EURIPIDES

ION

Commentary; ll. 1-568

D. PHIL. THESIS

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PARENTIBVS

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James Irvine

ABSTRACT

In this line by line commentary I have attempted to discuss all matters textual and linguistic on which a reader might resort to a commentary for aid. There is,naturally,a pronounced emphasis on textual criticism; literary comment is interwoven with my arguments as the play unfolds. I have endeavoured to cite Greek with sufficient generosity to enable the reader to form a different judgement from my own from the material I have furnished. Considerable space has also been devoted to matters mythological and religious, as the nature of the play demands.

I conclude with an Endnote on the marginal annotations found in L. Three appendices follow: on the question of scenery, on alliteration in ancient poetry and poetic theory, and on a textual problem in the prologue to Euripides' *Phrixus*.

As no new evidence has emerged either to enhance our knowledge of the paradosis or to indicate the date and general background of the play, I would prefer at this stage to direct the reader to A.S.Owen's introduction to his Clarendon edition of 1939 rather than burden this work further with a formal introduction.

I conclude with a general bibliography of works often cited.

J.A.D.I.
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CONTENTS

Commentary: ll. 1-568	1-427
Endnote: The Marginal Annotations in L	428-431
Appendix I	432-436
Appendix II	437-446
Appendix III	447-448
Brief Bibliography	i-x

The Prologue

The play begins at dawn, as do the *IA*, the *Hecuba* and the *Phaethon*, with which last the structure and language of our opening scene bear a number of similarities in language and tone, particularly Ion's dawn monody. Sophocles' *Electra* and *Antigone* and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* also start their action at this time. There was, of course, no way of depicting this (the entire action of the *Rhesus* takes place at night). See Diggle, *Phaethon*, 95f. and Fitch on Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 117.

The prologue is spoken by Hermes, making a second visit to Delphi unbeknownst to Apollo (see on 1.68); his purpose is to observe the unfolding of the plan whereby Apollo proposes to restore Ion to Creusa. The speech is a masterpiece of delicate irony and would have required an actor of the highest quality; one can well see why the cast is structured so that the same man (the deuteragonist) would play Creusa. Hermes has the character of the no less charming and mischievous subject of the Homeric Hymn. The principal part of the speech, in which we learn of the past history (some of which may well have been new to the audience), is couched in extremely grand and high-flown language; this descends in 70f. to gentle mockery of Apollo; and the assumed σεμνότης of a god from whom we do not expect it, and which little befits the narrative which could be the start of a comic plot, is finally and amusingly undermined in the last lines, where Hermes steps aside into the laurel bushes on the arrival of the hero to eavesdrop on the action (77) - another comic motif. The *types* of gods and the dramatic function to which they are put in different prologues are discussed by W. Ludwig, 'Die plautinische Cistellaria und das Verhältnis von Gott und Handlung bei Menander', *Entretiens Hardt* XVI (1969), 43f., cf. esp. 53, and on *Ion*, 78.[1] Evidently the

[1] Imhof (*Prologen*, 92f.) explains Hermes' presence, as against that of Athena or Apollo himself, thus; it is in order that "der Raum fur das doppelt-vielfältige Spiel zwischen Göttern und Menschen geschaffen werde". The appearance of Apollo would be utterly ludicrous, of

prologue-god - unlike an abstract τύχη - is not to be thought of as a constant presence (like Pan and the Nymphs in the *Dyskolos*). Hermes is forgotten - though we are to note from his appearance here that an element of amusement is at hand - cf. his role in the prologue of *Helen*, though there at least the information given is accurate. The *Ion* prologue is the only known example where it is not.

Obviously eavesdropping *per se* should not be a feature of comedy, nor should we think of *direct* interplay between the comedy and Euripides; it depends on the use of it. No comedy need be sought in such scenes in A. *Choephori* or the *Hippolytus*.

The plan that Hermes attributes to Apollo does not work out, and the presence of Creusa at *Delphi* was not envisaged in l. 71 f.

1.1: Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν

Thus the two MSS. The violation of Porson's Law has caused concern since that law was formulated. Elmsley conjectured Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν οὐρανόν. This was in the past the most popular emendation. Others are catalogued in the appendix to Prinz-Wecklein, *Euripidis Tragoediae* (1898); it is worth mentioning Nauck's suggestion, Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοισιν φέρων, which assumes οὐρανός to be a gloss on θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον. P. Maas (quoted by Wilamowitz *ad loc.*) with some ingenuity supposed that the Attic ear could detect an elided final iota, i.e. νώτοισ' οὐρανόν, which would palliate the metrical licence. For this *Hcld.* 529 can be adduced as a parallel: καὶ στεμματοῦτε καὶ κατάρχεσθ' εἰ δοκεῖ. It is, however, a solitary instance, it is obelized by Diggle, and emendations are

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course, and I hope I have shown in the following commentary why Hermes' personality is of great importance in setting a subtle and tragi-comic atmosphere. It is interesting that Mercury plays the same part in Plautus' *Amphitryo*, where Hermes may have appeared in a (middle comedy?) original.

ready to hand (κατάρχετ': Elmsley). And the basic objection, that such an assumption gives the line an unwarranted extra syllable, remains in force.

The whole discussion took a different turn with the discovery of *Herc. Pap.* 1088 (II col. I 21f.). This is a fragment of Philodemus *de pietate* which refers to these lines. It was first edited by Gomperz, *Philodem über Frömmigkeit* (Herkulanische Studien II, (Leipzig 1866): see pp.36-47) from the initial publication in *Herc. vol. quae supersunt* coll. altera II (1863), and most recently in complete form by A. Schober (*Philodemi de pietate* pars prior, diss. ined., Regiomontani 1923). See M. Gigante, *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Naples 1979), 264 no.1088 for a bibliography. The various discussions of A. Henrichs on Philodemus have not so far illuminated this passage. A note on the text: what in Capasso's transcription of l. 22, used by Luppe, of the letters after αλκε[ο] is K is read as ισ by Luppe and Schober, whose edition is reprinted with a foreword by Gigante (*Cron. Erc.* XVIII l., (1988)) 65f.; important in view of subsequent deterioration). Schober found room for τοῦτον in the next line. The final letter of 23 is ο or α not ε (as Schober.) See Luppe's transcription, 45 left margin.

I give the most conservative text possible:

Line 21f: καὶ] Εὐριπίδης [

μὲν ὁ χ]αλκέ[ο]ισ[ιν

c. 8-11 spaces] νώτοις ο[

εν] Ἴωνι πεποί

[ηκεν]

Wilamowitz regarded this as not a quotation but a paraphrase, and accordingly restored: Εὐριπίδης [αὐτὸν] χαλκέοις [ἐκ|τρίβειν] νώτοις ο[ὐ|ρανὸν] ἐν Ἴωνι πεποί[ηκεν]. In this he is followed by Owen and Biehl (see *Testimonia*, 83). Philippson

(*Hermes* L (1920), 245) preferred: ἔχοντα 'χ]αλκέ[ο]ις' [Ἄ|τλαντα] 'νώτοις ο[ὐ|ρανόν'] on a similar assumption. The matter was reopened, and Wilamowitz corrected, by D.L. Page (*PCPS* VII(1961), 69). Page argues that as Hesiod (*Theog.* 517-9) is in reasonable probability quoted literally in this papyrus (l.28f.) - Simonides can only be said to be referred to in the lines immediately following the *Ion* reference (*PMG* 556) - 'what intervenes between χαλκέοις and νώτοις is as likely as not to be a direct quotation, and we do have two words of Euripides'. He objects to the size and position of both earlier supplements, pointing out that approximately eight letters separate χαλκέοις and νώτοις, and suggests that the literal quotation ran: ὁ χ]αλκέ[ο]ισ[ιν] [οὐρανὸν] νώτοις [Ἄτλας]. In this he is followed by Diggle. If we accept the idea that Philodemus makes a practice of literal quotation in this and other works, then given the papyrological argument from space οὐρανὸν will be the inevitable supplement. But this is by no means certain.

The argument was taken a stage further recently by W. Luppe ('Atlas-Zitate im Buch I von Philodemus *de pietate*', *Cron. Erc.* XIII (1983), 45f.). He is willing to accept the idea that we have an actual verse, but puts forward two objections to the reconstruction of Page: (i) Such a line is syntactically incomplete. (ii) The ο following νώτοις is unmistakable. (i) I think may be disregarded; (ii) carries considerable weight *if the letter is anything like as clear as it appears* on the ink drawing he offers, though Page seems uncertain as to the *existence* of the letter. Luppe suggests ὁ[χῶν] for the last word of the verse, comparing E. *Hel.* 277: ἄγκυρα δ' ἥ μου τὰς τύχας ὤχει μόνη (ὀχεῖ: codd.: ὤχει Musgrave).

Let us now tackle the real question: is there good reason to think that a literal quotation is to be expected here at all? One example will do here - Aeschylus fr. 70 Radt. Here we can check against other sources that do give the verse metrically:

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός.

Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

But Ph. offers us: Αἰσχύλος] δὲ ἐν Ἡλιά[σιν τὸν] Δία καὶ αἰθέ[ρα λέγει] καὶ γῆν καὶ [οὐρανό]ν.[1]

Thus, while reserving judgement on the restoration of the papyrus, I would be reluctant to rely on it as a witness to the *text* here. Of the earlier attempts to correct the line, Elmsley's is the simplest, depending on a simple transposition of words, and I would adopt it as did W.-M.. It is at least worth mentioning - though in want of a parallel one could scarcely propound it seriously - that if the text *is* as the MSS have it, E. is making a 'metrical joke': Atlas' task is heavy, and the effect of the line matches its subject matter. Thus Hermann (who of course had a natural antipathy to Porson's bridge anyway). Alternatively, in a speech of refined and subtle wit of this type it is *conceivable* that this might constitute a metrical reference to comedy. But I would place little weight on either of these charming speculations.

For comparable descriptions of Atlas cf. Pind. *Pyth.* IV 289f.

καὶ μὰν κεῖνος Ἄτλας οὐρανῷ

προσπαλαίει νῦν γε πατρῷ -

ας ἀπὸ γᾶς ἀπό τε κτεάνων·

Aesch. *PV* 347f.

οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεί με καὶ κασιγνήτου τύχαι

τείρουσ' Ἄτλαντος, ὃς πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους

ἕστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς

---

[1] Four reasons therefore for doubting the new "text" among which are the tendency to inexact quotation, palaeography, and the likelihood of the poet Philodemus correcting the line himself. Nor does πεποίηκεν seem a possible way for Philodemus to introduce a syntactically incomplete quotation (as against φησί or λέγει).

ὦμοις ἔρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.

Other and later references in Biehl, 83 and Wernicke *RE* II 2120f.

l.2: θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον ἐκτρίβων θεῶν

These words pose a delicate problem, as Wilamowitz saw. The repetition of θεῶν at either end of the line is troublesome, at any rate to modern taste: odder still is the way in which Hermes refers to his grandmother as merely 'one of the gods'. Wilamowitz supposed that there was a detectable phonetic difference between θεῶν from θεάων (fem.) which would obviate the first problem. But this is unprovable. There is a possible explanation for the evasive fashion in which Hermes gives his earlier genealogy.

That Maia was the mother, by Zeus, of Hermes, and that she was one of the Pleiades, the daughter of Atlas, is a tradition well established by the time of Euripides: cf. Wernicke o.c. and M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 94f. ('Atlantides'). The Pleiades themselves first appear in Homer (*Il.* XVIII 486: Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε) and *Od.* V 272: cf. Hes. *OD* 383 (Πληϊάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομένάων). The genealogy is well known to Hesiod: *Theog.* 938 Ζηνὶ δ' ἀρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν | κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων. Fr. 169 M-W. (anonymously quoted by the scholiast to Pind. *Nem.* II 17) lists:

Τηυγέτη τ' ἐρόεσσα καὶ Ἠλέκτρη κυανῶπις
Ἀλκυνόη τε καὶ Ἀστερόπη δίη τε Κελαινώ
Μαῖά τε καὶ Μερόπη, τὰς γείνατο φαίδιμος Ἄτλας.

Fr. 170 (likewise there cited): Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν. Simonides fr. 555 l. 2 Page, *h. Hom. Herm.* 89, 550, A. *Cho.* 813, schol. ad *Il.* XIV 491. P. Oxy. viii 1084. Cf. our passage. The list of Pleiades is repeated in identical nomenclature to Hesiod in Aratus 255f. Simonides loc. cit. called Maia Ὀρεία doubtless owing to the location of the cave mentioned in Hes. fr. 170.

But the tradition concerning the previous generation and the wife of Atlas is by no means so firmly established, and it looks very much as if the disunity went back to an early date. Thus one large branch of the tradition gives the Oceanid Pleione as the mother of the Pleiades, logically enough, but the connection, as I will show, need not be early: cf. Apoll. III 10 1, schol. A.R. III 226, Theon *ap.* schol. Arat. 254, Ovid *fast.* IV 169f. V 83f., Hyg. *astr.* II 21, Eust. 1155 40, ad *Il.* XVIII 485.

But another scarcely smaller group record the name of Aethra, also an Oceanid, in precisely the same connection: Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 91 ap. schol. Il. XVIII 486 (original source in Dindorf, not Erbse), 'Musaeus' as quoted in Hyg. *astr.* II 21, Hyg. *fab.* 192, Ovid *fast.* V 171, and the version is also known to Eust. ad *Il.* l.c.

There are two isolated divergences as well: Diodorus IV 27 gives Hesperis: Stephanus Byzantinus s.v. Αὔσων, Calypso. Thus it looks very much as if the information was neither canonical in Euripides' time nor, perhaps, in any of the Hesiodic catalogues. It is probable

that the name and the idea of the Pleiades are considerably older than their putative parent Pleione. As West o.c. notes, the name 'is certainly very old, perhaps Indo-European', quoting A. Scherer, *Gestirnnamen bei den indogermanischen Völkern*, 141f. There may in fact be a connection with πλέω, as he suggests comparing *OD* 618f.
A further etymology (πλειών, if "seed" or "abundance" is the correct meaning of this obscure word - see West on *OD* 617 and 383-4) may be considered; the juxtaposition of this world with the stars in *OD* 615 and 617 may suggest the meteorological significance of their setting. The proper name of the Oceanid Πληϊόνη is found in that form in Pind. fr. 74 S.-M. The secondary nature of the connection with Pleione is further proved by the existence of an ancient 'Volksetymologie' πελειάδες 'doves', a resemblance which will be explicable to anyone who looks at them in the night sky.

Thus θεῶν *μία*, as against a name, becomes quite permissible in the fifth century. What is more disturbing is the doubling of θεῶν.

Jackson, in *Marginalia Scaenica* (Oxford 1955), has done much, both in the text and in his two appendices, to propagate the notion that the Greeks were insensitive to repetitions and introduced them 'unconsciously'. Indeed, he discusses this line on p.198f. with the observation that this showed 'the total indifference of the dramatists to the repetition of all such words'. 'Unconscious repetition' is a highly misleading term, covering as it does repetition lines apart, where the attention of the audience would in all probability not be caught, and logical and pointed repetitions of the same word in extremely close proximity where the device serves a function. (Intelligently treated for Sophocles by P.E. Easterling, *Hermes* CI (1973), 141: on Euripides cf. Schmidt-Stählin I 3 795 with n. 1, Wil. *HF* ad l. 329, Mastronarde ad *Pho.* 143 n. 1.). It is sufficient to note here that if the line *is* as we have it, it should not be taken as unconscious, but as a somewhat frigid *conceit*: Atlas *both* held up the house of the gods *and* married one of its inmates, something that one might expect from epideictic epigram, but not perhaps Euripides.

If θεῶν has been repeated by the scribe and it has obliterated the final foot of the line, we are free to supplement *ad lib.* I would suggest *exempli gratia* μιᾶς | <Νυμφῶν>. Cf. *Rhes.* 393: παῖ τῆς *μελῳδοῦ μητέρος* Μουσῶν *μιᾶς*.

It is also a possibility, which is fuelled by the Herculaneum papyrus, that ἑκτρίβων may be part of the corruption and that a different locution occupied the available space. Emendation of this was contemplated by Gomperz (ἑκ Τιτανίδων moving ἑκτρίβων with Wecklein to the first line). Murray contributed Ἑσπερίδων θεῶν at the end of line with Dindorf's ὀχῶν in l. 2, alternatively suggesting a lacuna after ἑκτρίβων. ἑκ τριῶν μιᾶς θεῶν (Dindorf, Kuiper) is ingenious palaeographically.

The verb normally means "to destroy". However, if the heavens are considered as a kind of mantle, susceptible to wear and tear, the simple verb will accommodate this sense (cf. LSJ II) and the prefix will serve to emphasize the eternal time in question.

The genitive with φύω is understandable: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* V 74 and *Med.* 805 τῆς νεοζύγου | νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδα where the expressed παῖδα is the only element we lack here to assist the genitive.

L. Dindorf may well be right to alter the enclitic form in writing ἤ 'μ'. Diggle is undoubtedly right to ascribe it to him, not to L, as Murray leads us to suppose. The lengthened lower section of the rough breathing over ἡ might prompt one to take this as an example of breathing and another diacritical mark joined together; one has only to look as far as L's version of l. 171 to find an exact replica of this rough breathing, which is common enough here and elsewhere.

Wilamowitz wished to distinguish the mother of Hermes from the Pleiad: 'sein "Mütterchen" war kein Stern der Pleias'. This seems an arbitrary dismissal of the evidence which we have just reviewed, which shows that from a very early date there was complete unanimity that Maia was a Pleiad, that she was the daughter of Atlas, and that she was the mother of Hermes. On the Attic sacrifice to Maia as mother of Hermes see M. Nilsson, *AJP* LIX (1938), 392.

1.4: δαιμόνων λάτριν.

Cf. for this title of Hermes S. *Inachus* fr. 269 c 35 Radt Διὸς ἄρα λάτρις ὅδε; and 69 ε]ἶπον Ζηνὸς αἰάξαι λάτρι[ν (= P. Tebt. 629). Cf. *PV* 941 τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν· τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νεοῦ διάκονον and S. *Inachus* l.c. 21: it is a humble role and frequently one unwelcome to the recipient.

1.5: With ὀμφαλὸν | *μέσον* we understand (γῆς), cf. 462. Pind. *paean* VI 15f. S.–M.

τόθι Λατοΐδαν ¦ θαμινὰ Δελφῶν κόραι | χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν παρὰ σκιάεντα *μελπ*[ό]*μεναι* | ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γᾶν θο]ῷ cf. 120 <ἐν> τε*μέ*]νεῖ φίλῳ γᾶς παρ'ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν and fr. 215 (b) 1-12.

