broadhead ad loc.), and Pl. Ap. 17C, said by Socrates of his own age, the emendation of Bothe, (preferable to Porson) should be adopted. Without the demonstrative the phrase would mean only "each age must realise its limitations", a sense which is far less satisfactory in this context.

707. εἰκὸν ἐστιν ἀτυχίαν: = "there is no way in which....", "it is impossible that...." KG 554.5, An.9.

708. τελείως: emphatic; v. on 487.

709. τὸ ἁπάντημα: 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.....")

ἐπάνω ὐπέκαθι: i.e. "out of your senses." Cf. A. Ch. 232 ἵνα γενοῦ (sc. φρέναν), Χρόνιοι δὴ μὴ ἤπαθητής φίλοις; E. Hipp. 1012 ἀδειαὶ φρένας; Ba. 853 ἵπτατο ἀμάυνως τοῖς φρένοις.

710. The incomplete line has been variously completed (v. App. Crit.). Alkmene even in her disturbed state is unlikely to refer to the Ηηρακλείδαια as "her" children, so the best suggestion is probably ἡν τέκνων τέκνοις ἔμοι, Wecklein's improvement of Vitelli's ἡν τέκνων τέκνοις ἔματι.
(The addition of ἀφοῦ, Hartung, is a mere space-filler.)

711. ἀφοῦ ἔφ.: 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. II.6.490 (Od. 21.352) ἡδ' ὑπὸ οἴκου ἵστην τὸ κόμμα ἱππό... ἀργον μὲν κακῖνες πᾶν' ἴνα Θ.200 μηδεὶς μὴ ἵππωρ... μὴ γυνὴ βουλεύσαι... ἔδωκα οὖν ἴνα μὴ βλέπην τίδει (v. on 665).

ἀθώος: strength ἄξι displayed in battle; cf. 761.

712. τ' ὅ': cf. 685, note.

713. ἀσῆ... τόν: τόν IP: corr. Center: i.e. ἀπελευθέρωσεν Πολύορος' of 45.

μέλισσα: sc. σοῦ; α. 711, τοῦτον; 717, των γιὰ τόσον


ὁμήρος ἄμὴν: for the parenthesis cf. 511, note.

Χνίκας... τότε: 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 κινεῖν ἐν' ὕπαθεν ομφαρῷ κεφαλῆς οὐράνιον).

716. τὸ γεύσετο: i.e. "that much is just confidence."

 yal το: GP 88 (v. also ibid. 549): "following a demonstrative pronoun, sometimes conveys assent, while
adding something to it."

718. ἔρχεσθαι τι: the usual preposition in this meaning, = passive of λήγειν τι (cf. E. Alc.726 καθ' ἔρχεσθαι ἀπὸ μήλις θανάτου μοι), is ἐπ' or πρὸς with the genitive. For ἐκ cf. Theocr. 29.21 ἐκ γῆς ἔθαν τοὺς, ἐναδὸς μὲν άναδειμεν ἑιστῶν. KG 373.5.

719. ὁδός: the word is usually used of the "right way" for men in their relationship with the gods, whereas ὁδίκημοι implies the "right way" in relations between men. Cf. Fl. Euthyphr.12D ἐὰν δεῦτε ὁδός μαί πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁδίκημοι. Adkins (Merit and Responsibility, p.132): "Hosios and εὐερεῖες frequently commend those who honour the relationships which the gods are believed to uphold, firstly relationships within the family..." It would be, therefore, ἵνωσιν for Alkmene to speak ill of her son's father, but she asks whether he, as a god, is ὁδός towards her. Does he, as father of gods and men, act in the "right way" towards her?

720. ἐπίθεσις: cf. 787.

721. φίλοις ἐκ αὐτοῦ: i.e. "you could not be too quick."

As Eimsley remarked, the present participle is always
used in this idiom; cf. E. Alc.662 τοιαύτα φυτέων πάλαι εδέχεται
έν φύσιν; 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.

ἐν...ἐν: for the repetition here v. note on 415.
Cf. E. IT 245 οἰκ ἐν φύσιν ἐν ἐτρεπτῇ προαγώνῃ;
Tr.456; Ar. Eccl.118. The second ἐν in this expression has been explained as belonging to the participle in a conditional sense (Paley: "εἰ κρύπτων "); similarly Beck and Jerram; cf. KG 398, An.1), but as ἐν in this idiom is sometimes repeated and sometimes not, this explanation is untenable here and contrary to the sense of the usual employment of φύσιν, τούχεων, λυνθάνω with the participle, which is certainly not conditional but causal. In any event it is difficult to see why ἐν with the participle should stand for εἰ with the optative.

σοφός ἔν: it is quite unnecessary to adopt with Wecklein Dobree's σοφός 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 οὐραξ 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 λυών προφέρων οὐκ ἐν εὐγνώμονι: Pl. Leg. 6.751D; Cra. 421D; A. Fr. 39; Ar. Ach. 392.

724. ὑπνοί: sc. ἄμμων: "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. πυκάς: cf. E. Rh. 90 πυκάς γείχειν ἰδρύν ρίθουν.

726ff. Iolaos asks the servant to put the spear into his hand, carry the armour and support him at his left.

οὐρν: the spear shaft made from beech-wood; cf. Hom. Il. 5.50 etc.

728. ἔπειρα: i.e. "support me under my left arm, guiding my steps so that I do not stumble."

729. ἄτι... γὰρ: expressing surprise. GP 285. For the sentiment cf. E. Ba. 193 γὰρ γέροντα παιδαγωγεῖν αἰτέω, (which is probably best punctuated as a question; v. Dodds ad loc.)

730. ἀνθίσεις ἀβέκ: 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. ἢπείγομαι: intransitive; cf. ἄτιση', 67 and 16, note. V. KG 373.2(β), and contrast ἢπείγομαι, 734; ἢπείγομαι, E. Alc.256.

ढ: genitive of separation with λυσθεί. 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 στρατον τον λεγωμάταν δεχόμενον, i.e. "the army which survived the battle"; Fr.857 κρησκόν πελείων οὖ μικρὰ λεγωμάταν; Hom. Od.9.448 λεγωμάταν ὄινων; Pl.k. Chrm.13.3 τριή, αὐ τῇ μίκρᾳ λεγωμάται.

καταλάμβανε: i.e. ᾗκαί .

733. τι: GP 541: "a gentle remonstrance: 'It's you that are lagging, you know.'"

τι λέγειν: Tyrwhitt's suggestion should be adopted here, viz. οὑ τοι βραδύνεσθαι, οὐκ ἄνω, δεικνύτω τι δράν — "you are lagging, not I, thinking that you are getting somewhere." For τι in the sense of something worthwhile cf. Pl. Sym.173C aque δι τοι ποιεῖν σωσίων ποταμύς, and the phrase τι λέγειν, frequent in Plato (LSJ s.τι 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, ὥστε 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 anyone in this way.

735. ἄκουσται: sc. ὀπέδειν.

737. ἄκουστα χε: sc. λείψειν from λείσθη.

738. ἔλεγες θείουτα: v. 685, note.


740. For the sentiment cf. the similar expressions of Nestor in the Iliad: 7.157 τίνι ἐστίν ὃψιν, ἔστι δὲ μοι ἐμπεδέος ἢ;
similarly 11.670; 23.629; and Feleus in E. Andr. 552 ΛΛ',
υμβατησμένον δαιμόνι μ' ἐπέμενες ομολόγησεν, εἰτερ ποτέ.

741. Ζύγον Ἀραχέων: 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 Freller-Hober, Gr. Myth. II.2, Die

743. ὁλογμόν: Reiske: ὅς ΛP: (ὁλογ: Barnes):
The mss. reading has received a great deal of attention
from edd. (v. Pflugk, Paley, Beck) who endeavour to explain
it without success. It is obviously a scribal error and
Reiske's correction should be adopted. (Barnes' ὅς 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. ὑμνω: Cobet is preferable to LP ὑμνω
because the middle voice of τίαμω is more usual in such
phrases. But the active and middle of πονίῳ seem to be
used indiscriminately with τρομῇ. (V. LSJ s.πονί/I).
emphasizes the reason for the rout he
would make of Eurystheus; cf. 507, note. GP 546.

the explanatory infinitive which is found
after verbs of capability, possibility and their opposites.
KG 473.3. Cf. E. Or. 719 δικαίως τρωμένον φίλου.

Pearson regards this as "epitatic" (cf. 660, 884). GP 585. It is simpler to take μι τούς ...... as
explanatory of έστιν δόκησις, and punctuate with a comma
after έισβω, 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 εὔφυξι 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. πρὶν ἐπιτισθεὶς καλός simply means here "know the
correct and proper way to behave", i.e. λήθαφ, 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 ἐπιτισθεὶς καλός.
(For εὔφυξι δόκησις cf. E. HF 157 ἐξελεξέσθαι ἐν εὔφυξιν.)
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; Cr. 1496; also D. 18.139 Θεός Θεοί.)

748. Πάνωι Ἀθάνατοι: cf. E. Alc. 450 ἔνθα διανέμεις Πάνωι Ἀθάνατοι, where, as in infra 762 etc., Πάνωι Ἀθάνατοι 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. Θεός: = ἡμιοί; cf. E. Alc. 722 φίλος τῷ φέγγειρεν τῷ Θεός, φίλος; Med. 352 εἰ σ᾿ ὑποκάματι ἐφετέρι Θεός; Supp. 208 ἀρρητόν ἑνώμενον Θεός; ibid. 469 πρὸς Θεόν δεῖμεν εἰσιν; Rh. 331 βίοις ταῦταις Θεοῖς; Or. 1025 φέγγειρεν εἰσακείμενος Θεὸς; S. Tr. 145 Ἁρτοῖς Θεοῖς. (E. Ion 1440, adduced by Pearson, is not absolutely parallel, because the god has already been mentioned by name.)
750. _ἔτεις ἐπιτοιχίων_: in view of the preceding remarks on the absolute use of ὀνο (749, note), there is no need to consider Musgrave's ἐπιτοιχίων or Wilamowitz's ἔπιτοιχίων, in spite of the obvious echo of Hom. Od.10.138 ἐπιτοιχίων ἡλίου; cf. also Od.10.191, and Hes. Th.958. (The word is of course used of other gods elsewhere, but this is its sole ἀκραί 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 φέρω with ἔγγελεν, μοῦ, 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 ἡλίου ὁ δ' ἐκ παῦτ' ἐφεξή καὶ παῦτ' ἐπανοέας...; similarly, Od.11.109; E. Hipp.349 γυναικῶν δρίττα ὁ ἐπικράτεις ἐρα φέρῃς ὁ ἡλίου καὶ νυκτὸς ἑτερωπνοῦ σιλή). If this meaning is the right one here, then the ἔγγελεν can only be the report of the battle which is about to be fought, in which of course the Chorus take no part. Ἐγγελία 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 τῇ πατριώτικος γῇ... ὅπη... κινδυνον τελεῖν.
The alternative interpretation, "take a message, I beg you", (μοι, ethical dative), would allow ἀγγελέων to be understood as the "object" of ἄγγιστε, i.e. as a cognate accusative; cf. E. Tr.515 μήλη ἄγγιστε; HF 348 μὴν ἔφθασε ἄγγιστε; S. Tr.866 ἐνημέρων ἐκεῖνοι τὰς κατ' ἐστίν; 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. Ἠφαίστει: Hermann (Ἠφαίστει: Dindorf):(LogLevel:Note that the last syllable of the period could be "brevis in longo" (responding to ἦφαίστει, 762) but elision would not be possible here: Wilamowitz (Gr. Versk., p.451, n.2) proposed Ἠῆφαστείς: "Elision dahinter ist undenkbar; ich
habe das schon vor Jahrzehnten gesagt und leicht ἐγνώκατ' in ἐγνώθη verbessert; stößt man sich an der Form, so mag man ἐγνώθη 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 ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῇ πόρος ἰδρυμένης; S. Z1.174 ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ (v. Jebb ad loc.); ibid. 313 νῦν δ' ἤρθον τοῦ θεοῦ; KG 426.1(b)(a). (Not "to heaven", as Pearson, who quotes the examples of KG 426.1(b)(b).)

753. Ὀρόνων ἡ κόμη τῆς Ἡθῆς: χλωτί' ἐν Ἡθέ τ'. L.P.: Schaefer proposed the genitive (i.e. sc. Ἰθήνα, the ellipse common with the attributive genitive; KG 403(9)), which has been generally accepted. Matthiae, and later Wilamowitz (Hermes 14, 1879, p.181), deleted τ', ἡν thus combining Ὀρόνων ἡ κόμη 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 ως presumably that of Erechtheus. But firstly, the references are by no means conclusive: Hom. Il.2.549 καὶ ἐν Ἡθής ἔστε αὐτόν, ἐν ἤλει ἐστε ὅταν; points to the inclusion
of Erechtheus by Athena in her temple, while Od. 7.31 ὥν Ἐρέχθειον
ποικίλον (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 ἀρχήν, the noun used adjectivally, cf. ἄρχειν
699.)

Far more probably the ἀρχήν ἀρχήν is that of Zeus, i.e.
the "ruler-throne". Zuntz (Pol. Plays, p.118) quotes Ar.
Av.215 Χυνὴ ἡ τή.... πρὸς Διὸν ἐκράσα; Theocr. 7.93 Ζεὺς ἐκ ἀρχῆν;
B. 5.179 (Zeus) Ἴν κηνοὶ θεῖον; S. OC 1085 (Zeus) παῖδις.
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 person goddess
of the city to whom special honours are paid.

755. τε парευριθέον γαῖ: governed by ἄρχει in 756, which
also governs ὅμως. 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 ἐπερὶ: Nauck: καὶ περὶ, LP: περὶ τῷ 1: obviously the LF 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 καὶ 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 βιωτικῶν— as if indeed the Athenians were about to fight on behalf of the gods!)

758. ἵππος ἔλεγ: passive for middle voice, ἱππεύοντος: "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. Pr. 53 προσβήσκει ; Hdt. 3.51.1 διέλευξεν ; Pl. Symp. 174D διήλευκεν ; Hdt. 7.46.1 ἐρμῆθη ; E. Hec. 546 ἐρρήθη ; S. Ant. 24 ἔμπροσθε (but v. Jebb ad loc.). Cf. Weckernagel, Syntax i, p. 139: "Die hellenistische Sprache hat dann den Gebrauch von -ῆν noch weiter ausgedehnt. Diese Entwicklung hat sich so stark festgesetzt, dass im Neugriechischen gar keine Aoriste medii erhalten sind und der Aorist auf -ῆν bei deponentialem und medialem
Gebrauch durchgedrungen ist."
(The suggestion of G. Hermann (ad S. Ant. 24) of μὴ δίδω ..., μὴ δὲν ... sc. Iolaos, is of course quite unnecessary and positively harmful to the note of patriotism maintained throughout this stasimon by the Chorus.)