καθίζω is used here metaphorically, cf. *HF* 48 βω*μὸν* καθίζω τόνδε σωτῆρος Διός and *Ion* 1314 βω*μὸν*...ἵζειν, i.e. 'take up a seated position *at*'. The 'seat' of *Phoebus* is of course the tripod: *El.* 980 ἱερὸν καθίζων τρίποδα, likewise *Ion* 366. For the accusative cf. *Ion* 92 and *IT* 277 (θάσσω). A. *Eum.* 41 admits of a similar interpretation.

This reference contributes to the unanimous older tradition that the ὀμφαλός stood inside the temple. Thus also *Ion* 224: <'Ίων> στέμμασί γ'ἔνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ γοργόνες, A. *Eum.* 40 ὁρῶ δ'ἐπ'ὀμφαλῷ *μὲν* ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ in the words of the priestess emerging from the shrine. Strabo IX 420 confirms this, though he may be drawing on older tradition: δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ὀμφαλός τις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τεταινιωμένος - it bore εἰκόνες of the *μῦθος* it concerned. Paus. X 16 3 is unspecific as to its location, and we hear from Varro *de l.l* VII 304 that a copy was made and placed 'in aede ad latus'. If this may be taken as 'in the temple precinct on one side' it will presumably describe the omphalus-like object, a round white stone, that was actually discovered by the French excavators: see *Fouilles de Delphes* II, 69-78.

The legend that Delphi was the centre of the earth goes back at least to Pindar, who is cited for it by Strabo *o.c.* - Zeus despatched two eagles from the ἀνατολή and δύσις of the sun to fly towards each other: they met at Delphi and thus that was deemed the centre of the earth, a fact to which Strabo still attributes the fame of the place. See also schol. Pind. *Pyth.* IV 6.

In general: *RE supp.* V 'Delphoi' 123f., F. Poulsen, *Delphische Studien*, 30-39. Epimenides of Phaestus exhibited a justified scepticism: Plut. *Mor.* 409F - though this is unlikely to be a genuine response (thus J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses* (1978), 290). More on ὀμφαλοί: see note on l.224.

l.6:ὑμνῳδεῖ: Cf. 682 τίν', ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη|σας ὑμνῳδίαν; *El.* 1190 ἰὼ Φοῖβ' ἀνύμνησας δίκαι' ἄφαντα (*Ag.* 990, on the other hand, is an oxymoron). Wilamowitz remarks: '*ὕμνος* ist ja nur Gedicht (ὠδμος) und ἄιδειν jeder Vortrag eines Gedichtes'.

l. 7: τά τ' ὄντα καὶ *μέλλοντα*. P seems at least to have "emended" L here, which provides one καί too many. On the omitted article with the second term see S. *El* 991 καὶ τῷ λέγοντι καὶ κλύοντι σύμμαχος, *ib.* 1498 τά τ'ὄντα καὶ *μέλλοντα* Πελοπιδῶν κακά, while exactly the same expression also occurs in *Helen* 14 and 973. Cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 314, Jebb on S.*El.* 991 and *OC* 606; Gildersleeve, *Syntax* para. 605 ('Common Article'). For the position of τε see K.-G. 2 p. 245 n. 5b. Verrall's interpretation 'that which both is and is to be...the point is that to the god the future is but another present', which takes its lead from this grammatical point, is therefore shown to be over-ingenious.

8-9: Hermes refers to Athens in a riddling fashion, suitable to the somewhat ironic σεμνότης of the whole prologue (see beginning).

χρυσόλογχος:cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 317f. (lyr.) κόρα γλαυκῶπι χρυσόλογχε πόλιν οἰκοῦσα. This is perhaps a Euripidean coinage - the *Thesmophoriazusae* was acted in 411. She is χρύσασπις in *Pho.* 1372. Euripides used, to our knowledge, some 32 χρυσο- compounds, most of which are rare. It is *possible* that to Athenian ears there is a reference to the famous statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias which stood before the Parthenon. (It has been suggested that *Aj.* 1220 is to be read thus: what part of Athens could you see from Cape Sounion?). But gold goes with divinity: Athena is styled χρύσαιγις in Bacch. hyporch. fr. 15.2 S.-M. for example. This is brilliantly exemplified by the great pile-up of χρυσός adjectives on the birth of Apollo, Call. *h. Del.* iv 260f., cf. *h. Ap.* 32; Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum* 35f.; F. Williams on *h. Ap.* l.c. p. 39. Παλλάδος κεκλημένη: should not be translated 'called after'. Pind. *Pyth.* III 67 means 'he was called *the son of Latoidas*': Xen. *Cyr.* II 1 9 likewise 'to be called *one of their number*'. See Schwyzer II 123 b; here Athens is the city that is known as the property of Pallas: alike metaphorically is *OT* 917 ἀλλ'ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγοντος 'he is in the power of anyone who speaks...'.

10-11: οὗ παῖδ' Ἐρεχθέως Φοῖβος ἔζευξεν γάμοις

βίᾳ Κρέουσαν, ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας κτλ.

It was previously thought certain that Euripides had at least a reasonable claim to have been the first to call the wife of Xuthus by this name. However it is difficult to imagine who else is in question in the long *Catalogue* fragment first published as P. Turner no. 1 (fr. 1-3 col. i 20f.)

Ξού]θος δὲ Κ[ρείουσαν ἐπή]ρατον εἶδος ἔχ[ουσαν

κούρ]ην καλλ[ιπάρηον 'Ερε]χθῆος θείοιο

ἀθανά]των ἱ[ότητι φίλην ποι]ήσατ' ἄκ[οι]τιν.

(text of OCT fr. 10a).

Diomede appears in l. 24 (cf. Apollodorus I 9 4) and this, with the mention of Erechtheus, and the remains of Achaeus' name in 23, makes the content of this and the following lines (the sons of Xuthus) certain. Sophocles is accredited with both a *Creusa* and an *Ion*; if, as has been suggested, these are one and the same, then Sophocles too brought Creusa into the story - we do not know the order of priority. However, caution should remind us that *Creusa* is also an appellation ("noble lady") and has at least three other mythological claimants; Sophocles' *Creusa* may have been a play with a wholly different theme.

Euripides himself in other known plays does not seem to adopt such a tradition. Thus in the prologue of the *Melanippe Sapiens* (p. 26 9-11 von Arnim) she is nameless:

πτόρθον δ'ἀφῆκεν ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν

κλεινὰς 'Αθήνας Ξοῦθον, ᾧ νύμφη ποτέ

θυγάτηρ 'Ερεχθέως Κεκροπίας ἐπ' αὐχένι

'Ίων' ἔτικτεν.

In the *Erechtheus*, no daughter survives those who are sacrificed. βίᾳ Κρέουσαν is an intentional oxymoron, hence the order.

11f. : ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας

Παλλάδος ὑπ'ὄχθῳ τῆς 'Αθηναίων χθονὸς

Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες 'Ατθίδος.

Identification of the cave: Pausanias describes the grotto that he thought was the one E. had in mind (I. 28 4) - καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπο τὰ προπύλαια

πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον ᾽Απόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ᾽ Κρεούσῃ δὲ θυγατρὶ ᾽Ερεχθέως ᾽Απόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι < > ὡς πεμφθείη Φιλιππίδης κτλ.

J.G. Frazer *ad loc.* comments 'The cave...is most probably the high arched but shallow cave immediately to the east of the Clepsydra. It faces to the NW and is a conspicuous feature of the rock as viewed from the town below. The walls of the cave are studded with niches for the reception of votive offerings, proving the veneration in which the grotto was held'.

There is however a difficulty in the text of Pausanias which concerns this play, and the general problem that in the region of the Clepsydra there are in fact three grottoes. We may rule out one of them which is further away and shows no sign of worship. There is however another immediately above the Clepsydra which does (niches). See Frazer *o.c.*

There is evidently a lacuna at this point in Pausanias, and the text from νομίζουσι to ὡς πεμφθείη makes no sense on any other assumption. When the text resumes, P. is discussing the worship of Pan and giving an aetiology. *Ion* does not imply that the grotto was the common property of Apollo and Pan, and that that was P.'s object in the digression.

936f.

Κρ. οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας
[πρόσβορρον ἄντρον, ἃς Μακρὰς κικλήσκομεν;]
Πρ. οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.

500f.

συρίζεις, ὦ Πάν, | τοῖς σοῖσιν ἐν ἄντροις, | ἵνα τεκοῦσά τις Φοίβῳ | παρθένος, ὦ μελέα, βρέφος, | ...ἐξόρισεν. There is also Ar. *Lys.* 911f. which refers to τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς καλόν on the Acropolis: the point of the improper allusion in these lines depends on the immediate proximity of this sanctuary to the Clepsydra.

There would be no difficulty in Apollo and Pan sharing a cave. Frazer quotes the analogy of the cave at Vari on Hymettus, which is known to be the common property of Apollo, Pan, the Charites and the Nymphs. See in general A.D. Nock, Σύνναος θεός (*HSCP* XLI (1930), p. 444). Moreover there is an obvious association between the two deities: as F. Brommer notes (*RE* Supp. VIII. 1000f. ix 1) 'Apollon und Pan sind auch durch ihre gemeinsame Liebe zur Jagd und Musik miteinander verbunden'. They appear together in myth, from the *h. Hom. Herm.* onwards. Pind. fr 100 S.-M. tells us that they were father and son, a speculation which is not generally taken up (a plausible emendation in schol. Theocr. *Syrinx* 1/2 a Wendel may provide a further source for the Pindar fragment). Apollodorus I 4 1 tells us that Apollo learnt the mantic craft from Pan. Iconographic parallels are surprisingly few, but they do exist: see *LIMC* II 1 s.v. *Apollon* (nos. 734f., 776f.).

There are however two reasons why we should be cautious about the sanctuaries in this region. The first is the *Lysistrata* joke. The other cave in question happens to be directly above the Clepsydra - it therefore suits the joke better. Secondly, though votives from the

area have been discovered to 'Απόλλων ὑπακραῖος and 'Απόλλων ὑπ' ἄκραις (see reff. in *RE* II 'Apollon' col. 71), there are none to both deities. The references in the *Ion* could be explained as vague references to the general locality of the cave.

The cave is a recurrent symbol in the play, and the focus of Creusa's recollection: cf. 283f. 492f. (lyric description) 1398f. 1482f. (ἀηδόνιον πέτραν). In this respect we may think of the power of the references to the 'crossroads' in the *OT* as a stimulant to other reflections for the hero.

πρόσβορρος: Only here in tragedy and in 937. It appears again later in Thphr. *HP* IX 2 3 and other technical writers with the alternative προσβόρειος. However Plato gives us κατάβορρος with the opposing meaning (*Crit.* 118 B 2). The etymology is of course from Βορέας - 'facing the N. wind'; other rare forms with the double rho are discussed by Chantraine *DE* s.v. Βορέας.

καλοῦσι: This is a common elliptical construction. Cf. *Il.* XI 757 'Αλησίου ἔνθα κολώνη | κέκληται, *OT* 1451 ἔνθα κλήζεται | οὖμὸς Κιθαιρών, and in the active as here Pind. *Nem* IX 41 ἔνθα Ῥέας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι. Also found with κικλήσκω, καλέω, but not with ὀνομάζω. Cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 121-2.

Μακραί: 'Long' cliffs or 'high' cliffs; we cannot be certain.

Why do we want τῆς 'Αθηναίων χθονός and γῆς ἄνακτες 'Ατθίδος at the end of two consecutive lines? And can one call the Acropolis 'the hill of the land of the Athenians'? Thus Musgrave altered χθονός to πρόμου, i.e. Athena, and Klinkenberg and others have wished to practise deletion.

It is possible that if there has been corruption it would have arisen through someone inscribing τῆς 'Αθηναίας χθονός in the margin as a parallel to γῆς... 'Ατθίδος, or the other way about - but the fact that both scan is surprising. And I think such alteration as Musgrave contemplated misses an important effect. I have already contended that repetition

in Greek poetry is a very much more interesting topic than Jackson sought to make it. The sonorous repetition of the poetical proper names here in the same position entirely suits the (not entirely serious) gravity of the god. It is like *Cho.* 145f. in Electra's prayer:

ταῦτ' ἐν *μέσῳ* τίθημι τῆς καλῆς ἀρᾶς,
κείνοις λέγουσα τήνδε τὴν κακὴν ἀράν.

A proper name, indeed, of a nation, is repeated in the same position and for the same effect in *Su.* 587f.

(586) *μοναμπύκων* τε φάλαρα κινεῖσθαι στόμα
ἁφρῷ καταστάζοντα Καδ*μείαν* χθόνα.
χωρήσο*μαι* γὰρ ἑπτὰ πρὸς Κάδ*μου* πύλας.

Compare also *Pho.* 1080-2: Ἀργείου δορός...Μυκηναίου δορός. I therefore see no reason to alter the text or the meaning. A precise parallel for this mode of referring to the Acropolis is afforded by *El.* 1289 χώρει πρὸς ὄχθον Κεκροπίας εὐδαίμονα. The Acropolis is frequently termed ὄχθος: cf. *HF* 1178 ὦ τὸν ἐλαιοφόρον ὄχθον ἔχων (Theseus), *Tro.*801 ὄχθοις ἱεροῖς. A further example of the solemn tone of the speaker is the periphrasis γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος. Parallel are *OT* 911 χώρας ἄνακτες and *OC* 831 (ὦ γῆς ἄνακτες) in which the Chorus are addressed in similarly respectful terms; also *Antigone* 988 Θήβης ἄνακτες. Related are such metaphorical uses as A. *Pers.* 378 πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ, imitated in E. *Cycl.* 86. Eust. ad *Od.* I 398, 1425, 48 remarks on the usage. Aristotle *Rhet.* III 2 regards E. fr. 705 N. κώπης ἀνάσσων as too ἀπρεπὲς in that ἄναξ is greater than κώπη - but Euripidean. Cf. *Alc.* 498 πέλτης ἄναξ, *IA* 1260.

14: The MSS have ἁγνῶς which the second hand in P corrected to ἁγνώς. An example of 'religious' corruption: cf. Dawe, *Collation*, 85, 91.

16: 'She exposed the child (παῖδα) *as an infant* (βρέφος). Cf. 1597.

Pho. 22 ἔσπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα· καὶ σπείρας βρέφος κτλ. is not necessarily corrupt despite the repetition in 25, where ἐκθεῖναι βρέφος is a fossilized expression. Mastronarde *ad loc.* cites *Ion* 16. Diggle however (*CR* XL (1990), 9 = *Euripidea*, 358) shows that idiom does not require the vacuous variation παῖδα after the iterated verb: cf. e.g. *OT* 1404.

18: κἀκτίθησιν ὡς θανούμενον

ὡς θανούμενον implies no contrast with 965 or 1489f., or need not be stressed as such. Both here and in 1489f. we are concerned to emphasize the misery of the mother at her action; the ἔκθεσις *in the cave*, often alluded to, might well accord with the hope of 965. It is the impression that the god has neglected his responsibilities which rank along with his crime in the thought of the play.

19: κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ. A very Aeschylean line, befitting Hermes' whole tone. ἀντίπηξ is an exceedingly rare word: it occurs in this play however not only here but in 40, 1338 and 1391. Eustathius tells us (1056, 46) ad *Od.* XVI 221 Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ (χηλὸν) ἀντίπηγα (λέγουσι). Whether or not this is so the root meaning is obviously 'fixed in contraposition.' One way of taking this would be to envisage something like a modern perambulator with the hood standing upright and the body of the machine horizontal, so that the baby is half sheltered by the hood. But this would not square with l. 39f.

κρηπίδων ἔπι | τίθημι ναοῦ τοῦδ',ἀναπτύξας κύτος

ἑλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος, ὡς ὁρῷθ' ὁ παῖς,

where it is clear that Hermes had to open the container for the baby to be seen at all. Jerram was right therefore to note that the lid and the lower portion of the receptacle corresponded

and *fitted together*, like a cat-basket. LSJ, *contra* Owen, take εὔτροχος as 'with wheels', though cf. *IG* xiv 1389 ii 13f. = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1046. 72 where it means 'round'.

20: προγόνων νόμον σῴζουσα: Wilamowitz feels that a prior supplement is required <δρακοντομόρφῳ περιβαλοῦσ' ἀγάλματι> on the grounds that otherwise the content of προγόνων νόμος will be confined to the actions described in l. 18f., not to what follows. I find no difficulty however in an unexplained reference in l. 20 which is then immediately explained in the γάρ clause of 21.

21-25 τοῦ τε γηγενοῦς | Ἐριχθονίου: Erichthonius is a later addition to the amazingly fluid Athenian king-list. Prior to Euripides our earliest sources for him are a fragment of Pindar quoted by Harpocration (fr. 253 S.-M.) and ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκὼς also there quoted (s.v. αὐτόχθονες: φασὶν Ἐριχθόνιον καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι). We have an interesting clue as to what the unknown author of the Danais said about the birth of Erichthonius from a remarkable inscription found in Italy (*IG* XIV 1292 ii, Kaibel p. 341 = Davies, *EGF* p. 141).

[Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ φευγούσης τόν]
Ἥφαιστον καὶ μὴ προσδ[εξα]
μένης τὸ λέχος τῆς γον[ῆ]ς
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πεσούσης [[ἐπὶ
τὴν]] γεννᾶται ὁ Ἐρικχθόνιος.
πρὸ τῆς ἔριδος Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς
Ποσειδῶνα πρόκειται τάδε.

And now *LIMC* s.v. *Athena* and *Erichthonius* (index). (The connection with the epic is established by 11. 9f.)

It is illustrated in Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliaques*, 10 K (p. 60) h 2 (pl. XI). Clement. (*Strom.* IV 120 4 = Fr. 1 Davies) and Philodemus, *De Piet.* N 1088 VI 21f. p.42 Gomperz = Fr. 3, also refer to the poem by name, which exhausts our evidence. The whole inscription seems to be a collection of ἔρωτες with learned references of this type: it would be interesting to know whence the owner had his knowledge of the Epic Cycle. Plato *Crit.* 110A 8 mentions Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius and Erysichthon to illustrate the apt observation that: τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα ἄνευ τῶν ἔργων διασέσωται. How the birth of Erichthonius fitted into the poem is puzzling in the extreme.

He appears in this play at 268, 999, and 1429. But Euripides in an unknown play must have given a fuller account of the myth: fr. 925 Nauck is a composite fragment consisting of a number of late prose sources which professedly or otherwise draw on him - see Escher, *RE* VI 442f. and Rose, *Handbook*, 100 and notes; Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, 91

n. 2.

His position in the king list as fourth after Cecrops, Cranaus and Amphictyon is generally accepted.

There are iconographic versions of the birth: Furtwängler-Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III 95 and pl. 137, *EAA* III 414, *LIMC* IV 1 (addenda), 528. A series of late sources tells us not that he was surrounded by one (or two) snakes[1] but that he was *snake-like*. These are not the Euripidean branch referred to above apparently: schol. Plat. *Tim.* 23E; Hyg. *fab.* 166 etc. One can see why E. might have revolted against this detail, but in vase-painting it is early; see the fifth-century Chiusi *krater* quoted in *EEA* o.c.

There are two traditions concerning his ancestry. The one is clearly expressed in *Ion* 268f.

Ιω. ἦ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο;

Κρ. ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, σὺ τεκοῦσά νιν.

namely that Ge was his mother and Athena brought him up, while Hephaestus begot him. The very unclarity of this divine 'maison à trois' has prompted thought that both in the case of Erechtheus and Erichthonius there has taken place a sort of 'tidying up' of an undesirable myth which made Athena a mother. Thus Escher, who regards Homer's words in *Il.* II 547f. as 'polemic' for the more modern version. If so it will go back to the period when Athene was a very different personage with different attributes from the virgin goddess of Athens. This however seems over-ingenious; it could just as well be an invention to prove that she was *not* and that the Athenians were αὐτόχθονες. A third version quoted by Apollodorus III 14 6 makes him the product of a union of Atthis, daughter of Cranaus and Hephaestus. This looks like a late accretion.

He is almost certainly a 'Doppelgänger' of his homonym Erechtheus. The ancient etymologists (see Escher col. 404) were aware that the names had a common root. Secondly, it is evident that the birth legend or rather the mode of birth as narrated by Homer, as quoted earlier, has been transferred to him (cf. S. *Aj.* 202, Hdt. VIII 55, etc.). There is also the singular oddity, I think, of placing him in the care of the daughters of Cecrops, a monarch *three generations earlier*. If one inspects the King List as given by Apollodorus, it seems extremely likely that this was originally intended for Erechtheus, and the daughters in question were those of Cecrops who now stands as Cecrops II and came immediately before the reign of Erechtheus. But no source actually does attribute the whole birth narrative to Erechtheus - in this the 'reorganisation' attendant on the arrival of Erichthonius has been complete. Apart from being born, Erichthonius remains a somewhat shadowy figure.

Who did all this schematization? A candidate has been thought to be Hellanicus, who may have instituted the stock practice of having different monarchs of the same name to ease his path (Cecrops, Pandion). But later sources do not agree on their selection. Cf. Jacoby, *Atthis* 1949, 357 n. 26 and see in general A.B. Cook, *Zeus* III 181f., Burkert, *GR*, 220 n. 32 and 143 n. 44, *HN*, 151 f.

The subsequent tradition is unanimous that Creusa is the daughter of Erechtheus (see e.g. the list in Photius s.v. παρθένοι) and that Apollo is the father of Ion (Plat. *Euthyd.* 302C: Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν, Paus. I 28, schol. Ar. *Αν.* 1527 etc.).

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[1]I doubt if Euripides' introduction of two of them is significant, unless he is thinking of ornaments of this type (thus Owen). One is customary: Paus. I. 18 2, Ovid *met.* II 552f., Hyg. *astr.* II 13, *fab.* 166, Fulg. *myth.* II 14.

22: φύλακε (Porson in accordance with his rule) is clearly the right reading for the MSS φυλακάς corrupted by diplography.

23: δισσὼ δράκοντε, παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι. L offers a variant s. l. ἀγραυλίσι for ἀγλαυρίσι (= Cecropides). At 496 the former is the reading of both MSS and is turned back to the other form by Scaliger. This is a disunity that haunts the proper name in all its appearances, and it poses a very difficult problem. Both are comprehensible and appropriate etymologically (ἀγρός, ἀγλαός) and in termination - cf. the putative root of ΑΓΧΑΥΡΟΣ (Pfeiffer, *JHS* LXXV (1955), 149f.); and though one or other must have suggested the name originally, if both were believed in Classical times, it becomes far from certain whether we ought to normalize in the fashion customarily done.

Our earliest and only 'definite' evidence comes from inscriptions and vases. *IG* II^2 3459 commemorates an Ἀγλαύρου ἱερέα; *CIG* 7716 and 7718 are vase 'labels' and all these use the form Ἀγλαύρου. It is also important that our Latin sources adopt the first lambda unanimously: Ovid *met.* II 739, Hyg. *fab.* 147. But the Greek sources give one serious cause to wonder whether the disunity might have begun in antiquity. I subjoin a brief survey of the state of the MSS:

Unanimous for Ἀγρ-: Apollodorus III 14, E. *Ion* 496, Plut. *Alc.* 15, (with errors - Ἀγραυλείῳ, Reiske, may account for them), *Anecd. Cramer* I 270, Photius *s.v.* Καλλυντήρια, Ar. Thesm 533 (Ἀγλ- Brunck).

With one or other as variants; Dem. XIX 303, E. *Ion* 23, Dem. XIX 303 (the λ form in a γράφεται).

Unanimous for Ἀγλ-: Paus. I 2 6, I 21 4, I 38 3, Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 76, Suda *s.v.* καλλυντήρια, Hesychius *s.v.* πλυντήρια Ar. *Thesm.* 533). Lycurgus *in Leocr.* 76, a major source for the "ephebic oath", is a difficult case in that the MSS omit the ὅρκος and it must be reconstructed largely from Pollux VIII 105f. Bethe - the lexicographer offers lambda, the rho is an "emendation" of Baiter-Sauppe.

It is not a comprehensible corruption from minuscule or uncial, and there is no metrical difference. Thus for the reasons mentioned I would be very cautious about producing unity by artificial methods. The adjective ἄγραυλος is not sufficiently common to elevate Ἄγλαυρος to the status of *difficilior lectio.*

24: ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ: The MS reads ἐκεῖ which has seemed to many redundant. Thus Barnes corrected to ἔτι, which has the support of *IT* 959: κἄτι τὸν νόμον *μένειν* | χοῆρες ἄγγος Παλλάδος τιμᾶν λεών. Elmsley read ἀεί, whereas Hartung advanced the over radical conjecture: <νόμος | τοιοῦτός> ἐστιν. Both Biehl and Diggle retain ἐκεῖ in the text and the former compares *Ion* 645: κρείσσω νομίζω τάνθάδ' ἢ τάκεῖ, πάτερ, which however is not decisive, as τἀκεῖ is standing in deliberate contrast to τάνθάδε and there is an obvious and normal function for it in the context. 'The Erechtheidae *there* (*i.e.* in Athens)', certainly seems unnecessary, and while I would follow the caution of the most recent editors in printing it in the text, I would favour Barnes' emendation as the simplest and accompanied by an exact parallel.

Owen remarks on the 'anachronistic' employment of Ἐρεχθεῖδαι in the time of the first generation after that monarch. It is tempting to imagine that we are invited to 'step back' from the immediate action and contemplate, through the god's eyes, the passage of the generations. But the context of the analogies does not support this: *OC* 1066 Θησεῖδαι in a reference to the specific soldiery that Theseus has just despatched in a nervous choric interlude; E. *El.* 712 Ατρεῖδαι in the act of obtaining Atreus' golden sheep. The point is rather the σεμνότης that characterizes the whole speech. Thus Steph. Byz. p. 34 15: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Κοδρίδαι καὶ Κεκροπίδαι Θησεῖδαι Ἐρεχθεῖδαι· καὶ ταύτας γε τὰς κλήσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμοτέρας ἐνόμιζον. The use of παῖδες Ἑλλήνων to mean Ἕλληνες is perhaps rather different (as in A. *Pers.* 402). That will mean 'sons of *Greeks*', a patriotic form of address appropriate to the call of battle.

26-7: ἀλλ' ἣν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδὴν

τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν ὡς θανουμένῳ.

These pathetic lines have been subject to misunderstanding, owing to the mistaken identification of the χλιδὴ mentioned here with the golden serpent ornaments (cf. 1427). Thus Wil., 'K. verwandte die Schlangen nicht zum ἐντρέφειν, sondern bei der Aussetzung'. Verrall is on the right track 'it was customary to place ornaments on those about to be buried'. Cf. perhaps Hes. χλιδαί: ἀγλαΐσματα, τρυφαί. We learn from 1412f. that the ἄγγος contained three different items: the πέπλοι with the Gorgon's head (πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα 1418), the golden snake-brooch, and an olive crown (1433). The point is that whereas the golden snakes are in whatever way attached to Erechtheid babies as a *good* omen for their survival in the fashion of Erichthonius, Creusa has in fact no hope of this coming about and therefore leaves 'what χλιδή she could' in the form of the olive crown and the juvenile attempt at weaving (οὐ τέλεον, οἷον δ' ἐκδίδαγμα κερκίδος 1419) which with χλιδὴ suggests her *own* garment, a makeshift winding sheet. They are indeed funerary offerings. For *stephanoi* in this context cf. Rohde, *Psyche,* V n. 40, Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (RGVV 38, 1982), 81-98; D.L. Kurtz, *Attic White Lekythoi* (1975), no. 36.3 and *passim.*

The funerary significance of both items would be unmistakable. Thus, in a moving fashion, the poet shows how the normal customs of the family are in this case negated in Creusa's despair.

27: προσάψασα. Commonly of 'putting on' clothes rather than merely 'attaching to', as Creusa does with these sorry ἔνδυτα (1413). Cf. *Ba.* 859 ἀλλ' εἶμι κόσμον...Πενθεῖ προσάψων, *Rhes.* 202 σκευῇ πρεπόντως σῶμ' ἐμὸν καθάψομαι, E. fr. 752 2 N. Διόνυσος ... θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς καθαπτός. *Ion* 1006 refers specifically to the ornaments: ἐν τῶι καθάψασ' ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος;.

29f.: The speech of Apollo to his brother. The whole passage manifests a subtle humour. Apollo requests a favour of Hermes 'brother to brother' (29, 33). He begins in a high style ὦ σύγγον', ἐλθὼν λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα κτλ.) and adds the absurd pomposity of οἶσθα γὰρ θεᾶς πόλιν implying that Hermes might conceivably be ignorant of its whereabouts (the messenger god!). But this breaks down into awkwardness: after much about 'a baby', only at l. 35 do we learn, and then briefly and without further detail, that the reason for Apollo's interest is that the baby belongs to him (ἐμὸς γάρ ἐστιν, ὥς εἰδῇς, ὁ παῖς). His embarrassment is well portrayed.

30: κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν. On the phrase, discussion in Bergson *L'épithète (rém.* II 194f.) πόλιν. The MSS have the Homeric form πτόλιν. This poses difficulties. Page, commenting on *Med.* 641, has given various conditions for the use of the Homeric form in drama: here one would expect a short vowel preceding, which the doubled consonant has the function of lengthening. There would be no metrical difficulty in keeping the form we have in L here, apart from the lack of precedent. The (frequent) variant in the MSS is due to Homerisation. Thus at *Rhes.* 261 ὃς ἐπὶ πόλιν, ὃς ἐπὶ | γᾶν Τροΐαν a short vowel is required, but MS V gives πτόλιν. Likewise 711. *Septem* 91 is a similarly erroneous introduction of the form - at 254 it appears in a position which is metrically acceptable, but dubious, as here. Unfortunately there is *also* a tendency in the MSS to Atticisation: *Septem* 114 has in the majority, πόλιν where the metre requires the double consonant, πτόλιν in 8 MSS. *Septem* 338 contains πτόλις only in 'F 1 pc', the Triclinian early redaction. It is also an unacceptable variant at l. 483 and 561 (not in Page) though in six MSS - cf. Dawe, *Collation*, 272. Thus there is reason for caution in formulating rules for its use in Attic drama.

Biehl compares *Pers.* 347 θεοὶ πόλιν σῴζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς and Catullus LXIV

212f.

Namque ferunt olim, classi cum moenia Divae

linquentem gnatum ventis concrederet Aegeus...

33: ἔνεγκε Δελφῶν

L gives ἀδελφῷ, which Reiske altered to Δελφῶν. This is adopted virtually universally (Musgrave, Hermann, Dindorf, Paley, Murray, Diggle). Only Biehl keeps the manuscript reading. Heinrich suggested ἀδελφοῦ. Hermann remarks: 'inutilis hic fratris, necessaria loci mentio est'. Apollo is making an appeal to his blood relation to undertake an embarrassing task: words expressing relation abound in the context - ἀδελφῷ (37), ὦ σύγγονε (29). Words of this meaning are often repeated in tragedy for pathetic effect in close proximity (despite Jackson's assurance that these are all 'unconscious'). Such is the case for conservatism. However, if we think in realistic terms, as most editors, with the exception of Biehl, have, it is difficult to imagine how Hermes might have gathered which of the shrines of Apollo he was to take the child to, if Apollo gave no definite indication.

35: ὡς εἰδῇς: 'For your information'.

36: χάριν πράσσων ἀδελφῷ. Cf. *Ion* 896 Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσων, S. *OC* 1183 χάριν παρασχεῖν τῷ θεῷ θ'ἃ βούλεται.

37: πλεκτὸν ἐξάρας κύτος: L gives σκύτος (which Stephanus corrected to κύτος) in 39. Here P preserves κύτος and L gives σκύτος. σκύτος gives the wrong sense, and appears nowhere else in tragedy. In both cases here σ precedes the word, and the corruption will be a simple case of diplography. (Cf. Zuntz, *Transmission* 90, and Biehl *xviii* with n. 2: 'mirum

est codicem L contra codicem P ne unum quidem errorem ostendere separativum... de versu 37 nihil certi habemus'. But the error is insignificant). κύτος is the right word for any hollow container, cf. E. *Cycl.* 399 τὸν μὲν λέβητος ἐς κύτος χαλκήλατον, S. *El.* 1142 σμικρὸς προσήκεις ὄγκος ἐν σμικρῷ κύτει, A. *Ag.* 322, 816. There is some case for reading κύτει (for κότῳ) in *Ag.* 1261 (ὡς δε φάρμακον | τεύχουσα κάμοῦ μισθὸν ἐνθήσει κότῳ. (Auratus had already thought of the better sense that it would give, suggesting ποτῷ.) Scaliger proferred the better emendation.

40: ἑλικτὸν ἀντύπηγος etc. ; See on 19. Hermes removes the lid of the pram so that the baby will be in full view as the Pythia arrives. The MSS have εἱλικτὸν which Hermann corrected to ἑλικτὸν. Cf. E. *El.* 180; at *Pho.* 652 ἕλικος (Hermann) should be read. It should be noted that εἱλικτός is mistakenly reported by LSJ as the MS reading (with the rough breathing) from here. Its meaning has caused doubt. 'On wheels' (cf. 19 εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ) is a distant possibility. Aristotle *PA* 682B 24 uses the word of insects that can curl themselves up, but are not normally in that condition. But usually the word refers to actual rather than potential state. Thus Callixenus *apud* Athenaeus 206A = *F GrHist* 627 F 1 describes a ship with a κλῖμαξ ἑλικτή which permits *via* 'spiral' the translation 'circular' (19 κύκλῳ). But it is equally likely that it refers to the constituency of the basket, which would be of wicker; this is the most common meaning (with στέφανοι, βόστρυχος etc.). I do not follow Verrall's suggestion 'turnable upon hinges'.

41: κυρεῖ δ' ἅμ' ἱππεύοντος ἡλίου κύκλῳ | προφῆτις ἐσβαίνουσα κτλ.

L reads ἀνιππεύοντος, P ἐν-. κύκλῳ in that case could only be a locative dative, which, to mean 'the vault of the heavens', requires qualification (i.e. αἰθέρος *h. Hom.* VIII 6-7, ἄνω

S. *Ph.* 815). Kirchhoff suggested κύκλου. But much the best, and generally adopted, is Musgrave's ἅμ'. Wilamowitz remarks that the conflation of metaphors "wirft in unerfreulicher Weise die Sonnenscheibe mit den mythischen Wagen zusammen". However, for the idea of a circular sun riding cf. *El.* 465f. κύκλος ἁλίοιο | ἵπποις ἅμ πτεροέσσαις. The familiarity of the riding metaphor will excuse much. Nor do we require ἀν- to specify that it was dawn when the Pythia arrived, if at *El.* 78 ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ can mean "simultaneously with the appearance of day", and at *Ion* 122 ἅμ' ἁλίου πτέρυγι, "at dawn".

The piece is based quite closely on the parodos of the *Phaethon*; the ideas are, as Diggle notes, protracted and expanded in an unfortunate fashion. See too: *Phaethon* 175f. = fr. 779 N πατὴρ δ' ὄπισθε νῶτα Σειρίου βεβὼς | ἵππευε παῖδα νουθετῶν, fr. 929: ἑῷος ἡνίχ' ἱππότης ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ, fr. 114 from the prologue to the *Andromeda*

ὦ νὺξ ἱερὰ,
ὡς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις,
ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσ'
αἰθέρος ἱερᾶς
τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.

and *Su.* 990: τί φέγγος, τίν' αἴγλαν | ἐδίφρευε τόθ' ἅλιος; The image is picked up in the first line of the parodos, and appears again at 1149.[1]

43: ὄψιν δὲ προσβαλοῦσα παιδὶ

Cf. *Med.* 860: ὄμματα προσβαλοῦσα τέκνοις.

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[1]Something of a Euripidean cliché, in fact. See also *El.* 866, *Hel.* 342, *Alc.* 592: ἀελίου κνεφαίαν ἱππόστασιν, *Pho.* 1563, *Or.* 1002, *IA* 159.

44: ἐθαύμασ' εἰ

See Owen on the point of the construction.

45: λαθραῖον ὠδῖνα

Likewise 1487: κρύφιον ὠδῖν' ἔτεκον Φοίβῳ and *Ag.* 1417f. παῖδα φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ | ὠδῖνα *HF.* 1039 is not quite the same ὁ δ' ὥς τις ὄρνις ἄπτερον καταστένων | ὠδῖνα τέκνων 'the pains (of having given birth to them)'. In *IT* 1102: γλαυκᾶς θαλλὸν ἱερὸν ἐλαίας, Λατοῦς ὠδῖνι φίλον we should certainly read the dative (ὠδῖνα MSS: *corr.* Portus) as Leto did not 'give birth', likewise literally. Our sense is exactly paralleled by Pind. *Ol.* VI 31: κρύψε δὲ παρθενίαν ὠδῖνα κόλποις, where ὠδῖνα clearly means 'the new born babe'.

It is in keeping with the gravity of Hermes' diction. The usage is also known to Hellenistic and later verse. Cf. Isyllus *paean CA* p. 134 l. 53 (probably), Mesomedes *CA* p. 198 l. 11 αἱ φυτῶν ὠδῖνες (of a crowd of people), *AP* VII 549 l. 2, *AP* IX 386 l. 3 ὠδὶς θαλάσσης (Aphrodite).

ἐς θεοῦ ῥῖψαι δόμον,

Not quite the preposition one would expect. ἐς: 'Cast it forth *at* the house of the god' (not tmesis of εἰσρίπτειν) is possibly the sense.

46: ὑπέρ τε θυμέλας διορίσαι πρόθυμος ἦν.