758. ἱδώνοι τίμιοι: a very difficult expression, hard to parallel. Edd. quote P. Ol. 13. 57 μακάρι τίμιοι τέλος, as does LSJ s.τίμω, VII: "cut short, bring to a crisis or decision." More probably, Pearson is right when he explains the expression of the analogy of ἄνω, κελευθον τίμων. (LSJ s.τίμω, VI.2(b); E. Rh. 423 οἱ θεοί λόγων τίμων κελευθον. The sense would then be: "I am about to cleave (a path of) danger with my sword."

τὸνὶ: the epithet of iron also in Hom. Il. 9. 366; h. Merc. 41.

759. ἅμα Νικηφόρος: by attraction from ἅμα Νικηφόρων εἰσίν. KG 581. 3.

760. ἑπαρχικός: a stock epithet of course, but here with a hint of 385(note), 608ff., that prosperity comes from the gods.

761. πολυμιστέου: πολυμιστέου LF: corr. Canter: found here only in tragedy, it is the equivalent of the
Homeric epithet of Odysseus, πολύμνος (LSJ s.v.).

... for the word cf. 611, note.

762. κεκουν: 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 ἢ ἐκνον πολυμνον ἀν κεκουν περεσ; Hipp. 1105 ζυνετι τι τιν' ἐπίδι κεκουν (Barrett: "though deep within me I have hopes of understanding.")

764. κακοι;: the contrast to δεια με, 759. It is a terrible thing to face Argos in battle but worse to give up the suppliants at the orders of Argos.


766. For the sentiment Barnes compared Psalms 27.1: "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?"

767. Ἱκεῖν ἴν οὖσιν ἔλθη: once more the complicated nature
of Χρησι; v. on 334, 379, 548. Here the meaning is, as Pearson, "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 heard the appeals of his suppliants.

769. ὑσσώμενος τοῖς ἄνεποις: Kirchhoff: εἰτ' LF: (Triclinius (Zuntz, Transmission, p. 196) suprascr. ὑσσώμενος ποτ' ἐν αὐτ' ἐμοι, after noting that something had been omitted, ἡτ<ει').

Canter had already suggested οἱ ὕ ν οι in place of the meaningless ἐιτ' ἐμοι, but it was left to Kirchhoff to repair the omission with οἰκονομεῖ and for ΕΙΤΕΜΟΥ substitute the palaeographically satisfactory ΕΚΓΕΜΟΥ. As Zuntz remarks, (Pol. Plays, p. 119), there are convincing parallels for the resultant wording: S. O6 51 ἀκτύνει ἐκ γ' ἐμοι ἔριμι; Ai. 1241 φανομέθ' ἐκ Γείγραμ Ἰθα. 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 πολύτυμος is lengthened (κει being treated either as — or 0 — ) or one long syllable in the strophe is omitted. If a long syllable is omitted,
polusutos, responds with polusutos, 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.665=895; El.435=445; S. Ant.1141=1150). If this is accepted, which long syllable should be removed in the strophe? Murray brackets γς, but Pearson prefers to remove σον of 771 (so also Wilamowitz, Gr. Versk. p.452, n.1). For the retention of γς Zuntz adduces A. Ag.503 πω πατριουν οδης θυγατρινιοι; Supp.1028 λεγομεν θεομον γαις τοις μετις αυτοις αδελφης; Empedocles 115.10. Certainly σον is, as Zuntz, "stylistically too impressed to be attributed to interpolation." (For such emphatic repetition cf. E. Ba.963 μονος .... μονος; Hipp.327 μακ' .... μακ' ; Alc. βιλον ..... βιλον; Rh.579 θρασ'y .... θρασ'y.

Alternatively, several attempts have been made to replace polusutos; E.G. polusutos (Hermann); polusutos (Bergk); polukyntos (Herwerden); polusutos (Wecklein). Dindorf suggested polusutos, a form nowhere attested, though polusutos itself is of frequent occurrence. However, Zuntz (loc. cit.) refers to θυστος (Simonides 7.56), θυστε and θυστα in inscriptions, and compares the forms θυματος and θυματος in Homer, γυντος and γυνατος in Sophocles, and ηλιατος, ηλιατος...
throughout tragedy, in all of which it is difficult to
decide the normal form.

Certainly πελόμυτος 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 ἧς πότνια, οὐ γὰρ οἴδαμ
ἐπεὶ οἱ πολυσύντοι λείοι
—— ———

Hipponactean

771 = 778 γὰρ, οὐ μὴ πολύς, τιμᾶν
τὴν κράτωριν, οὔθε λι—
—— ——— —

Glyconic

(V. also Metrical Appendix.)

771. μήτηρ: 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 μήτηρ cannot
be explained as meaning that the mothers of Elis worshipped
her (as Rose, Handbook of Cr. 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 Ὑπετύπωσις Heinrich Swobada dargebracht, p.
116.) But Wilamowitz (K S 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 ἴδιμήτηρ,
"the Earth-mother", i.e. Demeter, is meant. But assuming
that the conjunctive Τί 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 Ἀθηνᾶ and φόβος of Athens. Pflugk compares the expressions of Demosthenes in Plu. Dem.26 Ἀθηνᾶ Πόλις, τι ἐν τρεῖ τοῖς Χάλκουράτωσι Χάριν θύσῃ, γλωσάταις, φιλήμονι καὶ σήμερον καὶ σήμερον;


774. τὰδ': "érvagiana altera: τὰδ' LP: v. supra.

Sophosisen: Kirchhoff: Sophòsònta LP: (by Sophòsònta and 781 ἐν ἔπιν' Triclinius clumsily attempted to secure the responson.) Kirchhoff's suggestion (for the contracted form of Sophòsòs 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 σείν', not σείν. 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. 1138 Sophòsònta μοιχίν (Jebb: "= 'Martial'"; A. Th.125 Sophòsòs ñ μιχίν).
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775. ἀφήτα : causal dative. KG 425.9. Cf. ἐφόβος , 474, note; Ἀγαθῆμον , 660, 789. The particular ἀφήτα of the Athenians is the honour paid to Athena at the Great Panathenaea described in 777ff.

776. δίκαιος ἔμα : cf. 142, note.

777. πολυομογή : (πολυομογή Dindorf; v. on 770ff.).
The adjective refers specifically to the month Hecatombaeon in which ἔκαρτος were offered at Athens to Athena (Antipho. 6.44; Flu. 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 Τριτούηνα έκβοντο ὑπὶ τρίτη φθίνουτο ἐτέλεσθα ; Schol. ad Pl. R.327A. (V. also on 779.)

778. ἤδει : "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 ἀνέβαιν , ἠδεί ? More probably, ἔδει 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. μὴ ἔρθῃ ὑπὲρ : the simplest interpretation is
that the expression is a rough approximation to 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 Ἑσυχ. s.v. θέμα μήρα; τὴν θεσμοῦ τρίτην μηνήν λέγει is corrupt, and according to Pearson (App. B, p.147) probably conceals τριτογένεια, "for this word is explained by Ἑρποκράτιον as follows: τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μονοῦ τριτογένεια ἐκλέγειν καὶ γενὸς τῆς Ἁθηνῆς Ἡθος (fr.26, FGr 1.1.p.422) δέ καὶ τριτογένειαν μηνήν φησι καὶ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι, τῆς μηνὸς Ξεληνήν ἐμφανεῖν. 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 Τρίτην τρεῖ, Βασιλέως Ἑλληνίδος Ἀλβίςιι, ἐν χιτῷ καὶ Λίβυν ἐτεκνεῖ τὴν Ἁθηνᾶ.

780. ἤναρ Χρόνος τε μεθοῦ: what verb must be supplied here? If my interpretation of ἀνθέμη, 778, is correct, κραίνουται should be supplied (so most edd.), unless ἀνθέμη could be supplied with a different "understood" object,
i.e. or here instead of ἴψη. Pearson argues for a close connection between μηνᾶν φθίνης ἔμφρα and νέων τ' Λοιδαίη κτλ.: "The words νέων Λοιδαίη refer to the κύμος of Επιλιθοι who accompanied the procession of the Peplos; their songs appear to be contrasted with the elaborate performances of the cyclic chorus (Χαρώντα μαλακί, for which see X. Ath. Pol. 3.4)." This phrase may thus simply be explanatory of μηνᾶν φθίνης ἔμφρα. (The punctuation of Wilamowitz (v. App. Crit.) seems an unnecessary alteration of the text.)

781. Ἕριξον: i.e. the Acropolis; cf. E. Ion 12 Παλικος ὑπ' Ἕριξον; ἘΦ 1178 έ το ῥαδίφορων ἔβολον ἑκκ. 782. ἐλοιυμάτα κτλ.: for the pannychis E. Fehrle (Die kultische Keuscheit, p. 118) refers to Dittenberger Syll. 634, 31; Pohlenz (Gr. Tr. 2.107) illustrates the ἐλοιυματα in the cult of Athena by E. Fr. 351 (Erechtheus) ἐλοιυματα έ γυναίκη ή βληθε οὴ Χρυσή οὴν Γοργών ἐπικομαιν πόλει. Also cf. Hom. Il. 6.301 έ τ' ἐλοιυματα πὴνι Αθηνὴ Χρυσῆ πνεόχοιν.

παραθίς: here, of course, literally of an all-night celebration. Contrast 748, note.

παρθένων: here adjectival; cf. E. Hipp. 1006 παρθένων ψυχὴν ἑκαν; Ion 270 ι' παρθένων γε κῆρυμ. Ph. 838 παρθένων Ἑρι. (Cf. 753 κεισταν; 699 σταδίην, notes.)
δηδο: "to the beat of": Jerram. Edd. exemplify with instances of δηδο' 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 ἐλεγεν δὴ δὴ τινί τῇ Σικελίᾳ: Dio. Chrys. p.407A Χόρους ὑπὸ τῷ μεθεί τούτω στροφεῖται παῖσιν καὶ παρθένῳ.
(V. also LSJ s.δηδο, B.II.4).

783. παρτένοι κρότωσιν: cf. L. Tr.545 παρθενοί δ' Ζέρων δνα κρότων πενήν ίδιον ἐμελητην χρον'.

__________________________________
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. Alkmene 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.
Most edd., with the exception of Murray, believe that this messenger is not the τιθον πενέτης (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 πενέτης (cf. 936, where he refers to άδειον Ιολάος). Probably Murray is right (v. ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ — "Ορθώντας et Ιολάος una eademque mihi videntur esse persona etc."); the πενέτης first appears to herald the coming of Hyllos and is hailed ό φίλτρον, 640, (v. note), then after escorting Iolaos brings back news of the victory, whereupon he is again addressed as ό φίλτρον, 788, and then leaves the stage (891) to re-appear (928) with the captured Eurystheus. This seems most satisfactory dramatically.

(However, there is the objection raised by Rassow (Quaestiones selectae de Euripideorum multiorum 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 Ἄγγ., 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., p.145) does not recognize a distinction of part here. His attribution reads: 1st Iplaos, 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 καλιστήρ χρώμων and συντεχνάτους, and several edd. (e.g. Jacobs, Wecklein, Hartung, Dimdorf and Nauck) have inserted λέγειν in place of either ἵματι or τίδε. Certainly συντεχνῶς, -ως, etc. of language seems more commonly used of the delivery of a message rather than its receipt (ISJ s. συντεχνοῦ, I.2.II; but contrast A. Eu.415 πεγμὴ τι πέντε συντεχνοῦ), and Pfarson gives one example only of the personal pronoun with ὅπε: Thuc. 1.53 ἡμὶ τοῦ ὅπε ἱδονέ. 
(var. reading ἐπιστού), although ἥν ὢς = ἐγώ is common enough (KG 465, An.6(d)).

In the light therefore of the common antithesis between λέγειν and κλαίειν – cf. E. Supp. 98 σοι τὸ μνήμεν ἔκμιθ, ἐμὴν δ' ἑλάσθων; IT 768 ἐστι τὰ χρή κλάοντα, σοὶ λέγειν; Hel. 117 κλαίειν λέγεις; Hec. 236 σοὶ μεν εἰρήθηκεν χρεών, ἐμὴ δ' ἐκκεντήσαν; S. Phil. 24 ὑπ' ἀπόλλων τῶν λόγων σοὶ μεν κλαίης, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφέσω.

- λέγειν should be inserted, and if συντομωτάτου is felt to suit λέγειν better than κλαίειν, 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:–

Bethōna, μέδοις σοι τὸ συντομωτάτου κλάειν λέγειν τῷ δὲ καλλίστου φέρω.

or, preferably,

Bethōna, μέδοις σοι τῷ καλλίστου φέρω

κλάειν λέγειν τῷ δὲ συντομωτάτου Ἡφαίστειον Ἡρακλείον, followed

by Dindorf and Nauck.

(Cf. also S. OT 1234 ὡς τὰ ἐπίκειται τῶν λόγων εἴπεται
tε καὶ καλεῖν, τῷ νῦν θείον Ἰωάννης κύριε.).

786. ἘΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ: = "we are the victors"; cf. the use
of the present tense of ἤδικων, ἔφγειν, (ἔφγειν, 15),
where a perfect tense might have been expected. KG 382.4(C);
MT 27; Wackernagel, Syntax i., p.166.

ἔφηκεν: "set up", a meaning common in connection
with statues and temples (LSJ s.v. II). The verb here
replaces the more usual ἠστάρκα, τεθέναι.

787. παντευχήν: cf. S. Ant. 142 ἐπιστῶν Ζήνι τοποθέτησεν 

tόλη; also supra 720 ἐπιλέγον παντευχήν.

788. διήγαγεν: LP: διήγουσαν Reiske: διήγεῖσθαι 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 unparallelled. διήγεισθαι
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 διήγεισθαι,
S. El. 721 ἐπιστῶν ἡμῶν διήγητε μαθείς ὑμῶν ὀνομάζειν
does not seem at all apt. Probably διήγαγεν is quite correct here.

789. ἐλευθερώσας: L: ἐλευθερώσας L²: most edd.
apart from Murray adopt the "genuine variant" (Luntz, Trad.,
p.187; Pol. Plays, p.108) of ἐλευθερώσας, 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.

_κυνείμασιν_: causal dative; cf. 474, 775.

791. ϕοβοι... εὶ: = ϕοβομαι εἰ ... Cf. E. Med. 184

792. ἦγε: "Sometimes in assenting, the second speaker echoes a word from the previous speaker (characteristic of E.)." GP 136.

793. ἀπὶ... ὀπλ.: LP: οὖν .... ἔτι : Elmsley: Murray (v. App. Crit.) supports the mss. reading, and suggests that Iolaos 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 πρᾶττε κάλλιντα ἔτι, "What! Surely he did not perform some noble deed?", when the evidence of the μακάριος πρᾶττε has just been presented to her own eyes? Further, in 862 the servant says ἰκιν ... ἵων 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 Ἑπικούρεια, ἵστος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρώδει ἄν μὴ ἔτη (δ' δ': LP: δ' Elmsley. V. Platnauer ad loc.); Hec.234 καὶ ἦ εἴπ' ἂν ἔτη, ἰδίων ἄδει εἴη ἐκτείνει. KG 353.4. For μετ'... ὅπως marking a transition, v. GP 471.