There is considerable disunity as to the sense of θυμέλη, the references to which in Classical Attic are confined to verse. It is evident that the root is θύω: on the adfix see H. v. Frisk *Eranos* XLI (1943), 51f. and Chantraine *ad loc.* An alternative ancient etymology from τίθημι (see *Et. Gud.* and Anecd. Cramer II 449) may be dismissed (cf. the aberrant Θέτις / τίθημι). The details are fully set out by Fernand Robert, *Thymélè* (Paris 1939) - this *Ion* line

and others dealt with on p. 270f. LSJ translate this passage with 'altars'. A.S.F. Gow (*JHS* XXXII (1912), 213f., 'On the meaning of ΘΥΜΕΛΗ') attempted to unify all the various usages of the noun under the heading 'Hearth'. I think this is a mistake.

It is true that we learn from Homer that the hearth is a likely place for sacrifices to take place. But as ἑστία and βωμός were probably mentally merged into one, this seems a point of small consequence. Cf. e.g. A. *Su.* 372: κρατύνεις βωμόν, ἑστίαν χθονός. As Gow points out on p. 217, ἑστία and ἐσχάρα are not infrequently used as 'exact equivalents' of βωμοί. See too J. Fontenrose, *The Cult and Myth of Pyrros at Delphi* (California 1960), 213f.

And there are other reasons for doubting this thesis, some from this play. *Ion* 228 πάριτ'ἐς θυμέλας (for sacrifice) may well mean 'hearth', or 'altar'. 114: θυμέλαν σαίρεις might refer to clearing the sacrificial debris from the altar, though the immediately following δάπεδον gives one cause for doubt: could θυμέλη not mean the whole temple, a meaning which would suit the root perfectly well?

There is also epigraphic evidence to the contrary from Epidaurus. On the discovery of the θόλος-shaped temple on the site discussed by Pausanias (II 27 3) an inscription concerning the upkeep of the temple was also found: in it the *building* is quite clearly called θυμέλη as we hear of its σηκοί and στρῶμα (Cavadias, *Fouilles d'Epidauros,* 92 no. 242 l. 125 and 162: not in Sokolowski). Thus Hes. s.v. θυμέλη: ἔδαφος ἱερόν. The attendants of the temple are however called θυμελοποιοί. This is of some interest in view of the fact that Phrynichus p. 163 L. remarks of θυμέλη: τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι ἀντὶ τοῦ θυσίαν ἐτίθουν. A comparison with ἱεροποιοί may indeed confirm that this meaning was possible as well. (Cf. Hes. *s.v.* θυμέλαι).

We have 'altar', 'hearth' and 'temple' already as perfectly valid possibilities. There is also the Διονυσιὰς θυμέλη (Pratinas fr. 1 l. 2 708 *PMG*) at Athens which gave rise to further significances. Pratinas o.c. is the earliest reference: a group of later evidence (Suda *s.v.* θυμέλη, Suda and E.M. *s.v.* σκηνή, *schol.* Ar.*Eq.* 516, *schol.* Greg. Naz. 355b) confirms that there was a rectangular altar in the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens which was called 'the θυμέλη'. If Pratinas is here figurative, it is possible that this followed the reform of Lycurgus: the difficulties caused by the presence of an altar central stage to the movements of the chorus would be considerable. But in our state of ignorance it should not be ruled out that there *was* such an altar in the fifth century, and that it was the very altar that appears in the action of the *Choephori*, both *Electras*, the *Persae etc.* - an interesting reflection on the relevance of the drama to the worship of Dionysus.

Phrynichus *o.c.* and *schol.* Arist. iii 536 D tell us that it came to mean ὀρχήστρα. And Anecd. Becker p. 42 23, *schol* Ar. *Eq.* 149, *E.M.* s.v. παρασκήνια etc. tell us that it was extended further to mean σκηνή.

If in reality it could mean σκηνή at the date of the *Ion* by the natural association mentioned, we could extend it further to include any raised dais, and thus it would be the equivalent of κρηπῖδες here (cf. l. 38), which is indeed where the baby was placed by Hermes. Otherwise 'beyond the precinct of the temple' is a perfectly legitimate translation.[1]

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[1]'Beyond the hearths' in the sense of 'to secular territory'.

διορίσαι: Cf. Hes. *s.v.* διορίσαι: ὃ καὶ ἐξορίσαι λέγουσι. He may well be thinking of Euripides. Se also *Hel.* 828 (πόδα), and for its synonym *Hcld.* 257, *Ion* 504, and E. *Tro.* 1106 (γᾶθεν).

47: καὶ θεὸς | συνεργὸς ἦν τῷ παιδὶ *μὴ*' κπεσεῖν δόμων.

Wilamowitz observes 'Aber wie könnte Hermes seinen Bruder so bezeichnen... Die Priesterin nimmt sich des Kindes aus Mitleid an; daβ sie von dieser Regung bestimmt wird, darin wirkt ein Göttliches'. So θεός does not mean Apollo, but the vaguer 'predicative' θεός that Wilamowitz himself in *Der Glaube* popularized. It is possible but unnecessary.[1] There is no reason why one deity cannot call another θεός: Aphrodite and Artemis (step-sisters!) so do at *Hipp.* 55 and 1417 respectively. And what of 42 and 45 in this speech?

Cf. fr. 432 2: τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

51: Owen complains that 'no parallel' is adduced for the use of ἐπίσταται instead of οἶδε. This seems to be a non-issue: 'understand', can perfectly well mean 'know who/what 'X' is'. thus *Or.* 360 (τύχας), *Alc.* 61 (τρόπους). Biehl rightly adds *Phaethon* fr. 781 55 N. = Diggle l. 264: οἶδεν δ'*ἐμὴ* τάδ' ἢ σὺκ ἐπίσταται δάμαρ. Herwerden however deleted the verse as a Doppelgänger of 50 and this is certainly attractive, made more so by D. Kovacs, TAPA CIX (1979), iii f.

52: ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφὰς | ἡλᾶτ'ἀθύρων.

There are considerable difficulties in this expression.[2] Owen suggests that it refers to the fact

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[1]His unnamed adversary seems to be Dindorf (χὠ θεός). Kirchhoff contributed ὁ γὰρ θεός to the same end.

[2]Cf in general *HF.* 984 ἀμφὶ βωμίαν | ἔπτηξε κρηπῖδ' - a common adjective in E. sharing the meanings 'of' the altar and 'at' (of suppliants etc.).

that the priests were fed from the offerings placed on the altar, and Ion would have been likewise. (A fact peculiarly true of Delphi! See A. Wiechers, *Aisop in Delphi*, 46f.) Thus I *Sam.* II 13, of Eli 'And the priest's custom with the people was that when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came with a flesh hook of three teeth in his hand...all that the flesh hook brought up the priest took for himself'. This was indeed a priestly γέρας: cf. Athenaeus 368E, Theophrastus *Char.* XXII para 3 (with Steinmetz *ad loc.* on the corruption.)

Could τροφαί mean 'the place where he was brought up' (cf. 684)? The only certain evidence we have for this sense of the word is Roman and non-literary: P. Teb. 5 70 (royal ordinance) id. 62 19 (inventory), P. Flinders Petrie III p. 221 (report on cultivation). In all of these τροφαί refers to a breeding place for ibices. We *might* have a sure literary example if we could be certain that the correct restoration of the *Ichneutae* papyrus (col. ix 232f.) is that which Hunt offers: ὁμοῦ πρέπον κέλευμά πως κυνηγετ[ῶ]ν‖ ἐγγὺς μολόντων θηρὸς εὐναί [ου] τρο[φ]ῆς. But there are other possibilities.[1] (Cf. Radt (fr. 314) ad loc.)

The emendations that have been previously suggested are ἀμφιβώμιος τραφείς (Herwerden) and ἀμφιβωμίους στροφάς (O. Müller). Klinkenberg[2] deleted the line with its immediate neighbours, a treatment that he found expedient for most of the problematic lines of this prologue. I feel that Müller's suggestion is ponderous, where we are describing the random and ill-ordered motions of an infant: στροφαί surely are regular movements from one side to another, like those of a chorus. Herwerden is better: for the adjective used spatially cf. *Tro.* 562: σφαγαὶ δ'ἀμφιβώμιοι. It is perhaps worth mentioning with circumspection that in the high rhetorical language of the speech ἀμφιβωμίους τροφάς (a change merely in word

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[1]Though cf. Pind. *Pyth.* II 2 of Syracuse ἀνδρῶν ἵππων τε...δαιμόνιαι τροφοί or, differently, *OT* 1.

[2]followed by Nauck and Wilamowitz.

division) might be a form of internal accusative meaning 'the process of maturing' which would involve taking ἡλᾶτ' ἀθύρων as a general expression for 'being a child, behaving like one etc.'. S. *OT* 2 τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδ' ἐμοὶ θοάζετε; if θοάζω were here derived from θοός would approach it - but Jebb (appendix ad loc.) has given good reasons for thinking that in the language of Sophocles θοάζω meant the same as θάσσω. The cognate accusative with φέγγος and αἴγλα governed by διφρεύω (*Su* 991 f.) may approach it. Cf. Archestratus fr. 33 Brandt = *SH* fr. 164 κράνι' ὅταν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἀψῖδα διφρεύῃ (internal acc.). See note on 495 and references there given. Dr. Diggle however suggests to me ἀμφιβωμίοις τροφαῖς - dative of attendant circumstance - which is certainly an improvement. For the phrase ἡλᾶτ' ἀθύρων cf. *h. Hom. Herm.* 152: τέκνον | νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι...ἀθύρων | κεῖτο, E. fr. 323. 1-2: πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι...πηδῶν ἀθύροι.

54: Δελφοί σφ' ἔθεντο χρυσοφύλακα τοῦ θεοῦ

χρυσοφύλαξ is not a technical expression, and I am far from certain why Biehl glosses ταμίας with 'interpretatio Attica'. It also appears in Hdt. IV 13 and 27 and in later writers. We do indeed learn something of the Delphic ταμίαι from inscriptions, albeit of a later date: see *Fouilles de Delphes* 77 14 (decree in honour of Nicomedes III Euergetes where they appear in the plural) etc. We have earlier evidence from elsewhere: cf. Sokolowsi - *LSG* 14, 17 (in the plural: Sanctuary of Codrus, Athens 418 B.C.), 72 25 and 34 (Athens, temple of Demeter, third century B.C.), 49 11 (plural, of the Dionysiastae, c.175 A.D.), 51 100 (of the Iobacchi, 178 A.D.), 8 39 (Eleusis, of the Εὐμολπίδαι 220 A.D.).

Cf. Photius II p. 199 7 Naber: ταμίαι: ἄρχοντές εἰσιν Αθήνησιν κληρωτοί..., οἳ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χρήματα ἱερά τε καὶ δημόσια φυλάττουσιν.

The same people are referred to in E. *Andr.* 1098: ὅσοι θεοῦ χρημάτων ἐφέστασαν.

56: δεῦρ' ἀεί. Parallels are offered by both Biehl and Owen for the 'vox Euripidea' δεῦρο ἀεί = μέχρι νῦν. The former rightly quotes *Anecd. Bachm.* I p. 191 27f. τὸ δὲ δεῦρ'ἀεί... καὶ Εὐριπίδης, correctly explaining Plato *Lg.* 811 c, if the text the lexicographer there offers is the correct one: μέχρι δεῦρο δή is the reading of virtually all the MSS.

Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1135: εἷς μὲν λόγος μοι δεῦρ' ἀεὶ περαίνεται which the schol. tells us is a paratragic quotation from the *Erechtheus* (= Austin fr. 54.) Likewise *Med.* 670, *Su.* 786, *Hel.* 761, *Pho.* 1209, *Or.* 1663.

58: Ξούθῳ γαμεῖται συμφορᾶς τοιᾶσδ' ὕπο. Cf. 536: συμφορᾶς τίνος κυρῆσαι - παῖδ' ἐμὸν πεφυκέναι.

The general usage 'event, happening' is confined to verse; in prose it has a more pessimistic connotation.

59-60: ἣν ταῖς Αθήναις τοῖς τε Χαλκωδοντίδαις
οἳ γῆν ἔχουσ' Εὐβοῖδα πολέμιος κλύδων *

L has a short o in Χαλκωδοντίδαις (fifth letter). That this is not a legitimate alternative, and that ω is the right form here, is shown by Eustathius (281 45) remarking on *Il.* II 541f.

Ἐλεφήνωρ ὄζος Ἄρηος
Χαλκωδοντιάδης μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων,

where this line is quoted and a curious genealogy of Chalcodon given: Eustathius gives the omega. (Here Chalcodon is placed four generations after Erechtheus from whom he is descended, the same monarch his 'sons' are supposed to be fighting in Euripides). Cf. also

Il. IV 464, S. *Phil.* 489: τὰ Χαλκώδοντος Εὐβοίας σταθμά, where the MSS are unanimous, and a fragment of the *Skyrioi* (Radt 555b 15f.)

πρὸς ἄνδρα Χαλκώδον[τα πατρῷον ξένον (Page)

ναίοντά που κευθμῶν[ας Εὐβοῖδος χθονός (Hunt).

Homer repeats the second line of the quotation given above at IV 463. The reminiscence of the Homeric patronymic and phraseology here[1] is another sign of the elevation of Hermes' diction at this point.

Not a great deal is known of Chalcodon, the ancestral hero of Euboea and more especially Chalcis. His grave was still visible in Pausanias' day (VIII 15; IX 19) - he was king of Thebes as well before he was ousted by Amphictyon. His principal function seems to be that of squiring Elephenor, who succumbs to Agenor in the *Iliad* (IV o.c.). It is by no means certain that he actually appeared in S. *Skyrioi*, the plot of which is highly uncertain (see Page *GLP* no. V; Carden *PFS* 104 ; Radt frr. 553-561). A restoration

πρὸς ἄνδρα Χαλκώδον[τος ἐκ γένους τινα

would eliminate him from the cast list entirely, a consideration at least paralleled by the version (Plut. *Thes.* 35 5) that Theseus, before himself departing for Skyros, sent his sons to Elephenor, Chalcodon's son, for safekeeping.

πολέμιος κλύδων: A very common metaphor in E. and elsewhere. Cf. *Su.* 475: πολὺς κλύδων... δορὸς, *Pho.* 859-60: κλύδωνι...δορός, *IT* 316: κλύδωνα πολεμίων.

It has two 'root meanings'.

One significance is that 'waves' frequently refer to the onset of *troubles,* most famously in the parodos of the *Trachiniae* (119ff.), which inspired Matthew Arnold on Dover Beach. Cf. A. *Pers.* 599: κακῶν, *PV* 886, *Su.* 126. But in the constitution of this metaphor, as applied to military contexts, one might think also of the frequent Homeric comparison of waves with the various *operations* of the army: *Il.* II 209 (of sound), etc. This is alluded to by Aeschylus in *Septem* 64: κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ. Wilamowitz argues the metaphor is

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[1] *Il.* II o.c. οἳ δ' Εὔβοιαν ἔχον.

so common in Greek poetry and so flexible that no one would be troubled by the outwardly incongruous way in which it is joined with συμπονήσας and συνεξελών in the following line. Cf. Collard II, 236, however, on the limits of such confusion *re* the 'Ship of State' metaphor of *Su.* 474 f., and my note on 61.

61: ὃν συμπονήσας καὶ συνεξελὼν δορί

This may well be an *ad hoc* war, even as the genealogy shortly following is certainly an *ad hoc* invention on the part of Euripides in certain respects. We know from *E. M.* 202 45 as well as here that the war that Xuthus fought was to help Erechtheus the father of Kreusa (s.v. Βοηδρόμια). Xuthus had been banished by his brothers and therefore made up his wealth as a mercenary. The schol. to A. R. I 97 tells us that Alcon, a son of Erechtheus, fled to Chalcis and that the reigning monarch would not release him. As Gardiner (*ap.* Owen) suggests, this may have been the *aition* for a war with Euboea of which the narrative has otherwise perished. But it is possible in view of the liberality with which in this passage Euripides treats the 'received' genealogy that he has merely transferred the scene of the war of which we know most waged by Erechtheus - that against Eleusis - to Euboea, in order to recall the victorious Euboean campaign of 446 (Thuc. I 114; thus Owen). However recent discoveries at Lefkandi may conceivably suggest that "Lelantine" war had a hold on folk memory. That is to say, the tradition of the war in Euboea, notoriously uncertain even in the time of Thucydides, might have been transposed back into the mythic past by Euripides, a literary speculation that the impressive tenth century ruins of which we now know may perhaps have fuelled, in much the same way that the "temple tombs" of Mycenae and elsewhere inspired an innovation in religious practice and a new attitude to a past heroic age.

The grammar of the line poses very considerable difficulties. If it is permissible to

read πόλεμος into πολέμιος κλύδων (see last note), ὃν συμπονήσας can reasonably be understood as an internal accusative. But what is to be said of ξυνεξελών in connection with a *war*? We expect it to mean 'join in destroying' (a town, fortress etc.)'. Owen thinks that *Pho.* 516f.

χρὴ δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπλοισι τὰς διαλλαγάς
μῆτερ, ποιεῖσθαι· πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος
ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν.

(Eteocles of Polyneices to Jocasta) licences a translation 'finish off, complete, accomplish', whereby ὃν would be direct object of συνεξελών, but internal object of συμπονήσας. This is curious in itself, though not impossible. But the usage of ἐξαιρεῖ quoted from the *Phoenissae*: is not quite the same, and should be read in the context of *Med.* 904: χρόνῳ δὲ νεῖκος πατρὸς ἐξαιρουμένη ("settle", of a disagreement). Powell's suggested ἐξαιτουμένη in *Med.* is shown to be unnecessary by Pl. *Apol.* 19 A (cf. Page) etc. The scholiast on *Pho.* glosses διορθοῖ, which is indeed the sense we expect.

It may be, as Benndorf thought, that a lacuna is called for in *Ion*. The sense will be something like: <πόλισμα κοὐκ ἄνανδρον ἐκδείξας χέρα>. That is the most gentle remedy, though the surroundings do not offer any obvious temptation to omission. The change δόρυ ('accompanying their spear in taking forth his own') which involves the change of half a letter is less attractive. But this is not the meaning of the verb. It is probably best to understand πόλιν and change of object.

62: γάμων Κρεούσης ἀξίωμ' ἐδεξατο.

ἀξιωμα here with genitive of the *content* of the honour: likewise *Or.* 9 θεοῖς...κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον and *Tro.* 485.

63-4: οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὤν, Αἰόλου δὲ τοῦ Διός | γεγὼς Ἀχαιός·

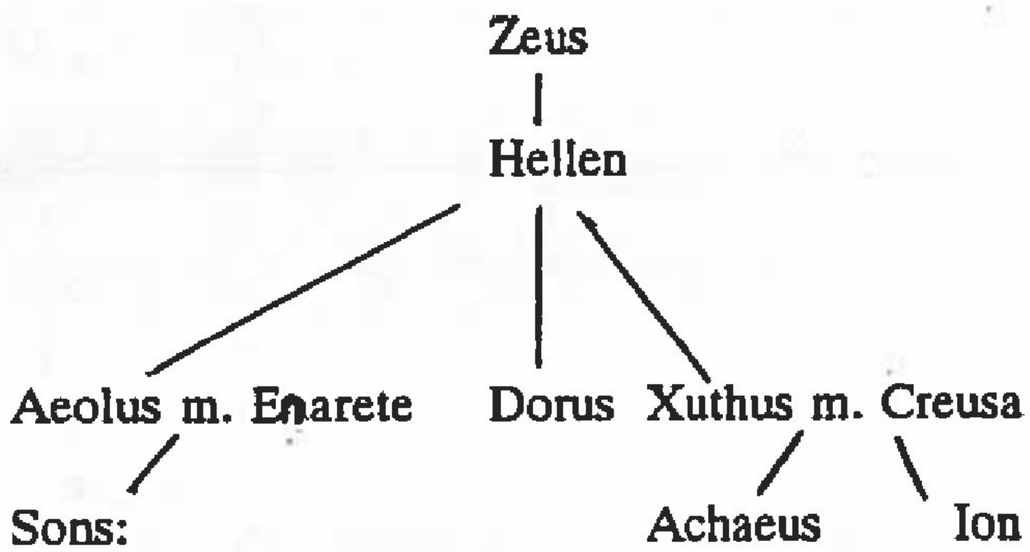
This is aberrant genealogy. The first problem, is that Aeolus is here the son of Zeus, whereas in the prologue to the *Melanippe Sapiens* (v. Arnim p. 26 = Page *GLP* no. xiv) we are clearly told:

Ζεὺς ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο

Ἕλλην' ἔτιχθ' ὃς ἐξέφυσεν Αἴολον,

as in fr. 14 N. of the *Aeolus*. For the standard accounts of the Aeolid descent cf. Apollodorus I 7 2-4 and Frazer *ad loc.*, Diodorus IV 67 3, *schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* IV 107 etc. See Tümpel, *RE* I 1039.

And there is no doubt that Euripides has adopted a schema for the later stages of the family that we do not find elsewhere. There follows a family tree of the usual system, which is given in its fullest form in Apollodorus I, 7, 3: (I give the relevant parts)



Perieres

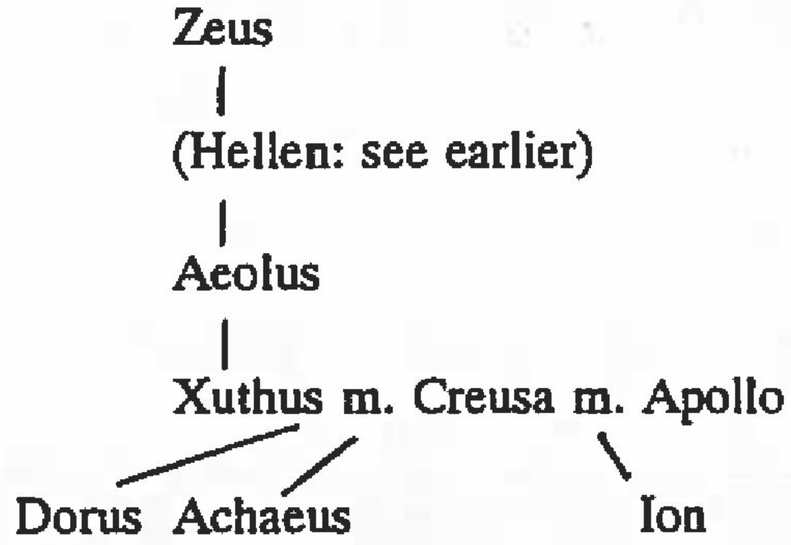
(d. Canace, Alcyone, Pisidice, Calyce, Perimede.)

As far as we are aware Apollodorus is here following the Hesiodic tradition. Fr. 9 M-W gives:

Ἕλληνος δ'ἐγένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος
Δῶρός τε Ξοῦθός τε καὶ Αἰόλος ἱππιοχάρμης.

On the sons of Aeolus we have the evidence of P. Turner 1 fr. 1-3 col. i. 25f. which - cf. the citation in schol. Pind. *Pyth.* IV 253 - seems to have yielded seven names (Cf. West, OCT Hes. ed. 3, fr. 10a).

What Euripides has is:



No motive can be discerned, as far as I can see, for demoting Xuthus from brotherhood with Aeolus to being one of his sons. V. Geisau, *RE* IX A, suggests that a confusion may have taken place between this Xuthus and a much more obscure Xuthus who we hear from later sources was one of the sons of the *other* Aeolus, son of Hippotes and keeper of the winds (schol. *Od.* X 6). Diodorus V 8 tells us that he was the founder hero of Leontini. It is true that the two Aeoli are sometimes confused. But with the little known Sicilian hero it is if anything liable to be the other way about; he was created by confusion with the more celebrated Achaean family line. And coincidence is quite possible. Nor do I think Euripides, with Hesiod before him, liable to make such a confusion at such an early date.

An 'Athenian recension' may also be responsible for the introduction of Dorus at line 1590 as not Ion's uncle but his younger brother. But the patriotic point of that - making the Doric line younger in time than the Ionian - is obvious, and this may be a Euripidean contribution, though we have no certainty. In the archaic period - as we know from lyric - and in the fifth century, genealogies were not things one went to a text book to find out. They are fluid, in many cases orally transmitted, and could therefore serve either literary functions or those of political self-advancement.

63: οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὤν

Perhaps the first sign of a theme that is going to be important elsewhere in the play - the problem of being a stranger in an alien Greek city, though perhaps Wilamowitz goes a little far in his interpretation of the line "nur ein Achäer". Der Gott teilt die athenische Anschauung, nach der die Ehe mit dem Ausländer, *γάμων ἀξίωμα* 62, für Kreusa eine Mesalliance war' (it is also 'preussische Anschauung'). But in 587f. Ion expatiates vehemently on the miseries of such a status and we note in particular 592: πατρὸς δ'ἐπακτοῦ καὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενής. However much of this speech we think genuine, there are grave doubts. Ion finds the marriage of Creusa and Xuthus curious (293). Likewise there is a note of surprise in Theseus' question to Adrastus in *Su.* 135: ἀλλὰ ξένοις ἔδωκας Ἀργείας κόρας; and he expresses himself decidedly on the matter at 220f. Euripides is thinking of conditions prevailing in his own day, not of those appropriate to the age of myth: Pericles in the citizenship decree of 451 refused citizenship to the offspring of such marriages. In earlier times the mood was very different indeed. On the topic of mixed marriages I need hardly cite evidence both from Homer onwards in myth, and from real life in the age of the tyrants to show how such contracted bonds between states and dynasties were essential to

inter-state relations; an obvious example is furnished by Menelaus' arrangements for the next generation - alliance with Sparta and Phthia - *Od.* IV 3f. (cf. Louis Gernet 'Les mariages de tyrants' in *AGA*, 344 (French ed., advisedly)). It still lingered on in the case of the 'grands seigneurs' of early fifth-century politics for the same reasons - Cimon was married to a Thracian princess (Plut. *Cim.* 4) and Alcibiades (Thuc. VIII 6 3) is described as being πατρικὸς ξένος ἐς τὰ *μάλιστα* with a noble Spartan family. It was to combat the activities of this class of people in part that Pericles passed this harsh ordinance. On the whole topic see Collard's good note on *Supplices o.c.* (II 144) and W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Athens* (1968), 100f. there quoted.

In many plays it would be relatively easy to ignore this blatant discontinuity between the customs of the heroic age and those of the present. In a play such as the *Ion*, whose wider subject matter is the genealogy of the Dorian and Ionian races, it is a disruptive factor; but perhaps that is to introduce a modern view of the sensibilities of the audience on this type of matter.

64-5: γεγὼς ᾽Αχαιός.

From Phthia. I doubt if the audience would be perturbed by the fact that 'Achaios' is also his son's name in 1592. It is after all an adjective.

64-5: χρόνια δὲ σπείρας λέχη | ἄτεκνός ἐστι

A curious and illogical turn of phrase. The difficulty is not paralleled by *Pho.* 13 f. ἄπαις ἦν χρόνια λέκτρα τἄμ'ἔχων where the scholiast rightly gloss ὡς πολλοῦ χρόνου γήμας *με*; that is merely an example of the usual way in which temporal adjectives can be transferred from word to word (like *El.* 1308 χρονίαν σ'ἐσιδών). But here one *cannot*

reverse them to get a more normal expression χρόνιος ὢν σπείρας λέχη; the oddity in both is the tense of the participle which implies that Xuthus *has* succeeded, but *late* in the day.

67: ἔρως for the generation of παῖδες is a common expression in Euripides - see Allen-Italie p. 247. For the expression cf. 1227 παίδων γὰρ ἐλθοῦσ' εἰς ἔρον Φοῖβον πάρα (Φοίβου Matthiae, del. Herwerden: versus valde tamen suspectus, expectes enim εἰς ἐρώτησιν θεοῦ, quo perscrutato Φοίβου addidit scholiastes aut ἐξ ἔρου i.e. δι' ἔρωτα, Φοῖβον servato) and in primis *Archelaus* fr. 2 21 Austin τέκνων ἔρωτι.

67-8: Λοξίας δὲ τὴν τύχην | ἐς τοῦτ' ἐλαύνει

The metaphor of the god 'holding the reins' of human affairs, like a charioteer, is attractive here. Alternatively we might understand it as like the comic expression χωρεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα Plat. com. fr. 53 K.-A. *et al.*, cf. Epicharmus fr. 216 Kaibel πάντα θεῖ κήλαύνεται. Cf Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane*, 383.

68: κοὐ λέληθεν, ὡς δοκεῖ•

What is the subject of λέληθεν? Paley has to supply ὁ παῖς or ἡ τύχη from the previous lines, the second of which is impossible and the first not quite the right sense. Badham followed by Biehl suggest 'nec clam (me) facit ut (sibi) videtur' to which it is objected by Owen that though Apollo may have given the information about the mishap in a reticent fashion earlier on 'what has Apollo left Hermes to discover?'. In support of this are quoted *HF* 985 ἔπτηξε...ὡς λεληθέναι δοκῶν and *Rhes.* 940 μὴ δόκει λεληθέναι. Bayfield translates 'he has not been (so) forgetful as it seems' and explains λέληθε as 'impersonal'. Surprisingly this interpretation is accepted by Owen, for the examples quoted do little to

establish the plausibility of this: Xen. *Hier.* II 5 τὸ μὲν πλῆθος..περὶ τούτου λελῆθέναι οὐ θαυμάζω...τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν κτλ. The object expressed (with περὶ τούτου as effectively τοῦτο) makes a small difference ,Plat. *Lg.* 903C σὲ δὲ λέληθεν περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὡς γένεσις ἕνεκα ἐκείνου πᾶσα γίγνεται, ὅπως... (where λέληθε is not impersonal, but governed by the ὡς clause). Page suggested καὶ λέληθεν, ὡς δοκεῖ 'he *has* succeeded in his ruse, it seems' (because of the device to be described in the next lines). But if it refers ahead, logic requires the future or future perfect here, not the perfect tense. Dawe suggests λέλῆγεν which of the emendations suggested is the best and should be adopted.[1]

The real difficulty is what object to supply if not Apollo. None of the others suggested are suitable; it would not be easy to supply a vague subject 'the whole matter we have been relating' (which is what Bayfield wanted an 'impersonal' to do), and of those who insist upon a change of subject from Λοξίας to λέληθεν the one who showed the most acumen was Benndorf who posited a lacuna. However, this is unnecessary.

The tone of what Hermes now goes on to say is one of comic furtiveness and deceit between the gods. In describing a Delphic oracle Hermes *adopts a Delphic style.* πεφυκέναι κείνου σφε φήσει could mean either 'say that he was *born* from Xuthus' (πεφυκέναι = ἐκπεφυκέναι) or say 'that he was *his*' i.e. de facto (πεφυκέναι = εἶναι: see Biehl p. 64 for parallels to the genitive). Finally in 71 μητρὸς ὡς ἐλθὼν δόμους,| γνωσθῇ

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[1]κού λέληθέ μ' was suggested by G. F. Schömann (*Opusc. Acad.* IV (1871), 58) and receives suffrage from Kraus (W.S. CII (1989), 35f., on the grounds that Hermes has deduced more of Apollo's plan than the latter intended (the interpretation propounded by A. Spira, *Untersuchungen zumDeus ex machina*, 38f.). Given Hermes' nature, as here depicted, this would not be to attribute to him as pointless a statement as M. Lloyd ("Divine and Human Action in Euripides' *Ion*", *Antike und Abendland* XXXII (1986), p. 35 n. xiii) complains. However, it is worth quoting her own explanation, taking τύχη as subject, despite the change of subject it involves: "Apollo has not done anything about Ion for some time, and he will be repeatedly accused during the play of neglecting his responsibilities. It is thus worth saying that he has not in fact been forgetful".

Κρεούσῃ has a dual sense; either 'that he should come to the house of a *mother* and be made known to Creusa' (which would be more to Xuthus' liking) or 'that he should come to his mother's house and become known to her i.e. Creusa'. I believe Imhof (p. 63) was the first to observe this charming mimicry of his brother's oracular style, so appropriate to the mischievous style of Hermes as we know it from the Hymn.

I will come to the comic connotations of the last lines of the speech presently, which seem to accord with this idea.

73: τὰ πρόσφορα 'his deserts'. Cf. *Alc.* 148: ἐπ'αὐτῇ πράσσεται τὰ πρόσφορα, *Hel.* 429, 508, *Hipp.* 112, Hes. *s.v.* πρόσφορον: ἐπιτήδειον.

74: Ἴωνα δ' αὐτὸν κτλ. The first mention of Ion's name.[1]

76: δαφνώδη γύαλα: γύαλα has a particular application to Delphi, and seems to refer either to the mantic chambers of the god in particular, or to the rocky mountain dells of Delphi which contain them. The latter is in question here, obviously, and for the presence of a place where laurel grew by the door of the temple or near it cf. *Andr.* 1115 where the sinister group of Delphians murder (or sacrifice) Neoptolemus. Wilamowitz relies on τάδε for the assumption that the γύαλα were actually represented on stage: but this is highly uncertain - having told us his purpose Hermes could as well exit entirely contra Wilamowitz' assumption.

[1] Ll. 74-5 were deleted by Hartung, and Kraus (o.c. 36) revives the suggestion. It is however excessively literal-minded to insist on the contradiction with the etymology given at 81 (and 661); this etymology - in the fashion of others in Greek tragedy - derives its significance from the immediate context. Cf. H. van Looy "παρετυμολογεῖ ὁ Εὐριπίδης", *Zetesis: album amicorum, in honorem E. Strycker* (Antwerp-Utrecht 1973), 345, 358; correctly explained, W. Biehl, *Philologus* CXXXVI (1992), 14f.

See Dale, *JHS* LXXXIV (1964), 166; Lloyd-Jones, *CR* n.s. XV (1965), 242; Taplin, *SA*, 151 with further bibliography.

In 233 and 245 <γύαλα> may refer specifically to the mantic chamber; but it amounts in fact to exactly the same thing. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* VIII 63. S. fr. 460R: E. *Pho.* 237 (lyr.) It is of course used generally as well: Hes. *Theog.* 499 Παρνησσοῖο; cf. *h. Hom. Ap.* 396, *Dion.* XXVI 5, Pind. *Nem.* X 56 Θεράπνης, S. *Ph.* 1081 πέτρας (Philoctetes' cave). It refers especially to mountain dells, and the root meaning is probably 'hollow, curved' - see Chantraine, *DE* s.v. γύη for discussion.

77: τὸ κρανθὲν "what *is* being decided about Ion", the 'coincidental' usage of the aorist participle discussed by Barrett on *Hipp.* 288. Cf. Schwyzer II 300-1, bibl. in Mastronarde ad *Pho.* 1507.

77f.: Hermes eavesdrops on the scene. The same motif occurs in the famous scene with the Nurse and Phaedra in *Hippolytus*. It is foreshadowed in for example Orestes' silent observation of Electra and the Chorus in *Cho.* 20f. Cf. E. *El.* 109-220, Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* (1962), 22f., but Euripides is the first to exploit a motif which is common in both Old and New Comedy. The 'locus classicus' in Menander is *Perikeiromene* 770f. In Aristophanes cf. *Pax* 238f. *et al.* However in *Ion* here Euripides has come the closest in the tragedians to the specifically "comic" version of the eavesdropping scene accompanied by an aside to the audience. Of course the whole of a Euripidean prologue might be regarded as an aside, dramatically but the point remains; genre has been disturbed. E. *Hec.* 1054f. where Hecuba leaves the scene of the crime is not quite the same: ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἄπειμι κἀποστήσομαι. She continues to contemplate the suffering of

Polymestor but probably remains on stage as 1122 indicates. On the whole topic see the excellent discussion by David Bain, *Actors and Audience*, 105f., passim, and Taplin, *SA*, 334f. Hermes concludes and 'gives the lie' to his high-flown diction by vanishing into hiding as a slave might in New Comedy. It is also an excellent example of the way in which Greek tragedy does not cater for 'realistic' criticism. The god proposes to watch the ensuing action, and a modern audience might expect some reference to his presence at a later point; but in fact he is entirely forgotten and passes out of the play (the actor playing him will be the deuteragonist, who returns shortly as Creusa).

79f.: Ion emerges to sweep the temple gates (cf. 105, 121). Owen compares 423 and 1176 for the monosyllable by elision followed by a pause in the first place in the line in 79.

81: Ἴων' ἐγὼ <-> πρῶτος ὀνομάζω θεῶν. Hermes concludes with a final pun on Ion's name, depending on whether one capitalizes the first word of the sentence or not.[1] The line lacks a syllable. Scaliger suggested <νιν> adopted by Diggle, L. Dindorf <σφε>. L supra lineam has ἔγωγε which is not a bad attempt, *presumably* owing to Byzantine correction, Nauck suggested πρώτιστος which would easily be explicable by simplification. ἔγωγε *is* best in sense. However there is nothing Triclinius liked better than adding γε. On the relation of this line with 74-5 *vide* n. 1 ad loc.

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82f. Ion enters to marching anapaests. He is notionally accompanied by a group of Δελφοὶ θέραπες whom he addresses in 93: it has been suggested that these are identical with the ἀγωνισταὶ ξιφήρεις who acompany him at 1257f. in pursuit of Creusa. As there were hardly two choruses here, the point is purely academic; Ion's instructions are directed off stage.

The metre is the usual anapaestic dimeter system with diaeresis between metra and synapheia at line end, unlike choral anapaests (see West, *GM*, 121). There are no exceptional features (see n. on 108). Paroemiacs which indicate period end occur at 88, 93, 101 and 111. On the correct method of setting out 'runs' of this kind cf. West, *BICS* XXIV (1977),89f.