(Pearson would adopt Elmsley's ὅπως and read τοίς for ἰδίω, comparing E. Cyc.63; Andr.168; Thuc.6.77. (V. KG 366, Anm., and 467.3(c) for this common use of τοίς as predicate referring to a condition.) He translates: "with the sense 'Does this include old Iolaos?" But the parallels are not convincing.)

794. ἅδηστα: cf. 641, note.

τὸ ἐπὶ: cf. 587, note. Iolaos "has fared ἅδηστα", as he ought, at the hands of the gods.

δ': IP: γ' Elmsley. δ' would be quite awkward here (v. GP 164) and the emendation should be adopted.

ἐγ': emphasizes the superlative. GP 207.

795. τίς ἐκτείνει: 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: "τις' marking that the attention is turned to a new point, as in τις';, quid vero? (941)
or to a new person." For the elliptical τι δὲ', with the same feeling cf. 685, note; 712.

ἀπό: cf. 647, note.

τι θέλων: adverbial accusative. KG 410, An.5. For the full form of the expression with the cognate accusative cf. 992, note: Λύων τὸν Λύωνιμένος.

796. ἐκ γῆρετος: for this use of the preposition expressing "change from" v. note on ἐφ ημήναν, 148 and cf. 939; S. CT 454 τυφός γῆ ἐν βεβακτῷ; X. Eyr.3.1.17 ἐφ ἀριστο ἀνήφρον χείρ προληπται.

ἀπό ἂς: pleonastic; cf. 436, note; 708.

797. Οὐμετ' ἔλησι: the use of the aorist tense here does not seem parallel to that of such expressions as ἔθετο, ἐπιθέον (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 336.9; 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 Οὐμετ' ἔλησι; 1021 (and Cyc.196) δεινὸν τὸ δ' ἔθεσα; HIPP.278 Οὐμετοῦ ἔθησα; EL. 1327 δεινὸν τὸ δ' ἔγνωσα; AND.909 καικὸν' ἔλησα; Med.1122 καλίστων ἔθησα μοῦν.
ιφίδαμος μαχητής ἀγώνα: i.e. as Pearson: "the battle-struggle of our friends"; cf. S. Tr. 20 ἀγώνα μαχητῆς; Ar. fr. 558 μαχητής ἄγωνα. The genitive (_destination) is parallel to that in E. Med. 153 δανίου τελευτάς; 982 δανίου μοίραν; 856 μοίραν φόρου. (Pearson: "genitive of description").

799. ὅρμαζει: LE Elmsley: ὅρμαζει. LP: the change of tense to future is not absolutely essential.

ἐπὶ 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 ἐπὶ μὲν λόγος μοι δέορ' ἔι περινεταί, where ἐπὶ = the same. V. LSJ s. ἐπὶ, 2(a).

(Pearson says that Rassow (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. ἔστε: marks the beginning of the explanatory narrative. GP 59.

ἀναλύοντα: 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.
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διάλεγμα: adjectival; cf. 699, note.

801. ἐπιδείκτις: "face to face"; cf. Hdt.8.11; E. Rh.409, 491, 511; X. An.5.2.26.

ἐκτίνουτι: transitive here (ISJ s.v. I.2) but intr. in E. Supp.654 (ὅσοιν) τοὺς οἰκοδόμον μὲν λοις ἐκτίνουτ' ἵνα.
(On the intransitive use of ταξιν and compounds v. KG 273.2(a) sub fin.)

802. ἐναπατέ: v. on 168.

803. μεταξιόν ἢ μεταξιόν: as Pearson points out, there is a double redundancy here in μεταξίν and ἐποίησις, as μεταξιόν means per se "the space between two armies". (Cf. E. Th.1361 ἐκτίνου ἐποίησις ἢ μεταξίν μεταξιόν (sc. of Odipou vened)).

ἐποίησις: 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. ἦν Heath, in place of ἦν L (ἦν P), and οἰκοδόμος Elmsley, in place of οἰκοδόμον 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 ἐλθεῖν can be used in this way with a noun like ἀπεξαρτάσθαι. 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 aside something" seems to require an explanatory adjective; cf. S. Ph. 825 ἡ οἰκεία, φίλοι, ἐξελεφθεὶσθαι. 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 laissions-nous ce sol en paix."

Also the transition from 805 to 806 seems very abrupt when there has been no mention as yet by Hyllus, 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 τῷ Ἀρείῳ ἀνήλθεν, 
which is of course purely hypothetical, yet illustrates
the sense required. However, several lines seem to be required between 805 and ἀλλ' of 807.

805. τολάκεικ εἰς τῆν: 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 326.10; MT 62), i.e. "Why do we not...?", in the sense of "Let us...."

807. ἰνδροὶ: i.e. "of (one) man". Edd. compare E. Andr.909 κάκον γὰρ ἔλαβε, ἀνέρ τε εἶναί τ' ἕκον λέγε. 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 ἵνα ὁμοίως 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.

ἐνδος ἐν δός: emphatic repetition, as E. Andr.1221 μόνος μόνοι
καὶ ἐν δός ἐν εἴς τρίῳ; S. Ai.467 ἰδυκτέων μόνος μόνος; 1283
μὲν ἂν Σκότος μόνος μόνος...ἀπάξ ἐκάπτει; D. 18.137 τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων
περαθέντα μόνος μόνοις οὕτοι.


810. ἐρέξετο: the suggestions of Nauck (ἐρέξετο) and Wecklein (ἐρέξετο) are unnecessary. ἐφανερώθη in this context seems the right word in the sense of "release to me by your death" (ἐλεύθερον is epexegetical infinitive, as 256.) Pearson well compares for this sense of "abandoning" A. Th.306 ἐφάνεθεν τινὶ βεβηκότιν, where the Chorus implore the gods not to desert Thebes. V. ISJ s.v. I.3.

811. ἐρέξετο...διώκετο: the construction is difficult to explain or parallel. Paley: "sc. λέγειν" (so Jerram); Beck: "after ἐρέξετο", which is used absolutely, he quotes the praise"; Pearson: "The inf. follows ἐρέξετο", as a verbum declarandi." Pearson quotes Pl. R.404D for a parallel use of ἐφάνεθεν: ἐφάνεθεν ἵππα καὶ κοινωνίαν κόρην φίλην εἰς ἀθανασίαν μελλοντιν ἐς σάμιτην ἔσετο. Cf. also the use of ἐσώσεσθε with the infinitive: E. Alc. 1130 ἐπισταθεὶς δ' οὖς ἐσώσθην τόξον; Med.268 ἐπιθαυμάσθα, ὧν τόξον ἐσώσθη. (KG 444, An.3); also ἀποκράτος, μεταγγίζοντες with the infinitive (ISJ s.v.; KG 473.1).
Probably there should be no mark of punctuation after ἔπιπρος'

ἐς ἀτ'...ἐς ἀτ': "as regards": KG 432.3(c).

812. ἐὐφυκέαν: i.e. that of Hyllos. Not as Paley (and Jerram): "their reputation for valour". ἐὐφυκέαν in this play at any rate meant more than "bravery"; cf. 597 (of Makaria) and the bitter comment of Iolas (745, note).

There seems to be a flavour of morality or moral quality about the word, i.e. a sense of ἀθήνη, the behaviour associated with ἐὐφυκέαν, bravery in the framework of a moral code. Cf. the Funeral Speech of Perikles, Thuc.

2.39: πιστῶντας ὁ ταῦτα προσκεκυλίσας τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπαίτητον τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπλήρωσεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργῆς κυψήλης;

ibid. 43 καὶ τὸ εὐθυμον τοῦ ἐλεόθερον, τοῦ δ' ἐλεόθερον τοῦ εὐφύκεαν κρίναμεν.

813. οὔτε...οὔτε: negatives both ἀθεσθεὶς and ἠτόλμησο.

ποτὶ κληρονομῆσθε ἀθεσθεὶς: for this sense of "feeling shame before" cf. Hom. Il.6.442 ἀδίστομον καθαρὰ...ἀι καθ' ἐσ' νοσόν ἀνυξικῶν πολέμου.

Similarly Il.22.104ff.

celed'αν: for λειχάθεαι with the accusative of the
behaviour which causes, or should cause shame, cf. E. Hipp. 2.44 ἀθικόνεστα γερ τὸ ἀθλητήματα μοι.

Contrast the ἀθικόνεστα which governs the conduct of Iolēs, Demophon, Makaria and Hyllos (6, 28, 43, 200, 223, 242, 255, 265, 450, 460, 516, 541, 567, 700) with the lack of shown at this point by Eurystheus and mentioned previously (458ff., 744).

ἀυτῷ ἡμῖν: emphatic juxtaposition as 807, note.

ἀποστραγγυεῖ: i.e. as king and general, he above all should have been ashamed to display cowardice.

816. ἔτι: indignantly: "and then...." Pearson is probably right in suggesting that a question mark should replace the stop at the end of 817, for ἔτι is especially used of indignant questions (LSJ s.v. II).

τοξητότερο: i.e. κικιστότερο, completely lacking in ἀθικόνεστα.

817. ὑπόσταιν: "pro ιππόσταινσ": Elmsley. But the emphasis is on a man like Eurystheus making slaves of ἔσχεν like the Herakleidae "not on the gain secured by their subduer" (Beck).

818. καὶ οὖν: marks the transition to the preparations for the battle. GP 471. Cf. 793, note.
819. *μονομάχον ἐπὶ ἀνίδος*: "by means of single combat"; cf. E. Fr. 1325 ἔρχετε τέκνα μονομάχου μέλιν δορὶ ὕπτωι δ' ἐγένε μικρᾶν; Ar. Fr. 558 μονομάχου πάλης ἤγεν.

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; Fréller-Robert, Die Gr. Heldensage, 2.652).

820. *τελευκάνη*: probably middle future for passive (though it could be present passive); cf. Α. Αγ. 68 τελευκάνει δ' ἐξ ἔπιτημαν; Fr. 929 Λυγ τελευκάνει.

821. *οὐκ ἐκμελήν*: i.e. "without further delay"; cf. 132, note.

822. *διαμῆν μεθίκιν*: 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 *μεθίκιν* 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 \( \beta ροτίαν \) 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, \( \beta ρότιν \) \( \delta ικατότε\) \( ημοι \), which refers to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, the suggestions of Faley (\( \beta οτιαν \)) and Helbing (and Vonhoff) (\( \beta οι\)) cannot be entertained. Pearson, however, suggests an interpretation of \( \beta ροτής \) as "gory", derived from the Homeric \( \beta ροτος \) and draws attention to England ad IA 1084. Cf. Homeric \( \beta ροτής \). Further \( \beta ροτος \), "in the Iliad is always \( \delta ικατο\)" (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. 64 \( \tau ιγειν \) \( \chi ε\) \( \φωνιν \), and 1253 profit \( \ϕωνιν \) \( \tau η\) \( \nu\) \( \proσβαλε\) \( \chi ε\) ). Zuntz (POI. Plays, App.) draws attention to the parallel construction of E. Supr. 76 δι\( \alpha \) \( \pi ρη\) \( \δος \) \( \αν\) \( χι \) \( \λευκο\) \( \δικατο\) \( \κα\) \( ζε\) \( \θιτ\) \( \φων\) (Zuntz, Trans. p. 65: "he (sc. Triclinius) inserted \( τ ε \) ..... after \( \χρω\) v. 77. This necessitated changing the preceding \( \αν\) \( χι \) into the accusative; accordingly he wrote a large \( \chi \) over its ending....."); ibid. 353 \( \epsilon λευ\) \( \δερί\) \( ω\) \( \τη\) \( ω\) \( ιο\) \( σφ\) \( ρο\) \( η\) \( ο\) \( πο\) \( λι\) \( ν\).
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) ἱρότης means "gory" and everywhere else "mortal", especially in view of E. Ph. 937ff. ἵππον .... αἴμα ποιεῖ ἱρότης, ἢ δ' εὐμενὲς γὰρ, and IT 404 τῇ γυναῖκι .... ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρεσβίῳ μοῦ ἄθιμα ἱρότην, where beyond any doubt the meaning is "human sacrifice".

ἱρότην 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 θεσπεσιςοφθηρ στη δε θεος τη μαχη της της Μακεδονιας, R.V.V. XV.3 (1915), p.75) refers to the story in Plutarch (Arist.9; Felop.21; Them.13) of the sacrifice of three Persian captives before the battle of Salamis. Cf. also Arr. 1.5-6 οἱ δὲ σφαγόμενοι πάντων τῆς κόρης ιδίων καὶ κριοῦ μελανῆς τραχύ, ἐμεπάτειν αὐτοῖς δὲ θεμβόμενοι εἰς Κέρις τοῦ Μακεδονίας. There is also the case of the ἄρματα, human scapegoats 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. Frelle-Robert, Gr. Myth., p.262, n.1; Nilsson, Gesch. d. griech. Religion, i.92ff.; LSJ s.v.). For primitive human sacrifice cf. E. IT 384 ἐντῷ καὶ θυσίῃ ἱροτήνους; IA 1524 ἐμεπάτειν ἱροτήνου χρήσις. 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 οὐράνια 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 λαμπρότειν 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 έν θανάτῳ γυναίκι (565-7) was granted by Demophon, and her sacrifice was probably performed separately.

οὖριαν: cf. E. Hel.1588 ἄμαρτος δ' ἀπορομάτος έις ὑδατίναι ρημάτων οὖριος γάρ; in these passages the word has lost all literal sense of "with favouring wind" (οὖρος).

823. δ' ἂν ἤδη: = μια τίμει τοιούτῳ δ' ἂν ἤδη

ιτ' ἔπανθων: 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 \( \delta \tau \delta \) with the genitive in this sense cf. E. Bac. 343 \( \delta \beta \gamma \: \nu \: \chi \mu \alpha \nu \: \kappa \rho \mu \tau \alpha \tau \nu \: \kappa \gamma \alpha \) and for \( \kappa \rho \mu \tau \alpha \tau \nu \) of "covering" with the notion of protecting, Hom. Il. 14.373 κεφαλές ... κορύφωσι κρύβοντες; 8.272 \( \delta \beta \gamma \: \nu \: \kappa \alpha \nu \: \kappa \rho \mu \tau \alpha \tau \nu \: \phi \epsilon \iota \mu \nu \). (cf. also supra 721).

A less satisfactory interpretation (Beck, Jerram) is to take \( \delta \tau \alpha \: \delta \nu \rho \iota \beta \nu \: \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) as = "under the shelter of their shields" (cf. supra 10, \( \delta \tau \delta \: \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \)).

824. \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \): Elmsley: \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) LP: in his note here Elmsley says: "suspicor vocabula \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \), \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) et \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) 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 \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \: \nu \iota \theta \mu \nu \: \lambda \gamma \omega \nu \: \iota \: \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \: \delta \varepsilon \) (where Elmsley suggested \( \lambda \gamma \omega \nu \: \iota \: \mu \varepsilon \omega \: \theta \varepsilon \) )."

Certainly here \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) is to be preferred on the recommended interpretation (v. on 823): i.e. \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \) refers to the side of the body as does \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \), and the change of gender would be very awkward. Cf. E. Alc. 366 \( \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \: \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \iota \nu \: \nu \iota \theta \mu \nu \: \pi \nu \epsilon \varphi \gamma \: \tau \iota \iota \tau \iota \) .
825. \( \text{παράγγελαν} \): L: \( \text{παράγγελα} \) P: in view of the other imperfect tenses of the indicative in this description of the preliminaries (\( \text{εἰσέβαλαν} \), \( \text{ἐκρυπταν} \), \( \text{ἐλιπέσατο} \)), there is no need to adopt with Wecklein the aorist of P.

\( \text{εὔνεα} \): emphasizes again the concept of \( \text{εὐνεα} \); v. on 299ff., 812.

826. \( \text{ζυγωλῖται} \): this word seems to have been used by E. only of Attic writers and is condemned as non-Attic by Phryn. 150, Foll. 3.51 (\( \text{συμπολίτης} \ οὐ δόμυμον, εἰ καὶ \text{Εὐρυπίδης καθήσαται ἐν Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ καὶ Θύση} \) — hence fr.390 (Theseus) \( \text{συμπολίτης} \)), Schol. ad Ar. Fax 909.

\( \text{καὶ τά} \): 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. \( \text{πιῦ} \) = \( \text{πιῦται τινι} \). LSJ s.v. II.2 and exx.

828. \( \text{ὦθερω} \): Reiske: \( \text{ὦθερω} \) LP: the conjecture of Reiske has been universally adopted. \( \text{ὦθερω} \) would refer to Eurystheus who has already disgraced Argos (813ff.).
Edd. stress the meaning of ἀλικωμα generally as = "choose", but here it is a periphrasis for an imperative. In the direct form it would be μη βιβλω καλικωμα = μη μη βιβλω καλικωμα; cf. E. El. 1354 οντις δεινων μην βιβλω μην' ἑτερακα μετὰ σφραγίζων; fr. 174 μη σου ἰδεικτικ τιτῆς ομοιο; Hom. Il. 1.277 μητο τε θηληθω, θελ' ἐραθετω μενεθι: 2.247. (Cf. also the use of ἀλικωμα followed by the subjunctive, as S. OT 651 οντις ἀλικωμα μην εἰκασθο; El. 80 ἀλικωμα μενειν αὐτω. Also Bodde; S. Ph. 761 οδη ηπερωμαι).

829. Ἠλεσται: 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. ἐκθεσα: i.e. ἐκθεσαι, as X. An. 4.3.29 ἐπικεφαλεῖ ἐκθεσαι συμφώνη τὰ πολεμικάν. ἐρειδο: "high and clear". Adverbial accusative. KG 309, An. 5. Cf. A. Pers. 389 ἐρείδον ἑνηδαίψε .... ἡχό; E. Tr. 1266 ἐρείδιον ἑλπιγγος ἡχό.

Τυρρηνική σαλπίγγα: also in E. Ph. 1377; Rh. 988; A. Eu. 567; S. Ai. 17 (κάκαν Τ.). 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. οὔξεϊν : cf. 808.

832. πέσον τιν' ἄνευ: a modification of the colloquial πόσον δοκεῖ; in parenthesis; cf. E. Hipp.446 τοῦτον ἀλήθειαν—πόσον δοκεῖ; Hec.1160; Ar. Ra.54; Nub.881, 1348.

ἄνευ: "believe"; v. 333, note.

πάτωσε: cf. A. Th.103 πάτωσε οὐκ ἐνιὸς βραχός; Ar. Ach.539 κατεύθυν ἔνα πάτωσιν ἂν τω πολέμῳ; S. Tr.517 ἕνε τὸν πάτωσιν πάτωσε.

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 δ' τινι σέ τῇ ζωῇ πρὸς τὸ δορὰ τε δοῦσας, βοσμὸν ποιοντίς τοῦ ἱππος.

βράζων: "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 Πολυφίλος ... πολλον μεδ ἱππος, μυρίος δ' ἵππων βράζων.

833. ἐξώσαντι: Musgrave proposed εὖξων (accepted by Wecklein) following Hom. II.4.450 ἤδη δ' ἐμ' ἐξώσαντι τε καὶ εὐχών πέλεν ἵνα, but the word is not found in tragedy.
and the mss. reading is quite satisfactory in view of Thuc. 7.71 Ὑπὸ μὲν ὀνόμα τοῦ καὶ στὸν πάντας διαμετάδοτην τῇ γυναικεῖᾳ; Ἀ. Κερ. 426 ὀνόμα τὸν κυκλώματος κατεξῆς κελαγίαν Ἰλ. 7, which show the violent expression of emotion in a Greek battle.

834. τίτυλος: of the regularly repeated thrust of the spear by the well-drilled hoplite. Cf. Barrett's note on the word at Hipp. 1464: "τίτυλος (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 τίτυλος ... οἴκυρον (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. ἔρριπος: 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.

ἐκ τ' Ἐκάρπων: i.e. the Argives, supplied from Ἀργείων
The Argive attack first pierced the Athenian line; then the Argives were driven back and the line restored (836ff.).

836. ἐπιλαξάριξ: "interlaced": Paley, i.e. man pressing so closely on man (837) in the opposing line that the advancing foot of each overlapped; cf. Plu. Luc.24 ἐπιλαξάριξ ἐβ' ἀλήθειν ἔτη ἤρεσι', Arr. Tact. 3.5 Θάρρος ἐλευθερία λευταίοι σιδηρός ἐπιλαξάριξ.

Edd., following Elmsley, quote Hom. Il.13.130

837. έλθετο δ' ὅπη δωρί, σάκχαρι τάκι προς ἔρευναν· άτριξ ἀπ' ἀτριξ' ἐρέσθ, κόρως κόρων, ἀνέρα ἀνέρα.

Tyr. 11.31 καί πόσι ἐν ποσί δεϊ καί ἐν ἐπικόβος ἐπικόβα ἐρείσθ, ὅ τε λόφον τε λόφων καὶ κυνίην κυνίη καὶ στέρνον στέρνων ποτήριες ποτήριες μαχίσθαι.

Verg. Aen.10.361 haeret pede pes, densusque vico vir.

837. έλθετο: Elmsley (whom Murray followed) preferred to take the noun as nominative (in LP the iota "subscript" is not written), the subject of ἐμπρότερος, i.e. on the analogy of the frequent use of the adj. ἐμπρότερος with (= "violent, fierce"). He quoted Hdt. 1.76; Thuc.1.49; 4.43, and would presumably make ἐμπρότερος = ἐν καρτέρα. There is no parallel for such an interpretation and
further if μήχνη were taken as the subject of the verb, 

τοῦ and θηρὶ 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 ἀμφιθεῖ, rather improbable.

Edd. generally assume the more readily understandable 

μήχνη, i.e. "was steadfast in battle" (though Nauck preferred μήκριν, "endured the battle"; cf. E. IA 1370 

τῷ ἱδώνῳ θηρίῳ κάρτης αὐτῷ βρῦον ; Alc. 1071 ὅποι εἶ σὺ καρπΝέων ὅτου ἔδωκεν).

(Ἄκρατας (Hartung) should not be adopted: it makes the slight zeugma of τοῦ and θηρίῳ as the subjects of the verb too harsh.)

338. πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιτυγχανον: cf. E. Ph. 1149 πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιτυγχάνον κράτα 

ἄμαρτομένωι ; Andr. 1142 πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιτυγχανον τιθέναι. (Elmsley suspected that πολλοί should be read also in Or. 1489 

νεκροί δ' ἐπιτυγχανον.)

Ἡν δε' τοι κελεύματο: the genitive cannot stand with 

the rest of the text as transmitted, and edd. have generally accepted the simple remedy of L. Dindorf, 

δόο κελεύματι. (Other suggestions are: τῷ κελεύματι (Haupt); 

ἵν δ' ὅμως κελεύματι Murray; ἣν διπλωκελεύματι Wecklein; ἣν δε' 

παντοδύναμον Pearson; Kirchhoff thought that a following line
had dropped out, presumably one which contained ἰδαλιθαν, i.e. giving the sense "it was possible to hear from the two opposing lines." However, the two parallels from E. of ἀρχαιολογίας ἰδιοτάτου afford no reason for such a supposition: Ησ.928 κλείσθη ὅστις ἔχει ἐπικλήσεις τὸν Ἰανόν τὸ βάζεις; Ηελ.1602 πρακτικάλογον ἵνα ἔργηθεν Ἐλένη.

839. μὴ ἑρίζετε: sc. οὐκ ἔριζες from ἐπηρίζετε.

840. ἐπηρίζετε: the construction with this verb is seen if full here with the dative of the person or thing protected and the accusative of the danger; cf. E. Med. 1275 ἐπηρίζεται ὀ φόνων δοκεῖ μοι τῆς τίκνης; Tr.777 πᾶσι τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὠλυμπία ἐπηρίζει.

ἀποκέφαλω: i.e. of defeat. (Cf. Adkins, Merit and Resp., p.157.)

841. πέπτασα θαύματε: i.e. "putting forth every effort." The phrase is the poetical equivalent of the prose idiom with ποιεῖν; cf. Pl. Ap.39A ὅποιον ἐπιθυμεῖ, ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν.

842. δομοί: collective noun; v. on 276.

844. ὅπερ ... ἔσον: for the hyperbaton cf. 160, 205.

845. ἐμπεῖρον: with double accusative, τιν and σέρον;
cf. E. Cyc. 466 καὶ σὲ καὶ φίλους γεροντάς τε νεωτερίνην ἱππόν ἱμάτωσεν ἔφη (in view of which there is no need for Wecklein's ἱμάτωσεν or Paley's ἱμάτωσεν); Hel. 1565 ἐφέσθη πασίν ἱππόν γεροντάς τ' ἱππόσενοι σήματα.

Perhaps the preposition in the compound verb is felt to govern ἱππόν, ἱμάτωσεν, and σήματα. 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. 605-6140, it seems likely from ἐρωμάζον and ἔλημεν ἔρημος that Iolaos (fighting up till then as ἐπικράτης (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 ἰππόκτης of Hyllos, with Hyllos beside him as ἑρωβλήτης.


砵: emphasizing τὸν τοῦτον. For the use of ἐπικράτης with expressions of time and place v. LSJ. s.v. II and III.

848. ἑρωβλήτης: "Logos v. Ἑλλος: L: corrected first by Valckenaer, ἑρωβλήτης Ἑλλος, and then Elmsley proposed Ἑλλος for Ἑλλος, which has been generally adopted. For
at the beginning of a speech, politely and courteously, cf. Barrett ad E. Hipp. 336 and Fraenkel ad A. Ag. 838.

...: "up to this point"; cf. the frequent use by E. in this sense with an emphasizing αἰτία: Med. 670 ἀμφιθέω
νὰ δεῦρ' ἐπὶ τεὶν θίαν; Ion 56; Supp. 786; Hel. 761; Ph. 1209; Cr. 1663; fr. 263. 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: Ἐυρήστευς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Ἡμαβοΐᾳ ἀποθανόντας). 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 Δαι τοῖς Περικράτεως, οἵ
ἐκ Μαραθώνος ζῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸ λιβύτο, εἰ γὰρ τούτων εὐνοοῦνται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἵππα μὲν ἄνω ἐφ' ἄγω τοῦ ἄθροι.

852. κατασκευάζω δὴν εἰσάγοντες: the phrase is an extension of the use of the cognate accusative (i.e. τιμῶ δεῖν), with verb plus accusative taking a direct object, ἔχουσα.
Cf. 882; Hom. Il. 5.361 ἐλκο, ὥμερος αὐτὰς τινές; Od. 23.74 ὁδὴ, τὴν κοτήμιν οὐ δῆλος λαύκος ὅδεντι. E. Med. 251 πόσον δίκην τῶν ἀντιτιθέμενοι μικρῶν; Ba. 345 τόνδε τοῖς διδασκαλοῖς δίκην μέτεμα; A. Eu. 230 δίκη μέτεμα τόνδε φῶτα. KG 411.3(b).

(For the sentiment v. on 881ff.)

853. δὴ: marks a new stage in the narrative: "now for the remarkable part...." GP 238.

Πέφει ρα: Wecklein adopted the ingenious, but quite unnecessary conjecture of Naber, πέρα τόδε. (For the phrase cf. 868.)


νέφοι: i.e. the gods concealed themselves and the chariot in a dark cloud, through which they sone like stars against the background of night.

856. ἐπ': emphasizes σοί. GP 210.

ὑ': 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 ορφανοὶ: i.e. "people who are more expert in interpreting such phenomena say so....but (certainly) he...."

857. ᾿Ηῆρα: for the post-Homeric legend of Hebe and Herakles (Hom. Od. 11.602-4 is probably interpolated) cf. Hes. Th. 950 Ἐραν... Ἡρακλῆς... παίδα Δίου μεγάλου με Ήρη ἱπποποδίου ἑδοῖην ἔτε' ἐκπέμπτεν ἐν Οἰλίμπῳ νηρόντι.
Her appearance here is in her double capacity as the wife of Herakles and the goddess of youth.

 Enteredf: cf. Λυγίων νέφες, 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. ὁμοσ.: "form, outline"; i.e. the muscular shape of his arms and shoulders contrasted with their former scragginess; cf. A. Th. 486 Ἰπποποδίου ἑδοῖας μεγάλης ὑπότις; Eu. 49 ὡς' ἀπε Ἐρυθλίων εἰκόνων τούτων.

860. ἔστησε Εὐριπίδης: v. on 849. For the robber Skiron, killed here by Theseus during his wanderings
back to Athens v. Frelser-Robert, Gr. Myth.2.2 (Die Nationalheroen) p.715ff.

861. ἐξοδοδίνον: the plural form is mostly found, but the singular is particularly appropriate here of one person, i.e. Eurystheus; cf. E. Ph.282 Ἐρυστέας μὲ ὀργῆν ἐξοδοδίνον.

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 365). Messengers often end their speeches by pointing a moral; cf. E. Andr. 1161ff.; Supp.726ff.; Hel.1617ff.; Ba.1150ff.

863. ἀμόρα: as in 385 and 747. (Pearson compares 617 "for the inversion of natural order", but see my note there.)

864. ἄμετρος: adverbial; cf. ὀμοῖος, 830, note.