The whole passage is characterized by a pattern of repeated words and synonymous phrases (cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 56):

95-6 > 148

96 > 118

105 > 146f.

102 > 128 > 131 > 134

144 > 181

115 > 121

124 > 129 > 152

107 > 177

110 > 136 > 183

where > = vocabulary borrowed from former.

The temple as a building is mentioned in 104, 111, 114, 115, 121, 129, 140, 157, 161, 172, and 177-8. And most strikingly, the name of the god in various forms is harped on by Ion in a fashion that reminds one of prayer or Liturgy: 90, 93, 94, 104, 111, 114, 125 (bis), 127, 129, 136 (cf. 139f.), 151, 164, 178, 182, not to mention references to ὁ θεός. The name of

Delphi occurs twice (92, 94), as does that of Castalia (95, 148): the waters of Cassotis (or so I argue: see n. on 128) are referred to twice: 118 <γαίας> ἀέναον παγάν; 147 γαίας παγάν The effect of this is clear. Most of these phrases concern Ion's daily labours, and he *dwells* lovingly on them, as he does on the fact of his service to the god and on the god himself. The immediate surroundings of Delphi loom large: Ion has not travelled, and the place where he has grown up and the daily round of tasks are his whole world, one to which he is wholly devoted. There is perhaps a shade of deliberate oxymoron in his praise of relatively humble occupations (see nn. on 132, 153, 182f.) but that is probably meant to be sensed by the *audience*, not taken as a sign that Ion himself is uncertain of his true vocation, which is expressed here with passionate sincerity.

The atmosphere of this passage is unique - in the first lines a beautiful picture of Delphi at dawn appears in the mind's eye, and throughout the piece there breaths an air of charming naivety, coupled with some high touches of lyric language, serenity, untrammeled enthusiasm for the tasks in hand, and above all that type of deep religious feeling we encounter in Greek piety, which is so very difficult for us to comprehend without introducing assumptions borrowed from a different field.

The anapaestic entry and monody follows immediately upon the prologue which has been concerned with their speaker; this effect might be compared with *Hec.* 59f. (and, more generally, *Hipp.* 51f.).

82: ἅρματα μὲν τάδε λαμπρὰ τεθρίππων "

This phrase is both curious in itself, and its connection with the following line has also occasioned doubt. If we do not punctuate after τεθρίππων, as most recent editors have done,

λάμπει must be assumed to be transitive with Ἥλιος as subject governing ἅρματα. The alternative is to place a raised stop after τεθρίππων and take the first sentence thereby created to be an abrupt exclamation. There are, I think, two decisive objections to the former.

The first is the oddity of such an expression in itself. Why should the sun be described as lighting up *his chariot*? The jingle of λαμπρὰ...λάμπει not in itself an objection: cf. *Danae* fr. 330 N,l. 3. λαμπρὸν...ἐκλάμπων σέλας (ἐκπέμπων Nauck), *Cycl.* 600 more generally: λαμπρὸν πυρώσας ὄμμα, perhaps too Sen. *HF* 128: cogit nitidum Phosphorus agmen (a passage closely parallel in language to at least one Greek tragedy). For a parallel to the idea that the chariot itself might be a source of light, one might adduce the not dissimilar dawn description in *IA* 156-9: λευκαίνει | τόδε φῶς ἤδη λάμπουσ' ἠώς | πῦρ τε τεθρίππων τῶν Ἀελίου. *Phaethon* 771 2f. N. = l. 2 Diggle (γῆς) ἣν ἐκ τεθρίππων ἁρμάτων πρώτην χθόνα | Ἥλιος ἀνίσχων χρυσέᾳ βάλλει φλογί. But none of these are precisely comparable: indeed Helios disseminates light from within his chariot, he does not, however, illuminate *the chariot* itself.

Yet more serious is λάμπει transitive. I regard this usage as illusory. The instances quoted are as follows: *Pho.* 226: ἰὼ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς δικόρυφον σέλας: that is to be explained as *internal* accusative. The same applies to Trag. adesp. fr. 33 K.-S. and to *AP* VI 249 l. 4: (a candle personified). The one remaining instance has I think been misinterpreted: E.*Hel.* 1126: πολλοὺς δὲ πυρσεύσας | φλογερὸν σέλας ἀμφιρύταν | Εὔβοιαν εἶλ' Ἀχαιῶν | μονόκωπος ἀνὴρ πέτραις Καφηρίσιν ἐμβαλών,| Αἰγαίαις τ' ἐνάλοις δόλιον | ἀκταῖς ἀστέρα λάμψας. Among emendations of this highly wrought language, the best emendation is that of Verrall, ἀνάψας, making ἀστέρα a simple object accusative. But in fact I think the text can be thus explained; πυρσεύσας...σέλας...Εὔβοιαν has σέλας combining with the idea of the verb, and thus governing Εὔβοιαν. We are

prepared therefore for a similar licence with the accusative in the second clause of the sentence and this perhaps we have, with *variatio* in the locative dative of ἀκταῖς. If one can make the further association with the common idiom of βλέπω intransitive with a noun, i.e. φόβον βλέπω A. *Septem.* 498 and frequently in comedy, why may we not have ἀστέρα...λάμπω - internal accusative - with ἀκταῖς in the equivalent syntactical role to Εὔβοιαν.[1]

The emendations that have been proposed are not especially attractive: (κάμπτει Matthiae, πέμπει Kvičala). Nor do I think that the abrupt opening exclamation to 'greet the Dawn' is in any way exceptionable. For both asyndeton and the phrase itself cf. E. *Hipp.* 178: τόδε σοι φέγγος - λαμπρὸς ὅδ'αἰθήρ. For abrupt end-stopped exclamations at the start of anapaestic systems cf. the melic anapaests at 859f. and the spoken ones at *Tro.* 98 and *Hipp.* 176, 198, 223, 232, and 239. There the device well conveys the jerky, agitated manner of speech of the Nurse; here it conveys Ion's delight and excitement at the start of his day's labours. Similar asyndeton is quite normal in any phrase regarded as an exclamation or interjection.

This of course entails disrupting the μὲν δέ connection with ἄστρα. It comes as no surprise, though, that Ion should begin his speech with μὲν 'solitarium'. See Denniston, *GP*, 382f. ('speeches in drama show a certain tendency to open with μὲν': full dramatic parallels there quoted). It is also common in the orators (in ten out of fifteen of Antiphon's speeches and in the mock oratorical speeches of comedy (i.e. Ar. *Ach.* 136, *Vesp.* 907, *Av.* 1565, *Thesm.* 383, *Plut.* 489). It was a recognized locution.

What is at first sight puzzling is the expression itself. We naturally expect τέθριππος to *agree* with ἅρμα: so it does at *Phaethon* 771 l. 2 N. = l. 2 Diggle; *Su.* 501, *Hcld.* 802,

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[1]See further Mastronarde ad *Pho.* 226.

Pho. 1562, cf. *Hipp.* 1212 (ὄχος), Aesch. fr. 346 R., Pind. *Isthm.* I 14 (ζεῦγος) etc. However here it is used as a noun, quite a normal usage in itself (sc. ἁρμάτων) - *HF* 380, *Ion* 1241, *IA* 159, fr. 1083 8 N. where it is probably used in the plural of a single chariot as here - but somewhat curious as a genitive depending on another case of the very noun that we understand with it in its nominal function anyway. However Ar. *Nu.* 1407, whether we read τέθριππον... ἵππων or ἵππον, indicates, with the verb τρέφειν, that our phrase in all probability means "four horse team".

The chariot of the sun made what might have been a first appearance in Hesiod when what was *fr.* 67 Rzach was accepted as genuine (schol. A.R. III 309f.).[1]
It appears in the *h. Hom. Dem.* 63, 88f. and *h. Hom. Herm.* 68f. has:

Ἠέλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε
αὐτοῖσίν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν·

The "golden bowl" in which the sun makes the return journey underneath the earth is first known from Stesichorus fr. 8. (185 *PMG*)
It is an extremely common mode of expression in Euripides and elsewhere: to the instances already quoted may be added *El.* 866: ὦ τέθριππον ἡλίου σέλας, *Pho.* 1562: τέθριππά γ' ἕθ' ἅρματα λεύσσων | ἀελίου, *Hel.* 342 τέθριππά θ'ἁλίου κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων, fr. 228 5N: τέθριππ' ἄγοντος ἡλίου παρ' αἰθέρα.

84f. ἄστρα δὲ φεύγει πυρὶ τῷδ' αἰθέρος

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[1]It is demoted to no. 390 among the spuria in the edition of Merkelbach-West:
Φησὶ δ'Απολλώνιος Ἡσιόδῳ ἑπόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος
τοῦ Ἡλίου εἰς τὴν κατὰ Τυρσηνίαν κειμένην νῆσον τὴν Κίρκην ἐλθεῖν
Rightly so: the reference to Circe and the geography is correctly attributed to Hesiod (*Theog.* 1011) - the additional reference to the chariot of the sun is to the text of A.R. commented on.

ἐς νύχθ' ἱεράν·

A phrase that has caused doubt in the past. What is the "fire of the aether?". Diggle (*Studies*, 94f.) has explained the cosmological allusion as a reference to pre-Socratic speculation.[1] Anaxagoras identified αἰθήρ with πῦρ (D.-K. 59 A 43, 73, 84) - cf. also Sider, *The fragments of Anaxagoras* (*Beiträge zur klassische Philologie*, 1981), p. 47. So did others: see Empedocles D.-K. 31 B 115 and other references collected by Diggle and by M. Griffith, *Dionysiaca* (1978), 132 n. 73. Cf. in general Furley, *The Greek Cosmologists* I (1987), 70f. A general cosmological allusion in Euripides should not be ruled out; even in antiquity, he was thought to have studied under Anaxagoras himself (D.L. II 10). It probably stems from the Euripidean reputation for δεινὴ σοφία that goes back to the *Frogs*. Diggle goes on to observe "whether Euripides intended πυρὶ τῷδ' αἰθέρος to refer to the fiery aether or to the sun is a question that cannot be answered and need hardly be asked". We can take the matter a little further. If the three words mean the aether *itself*, it may be a cosmological allusion, but a very bad one, as the aether in the physical world of the pre-Socratics is always there, whereas the sun is not: there is no question of the *aether*, as it were, "ascending" the sky every morning. If the πῦρ in itself is the sun, then *ipso facto* we *do not* have an allusion to Anaxagoras' identification, but a description of the sun as the "fire within the aether". One might compare the poetic description in Parmenides D.-K. 28 B 8 56 of the sun as φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ.[2] In view of this, perhpas we might abandon a precise reference to any particular philosopher's system. πῦρ = αἰθήρ = ἥλιος where αἰθήρ refers to any fiery supernal substance. Euripides is using vague, but impressive language. What

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[1]Cf. Wilamowitz.

[2]I see no need to emend to secure either interpretation: πῦρ τόδ' ἀπ' αἰθέρος does so for the second, but at some cost. (Badham following P^2 and L: *Pac* ut vid. τωδ', πῦρ τοδ' P^2 - P^2 consulted L and made the *wrong* correction.)

causes the stars to flee into the darkness is the light of the sun. If (as is quite probable) πῦρ τόδε... αἰθέρος means simply "this fire (that we can see) in the sky" with αἰθήρ meaning "sky" in its most general connotation, Anaxagoras fades from the picture altogether. On Euripides as μαθητής of Anaxagoras (misguided) cf. G. Arrighetti, Satiro, *Vita di Euripide* (SCO XIII) Pisa 1964, 105 f., M.R. Lefkowitz *Lives* (1981), 100 n. 59.

The long over-popular Aristarchean distinction αἰθήρ | ἀήρ should be abandoned (cf. Nilsson *GGR* II, 408. W.-M., *An. Eur.*, 164 f. shows that E's borrowings from Anaxagoras depend upon fragile evidence (cf. on 406). That the etymology is αἴθω (cf. E. *Tro.* 1079 f.) is not the point in this connection.

φεύγει is here quasi-passive in sense. Diggle rightly compares *Il.* XVIII 149-50. On the metaphor of the star's 'flight' cf. 1158 Ἕως διώκουσ' ἄστρα, Diggle on *Phaethon* l. 66.

ὑφ' Ἕκτορος...φεύγοντες and Hdt. IV 125 4.

In Attic it came to be regarded as the passive, or a passive, of διώκω with the connotation "be sent into exile": cf. Hdt. V 30 (ἔφυγον... ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου). Xen. *Hell.* I 1 27 (φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου): Din. I 44 (ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου i.e. by their order).

ἐς νύχθ' ἱεράν: Cf. Stesichorus fr. 185.2f. PMG: ὄφρα...ἀφίκοιθ' ἱαρᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς. The night is "holy" because it is a time when mortals are not abroad and daemonic encounters are more likely in the form of gods, spectres, visions and prophetic dreams. The idea may also be apotropaic, in the same way that it is called εὐφρόνη. Cf. *Andromeda* (quoted on l. 41), *Or.* 174, A. fr. 69 6 R: μελανίππου προφυγὼν ἱερᾶς νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν. The idea goes back to Homer: νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην *Il.* II 57, X 41, 142 etc. Thus Clytaemestra holds νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρᾳ πυρός (*Eum.* 108) in honour of the infernal powers. On this idea - separation from mortals - cf. P. Wülfing von

Martitz *Glotta* XXXVIII (1959-60), id. XXXIX (1960-1) 24f. Burkert, *GR*, 402f. (German) = 269f. (Eng.), Parker *Miasma*, 151f.

Παρνασιάδες ἄβατοι κορυφαί: "Not to be walked on" (because sacred to Apollo) not "unclimbable" - for the sense cf. *Ba.* 10 (ἄβατον πέδον of Semele's tomb) and Dodds *ad loc.*, S. *OC* 167 ἀβάτων ἀποβάς (of the shrine of the Eumenides) 675 τὰν ἄβατον θεοῦ | φυλλάδα (of the olive tree on the Acropolis): S. fr. 88, 7 Radt reads δεινὸς γὰρ ἕρπειν πλοῦτος ἔς τε τἄβατα | καὶ πρὸς † τὰ βατά.

Its correct opposite, pointing the sense of ἄβατος, which should probably be restored in the second line of that fragment, is βέβηλα: see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968), 113 f.

On the sacred status of Parnassus see Schmidt *RE* XVIII, III 2 a and on *Ion* 1588f.: id., *Heilige Berge Griechenlands in alter und neuer Zeit* (1940), 25f.

καταλαμπόμεναι: Passive (the κατα - makes the difference from the intransitive simple verb). Cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV 7 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενοι ,

E. *Tro.* 1070 τὰν καταλαμπομέναν ζαθέαν θεράπναν.

86-7: τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἀψῖδα βροτοῖσι δέχονται.

A striking expression. ἀψῖδα: the ἀψῖδα is the "felloe, outer ring of the wheel" (Barrett on *Hipp.* 1233 ἀψῖδα... ὀχήματος). We thus get a beautiful picture of the light just touching on the upper slopes of the mountains at the first moment of dawn.

L includes in its oddly sporadic annotations the gloss τὴν πραεῖαν against this line, which it also reads in the unmetrical state τὴν ἡμέραν | ἀψῖδα. The explanation of this is not far to seek - after the iota, which Canter was undoubtedly right to replace to provide the necessary extra syllable, had dropped out, someone saw the need to have an adjective here

and not a noun and so persuaded himself that ἦμερος could have three terminations and fortified his case by inscribing in the margin the appropriate case of the adjective that Hesychius in fact has against ἦμερος (ὁ πρᾶος). Matthiae is not to be congratulated, therefore, for placing the aberrant gloss in the text in place of ἠμέραν with γε *metri gratia* following it. It is an ignorant aberration by a party yet to be identified.[1]

89: σμύρνης ἀνύδρου καπνός: Wilamowitz quotes from Dioscorides I 64 the statement that there were two types of temple incense, λιπαρά and ξηρά, the latter to be in question here.

This is generally accepted but is in fact quite irrelevant. W.-M.'s unfounded assumption that the ἁλιπής and ξηρά types were reserved for ceremonial purposes meets with disaster in the context. Dioscorides is recommending λιπαρά, deprecating ξηρά - ἡ δὲ χειρίστη ἐν ἁπάσαις... ψαφαρὰ καὶ ἁλιπὴς, δριμεῖα... καὶ πιέσματα... ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ξηρῶν ἁλιπῆ τε καὶ οὐκ εὐώδη.

E. is most likely to be referring to dilution of σμύρνα with water, an economy device here considered unworthy of the goddess. On the practice cf. Isidorus *et.* XVII 8 xiv: the product of dilution is called στακτή - Dioscorides I 60 - στακτὴ δὲ καλεῖται τῆς προσφάτου σμύρνης τὸ λιπαρὸν, κεκομμένης μεθ' ὕδατος ὀλίγου. 'Undiluted' and 'diluted' will correspond to the distinction χρῖμα and ἄλειμμα noted in Athenaeus' discussion of perfumes and incenses (689 **c**). There is therefore no conflict with 1175 σμύρνης ἱδρῶτα.

For the phrase cf. 1174f.: κάξεθυμία | σμύρνης ἱδρῶτα, *Tro.* 1063 καὶ πελανῶν φλόγα | σμύρνας αἰθερίας τε κα|πνόν. The word σμύρνη alludes of course to the Eastern origin of the materials for incense.

πέτεται: Musgrave restored the second epsilon in place of the MS. πέταται. The

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[1]On the provenance of the "scholia" to L in *Ion* cf. Endnote.

orthography of this verb is as follows:

The present with alpha is insufficiently attested for Attic, unlike the aorist ἐπτάμην: this along with the citation of E. fr. 985 N. in Plut. *Mor.* 747 D. would be the only examples in Attic. It is however found in Pindar (*Pyth.* VIII 90, *Nem.* VI 48, fr. 107a S.-M. l. 4 - Plut. *q. conv.* 748 B, (or Simonides (fr. 30 Bgk.) - normalized by Wyttenbach, not necessarily correctly. The authorship remains disputed and Bacchylides (cf. Reinach, *Mélanges Weil*, p. 413f.) has also been suggested). Cf. Sandbach, (Loeb) vol. IX, 197 n. 6.) and at least one other papyrus fragment of lyric poetry: Sappho in *P. Oxy.* 1231 fr. 10 *PLF* 21 l.8:]ς πέταται διώκων. That Stesichorus 37 1 *SLG* has a papyrus reading πετε. [is not sufficient to counterbalance the Sappho fragment, as the termination is unknown. We also know from later Greek of a deviant form ἵπταμαι (Babrius) which, significantly, the Atticist in Lucian (*Lexiphanes* 25) reprehends: τὸ ἵπτατο καὶ τὸ ἀπαντόμενος καὶ τὸ κατεσθείς, οὐδὲ μετοικικὰ τῶν Αθηναίων φωνῆς. The alpha form is securely enough attested for Aristotle, but not earlier in Attic: it also appears in the MSS of the *Anthology*. In the citation of Pindar fr. 292 S.-M. in Pl. *Theaet.* 173E the epsilon is inserted: this will be further evidence of the Classical Attic practice, and we should doubtless alter the other way, to alpha, if the verb is Pindar's, not Plato's text.