865ff. This reflection is developed at great length by Solon in conversation with Croesus, Hdt. 1.30ff., esp. 32 ἔχειν ὅτι ἐρέω με, οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγω, ἀλλ' ἔκλειψεν μὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πόλεμως. Cf. also E. Andr.100; Tr.509; IA 161; S. OT 1528; Tr.2; frs.588, 601; A. Ag.928. (V. also Mayor ad Juv. 10.274: Et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis respicere ad
longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.)

866. τὸ: referring back to the unexpressed subject of ἢλος, i.e. "a man".

867. τροπάζ : Zeus, who routs the enemy. Cf. 937; E. El.671 ἦν Ζεὸς Πατρίς, καὶ τροπάζ, ἐξηράν γενότο; S. Ant.143 Ἰλισσόν Ζεὺς τροπαίος παγυώσα τελέ; Tr.303 ἦν Ζεὸς τροπάζ.
(Cf. 402 τροπαίος τ' ἐξηράν, of sacrifices.)

869. Ἑρέω : "in process of time". Because of the contrast Ἑρέω μὲν ἡ... Ἑρέω ἢ there is an implied reproach here, as in E. Hel.645 ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐδώρησεν τὸ κῆρυς συνήγαγε, πόνῳ Ἑρέων and El.578 ἦν Ἑρέω φυτή (Electra has previously referred to the dilatoriness of Crestes, 245, 275), but not generally - cf. 941, Or.1201, A. Ag.126, 463 and elsewhere.

ἐπεξεκέψα : "favourably regarded": Paley. Cf. of tutelary gods E. IT 1414 Ἡλιός τ' ἐπέσχεσθαι κενός Ἕρας; S. Ant.1135 of Bacchus Ἐλαμην ἐπεσκέπσθη Δίνις.

871-2. Contrast the unhesitating belief of Iolaos, Ξ 9.

873. νῦν ἕδραν: "now at last". GP 206.

874. τῶν κακῶν ἐλευθέρον: 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 "accurèed", the equivalent of coll. Eng. "perisher"; cf. E. Cyc. 474 τοι γυμνος τοι κεκιμνενοι φθαρμον... εκ θυμόμεν; fr. 915 νικη βεβαια μ' έκαστη γαμφή.... S. fr. 697 ημερων πρὸς θεον δομήσατο, η τη ζωής δε εκνευσαν' εκάστης. Cf. especially the use of the phrase by Ar.: Pax 2 το γκκαμι απολογίαν; Th. 879 το γκκαμι απολογίαν; Ach. 952 το γεκαμι απολογίαν etc. Cf. also the use of the aorist participle as a term of abuse: Hom. Il. 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. ἐρήμησίς: Faley, 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. Ill.2 and 3), a view supported by the use of the legal term ἔμπορεύεται.
"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. ἐποίησαν τοὺς πατέρους: Pearson considers that "their separation from the ἔσοδοι πατέρων was a sign of loss of civic rights". Cf. 14—15 πολ' ἐν ὑμῖν οἷα ἔφορον ἐκ τῆς ἱκανούς, where Pearson says however: "it means home rather than rights of citizenship". (V. my note there.)

878. ἐπιτρέπεται: i.e. of wanderings in exile because of the pursuit of Eurystheus (15ff.; cf. ἔβαφος, 15; ἐπιτρέπεται, 51; ἐπιτρέπω, 225, 319; ἐπιτρέπεται, 515; ἐπιτρέπω, 615, note).

879. Κεφαλή: cf. 661, note.

Κεφαλή: cf. 762, note.

881. παρ' ἰσόν: cf. 201, note; 370.

881ff. For an almost exact parallel in expression and meaning cf. E. Andr.437ff. ἔπειτα ἑαυτῷ ἐν ταῖς παρ' Εὐρύττα σοφίς, ἔπειτα τούτῳ ἐν τῶι ταῦτα παράξειν ἐντεθαν. 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; Ólon 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 διότι ἐνδή στιαννοὶ βίοι ἐστι, ὅ γε ἐν φύσει τῆς μὲν πολύσοιοι κακὸς ποιμῶν,
τοὺς δὲ φίλους εὐφροσυνῆς.
As is shown by 965ff. the idea of retaliation in full
was not completely accepted.

881. ῥοφὲν: = καλὸν (cf. 965, and E. Ba.877 τὸ ροφὲν;
ἡ τὶ καλλίστοι πρὸς θείαν γέραν ἐν βεβαία ἡ ἱερὸς ἐπὶ Καρυάς τῷ ὑπὲρ
κραῖσον κατεχείν;

882. ἐκφράστηκε ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν: cf. 852, note.

883. τὸ σεὶ προφυλακῆν: with the accusative only, i.e.
"putting you and your feelings before his own"; cf. Í.
Alc.154 ποῦ δ' ἐν μάλλον ἐνεσίζετο τῇ ποινῇ προφυλακῆν ην θέλων,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκαὶ.

ἐφάνθησαν ἦσος: cf. 571, note.
884. $\textit{kata\,de\,tu\,t}$: 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 Mérider, who compares S. OT 1082 εἶδε συγγενῆ μηνεὶς με μικρον μείμην διάφοραν, 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 καταδέω, Reiske, and explains καί as epitatic ($\textit{tei\,te}$, Paley). As he rightly says, any word which describes Eurystheus as "fearful" or "cowering" (as τηροῦντα, 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. εὐμνυ... γ': adversative: i.e. "he certainly was not willing". GF 335.

τῷ θεῷ: Iolaos has treated Eurystheus as he wished to treat him and the Herakleidae; cf. 71, 79, 97, 112, 221, 225, 243, 254, 286.

886. ἤθεσιν: cf. A. Pr. 108 ἤθεσιν ἔθεσ' ἐνἀγγελιάς.
S. Ph. 1025 κλοπή τε καθαρύς Συμφ.


889. ἐπιτη: i.e. 783ff.

890. ἐλευθερία: Forson: ἐλευθερωσών 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.

ἐπιτη: practically = ψάχ ; cf. 70, note.

891. γεωργία: note the emphasis again on ἑδύνεσθαι.
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 δι'. In the first alternative, ἵστι must be supplied with λυπόμενος, and in the second ἴστι is taken both with λυπόμενος and ἀφοβός, i.e. "whenever....." (V. Jebb ad S. Ant. 1031, 666; Tr. 92; OT 315, 979 for the optative in γνώμαι.) (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 δι' of 895 responds to the μεν 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 γώνι, καλον μεν φύγγεις γνώρι τούτο, καλον δ' θεον γνώρι 1 ἵστοι εὐφυτόν .... οὐδ' οἶδαν οὖν τινὰ λυπόμενον οὖν οὐδ' ἵστοι καλον ὡς.... οὖν θελόν; Sapph. Supp. 5.1 οϊ μεν ἵστοιν στρώναν, οι δ' ἐπέλειν, οϊ δ' εἴπον φύγει οὔτι γῶς μέλαιναν ἐξαναι καλλίστουν, ἕως δ' χωροτ.... οἰ δ' ἐκδῆλα γράματι εἴλεν....; Pi. 0.1.1 γοιοτον μεν ἔλθερ, δ' χωροτ.... οϊ δ' ἐκδῆλα γράματι εἴλεν....; Hes. fr. 163 θαύματ'.... ἵστ' εἰ διῆρι.... ἴστ' δ' εἰ το πεπέσθαν....;
E. Ba.902 ἐδαμενὲς μεὶς ὡς... ἐδαμενὸς ὡς...
Pl. Lys.211D-E δὲν μὴν τις ῥητορὸς ἐπίθυμεν κατέσβη, ο δὲ... ἐγὼ δὲ...
Anth. Lyr. Graeca (Diehl) II.p.183.7 Συμφέρειν μὲν ἀριστον... Σεύτερον δὲ... τὸ πρῶτον δὲ... καὶ τὸ τέλεστον...

Therefore I should be inclined to adopt Haupt's ηφις κοίις (or Herwerden's ηφις ηφις) in 892 and ηφις for ηφις 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. ἄτον: this word for the flute is not used by Aeschylus, Sophocles or Pindar. As Denniston (ad E. Μι. 716) notes, it is not confined (as LSJ state) to lyric only: cf. ΗΕ 11; ΙΑ 438; Βα.687.

893. ἀποθεότατον: all attempts to emend this line and force it into responsion with 902 (which is itself probably corrupt - v. infra) have been unconvincing. Dindorff's ἐνὶ θαῦμα involves a use of the epic ἐνὶ impossible in tragedy (cf. his similar suggestion ad E. Hipp.734).

894. ἀλήθεια: for this epithet applied to Aphrodite cf. E. Med. 632 καὶ ἀλήθεια ἀλήθεια, κυρίοι, ὥστε ἀλήθεια ἀλήθεια. E. in his plays refers several times to the dangers of love in excess: cf. Ia 543ff. and the reference there to the διόνυσος of Eros, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ζωικὸν πόμως, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συνχών βλέπον, and Hipp. 525ff. ΕΡΩΣ ... μὴ μόνον τοῖς μακρὸν φανεροῖς μηδ' ἀπεσχοῦσαν ἀλλ' ἀν ἀκούσαν ἢ συνεκέρασαν ἄριστα, ἢν πολλὴ σοφία.

Here of course the Chorus speak of love as a blessing upon men.

(ἀλήθεια ..., αλήθεια: 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. δὴ: "marking realisation of the truth" GF 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. ὅτε ἐδίδοι: v. on 29.

897. τὸν παῖς ὀς δοκεῖτων: sc. ἐστικχύρω, from ἐστικχύρω: i.e. "not formerly thinking that they would succeed." (Or possibly sc. ἐτούχειν, i.e. "not seeming to be successful.") Cf. 871 ὁδ' ὁδόσ. Elmsley, followed by Plutck, 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 λόγοι γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἄλογον τὴν κὰκ τῶν δεκαυτῶν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτην οὐκ εἶναι; and Tr.612 ὡς τά μεν παραστῆσθαι τὸν τὸ μηδὲν ἔντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦν ἀπώλεσαι.

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. ὀλεφοκύντερον: cf. A. Pr.511 Μορίς τελεφόρος

900. Ἀδήλυ: i.e. passage of time with reference to an individual or group as opposed to χρόνος, absolute time. Similarly, E. Supp.787 χρόνος παλαιὸς πατὴρ ἄμφω. Pearson draws attention to the note by Wilamowitz, Herakles, ii. 154ff.

901. Ἐλκιών: fem. as E. IT 1202.

902. Ἐφερδων: Herwerden: Ἐφερδων IP: 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 \( \text{εφών} \) would certainly require a subject different from \( \text{πολύ} \) to give the sense "one must not take this (την θεού) away from you", and to supply such a subject is awkward. (There are not any parallels for \( \text{φίλα} \) = tollere, delere (Elmsley) or amittere (Musgrave), i.e. "you must not destroy, lose this"). Consequently Herwerden's \( \text{θεός} \) is a convincing improvement: "you must never let go of this."

\( \text{τοδός} \) : (LP). Triclinius deleted \( \text{θεός} \) in a mistaken attempt to secure responson with the corrupt 893. However, his \( \text{κε} \) in 903, \( \text{επίσημως} \) in 906, \( \text{αὰ} \) in 809 (v. App. Crit.) "are generally accepted" (Zuntz., Transmission, p.87.)

903. \( \pi θεός \) : for this self-praise of the piety of Athens cf. S. 00 260 καὶ τῇ Αθήνῃ ἐν τῇ δεοσφιλείταις ἄνει, μνημευταν ἑαυτὴς τῶν συνήχους; A. Eu.869 Χάρις μεταχεῖν ἑοδέ Θεοφιλείταις.

and for independent witnesses Paus. 1.17.1; Acts 17.22 ἄνεις Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ πάντα ἐν δεοσφιλείταις ἑαυτῇ θεοφιλείταις.

Of course one of the features of this play and the Supp. is the piety and humanity of Athens.
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διάβητας στίχους: sc. "that you do not honour the gods."

904. οὐκ ἔλαυνεν: 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 reported gate of Crestes who hit such a pillar in the chariot race at the Pythian Games: S. El. 743 ff.)

Cf. E. Ea. 853 ἐστι δέ ἐλαυνομεν τοιάδε φοινίκι, and the elaboration of the metaphor in A. Ch. 1022 ἔπειτα οὖν ἐπιτηάυν εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἐξελεφθείς;
Pr. 883 ἐστί δὲ φοίνικι λέγεται πνεύμα μῆρας, καὶ ἐξελεφθείς;
Pl. Euthphr. 4B πόρων οὐ γὰρ τοιάδον ἐλαυνομεν;
Grg. 486A τούτων πόρων δὲι φιλοσοφίας ἐλαυνομεν.

μανιαὶ: "fits of madness": Pearson. The word is frequently used in the plural. KG 348.3(b).

906. καθαρὰ: "each particle retains its proper force": GP 549; i.e. "for, just see...." (Cf. also GP 538.)

908. φοροφάττω: partitive genitive, as (presumably)
E. Hipp. 1104 τα θεῶν μελετήματα... ἁπάντων παρατείροι;
Cf. Thuc. 3. 89 καὶ τοῖς τε φαινομένοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρατείρα;
Hyp. Epit. 41 σὺν δὲ Χαλκίδοι καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ παρατείρει ἐς τὸ ἔδειξάνων;
E. IA 1609 λύττας δὲ φαίνεται καὶ τοσού πρὸς Ἀρέσαν.
In the light of these examples Wecklein's φοροφάττωι δει is unnecessary. (V. on 926.)
910. ἔποιε ταῦτα: 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. τετίγγανο: τετίγγ Stephanus: θεόj LP: θεόj λόγοι; Wilamowitz: θεόj Nauck: Zuntz (Pol. Ἑλευσ., p.49) concludes that θεόj is to be preferred here. He demonstrates that the LP reading θεόj could easily have arisen from αὐτός, and makes the points that (a) a possessive pronoun is required before γόνος; (b) τετίγγ is not used elsewhere by E.; (c) "θεόj is not applied to Herakles in Hes. Th. 950 nor in any other poems which, on this model, describe Herakles among the Olympians...."

912. ἕξειν λόγον: LP: ἕξεις Elmsley: neither of the two possible interpretations of the text is satisfactory:—
(a) "Filium tuum ad inferos descendisse ἑξειν λόγον, i.e. ὁ περὶ ἑξειν λόγον, res est incredibilis": Matthiae; (b) "Procul atest (sc. Hercules) ab eo qui de ipso "vulgatur sermone": Brodaeus, followed by Hflugk, Wilamowitz, (who compared P. O1.6.6 ἐκείνον φίλου γιαν μου κήνιν ἵππην) and Pearson. Elmsley suggested ἕξεις (adopted by Wecklein), i.e. "reicio illum sermonem", and this interpretation and emendation is tempting.

My suggestion is ἕξεις λόγοι, i.e. "the story that...."
is false." Cf. the use of this adjective and its negative ἰδέας in E. Med. 354 ἰδέας λόγος (where Page: "the word ἰδέας is almost a technical term of oracles, seers etc., hence adds to the solemnity of the king's sentence."); IT 569 ἰδέας δὲνίσταται, 571 πιστῶ δὲνίσταται ἵνα ἰδέας στάτη φορι; HF 1315 λοιπῷ εἰπερ αὐτό ἰδέας λόγος.

The Chorus are therefore rejecting as ἰδέας a mythological tradition, asserted as ἰδέας, that Herakles descended to Hades after his death on Mt. Ceta (S. Tr. 119ff.). Jebb (intr. to S. Tr., p. XV) draws attention to the fact that Homer knows nothing of the apotheosis of Herakles:

II. 18.117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔτε βιώσα Ἡρακλῆς ποιεῖ κῆρα ....λαλεῖ ἑμὸς ἐσφαγμένει καὶ Λαμάδος Χολες ἱππος.

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 πελωτὴν ποιεῖ τίθεντα ὑπατη; he has no presentiment of immortality. His death is the welcome release from his Labours and present afflictions.

914. ἐκσιβεῖ: edd. ascribe this participle variously to ἐκμετάλλευσαι, "burn", and to ἐκπολείμαι, "feed on", "devour"; probably both verbs are from the same root.

ἐκομία: accusative of respect; KG 410.6(a).
915. for Herakles and Hebe cf. Hom. Od.11.603 (v. on 912); P. N.1.71 δέδομεν θελείαν ἵκον και χάριν διάβατα παρὰ Δί Ἐρημίᾳ; 1.4.49 τετίματος τε προὶ Σαμάτων ἐκλήματι ἦκαν τὸ ὕποτα.

Χρυσίν οἰκίαν ξυνὶ καὶ γυμνοὶ ἦσαν;
Apollo. 2.7.7.12.

ἀρπαγ.: this reading is in any event required by metre (v. Metrical App.) and Zuntz (Pol. 2.1 lays, p.124) notes that the form ἀρπαγοῖ "does not occur in poetry prior (si quid video) to the second century A.D." (The adoption of ἀρπαγ. involves a correction of LP ἵκος to ἕκον in 924 to preserve metre and responsion, justifiable also by sense: it is the final act of ἕκος, or rather the "basic ἕκος" (Zuntz, loc. cit.) to which Athens has put an end.)

Χροίσει: "touches" = Χροίσει (Ε. Νεδ.497; Ph.1625). Used here of sexual intercourse as Theocr. 10.18 μάντι τοι ταύ νύκτα Χροίσει σ' καλεῖαι.

916. : the equipment of the gods is regularly of gold; cf. E. Hipp.69 Ζηνὶ πολυκρυσον ὀίκον;
Hom. Il.4.2; H. N.10.88 etc.

917. : Hebe was the daughter of Hera and Zeus; Hom. Od.11.604; Hes. Th.922; Apollod. 2.7.7.12.
918. ἦγέσθη: "you have honoured". For the "absolute" use cf. E. Hec. 319; Cr. 1210; S. Ai. 1114; A. Ag. 903.

919. συνήφηται: i.e. as Pearson: "the world is full of coincidences." Cf. E. El. 527 ἐμπιστεύεται τοὺς συνοίτηται πόλεως. It is better to take πόλεως 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. ἐπικούρευον: for Athena as protectress of Herakles edd. cf. Hom. Il. 5.352 ὧν θεόσι ταύτα ὑποτάξεται ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ ὀφείλουσιν τις ἐπικούρευον ὑπὲρ Ἔντρατος Ῥήπεραος, 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 ὡς τινὶ φῶνα μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἔσχεν; Ph. 1156 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχεν μαρτυρεῖν ὡς ὁ πάππος, ὁμώς σχύσετε, στρεφόντας αὐτὰ παράγων τὸ βάθημα; Ba. 555 φῶνος δ᾽ ἐνδεχὴν ὑπὲρ μετὰ τὸν ἔσχεν.


925. ἐπίθετος: ἐπίθετος ΛΠ: corr. Musgrave: i.e. "a man who preferred violent, lawless behaviour to justice."
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. Pl. p.4.140 κόρος τινος πρὸ δίκης;
Fl. R.361E τοὺς εἰπανότας πρὸ διμοσίως δικιάνιν;
Thuc. 1.741 η τι μοιάτη καὶ η εξάχυτη δικαίως 2στι τῶν δικιῶν πρὸ δίκης τοῦ πελαῖον οἰκτισμένη. KG 429.2.3(d).

For the juxtaposition cf. E. A. Eu. 554 ζύοντα τολλί παντόφυτ' ἵνα δίκη βείιναι.

926. ἐφόνομα: the word, when unqualified, does not necessarily have a bad sense, i.e. pride or arrogance;
cf. 387 ἐφόνοτων τῶν Μυκήνων, and 909 where the partitive genitive implies excessive "spirit" - i.e. "arrogance". ψυχή and ἐφόνομα are coupled by S. in Ant. 176 ἐνῷ ἔχειν τῇ περιτῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ ἐφόνομαι καὶ γνώμην, ἐνῷ δὲ ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ νομίζειν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι φανή. (Jebb ed loc.: "ψυχή, the man's moral nature; ἐφόνομα, '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, JES LXXVII (1957) p.150.)
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. Θεάτων: Rassow: Χύ. IF: 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.


ἀναγκαίοις: i.e. so that the audience will be left in no doubt who the prisoner is.


τοῖς: Stephanus; τοῖς ΛΦ: the mss. reading can be defended only by supplying ζηλότων τι (ορτοῖς), i.e. "an unexpected sight, and for him something not less unexpected to befall", for the captive himself cannot be said "τοῖς αὐτῷ ζηλότης τὸν ". The correction of Stephanus is palaeographically sound (by iotaism η'). The correction of Stephanus and τοῖς are of course accusatives in apposition to the sentence. KG 406.6. (For the nom. in apposition cf. 71, note.)

931. ηὐ' δὲ: "believed"; v. on 333. Pearson also compares A. Ag. 506 ου γὰρ τὸν ηὐ' δὲν χρῆμα διὰ των ὑπέρ Χολων Ηλείουν καὶ διὰ τοῦ θάνατον τούτου ἑρωίζει; E. Hel. 1619 οὐκ ἐν τὸν υἱὸν οὗτος ῥευματοῖς ἠθείων ἦ πολιτείαν.

Χερσ: for the expression cf. 449, 512, 976; Hom. II.
of course the mss. reading makes sense of a sort, but the adjective is out of place with μυκών and fits ἀπολλ. (singular used collectively as often in this play; v, on 276) much better in the sense "toiling, war-worn, a war-tried" (cf. S. Ai.637). Pearson objects to this translation of the adjective and he argues unconvincingly from E. And.1975, S. Ai.1112, that πολὺ, πολείν can be applied to the service of the common soldier, and translates here: "consisting of many rank and file", hence numerous. But Jeram 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 πολλήν ἀροίαν ἀπίθανον ἀρρενίν οὖν.

Jacob's suggestion is not absolutely essential but the phrase μείζων τῆς δίκης does not need amplification by πολὺ. Cf. 258.

Pearson is probably correct in
He admits that the middle voice is usual in the expression, but compares τίθημι τιθήμι ψῆφον, 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. ἢν ὕσιν: transitional use, explaining why the servant is present. GP 471.

στήτι: for the erection of this image cf. E. Ph. 1250 Πολιτείας, ἐν τῷ Ζηνίτῃ ὀφθαλμῷ στήτι τρόπαιον; 1473 δὲ μὲν Διὸς τρόπαιον ἵστατον στήτι; Supp.647 πώς γὰρ τρόπαιον Ζηνίτης οὖς ἱγκαμάζον τούτου ἔστησαν.

937. Διὸς τρόπαιον: v. on 867.

ἐθαλῆς: ἤστατον LP: corr. Elmsley: the imperfect tense is followed by the historic present of ἐπιστήλλουσι. Pearson compares S. Ant. 419 where πιστῆς comes between ἐθαλῆς and ἐπιστήλλει. Jebb (ad loc.) gives the further examples of S. Ant. 406; Ai. 31; Tr. 359ff.; OT 118ff.
939. \( \text{ἐκ ἐπιστῆσαι} \): to be taken with \( \text{ἀποκρούσθη} \). For \( \text{ἐκ} \) 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. \( \text{ἀ νώ} \): cf. 52.

\( \text{ἐπιστῆσαι} \): "finally"; v. on 869.

\( \text{εἴδε} \): simply "taught"; cf. S. El. 528 \( \text{και} \). \( \text{Δίηνε} \) \( \text{εἴδε} \).
The metaphor is not "from the legal sense - 'convicted'", as Pearson suggests; rather, the legal use of \( \text{ἀσφαῖ} \) (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. \( \text{μὲν οὖν} \): "right then, firstly..."; cf. 936, note.

943. \( \text{ἐπιστῆσαι} \): \( \text{ἐπιστῆσαι} \) IP: corr. Elmsley:
adverbial accusative as in the exx. quoted by Pearson:
E. Rec. 968 \( \text{διῃκύμασε προφθαλμών ἐπιστῆσαι} \); Med. 470 \( \text{φίλου μακρὸς} \) \( \text{δρίσαντ' ἐπιστῆσαι βλέπων} \).

944. \( \text{κρατῆ} \): passive, as E. Tr. 730 \( \text{κρατῇ} \) \( \text{ἐδ}' \) οὐ \( \text{κρατοῦ} \). For \( \text{κρατῇ} \) .... \( \text{οὐ κρατοῦ} \) v. on 531, and for the sentiment cf. the (corrupt) line 884.

946ff. Edd. have with good reason found difficulties in
these lines. Firstly, ἐνυφρίαν is intolerably close to ἐνυφρίας; secondly, the asyndeton of κατήγεις and ἐπίστροφος 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. Freller-Köbert, Die Gr. Heldensage, ii. p.431ff. and cf. E. HF 426 τοῦ τε πολυβλάπων ἔναυς ἔτη Θεω, πάνω τε θεωτάς.)

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 μᾶτι (or μᾶς) ἔκβους in place of κατήγεις. Paley suggested ἔσχως το ὑπεραί τ', comparing the description of the Nemean Lion as ἐπαρ in E. HF 153, 363. Dobree simply proposed ἔσχως, 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 ἔσχως to the participle ἔσχων. This suggestion removes the asyndeton, separates ἐνυφρίας from ἐνυφρίας more tolerably (cf. ἔσχως, 957 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 -уста, to spend 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 —уста."

His version would therefore run:—

945 ἐκῖνος εἰς σὺ — βοϊλέμα γὰρ εἰδῖναι —
946 ἰς πολλὰ μὲν τὸν ένδικον ἰππὰ τινι νῦν ἤμι —
947 παῖς λέανσι, ἐπεσής, ἐφυβρίας —
950 ἰδρὰς λέαντας τέ ἐμπολλύναι λέγων —
951 ἐπιγέμισας; ἰππὰ β' Ὀχ' ἀγαθὸν κακά —
952 σιγα. μέρος γάρ μοῦ διὰ ἵνα γένοιτο μοι —
948 τί γὰρ οὐ κεῖσθε οὐκ έτῇ πολλὰ βρισάλισί —
949 ἰς καὶ παρ' Ηλίαν ἠμνύον κατήγαγεν —

946. ἡμὲν: answered not by δι' 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.

dιν ὑπὸ ἑποτὶ νῦν: edd. compare E. Alc.1092 κεῖσθε.
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, אָלְמֵנֶה נוֹרָם, which the pious Iolaos follows with the statement וֹדֵי, וַיַּנָּתֵב וַיַּלְאֹשׁ), which need not, of course, necessarily imply that she means that he is among the dead.

949. קַטָּתִיקָהָקָהָה: i.e. "you made him go down."

950. אִלְּכָּהָה לֵבָּתִּי: Alkmene wildly exaggerates. Jerram compares E. IT 1359 קָלֹסַתְּנֵי וָנֵי בִּנְאָה לְּאָלְמֵנֶה, where there is only one image and one priestess.

לָטָּנָה = קָלָוָה.

952. מְקָרָה: i.e. as Pearson: "tedious, i.e. too long". He compares A. Fr.875 הִשְׁפִּיק בְּבִיתֵהוּ, וָנֵי בְּיַרְבּוֹר לְוָנָה וֿנָטָה, וּסְּתָוָה הָעָנִים קָרָה; S. El.1335 וָנֵי מְקָרְבָּהָה תִּן הָעָנִים לְוָנָה. Also cf. E. Supp.638 לְוָנָהוּ בְּמְקָרְבֶּהוּ אָמַרֵהוּ; Hec.1177 נָטָה מְקָרְבֶּהוּ לְוָנָהוּ.

955. נִקְאָה — נִקְאָה: cf. 33.

956. יָרָבְאָה: i.e including Iolaos not mentioned in 954.
959. _keleven_ ἵπτῃ: i.e. as Pearson: "the gain will be all on your side", who compares E. Med. 454 τιν κρεβα ὕψος Ἰησοῦ Φίλιππος. 

Χρη: Χρή IP: corr. Reiske: Χρη expresses an unreal supposition. In support of Reiske, Elmsley quoted E. Med. 573 Χρη γάρ ἑλθέν ποτέν βροτήν πᾶσιν τεκνὸν θεόν, 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, Χρη (when τὰ used of a present obligation) regrets that it is not fulfilled.")

961-972. The mss. divide these lines between the Chorus and Ἀγγ. (962-963 are given to Ἀγγ.) – v. App. Crit. – and then assign 973 to Alkmene. Barnes substituted Alkmene for Ἀγγ., and then Tyrwhitt gave the lines assigned to the Chorus to Ἀγγ. 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 961-975 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 hear 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 - ἢ Ση - 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 affronting him if I cannot have my vengeance?" and then, indignantly, "what law says that I cannot kill him?"

963. ἢ Ση: "In E. and Ar. often in surprised, or emphatic and crucial questions." GP 259.

965. τ´ Ση το˘: expressing incredulous surprise, as in English, "what's this, then?" Cf. η. Ba.622, Ion 275 (τ´ Ση το˘ IP: Ση Elmsley, followed by Wilamowitz; v. GP 262.)

 kaldov: 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: *προνοούσις ὃτι ἐκώντας τα ἔλθοντα μὴ Κέρυς προεξορμεῦναι* (οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱκανοὶ ὄντες; but there, of course, *touts* are those who surrender voluntarily, which Eurystheus did not (§43-859), 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 (EG 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 Índe the soldiers were only just restrained from massacring the people (Thuc. 4.120). 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. *τὸ διὰ ὑπάρχων* : lit. "this having seemed good", i.e. this decision; cf. S. El. 29; D. 3.14. For the participle
after ἄλλη/κομα 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 εἰ in questions which do not contain an interrogative word v. GP 177.

حرف: v. on 959.