There has been some dispute over the priority of these forms: in view of the papyrus evidence and the fairly clear division between Attic and lyric that the preponderance of the MSS show, Paley's view that πέταμαι is merely a later invention of grammarians to explain the irregular aorist ἐπτάμην seems implausible. Chantraine concludes (*DE* s.v.) "le présent πέτομαι est certainement ancien et πέταμαι secondaire: à l'aorist, ἐπτάμην peut être primaire et πτέσθαι secondaire", which seems unjustifiable.

A selection of MSS evidence is given by Porson (*Med.* 1) with emendations.[1] Hermann's defence of the reading here on the grounds that the form is from πετάννυμι not πέτεσθαι is strained. Scribal confusion with the Attic aorist is much more likely.

91: θάσσει δὲ γυνὴ τρίποδα ζάθεον | Δελφίς ,

On the poetic use of θάσσω + acc. see on l. 5f.

92: ἀείδουσ' Ἕλλησι βοάς. One might compare for the expression βοάς the great description of the Sibyl in Verg. *Aen.* VI 99 "obscuros canit ambages antroque remugit": cf. 43: "ostia centum / *unde ruunt totidem voces*, responsa Sibylli" and III 92 of the oracle of Apollo at Delos: "mugire adytis cortina reclusis". It was the sonorous echo of the Sibyl's inspired raving through the hollow caverns that caught Vergil's imagination. But in fact βοή

[1]The rest of the note is devoted to the utter refutation of the bizarre idea, current even among the ancients, that πτάσθαι was properispomenon.

in Greek has a wider semantic field (the Sanskrit root probably meant not "shout" but "proclaim"). It may be used of the sacrificial ὁλολυγή: ὁλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῆ παιώνισον | Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς (A. *Septem* 269) and most importantly perhaps here, can be used of the sound of musical instruments (*Il.* XVIII 495: αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον, A. *Septem.* 394: βοὴν σάλπιγγος) and of *religious incantation:* Ar. *Ran.* 212: ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοάν. Cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 156. "The loud and excited tone of voice which marked the spirit and exaltation of the *μάντις*" ("spirit" presumably in the sense of *adflatus*). Thus Headlam ad loc. One might add, Pind. *paean* viii (a) fr. 52 (i) A, S.-M. l. 10 ἔκλαγξέ θ'ἱερ[ᾶς κόρας] δαμόνιον κέαρ ὀλοαῖσι στοναχαῖς ἄφαρ (in context, a prophecy), S. *Ant.* 1021 εὐσήμους ἀπορροιβδεῖ βοάς ("Ring" or "shout forth" is recommended by Fraenkel). Cf. E. *El.* 879 ἴτω ξύναυλος βοὰ χαρᾷ.

93: ἃς ἂν Ἀπόλλων κελαδήσῃ: κελαδεῖν originally meant "shout" (e.g. *Il.* XXIII 869: ἁτὰρ κελάδησαν Ἀχαιοί in applause) like its noun κέλαδος, in all likelihood. But at an early date it also acquired the meaning "sing, celebrate in song" cf. Pind. *OI*. I 9, II 2, E. *IT* 1129: κέλαδον ἑπτατόνου λύρας, *Cycl.* 489: ἄχαριν κέλαδον μουσιζόμενος. Most importantly for our passage, Pindar provides an exact parallel for its use to describe the singing of the Pythia - *Pyth.* IV 60:

> σὲ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ
>
> χρησμὸς ὦρθωσεν μελίσσας
>
> Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ·

E. *IT* 1089f. is comparable for both phrases: ὄρνις ἃ παρὰ πετρίνας | πόντου δειράδας ἁλκυὼν | ἔλεγον οἶτον ἀείδεις | εὐξύνετον ξυνετοῖς βοάν, | ὅτι πόσιν κελαδεῖς ἀεὶ μολπαῖς. *Hel.* 370: βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' Ἑλλὰς κελάδησε means "call out for aid" however, as in the root of βοη-θεῖν. (See bibliography in Diggle, *Euripidea*, 480 n. 178.)

94: Δελφοὶ θέραπες: The nominative θέραψ is extremely rare and non-Attic: it occurs in an Alexandrian inscribed epitaph, which by letter forms is Roman: Φοίβου καὶ Μουσῶν ὁ θέραψ (Kaibel *EG* 415 l.3). The acc. sing. is little better attested *AP* XVI 306 10 (:Anth. Plan : Leonidas - also inscriptions). The form in use in Attic is, as here, the nominative plural, as a useful alternative to θεράπων,cf. E. *Su.* 762 (iambi); likewise Ion of Chios fr. 27 2 von Blumenthal.

94f.: τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς | βαίνετε δίνας,

The famous pool or fountain of Delphi, often mentioned in poetry from an early point, cf. Panyassis (Davies fr. 15 : Κασταλίης ᾽Αχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ,Bacchylides II 20: τόθι *μέγιστον* ἄλσος, Φοίβου παρὰ Κασταλίας ᾽ρεέθροις, Pin*daian* VI 8: ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ | ψόφον ἀΐων Κασταλίας | ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον.
Cf. *Pyth.* I 39: Φοῖβε Παρνασσοῦ τε κράναν Κασταλίαν φιλέων.

We gather from Paus. X 10 and other sources who describe the pool that it was mentioned by Alcaeus (ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ εἰς ᾽Απόλλωνα = *PLF* 307 p. 260, cf. Page, *SA* p. 245 on the hymn to Apollo, of which one line survives, and on the curious idea purveyed by Pausanias that cakes thrown into the Cephisus surfaced in Castalia, despite the considerably greater altitude of the latter. Later sources in Page, *SA* l.c., n. 3 - Alcaeus' reference to γάνος Τριταίας is contained in Strabo, which is of some interest. On the myth cf. v. Geisau *RE* X, s.v. The duty of ritual cleansing in the pool sacred to Apollo was a duty incumbent on the priests of the temple: Euripides mentions it also in *Pho.* 222, where the chorus of καλλιστεύματα Λοξίου sing: ἔτι δὲ Κασταλίας ὕδωρ | περιμένει *με* κόμας ἐμᾶς | δεῦσαι παρθένιον χλιδὰν | Φοιβείαισι λατρείαις.[1]
If the pious antiquarian Heliodorus is not embellishing ritual, at one time it may have been customary for visitors to the oracle as well - ἐπαινέσας οὖν τῶν τε δρόμων καὶ ἀγορῶν καὶ κρηνῶν τὸ ἄστυ καὶ Κασταλίαν αὐτὴν ἣν (ᾗ ?) δὴ καὶ περιρραντήριον ἐποιησάμην, ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν ἔσπευδον. (*Aeth.* II 26). Ion (225f.) makes no such request of Creusa's attendants.

Though famous in poetry in Classical times, the notion that it conveyed prophetic powers is apparently later, perhaps invented in Hellenistic times: Ovid *am.* I xv 35 is among

[1]cf. Parke, *BCH* CII (1978), 222.

the earliest mentions of this, and it proliferates in later poetry of the Roman age.[1] The Pindaric expression (*Pyth.* IV 163f.) *μεμάντευμαι ἐπὶ Κασταλίᾳ εἰ ματάλλατόν τι*, means "I have taken prophetic council by Castalia's stream".

ἀργυροειδεῖς: cf. *IA* 752 ἥξει δὴ Σιμόεντα καὶ | δίνας ἀργυροειδεῖς, Orphic *Arg.* 599. Cf.

ἀργυροδινής, Hom., Hes., etc.

96-7: καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις | ἀφυδρανάμενοι στείχετε ναούς.

δρόσοι as often *in poetry* merely means "waters" - *IT* 1192: πηγαῖσιν ὑδάτων ἢ θαλασσίᾳ δρόσῳ, ibid. 255: A. *Eum.* 904, and of the water from a stream of river, *Ion* 117 the Castalia again), *Andr.* 167, *Hipp.* 78, Ar. *Ran.* 1339 (a) in Dover's colometry (lyr.): ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρατε, in the "Euripidean" monody. The cognate Latin *ros* has the same feature: only in verse is its meaning extended from "dew" to "moisture, water" (Verg. *Georg.* I 385 "largos umeris infundere rores", *Aen.* V 854, VI 230 etc.).

ἀφυδρανάμενοι: The Hesychian notice ἀφυδραίνεσθαι: περιρραίνεσθαι: ἀπολούεσθαι guarantees the reading here. Nauck's φαιδρυνάμενοι is wholly unnecessary,[2] though this is the only occurrence in verse of the verb (see Breitenbach, 111). Badham's καθαρὰς δὲ δρόσους would mean "wash off before entering" - likewise no improvement to the sense. The requirement is ritual purity: cf. on such preliminaries to religious worship R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikê: Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1962), 299f., 311f.

98f. The MS has

στόμα τ' εὔφημον φρουρεῖτ' ἀγαθόν·

φήμας τ' ἀγαθάς

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[1]See Bömer on *Met.* III 14.

[2]Cf. Hes. *OD* 753.

τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν *μαντεύεσθαι*

γλώσσης ἰδίας ἀποφαίνειν.

The passage has occasioned various problems: is it legitimate to have both εὔφημον and ἀγαθόν in predicative position? Is the asyndeton between 99 and 100 which must result if the second τε in the text is kept permissible? And if so, what is the construction of ἀποφαίνειν? To attend to the first problem, the most common expedient has been that suggested by L. Dindorf: the change of φρουρεῖτε to φρουρεῖν, such that both φρουρεῖν and ἀποφαίνειν depend upon ἀγαθόν: "it is a good thing to maintain one's mouth in a state of religious purity, and to send forth from the tongue good utterances.." Wilamowitz states what I regard as a fatal objection: "dass ἀγαθός beide Male denselben Sinn haben muss, versteht sich von selbst". It is a significant repetition in such close proximity. Badham changed εὔφημον to εὐφημεῖν, comparing for φρουρεῖν + inf. E. *Su.* 900: ἐφρούρει *μη*δὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. There the negative, as Owen points out, makes some difference; more cynically, so does the dire textual corruption in the vicinity - see Diggle's apparatus - however at *Hel.* 742 φρουρεῖν ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἓν ἐλθόντες τύχης | ἐκ βαρβάρων σωθῶμεν the verb has a ὅπως clause in a positive sense. Cf. S. *El.* 1402. Camper changed εὔφημον to εὔφημοι which is adopted by Diggle. Wiskemann conversely altered ἀγαθόν to ἀγαθοί. Hermann wrote ἀγαθῶν for ἀγαθόν, deleting the second τε: "favete linguis, quo bona bonorum omina oraculum consulturis, quantum in vestris linguis est, reddatis". A similar isolation of the first three words in a clause of its own is achieved by Kuiper's raised stop after φρουρεῖτ' with the second τ' deleted (approved by Collard II, 175, adopted by Biehl.)

The two predicative or semi-predicative adjectives are perhaps the least of worries on this passage: an analogy is provided by S. *El.* 1085: πάγκλαυτον αἰῶνα κοινὸν εἴλου (κλεινόν Sirks, with *OCT*) - though highly controversial, cf. *Sophoclea* (1990), 64: Stinton,

Collected Papers, 490-1. Cf. Jebb, *Appendix*, on the sense, Kaibel *ad loc.* who perceived the sense "You have chosen a fate that is both utterly to be bewailed and is common to both of us". But the matter cannot be divorced from the question of the asyndeton. If we keep the τε in 99, we have both asyndeton (because the τε of 98 must then look forwards, not backwards) and what seems at first sight a violent change of construction in 99f. - imperative followed by infinitive *pro imperativo*. Kirchhoff wrote δέ in 98, which is the best solution offered. It could also be argued that ἀγαθόν pertains to both clauses, which argues *for* Dindorf's φρουρεῖν. If the τε in 99 is deleted (irrespective of any surgery to 98) ἀποφαίνειν becomes an infinitive of purpose.

Ion, as the text reads, is giving a *command* here: and the lack of connective particles is therefore excused. Cf. S. *OT* 1056: τί δ' ὄντιν' εἶπε; *μη*δὲν ἐντραπῇς· *μά*την ῥηθέντα βούλου *μη*δὲ *με*μνῆσθαι τάδε (with Campbell *ad loc.*).[1] S. *El.* 986: ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη πείσθητι, σ*υμ*πόνει πατρί, | σύγκα*μ*ν' ἀδελφῷ, παῦσον ἐκ κακῶν ἐ*μέ*, | παῦσον δὲ σαυτὴν, cf. Campbell, *Essay*, para. 34 1.

Now to ἀποφαίνειν. There are good discussions of this construction (imperatival infinitive) in Euripides by Collard (l.c.) and Diggle (*Studies*, 9f.) - to be read in that order. Certain examples: E. *Tro.* 421: σὺ δ', ἡνίκ' ἄν σε Λαρτίου χρῄζῃ τόκος, | ἄγειν, ἕπεσθαι, *Tro.* 594: συ τ'... † κο*μ*ίσαι † *μ*' ἐς Ἅιδου (κο*μ*ίσαι Burges κοί*μ*ισαί Seidler); *Erechtheus* fr. 53 25 Austin: *μ*ήποτ'...αἰσχροὺς ἔρωτας δη*μ*οτῶν διωκαθεῖν is not as certain as sometimes stated, given the context, which is a long gnomic exhortation, in itself not the place one might expect this form of expression. *μ*ήποτε in both 24 and 28 may suggest a lacuna ("do not, thus inspired, take it into your head to..."); Cobet however precedes me independently in the suggestion διωκαθῇς. *Hcld.* 313 is in all probability corrupt - a

[1] A. Y. Campbell's transposition of *μ*άτην and τάδε is compelling.

lacuna may be the answer or Kirchhoff's *μέμνησθέ μοι*, approved most recently by Wilkins *ad loc.* (a good note on the subject in general). Diggle rejects this example (ἀποφαίνειν) and adopts a hybrid of Camper's εὔφημοι and Hermann's deletion of the second connective.

But there is little doubt that E. could have written it here and Collard remarks correctly on the tone: "they mark a more direct form of command". It is also noteworthy that they occur particularly frequently in tragedy with *verbs of speaking*, as here. Cf. *OT* 462 φάσκειν, *El.* 9 φάσκειν, *Phil.* 1411 φάσκειν, Hdt. III 35 φάναι, Breitenbach, 211, Bruhn, *Anhang*,68, Moorhouse, *Syntax*,243 with other bibliography.

Finally there is a change of construction. I offer the following as parallels for the imperative changing to the infinitive: S. *OT* 460f. καὶ ταῦτ' ἰὼν | εἴσω λογίζου κἂν λάβῃς ἐψευσμένον | φάσκειν, *Il.* II 8 βάσκ' ἴθι, οὖλε Ὄνειρε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν· ἐλθὼν ἐς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο | πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν, Ar. *Ach.* 257f. πρόβαινε· κἂν τῷχλῳ φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα, id. 1000f. ἀκούετε λεῴ· κατὰ τά πάτρια τοὺς χοᾶς | πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος, Schwyzer II 380f., Collard and Breitenbach *ll.cc.*, Kühner - Gerth 2, 21. There is also a slight objection to the infinitive of purpose here: ἀποφαίνειν is not the type of verb one would expect in this construction - it goes better with verbs of motion (cf. Goodwin, *GMT*, 308f.).

Thus I reject all the proposed surgery to the text as unnecessary. φῆμαι: Here as most usually φῆμαι has its full sense of "utterances prompted by the gods" (in the Delphians' capacity as temple attendants): cf. the inspired utterance of the ἀλετρίς in *Od.* XX 100f. in response to Odysseus' prayer: Pl. *Lg.* 878A φήμης ἕνεκεν (= ominis causa) etc.

100: τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν *μαντεύεσθαι*: ἐθέλω (as against the shortened form θέλω) is permissible in tragic anapaests *metri gratia* but not in dialogue: cf. Lobeck ad *Aj.* 24, Wilamowitz ad E. *HF* 18, Fraenkel ad *Ag.* 1569.

101: γλώσσης ἰδίας ἀποφαίνειν. What does this mean?

If it only means "your own tongue", it seems curiously redundant: one can even understand with Verrall why his emendation ἰλέας seemed attractive. It will not do however, quite apart from being unmetrical. The by form of the Attic ἰλέως from which this would come is known both from Herodotus and from inscriptions (Crete etc.), but not in Attic. Radermacher suggested that it could actually *mean* γλώσσης ὑμετέρας comparing orac. ap. Dem. XXI 67 ἰδίας δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνέχοντες. However, in the exactly comparable formulation at XLIII 86 the word is omitted: in the former case both deletion and emendation (ἰθείας, Buttmann, is plausible) have been proposed. Naturally the word *can* mean "one's own" (= οἰκεῖος) but in contexts where there is a positive emphasis on that meaning -A. *PV* 403 Ζεὺς ἰδίοις νόμοις κρατύνων, E. *Pho.* 555 οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί "his own, i.e. susceptible to no outside advice" etc. Here there is nothing to emphasize. Owen explains that it is in their private conversation that they must abstain from ill-omened words, or rather in what they say themselves. This is certainly possible, if Ion is giving a general directive, as it were, on good conduct.

However there is another possible explanation which has been overlooked: Ion is using an idiom known to us from prose to contrast the *spoken* words of the Delphians with the *poetical* utterances of the Pythia which have just been mentioned (91f.) Cf. Plato *Rep.* 366E οὔτ' ἐν ποιήσει οὔτ' ἐν ἰδίοις λόγοις, id. 606C ἐν μιμήσει δὲ κωμῳδικῇ ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἀκούων etc. It is possible that ἴδιοι λόγοι have a special sense "prose", and that this phrase stands in direct antithesis with both 91f and τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν μαντέυεσθαι in the previous lines, though see the objections of Adam, *Rep.* 363E, vol. I, 80 (ἰδίᾳ τε λεγόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ ποιητῶν (περὶ ἀρετῆς). However *there* no question of prose arises; the parallel quoted from *Lg.* 890A seems to refute Adam's case, not to confirm it.

Biehl adopts the word division ἄπο φαίνειν. ἀποφαίνειν is so well established for religious "revelations" that we need not consider this.

102: ἡμεῖς δὲ,πόνους οὓς ἐκ παιδὸς μοχθοῦμεν ἀεί,

What is the construction of πόνους? Paley suggests that we mentally supply "a participle of cognate meaning" to govern πόνους. But it is much easier to explain in terms of the "accusative in apposition to the sentence". This is facilitated by the fact that words signifying "work" are particularly commonly employed as cognates: cf. *Ion* 135 εὐφάμους δὲ πόνους | μοχθεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω. On acc. in apposition to the *actio verbi* cf. W.-M. on *HF* 59 with many examples. Barrett, *Hipp.*, p. 307, usefully narrows the field on this sometimes vague designation. Professor Lloyd-Jones suggests to me πόνοις, in apposition to the *objects* of his labours, which he goes on to mention in the dative. Cf. on 134.