969. τὸ φιλότητα: the sense is clear and the metre easily restored by either μὴ ἐν τί θέωρῃς φίλος, Erfurdt (cf. E. Alc. 18) or φίλος 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 ἡμείς/δέοι = "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 ἀδίκημα 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 (ἀδίκημα οὐ) if he were killed now, after being spared in battle, and Alkmene savagely seizes upon the word (cf. χαῖρε, 968, 969) and twists the meaning, viz. "injustice was done when he did not die." The servant agrees: "perhaps, but it is right (μὴλοι, ἢ κακοῦ) 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 smallldashes 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. έν καλώ: = καλών (cf. 965). Cf. S. 11.384 νῦν γάρ έν καλῷ φρονίμα; E. Hel.1227 ἐν εἴμαι έγὼ ὁ πρὸς μαρτυρίαν λαβών; 1277 ἐν εἴσοδοι γαῖς νόμιμα μὴ κλέπτων νεκρῶν; IA 1106 έν καλώ ο' ἐγώ δέων ημᾶς.

ouk ou: v. on 255.

972. έστις έν ἔναταν: the optative is more "remote" than the future tense; contrast 977 έστις έγκαθεται.

973. kaiəto prw:...: καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μὲν ἔχων τινα LP: the error of the mss, which Trywhitt brilliantly corrected was caused by faulty "dictée interieure" (Dain, Les Manuscrits (1964), p.44).

kaiəto: the "logical" use of the particle. GP 562.

πρῶτο: simply picking up the έστις 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 ἐκ τοῦ οἴνοι and El.939 ἐκ τοῦ οἴνοι κρασιός ἰδίως, as if the meaning here also were "someone (of importance)" (LSJ s.πρώτο, II.5).

975. eúboi antilektion: cf. E. Med.364 καὶ πέμπετε καὶ πάντα ἔρωτι panta kai τι λυπερά.

976. eis xerpa: for the phrase cf. 449, 512, 931, note.
977. Cf. E. Alc. 848 ὃικ ἐστίν ὅτις λέγεται; Med. 793 ὃικ ἐστίν ὅτις ἐξαρχίσεται (IA 972 εἴ τις με τῷ σῷ θυμάτι ἐξαρχίσεται); and the parody Ar. Pax 316 ὃικ καὶ νῦν ὅτις ἐξαρχίσεται.

978. ἔργον τῶν: Pearson mentions that Cobet (Novae Lectiones, p. 271ff.) objects to the text on two grounds: firstly, that ἔργον τῶν 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 ἔργον τῶν ἄνευ ὁμολογίας; secondly, that the articles of τῆς οἰκείας and τῆς φωνής are wrongly added since λέγει is not the equivalent of καὶ λέγει (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 Fl. Grg. 489 Τοῦ μετέπειτα καὶ κριτὴν πότερον τοῦ φρονηματίσθην λέγει;

979. For the expression cf. E. Hipp. 640 μὴ γὰρ ἐν ὑπὸ δομον εἰς φωνησα πλεῖον ἢ γυναικα χρῆ.

980. λέγει.... ἐγγυον: the emphatic contrast between what people will say and what she will have done.

περιελήται: the tense expresses "certainty or likelihood
that an action will immediately take place": MT 79; KG 388.2. Cf. Ar. Pl. 1027 φράστε, καὶ πεπραβήται; S. Ant. 91 ὀδηγοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο εὖ οὖν, πέπλωσθαι. The sense is that even before people can abuse her, she will have done the deed.

981. καὶ: "and yet...." Cf. 554; GP 292.

...: cf. E. Andr. 955 ἔσεσθαι με βαλεντίνα τίδε.  

982. πρὸς Κυμας τοίς: to be taken closely with νεῖκος as D. 19.85 πρὸς ἀθηναῖοι; Thuc. 1.18 μὴ ἦσαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους; 1.92 πρὸς Κρεστίδος λύσα τόμος εἴσενέκα.  

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. ὑπέτευσεντα: cf. E. Med. 368 Σοκις γὰρ δὲν με τοίς ὑπέτευσιν ποτὲ; Andr. 459 οὐ γὰρ ὑπέτευσον γὰρ τῇ γλοίᾳ λόγον τῆς ἰμής καὶ πάντα γεί.  

984. τῇ ἱμή γιανή τε: "to save my life"; cf. E. Hel.
945  τοίν ὑπὲρ Νέαπολεος πεδῶν λόγου ἠκομοί οί σιγῆς ἕκαστη, τῆς γῆς ψυχή τῆς;
(Ph. 1330; Or. 847; S. El. 1492; ἔρχεται πρὸς κυρασό, πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν;
Hdt. 7. 57; 9. 37; cf. Pl. Thit. 172E.)

946. δικαιαίοις τινά: a legal metaphor; cf. E. Hf 1348;
μάλα δικαιαίοις τινί ἐκλέλειφος ἐφέστω; AIG. 1093 μακρὸν δ’ ἐφῆσκεν;
Hdt. 6. 7 μοι το ἐκπαι σὺν το ἐνθήμερον ἐφέστω; Med. 1049 ἔσοβαν γελοῦντο ἐφίστω; S. Ant. 470 σχέδει τι μάλα μακρὰν
ἐφῆσκεν (on the basis of which last example and others
Elmsley once proposed τίπι here instead of τίνα.)

947. νεῖκος ἰδίων: cf. 504, note; for the repetition
of the verb at the end of 991, v. on 946ff.

947. ἀδελφοίς: Sthenelos, father of Eurystheus, and
Elektryon, father of Alkmene, were both sons of Perseus.
Additionally, the mothers of Eurystheus and Alkmene were
daughters of Felops.

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 Eurytheus was born on the appointed day and thus assumed the birthright 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.403E, and for the word used of mental sickness sent by the gods, E. Hipp.766 διηρ. Αφεδρία νόσου.

ἔργον: for the construction of the verb with the acc. and infinitive (which Pearson says is confined to poetry) cf. E. Med.717 παλαιός γονύς σπέρμα σε ἄλογον; Hec.357 πρῶτον μὲν με τούς θεοὺς ηὐς ἠδόν τιθήσθαι οὐκ ἐνώπιον ὃν; S. OC 1357 κῆρυκα ἵππων μὲ σταθερὰ ποταμίς πορεύεται.

991. ὑπερθείης: v. on 986.

992. ὑπακόη ὑπακούει: cognate accusative: KG 410.2(a). For the phrase cf. E. ALC.648; Supp.427; Ion 939; Hel.343; Or.1124.
993. ἰοφίτος: "deviser of woes", i.e. the Labours which Herakles had to perform. Pearson compares A. Pr. 61 ἵππη ἰοφίτος ἐν Αἰθήμορον.

994. οὔκειν συνδικών: Pearson: "sitting in council with the night"; edd. cite the proverb but no justification is needed for this fine Aeschylean phrase.

995. σύνακοιν: the word continues the metaphor of συνδικών, 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" - ἵππη ἰοφίτος ἐν Αἰθήμορον.

996. τοιούτοις: misplaced: cf. S. Phil. 279 θάνατον μὲν ἕν χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ; 1136 βραντὰ μὲν ἐκείνης ἡμᾶς, συνεντεύσθην πρὸς τοὺς δοκοῦς. Jebb (ad Phil. 279) explains that the order is "due to the writer having begun as if he intended to repeat the participle of βραντά: as here, βραντά μὲν .... βραντά κε" (Ot 25 φθονὸς μὲν .... φθονοῦσακ' ἀν.) Cf. Ai. 372ff.

997. αὐτῷ ἐνδίκα: i.e. "no mere cipher": Cf. E. Tr. 476

οὐκ ἀποβηθεῖν ἡλιότητα, ἀλλ' ἐπιτίθετον ἑρμῆν.
Ar. Nub. 1202 Αἰθήμορον ἐπάθησα, πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον.

Ἀλλ' : answers μή as 928, note.
998. καί: with participles = καί/περ. Cf. E. Med. 314 καὶ γὰρ ἑδικήματοι συγγράφοις; 866 καὶ γὰρ ἐδοκεῖ διόμενη. (For καί .... γὰρ v. GP 108.)

999. ἴναντίας y' ἵππα: ἴναντίας y' ἵππα IP: μοι add. Wilamowitz: τι add. Center: γε Χρυστά Meckler, followed by Wecklein: γεν headlam, followed by Méridier: γ' ἵππα Adding: of the suggestions, Meckler's is linguistically the most appealing, but assumes the replacement of Χρυστά at some time in the history of the transmission of the text by the synonymous ἵππα'. For ἴναντίας cf. 718.

1002. ἐφεύρεν πατέραν: i.e. the hatred inherited from their father.

πάντα κινήσει πέτρων: i.e. to leave no stone unturned: cf. Hdt. 5,96 κινήσει πατ̄ην ναύσα. While the meaning is clear, the origin of the expression is obscure. Photius, quoted by Musgrave, suggests that the metaphor is from crab-hunting: Framill.4; S. Fr.37; παντὶ σκοταίνη ραχίαν ὅπως; Jerram refers to the proverb ὅπως παντὶ ὅπως ἱππάτως, quoting Ar. Th.528 ὅπως ὅπως μὴ παντὶ ποὺ ἔσυμ μὴ δύνατ' ἔτη τερ 28σεῖν. (For a similar expression = "to make every effort", cf. E. Med.278 ἐπί τε μὴ ἔπληκτο ναῦν, and other examples there quoted by Page of that nautical metaphor.)
1003. **κτείνωτά** : edd. stress the conative sense of the participle, "trying to kill", and compare E. Ph. 1650

ε'τι δ' ἐγενόμην, δυσὶ δ' ἐστὶν παρὰ κτείνω με ; IT 27;

Ion 1224; 1300; 1326; 1408; 1544; Andr. 310, (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 έϕαίλλοντα and τεχνίμενον are syntactically parallel to κτείνοντα, and they have no conative sense:

Eurystheus did constantly drive out the Heskeleidae and did contrive against them (20ff.). Perhaps the present and imperfect tenses of κτείνοντα are always "conative" in the sense that they imply attempts to kill: cf. the meaning of διόσφαιρα and πελείν in these tenses; v. KG 382. 7(a) and Wackernagel, Syntax i., p. 165ff. (Note that E. Andr.

53 ἡμεῖς Ὀδήσων πάροι ὀφ κτείνω δίκην, is a locus nondum sanatus: τίνει Ἄρρηξ: κτείνω Ἡρμαμάν.)

1004. **δοκιμά** : sc. ἵκοι ἀπὸ τῷ .

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**ἐγκνιόμεν** : "my position was, I thought, secure." The sentence represents a reported form of ἐλα τοιμα δεῖ, τῇ γίγνεται ἴσβηλη . Cf. E. Ba. 612 τῇ μοι φίλε ἢ, εἶνοι σύμφων τοίχοι , where Dodds notes: "This is simply the past form of a general supposition in present tense,

τῇ μοι φίλε ἒστιν, ἐν σύμφων τοίχοι ; cf. Ἡδτ. 9.

13. 3 ἐγκλαίει δ' τῶν εἰκόνων, ἐτί... εἰ νικώτο συμβαλλέω, Ἴπιπλασίων ὧν, where the thought reported is ἐλα νικώτα, Ἴπιπλασίων ὧν ἦστιν."
Similarly Pl. Cri.47D διαφθοράμεν ἡμίν καὶ λυφθομένη, οὗ τῷ μετείκαν βελών εὐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἄδικην ἐπικλήτω.
Cf. MT 38; KG 383.5.

1005. οὔκεν: = nonne, with the predominant element being the οὖκ, while the οὖν 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 οὔτιν' ἐν ὑbios seems more apt if following a question.

ἀναληφθείς: the LP reading should be retained. The sense of "taking upon oneself" (LSJ s.v. I.3), even if there exists no parallel with τὰς, 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. λυφθομένη: LP: in view of the parody by Ar. Vesp.1160, λυφθομένη κατρίμετα, and because there is nothing "base-born" about the children of Herakles, λυφθομένη (Stephanus) has rightly been adopted by all recent edd. except Murray.

1007. σωφρός: 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 μὴ γὰρ ἄνοια μεγάλη λέειν ἐξεργῇ ἐξεργῇ, ἐξ' κτείνειν καὶ φόβον οίκην ἰδελέσθαι; HE 168 οἷς αἰτίας τῶν δεμοτῶν ἔμερας ἐκαίνεν ἐκαίνεν. Cf. also Cypr. fr. 25 (Allen), 22 (Kinkel) νέπιος ὁ πατέρα κτείνη πᾶσας καταλείπεις; Ἑδ. 1.155.1; Arist. Rhet. 1376A6.

1007. ἐλάσσα: sc. Ἰν. The aorist tense of the single act of "granted" is contrasted with the imperfect tense of the preceding ἔλαυνε = "you would have kept on harrying them" (cf. ἔκβαλλον, 1003).

1009. τότε: i.e. in the battle; cf. 970.

1010. πρέβασσαν ὀντα: 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.

τοῖς Ἔλληνων ἑβορ: instrumental dative, "by the laws". To be taken with οὐχ ἵνοι εἰμι.

οὐχ ἵνοι εἰμι: 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 (*μίαμα *) v. Atkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Ch. V; Rohde, *Psyche*, Ch. V.3.)

1012. ἀφήνεις ὑψηλοῦσα: Jerram: "showed her wisdom in letting me go, in that she regarded...." Cf. E. Ba. 329

τίμην τὰ βραχὺν ὑψηλοῦσα, μέγαν Θεόν.

For ἀφήνεις = "let go", cf. 1019, 1027. (Also E. IT 739; fr. 463; S. Ai. 754; OT 320). Euryttheus 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. τῇ ἐχθρίᾳ ἐκδικός: i.e. "hatred for me". For this objective use of the possessive adjective Pearson compares E. Hipp. 965 εἰ δοσολείας τῇ ἐκδίκησις; Hel. 1236 μεθυμνά

νείκως τὸ σοῦ. Cf. also A. Pers. 700 τὴν ἐχθρίῃν ἀδικίαν μεθύμνης;


1014. προσέκινε: Elmsley: ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ Λ: ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ 1P:

Ἑρμανν: Elmsley drew attention to the fact that the resolution of the metron involved in the "correction" by λ., i.e. ω — 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 προσεύμην seems a better correction of προ  ἐπι η  than simply ἐπι, which is the common addition of γα γα used frequently by 1 (Triclinius) as a metrical panacea.

1015. τοῦ προστροπάιον τοῦ τε γενέαν: the basic meaning of προστροπάιον is "turning in supplication to", illustrated by 108 ἔκειαν προστροπάιαν; S. Ph. 930 ἐπί ἐπι δορίσθη ἡ προστροπάια τοῦ ἔκκειν; Ai. 1173 ὅσοι ἐπὶ προστροπάια ἐκ Χερόν ἔχων καμάς ἕμι; A. Supp. 362 ποτιποτάιον ἀδελφον; Eu. 234 ἐγώ κρίνω τοῦ ἔκκειν δεινή γαρ .... πέλει τοῦ προστροπάιου μάνης, εἰ προς ὑπάτ' ἐκών.

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 ὁδε εἰμί προστροπάιος, ὁδε ἕκκειαν μώσος προξενίᾳ τῆς ἐν ἐφηβῶν ἔργας (cf. also ibid. 237); E. HF 1259 δυτικαὶ κτισμένοι χειρον πατέρα προστροπάιον ἐν ἐγκύμων τοῦ τεκόσαν Ἀθηναίων ἐμί. Then the word is used of the murdered man himself appealing for vengeance as Antiph. Tetr. 1. γ. 10 ὁμώμεν ἔνει προστροπάιος ἐπὶ ἀποθανόν ὥρα ἐστι; A. Ch. 287 εκ προστροπάιων ἐγένει πεπτωκότων, or of the spilt blood itself, as E. Ion 1260 ἐν ὑποθάλῃς γαρ ἐναθανάτων, τοῦ τεκτονεῖσθαι αὐτὸ προστροπάιαν ἄμια ὄψεις; HF 1161 καὶ τόνδε προστροπάιαν ἄμια προσλαβόμεν ὀδὴν κακοῖσα τοῦ ξυπνίου οἴρων,
and also of the avenging spirit of the murdered man, as distinct from the man himself: cf. Antiph. Tetr. 3.2.4., 3.1.8 of τῶν ἱπτομένων προστρέψαι, ἡ προστρέψαι τοῦ ἱπτομένου, 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 νίκη life - this in spite of the opening lines, 983-985, and 1010, 1016-1017! Pflugk adopts the sense of προστρέψαι = "polluted man", and translates "improbum vel nefarium"; Méridier also, referring to E. HP 1259 (misprinted in his note as 1250), translates "le criminel impur".

The epithet γεννάτων is no less difficult to interpret. Pflugk, followed by Méridier, takes it as in opposition to προστρέψαι, i.e. "tu vero me vel improbum et nefarium dicas licet, vel fortum 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 τα, supra 22. Pearson suggests that γεννάτων 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, ἡ φίλατρα, η ἀγαθός ἐκφίλης μακρὰ. 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 ἀντικομικός 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. ἦν ξέντοι: adversative (cf. 267, 593): "but, whether you say so or not, that is my position." GP 412.
πέπει: LP: πέπει 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 παρ' ἐκείνου λόγον; S. Ai.480 παρ' ἐκείνου λόγον; Tr.876 παρ' ἐκείνου; Ph.241 οὕτω ὑπ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παν; v. also Fraenkel ad Ag.582. For ἐκείνο in the sense of "mental apprehension" cf. LSJ s.v. A.1.9.

ἐκείνο, adopted by Wecklein, Pearson and Meridier, is the lectio facillior = "my position is so", i.e. the common use of ἐκείνο with an adverb = "to be....." (KG 419.1; LSJ s. ἐκέινο B.II.2).

1018. Murray (v. App. Crit.) believed that there was a lacuna after 1017. But ἐφευρέω (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 Kylllos 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. 931-2.

1019. ἐφευρέω: explanatory infinitive with ὑπερήφανος.
1020. ἧν καὶ ἣν: for this colloquial use v. P.T. Stevens, CQ 31, p.84, who compares for τὸ δ', ἔτι E. Hel. 1043; IT 1024; Ph.732; Iōn357; Andr.845 (Ἅλλ' ἐ'); Hel. 832 (ἥ', ἡν δ'). Add also for τὸ δ', ἢν Ar. Pae 140; Av. 1655; Lys.157, 366; Nub.1444; Theoc. 8.26 ποιητ' ἢν; Hom. Od.18.223 ποιητ' νῦν ε' ....

1021. ἔσον: for the position cf. exx. in GP 427.

1022. ἐςίν: i.e. to Alkmene's savage nature the problem is simple.

1024. τὸ εὑρ': Pearson: "acc. of reference"; cf. KG 412.3. She proposes to "let go" his (dead) body.

ους ἀπετυχθ' εἵν: 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 σίγη in spite of everything.

1026. κρεῖν': v. on κρέινεινα, 1003.

1027. ἀφηκε: v. on 1012, 1017.
κατραβάω : for the use of the verb with the infinitive cf. 43; E. Ion 179 καταχωρίζω μεν τινὰ διδόμενον ; IA 451 ἐξαναγκαῖον ἐκβάλειν μεν τινὸς διδόμενος δακρύει, τὸ μαθαίνει χαίτις διδόμενον τέλος.

1028. Ἀνεικαίρου : construed here with the dative of the thing which is presented and the accusative of the person to whom it is presented, as E. Cr. 117, Supp. 1168, Ἱ. fraternity. Fr. 778. For the opposite construction (as διδόμενον) cf. Hdt. 2. 126; 5. 37; A. Fr. 251.

1029. Ἐπειδὴ : Pearson objects to the mss. reading on the grounds that the meaning "too great to be thought of" (MT 764) makes Χρόνος 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 Ἐπειδὴ. 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.

Χρόνος : cf. 869, note; 941.

1030. ὄψις : IF: ὄψις, Dobree: the use of the future indicative = imperative is well attested: KG 387. 6; MT 69.

μακρύνει : sc. ὄψις.
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.)

_πορευθεία: sc. ναός_.

1032. _πολι_ : LP: 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. _πολι_ is not superfluous, for it refers to the city in future times.

1033. _μετοικός_: edd. refer to A. Pers.319 στρέφω _μετοικός γῆς_; Cho.684 οί βού μετοικόν, εἰς τὸ πέλας ἐποιεῖτε ὑπάρχειν _τῶν_ for the application of the word to the dead buried in a land not their own. Eurystheus will become a ἔρυξ εὐωφόρος of the land; cf. Cedipus, S. OC 459 τοῖς μὲν πολεις μεγάλας στρέφοντας, _τοῦ δ' ἔμοι ἔξοδος τούτου_; ibid.616-628; and Erasidas of the Amphipolitans, Thuc. 5.11.1 ὁ Ἀμφιπόλειται...αὕτη τε _εὑτρώων καὶ τῆς δεσφίκας Λυδίας καὶ ἑτυράον Θυκιδῆς_. Cf. also the statement of Crestes, 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 Ε. Ba.1355.)
1035. ἧταν: as Pearson, simply "when (in the future) ......"; he refers to his article in CHAII, 249ff. The reference is of course to the Peloponnesian invasion of 431 (v. Introduction). (ἡταν seems a regular oracular formula.)

κεφ: for the collective singular cf. 156, 276, note.

1036. κείσοιται: emphatic and connective; Pearson: "such are the friends which you championed." For the verb cf. 306, 349 (προστατεύ).

1037. ἅδητε: i.e. the oracle that he should die in Attica and protect the land.

1038. άπαμοι: IP: ἱπαμοι Musgrave, followed by Pflugk, Paley, Beck, Jerram: ἱπαμοι Cobet, followed by Pearson and Meridier: the IP reading is unsatisfactory. ἱπαμοι as the object of ἱπαμοι 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. ἱπαμοι seems the most likely conjecture (cf. 600).

answers his own question; cf. E. Hel.56; E. 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 (ιυτοὶ, 1042) should not be allowed to make propitiatory offerings
to his spirit (v. on προστρέμοιν, 1015), so that his
anger may not 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. Ἐστὶ: for the offerings of wine, honey, water
or oil at the tomb cf. A. Pers.609ff.; Ch.54ff.; E. IT
159ff.; Or.114; Hom. Od.10.519.

1041. ἔτι: Pearson compares E. Hec.536; Pi. ικὸς 0.1.90;
Paus. 10.4.7. V. also Kohde, Psyche, Ch.V, n.167.

Ἐκαὶ...ἐκαὶ...ἐκαὶ: there is no zeugma here; although the
expression Ἐκαὶ ἐκαὶ is not found, Ἐκαὶ are liquid
offerings and the parallel Ἐκαὶ Ἐκαὶ is common (LSJ
s. Ἐκαὶ).

Ἐπειδὴ: Eurystheus is again addressing the Coryphaeus
(cf. σοι', 1032, note.)
Heath's suggestion makes better sense at the cost of a very slight alteration. Cf. E. Hel. 556 ἰστημ', ἐπεὶ γ' τοῦ ἕδωρον τοῦ τάξου, where Elmsley suggested τίφων.

1042. νέστερον: i.e. the return of the Herakleidae to the Peloponnese (cf. 310) as αὐτὸν 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 τούτου: "in return for what they have done for me."

1043. καθαρός: 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 κόρος is "two-fold".

1046. ὡς ἂν: LP: ἦν 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 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 XII, 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: (κατενανει, here; κτενόντι, 1049; κτενόντις, 1051) well expresses the savagery of her nature and the bitterness of her feelings against the king.

1050. \textit{fitz}: LP: \textit{vbi} Madwig: as Zuntz remarks (loc. cit. ad 1047), it is doubtful whether \textit{koušere} alone could mean "carry off", "take away" without any indication of place. (Cf. 528.)

\textit{kousir}: edd. have found it difficult to reconcile this
order of Alkmene with her statement of 1023-4; hence

\textit{πυρί} Elmsley; \textit{τὰφε} Haupt; \textit{κόντε} Housman. But, firstly, the savagery of \textit{δοκύσιν} 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 (Apollod. 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).


1052. \textit{ἀπα}: as Pearson says, the emphasis is on the participle: "do not hope to live to cast me out again."

1053. \textit{Χερ}: Murray. \textit{Χερ}. 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, ὀπαξοί would seem to be addressed by the Chorus to themselves, as they prepare to leave in disgust. But ὀπαξοί is never used of the Chorus, always of attendants, and these attendants are clearly the ἐμοὶ 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.

τι ἡσθε ἡμῶν: i.e. "our conduct" (τι is probably nom.). The genitive is as ἡσθε ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν), 1046, note.

καλοποτί: for the adverb, cf. 369.

βαιδιοσίν: cf. 294.
METRICAL APPENDIX

THE PARODOS

73 - 119

The Parodos is composed of iambic trimeters and dochmiacs, the parts of Iolcos 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 = 102-105: 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 $\alpha$ 73-77 (assuming one trimeter lost after 77); strophe $\beta$ 78-89; mesode 90-92; antistrophe $\alpha$ 93-95; antistrophe $\beta$ 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 uvw—v to respond with 82; in 83 ἱππαν (v. Commentary) is required to respond with 104, i.e. uvw — u — u — u. The scansion of 81=102 is  uv — u — u — u — (reading χεπί in 102), i.e. the "iambo-trochaic pentsyllable" (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 χεπί (1) or χεπί (LF) should be read, i.e. whether the dochmiac uv — u — — is preceded by an iambic metron — — u — or a choriamb. Dale (op. cit. 107) quotes A. Th.883 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

Din oú μή ἄνθρωπον τερνιν — 00 — 00 —

Choriambic

Dimeter

αοτ ἀνθρώπου αρχον — 00 — 0 —

Aristophanean

Δοῖς δεῖν Ἀριστοφάνει έλθειν

Aristophanean

Περι πολή μέσων ἐλέον εἰς θέαν

Pherecratean

μεγάλη γυμνότητα δι' οὐν θυρέαν οὐφθαλμός

Archebulean

μέγαν ταύτην μεγάλην αυθεντικήν, οὐ βασιλείαν εἰ —

Glyconic

τω καὶ μαλλί χρυσόν ἅμι —

Glyconic

γεια εἰς ὄφρων, οὐ πρ —

Glyconic

πάντα τοῦ ταύτα μάλα ἐν εἰ —

Aristophanean

γι ζευγάλνου τέφρωνος

η παρὰ γ' ἂν ἀρασισθον πάντα ἀρχηγόνοις —

Aristophanean
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:—

- ἔρχεται γήρας 
- σκοτεινή. Ἀριστοφάνειον 
- ἔρχεται τὸν ξυναντάντας, 
- ἐκ τῶν ἀριστήρων ξώσαν 
- αὖ ἀνέσθων, ἔρχεται.
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:

οὔτως γυμνὸς θεόν ἴτερ ἄφθιον, αὖθτηροκτόνον
λίθος σὺ μὴ προπίτων τῷ θεoν φέρε, μὴ γὰρ ἀπράξεις
Χαῖρε γενεὰν.

τὸν ἀυτὸν λαύταν τοῖς βέβαιοι δεόμενοι
εὐσκόμοι μὴ ἔχεις θανάτου μέρος
εὔτεκτα, παρὰ δ' ἄλλαν ἄλλα
ἐμὲ δέ προ τ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ γυν.

μόρφα διηνεκές.

οὖθ', ἐλλεχθείς νιν

τοῦ μὲν λ' ὑπερήφανον ἑρώτων ἕκισε,
δόσα προὶ λυθρίπτων ὑποδέσθαι.

τοῦ δ' ἄλλαν εὐδοκίμιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

λ' ἄρσε βαίνει διὰ μέχριαν,

πάσας δ' οὖτι φυγαίν θέμα,

ημὲν μὲν πάροι, ἐγὼ δ',

οὐ σωφρόν τῷ λατρετέρι
εἰσχεῖται τά τε γίγνεται.

Ἀλλαὶ μέταν δ' ἀρχομένος λείπον ἔχει,

εἰ δ' ἐβίω διὰ μὲν γυναῖκα, μετέχωσοι.
THIRD STASIMON

Strophe a and Antistrophe a 748-758 = 759-769

Γά καὶ παννύχιος σελήνα
δεινοῦ μεν χαίρειν αὐτῇ Μυρή.
ναὶ καὶ λαμπρότατος ώρος
νεοὶ εὐδημόνα καὶ δορὰς
φανομένων αἰώνα, πολυανατον ἕλκη
ἀθρόλογοι οἴκημα τοῖς ἐνεύομαι ἑζῆν ἔμι.
μην ἐκ Χρῶν καλῶσαι.
ἰκέσσατε δ', οὐμὲν ἄκρα,
κακοῦ δ', ὡς πόλυ, ἐτέρνου
καὶ πρὸς ὁρόν θρίατον
ἐκτάριμον παρασάσκειν
γλυκῆς ἐν ἀθάνατη
κελεύσαιν ἄργου
μηλὶ τῇ πατρίστειδος
Ζεύς καὶ ἐγκυμηκός, ὥς φοβοῦν
γάρ, μηλὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱματιόν
μαι, Ζεύς καὶ Χρῶν ἐνδίκηισι
ἐκόθησαν ὅποιες ἐνοσταί
ἐξει. οὐκότε θυατήν.
κινδυνεῖ πολλῷ τέσσερις σέβρη.
(Phαλαείαν)
ἕγεσον Καίμονις ἐκ γυναικοῦ φανοῦται.
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

Iambic Trimeter

Aristophenean

Glyconic

Hipponactean

Aristophenean

Aristophenean

Cretic

Glyconic

Pherecratean
Strophe and Antistrophe 910-913 = 919-927

The metre throughout is aeolic, except from the iambic trimeter of 892 = 901. For the enjambement of 910-913 = 919-922 cf. the First Stasimon.