103-4: πτόρθοισι δάφνης

στέφεσίν θ' ἱεροῖς ἐσόδους Φοίβου

καθαρὰς θήσομεν,

The role of στέφη ἱερά in cleansing the forecourt of the temple is not immediately apparent. Wakefield understandably conjectured ἔρνεσι. Wilamowitz, in somewhat prosaic vein, explained "die heiligen Binden sind nur das Band, das die Zweige zu einem Reisbesen zusammenhält. Solche Binden, Taenien, gab es in einem Heiligtum in Menge". Owen, yet worse: "The στέφη would mark the broom as temple property". The point of στέφη (see below) would be to mark a person, animal or object as peculiarly sacred, and it has been suggested that Ion is here referring to *two* tasks, cleansing the forecourt and decorating it subsequently with στέφη (where, theoretically, one might expect to find them, rather than on

a broom): the objection to this is that Ion refers in precisely the same order to the *three* tasks mentioned here *later* in the monody (sweeping 112f., sprinkling water 146f., bird-scaring 153f.), leaving no room for a fourth (though we can posit stage-action). On balance it seems better that fillets were attached to the broom for a religious reason: it is the holy broom of laurel, the tree sacred to the god, which is reverently apostrophized in 112f. as coming from the sacred grove about Cassotis (see n. 117f.). There is no evidence for Wilamowitz' view. The construction is a "quasi-hendiadys". We learn from 120 that a myrtle broom was used for the *precinct* of the temple: we may assume from here and 114 that the laurel broom was thought fit for the interior and the θυμέλη. στέφανος and στέφος have of course a common root στέφω but differ slightly in range of meaning. στέφος can mean στέφανος: *Pho.* 856f. - Teiresias' καὶ τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὡς ὁρᾷς ἔχω is answered (858) with οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη. It does not work the other way. στέφος has a wider sense of anything "bound on". Most commonly, στέφη are articles of clothing worn by one who sacrifices, supplicates etc. They are "fillets", long plaited pieces of woollen material which are worn on the head (*IA* 1477 στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε φέρετε - πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν, 1512 ἐπὶ κάρα στέφη | βαλουμέναν), round the neck (A. *Ag.* 1265 περὶ δέρῃ στέφη) as articles attached to one's clothing (E. *Tro.* 256f. ῥῖπτε... ἀπὸ χροὸς ἐνδυτῶν στεφέων ἱεροὺς στολμούς, cf. 453 (στέφη) ἴτ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ χρωτός) or carried in one's hands (S. *OT* 912f. νασὺς ἱκέσθαι δαιμόνων τάδ' ἐν χεροῖν | στέφη λαβούσῃ κάπιθυμιάματα: Jocasta will resemble the grave-visitors with their baskets of ribbons, well known from the Attic lekythoi). Cf. E. *Su.* 359, Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen, passim* (see p. 30ff). καθαρὰς θήσομεν would in any case be a singularly odd word to use of adorning the temple with fillets.

ῥανίσιν νοτερόν: Cf. fr. 856 4 N. ἀλκυόνες... τέγγουσαι νοτίοις πτερῶν ῥανίσι χρόα

διανιζόμεναι *Andr.* 227 οὐδὲ 'ρανίδ' ὑπαιθρίας δρόσου *IA* 1515, *IT* 644.; it reappears in comedy e.g. *Ach.* 171. Cf. Breitenbach, 28 para. 7, on the formation in E.

106:

πτηνῶν τ' ἀγέλας. In Homer ἀγέλαι refer only to oxen and swine, but the meaning was rapidly extended (Pindar fr. 112 S.-M. παρθένων, cf. *Ba.* 1023 ἀγέλαν...Μαινάδων). Of birds cf. *Hipp.* 734 ἵνα με πτεροῦσσαν ὄρνιν | θεὸς ἐν ποταναῖς | ἀγέλαις θείη, S. *Aj.* 168 παταγοῦσιν ἅπερ πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι. Eustathius (*Il.* 178 14 ad *Il.* II 87) οἱ νεώτεροι ἀγέλας ἐπὶ ὀρνέων may be thinking of these passages.

107:

αἳ βλάπτουσιν σέμν' ἀναθήματα. The ἀναθήματα outside the temple, as these, must obviously be the type described by Paus. X, 8, 6f.

108: τόξοισιν ἐμοῖς | φυγάδας θήσομεν. Owen lists parallels for the singular possessive adjective with the plural verb: see also Campbell, *Essay* II A para 3(b): Moorhouse, *Syntax*, 8f. The repetition of θήσομεν (105, 108) will be a slight play on words. Repetition of words in the style of a pattern is a most noticeable feature of this speech: see introduction. There is certainly no need to emend with Herwerden to φυγαδεύσω or with Paley to φυγάδας θήσω. | τὼς γάρ. For the final dactyl cf. A. *Su.* 5f. χθόνα σύγχορτον Συρίᾳ φεύγομεν, *Hec.* 79 σώσατε παῖδ' ἐμόν, *ib.* 88 ἐσίδω Τρῳάδες.

109: ὡς γὰρ ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ τε γεγώς ; recalled in 837 ἀμήτορ' ἀναρίθμητον, ἐκ δούλης τινός | γυναικὸς ἐς σὸν δῶμα δεσπότην ἄγει.

111.: τοὺς θρέψαντας | Φοίβου ναοὺς θεραπεύω. Cf. 52 νέος μὲν οὖν ὢν ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφάς, 183 τοὺς βόσκοντας θεραπεύων, 683f. ὁ παῖς ὃδ' ἀμφὶ ναοὺς σέθεν | τρόφιμος.

THE ODE

112f. The metre is Aeolic throughout and presents few metrical problems; the only real difficulty resides in the classification of 122 (see below). The crux at 118 is not a metrical one, as the antistrophe is free of corruption.

ANALYSIS

112	⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑⏑ –	Choriambic heptasyllable[1]
	– – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
	– – – – – ⏑⏑ –	Polyschematist / Wilamowitzianum[2]
	– – ⏑⏑ – –	Reizianum
116	– – – – ⏑⏑ –	Choriambic heptasyllable[1]
	⏑⏑⏑ – – – ⏑⏑ –	Polyschematist etc., resolution[2]
118	< > – ⏑⏑ –	Dodrans B[1]
	– – – ⏑⏑ – –	Pherecratean
120	– ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
	– – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
	⏑ – ⏑⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ –	Iambic trimeter[3]
124	X – – ⏑⏑ – –	Pherecratean

Notes

1. 112 and 116 might, though less logically, be termed "syncopated choriambic dimeter", 118 so with double syncopation. However, the term "syncopated" implies - as it does with lyric iambics - that the value of the invisible syllable is nonetheless still present rhythmically in some sense; that cannot be the case with these cola. Cf. Dale, *LM*^{2}, 130.

2. K. Itsumi (*CQ* n.s. XXXII (1982), 59f.) has warned us against classifying as "choriambic dimeter B" in the sense to which Dale extends that term. Here and throughout, I use "polyschematist" as an abbreviation for "polyschematist dimeter" i.e. the Wilamowitz-Dale "choriambic dimeter".

3. Thus Dale and Owen, surely rightly. Biehl wishes to find two Kaibelian dochmiacs, analyzing

παναμέριος ἅμ' ἀ|λίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ

τὸ δ'ὠφέλιμον ἐμοὶ | πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω (τὸ Musgrave: τὸν MS).

He compares *Tro.* 260, 287, 311 *Or.* 171 and 966. The *Tro.* citations are in a definitely dochmiac context, those from *Or.* both appear among iambi, which are far more likely companions for dochmiacs than the typically straightforward Euripidean aeolo-choriambics here. The kaibelianus probably does appear in the following epode (if such it is); anapaests and dochmiaccs are close companions however. It is true that 139 lacks a caesura - the latter does indeed often occur in lyric trimeters, though it is not demonstrably necessary; we cannot, indeed be sure that Euripides would have thought of these lines as trimeters in the ordinary sense.[1]

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[1]which may be the operative point. Diggle, while (*Orestes*, 138, n. 18) formerly acknowledging 'few certain or possible examples' in E., now, following Willink, regards the seven examples there tolerated as susceptible to redivision. See *Euripidea*, 476, n. 158. This ex. from *Ion* however is added as an exception, and the alternative aelo-choriambic:

dismissed as less natural (the first long of the choriamb resolved, not found in E., cf. ibid. 470-1). Mastronarde (ad *Pho.* 673) is more conservative in general.

112: ἄγ', ὦ νεηθαλὲς ὦ | καλλίστας προπόλευμα δάφ|νας,

νεηθαλής is only found here: it is "illogically" formed from the usual νεοθαλής (*IA* 188 etc.: νεοθηλής *Il.* XIV 347, Hes. *Theog.* 576 etc.). The form νεοθαλής with short alpha is known to the grammarians (see Cramer *Anecd. Ox.* II 136 (Theognostus) and is what L a.c. unmetrically has. On the formation cf. for what it is worth νεαγενής *IA* 1623 (scansion doubtful), νεηγενής (Hom.), - ήφατος (*H.* hymn.), - ήτομος (*AP*). (As if contracted from a verb like νεήλατος, - ηλιφής etc.)

προπόλευμα δάφνας is a splendid phrase to address a broom with. No doubt there is a certain element of humour in the way in which the relatively humble tasks of the temple-servant are ennobled throughout this ode: but there is a more serious side. The νεωκόρος is not the equivalent of the "daily help": ritual purity is essential to the running of the temple, and he is an important figure. The Locrian maidens were not performing a trivial task in their annual despatch to the temple of Athena at Troy. And there is a more personal element in this beautiful scene: Ion dwells devotedly on the tasks that he performs for the god, and this is brought out by the grandeur of the language and by a pattern of repetitions (vide *supra*).

"An object of service that consists of a laurel (branch)". For this type of periphrasis involving a genitive of "consistency" further describing the noun on which it depends (the first will often be an abstract noun in - *μα* as here) *cf.* S. *Tr.* 507f. ὑψικέρω τετραόρου φάσμα ταύρου, cf. 836f., *ibid.* 656: πολύκωπον ὄχημα ναός, *OC* 1568 σῶμά τ' ἀνίκατου θηρός, though this is weakened by the common occurrence of this periphrasis with κάρα, *Phil.* 952 ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας δίπτυλον, (*possibly Tr.* 574 θρέμμα ὕδρας but see Long, *Language and Thought in Sophocles* (1968), 103f.),[1] E. *Hel.* 353 ξιφοκτόνον δίωγμα

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[1]And id. *GRBS* VIII (1967), 275f. arguing for θρέμμα as 'the Hydra's *poison*: contra Easterling (1982) *ad loc.* with the scholiast. Davies (1991) adopts Dobree's μελάγχολος...ίός making that the reference of θρέμμα - certainly more appropriate to μελάγχολος and

λαμορρύτου σφαγᾶς *IA* 189: ἀσπίδος ἔρυμα. Cf. Breitenbach, 202f. This should not be confused with the so-called *genitivus inhaerentiae*, wherein the genitive is more or less synonymous with the noun on which it depends, a redundancy difficult to convey in English (*Od.* III 152 πῆμα κακοῖο). Here we have a periphrasis, not a pleonasm, and each of the two words in such cases contributes to the overall meaning of the expression.[1]

προπόλευμα is a Euripidean invention. Both Sophocles and Euripides invented -μα abstracts quite freely (see Long o.c. passim). Among Euripidean inventions form verbal stems are προσηγόρημα (*Su.* 803), πρόσπτυγμα (*Tro.*782), κατάδρυμμα (*Su.* 51).

114f. ἃ τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν | σαίρεις ὑπὸ ναοῖς ;

Which meaning of θυμέλη should we adopt here? Owen thinks that the stylobate is intended, a meaning that is certainly very plausible at 46 (see n.). He objects to Gow's argument to the effect that the sacred hearth itself is intended that ὑπὸ ναοῖς would not regularly be translated "*in* the temple" but "at the foot of its walls" etc. This is true: but I do not think Gow's view impossible and one can point to S. *Aj.* 753-4 εἶρξαι καθ' ἡμαρ...Αἴανθ' ὑπὸ σκηναῖσι μηδ' ἀφέντ' ἐᾶν or *Od.* XIV 533 (of the pigs of Eumaeus) πέτρῃ ὑπὸ γλαφυρῇ εὖδον Βορέω ὑπ' ἰωγῇ (evidently they were not "at the foot" of their rock-sty but inside it). What is certain (cf. on 104) is that a distinction *is* being made between the δάπεδον of 121

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probably rightly adopted by the O.C.T.

[1]As S. *Tr.* 507f. (quoted earlier) shows, Dobree's κάλλιστον for καλλίστας though attractive, is not compulsory. πρόπολος is particularly appropriate to religious service: cf. *Archelaus* fr. 2 l. 21 A. τῆς δ' ὁμωνύμου Διός | πρόπολος Διώνης, E. *Hel.* 570 'Ενοδίας, Ar. *Pl.* 670 θεοῦ, E. *Cycl.* 76 ὁ σὸς πρόπολος (the satyrs of themselves in relation to Dionysus), *IG* I^2 825 θεῷ etc.
Ion does not tell his broom to do anything apart from ἄγε: this should not worry us, as the phrase is frequent on its own, as is the Latin equivalent, as a general exhortation - on no account Owen's tentative ὑπακούοις for ὑπὸ ναοῖς which would reduce the scene to farce. ἄγε is like German 'los'.

which is swept with myrtle and the θυμέλη which are swept with laurel - perhaps θυμέλη here just means "temple" as at 161 in the plural, which would include the ἔσοδοι, 104 (i.e. threshold)[1]. On the whole question cf. Fernand Robert, quoted on l. 46. There is little point in assigning a single sense to this word. Cf. Chantraine *ad loc.*

σαίρεις: σαίρειν is almost entirely confined to tragedy.

116f. κάπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων,

ἵνα δρόσοι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί,

† τὰν † ἀέναον

παγὰν ἐκπροῖεῖσαι,

μυρσίνας ἱερὰν φόβαν,

παγὰν Tr[1]: quid legerit L incertum.

The problems of this passage must be dealt with together. Two relatively minor ones may be despatched at the outset. Badham was clearly right to restore κάπων for the MS κήπων in 116. In 118, which is in any case faulty, the MS may give ἀέννααν.[2] This is a false form, and occurs elsewhere as a variant - A. *Su.* 553, E. *Or.* 1299, Ar. *Nu.* 275, *Ran.* 1309 etc. (see Hermann ad loc. who corrected it here). In no place is it metrically acceptable.

118 lacks one long syllable as the antistrophe shows at the start of the line. The similarity of phraseology with *Hipp.* 121f.: πέτρα λέγεται...παγὰν ῾ρυτὰν προιεῖσα κρημνῶν caused Fix (followed by Badham) to write <῾ρυ>τάν. However Hermann, followed by Wilamowitz and others, felt the desirability of a genitive with ἐκ-προιεῖσα (the

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[1]Cf. *Hypsipyle* fr. 1 2 15f. τί σὺ παρὰ προθύροις, φίλα; πότερα δώματος εἰσόδους | σαίρεις;

[2]L has an illegible letter before the second ν: Diggle suggests that Tr[1] was responsible for its insertion.

verb is a *hapax*, but there are other reasons for the choice). Wecklein (*Sitz. Bay. Ak.* (1922), 88) suggested πετρᾶν, Paley κρημνῶν (cf. Hipp. o.c.). Hermann compared 147 γαίας παγάν and wrote <γᾶς> τάν as did Wilamowitz and later Page, with the alteration τὰν <γᾶς> on the grounds that the similarity of the words with παγάν in 119 might explain the corruption. (An earlier suggestion of Wilamowitz was <῾ροὰν> with παγᾶν which Murray adopted).

By the time of his edition Wilamowitz advanced a reason for Hermann's supplement, or one of equivalent meaning, that deserves very careful consideration. Ion may well not be referring to any stream you care to mention, but to one that would be well known to an Athenian audience, namely the Cassotis. The only ancient source to describe, or indeed mention, the stream is Pausanias X 24.7 but its importance is clear.[1] It rose from the earth to the north of the temple and was though to flow under the sanctuary of the Pythia and emerge again in the sanctuary of Ge to the south: the appropriateness of γῆ / γαῖα whether capitalized or otherwise will be plain. The point of importance is the supposed association with Gaia, now unverifiable - the myth of the stream or chasm beneath *Apollo's* temple, mephitic vapours so dear to earlier generations and the accompanying apparatus is to all intents and purposes exploded by Fontenrose, *DO*, 197f. (see especially p. 203 n. xi).

Thus γᾶς is a definite "gain" and a piece of local colour: it is much the best of the emendations along this line. The article is Tr[1] and I would slightly prefer Diggle's γαίας.

κᾶποι is not an appropriate description for the rocky surroundings of Castalia (148) at the head of the gorge. It suits the stream Pausanias refers to.

But the problems are not over. The hyperbaton whereby τέγγουσι is separated from

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[1]Like Castalia, the myth of the nymph Cassotis is obscure: she is said by Pausanias to have been a nymph of Parnassus.

the accusative φόβαν, which it governs, by a participial clause agreeing with δρόσοι is extremely strange, as Paley rightly observed. Breitenbach (261) collects examples of "zusammengehörigen" Wörter durch parenthetische Einschiebung eines Satzes getrennt" - nowhere is there a parallel. The interruptions are mostly in the character of exlamations cf. *Pho.* 1288 δίδυμα τέκεα πότερος ἆρα πότερον αἱμάξει - ἰώ μοι πόνων, ἰὼ Ζεῦ, ἰὼ γᾶ - ὁμογενῆ δέραν, ὁμογενῆ ψυχάν; *IA* 1477 στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε φέρετε - πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν - χερνίβων τε παγάς, *Pho.* 240f. Ἄρης αἷμα δάΐον φλέγει τᾷδ - ὃ μή τύχοι - πόλει.[1] None of these resemble the roughness (and pointlessness) of separating τέγγουσι and φόβαν with two lines of subordinate clause.

There is a further difficulty still, which may give us the clue to the solution. It is singularly poor sense to write, as we have it at the moment "O bay branch, from the immortal gardens where waters bedew the *myrtle* that I use". Badham saw this and made a desperate attempt to show that μυρρίνη could mean any plant used in religious service,[2] comparing a note of Donatus on Ter. *Andr.* IV 3 11 ("ex ara hinc sume verbenas tibi/ atque eas substerne") who explains that this is indeed the meaning of "verbenae" and goes on to quote an appallingly corrupt line of Menander (fr. 40 K. - T.): † κολεξιασσυμυρρινασχχης αιετειvε †.[3] But the parallel he has in mind - from what one can reclaim from the gibberish - is to the *instruction* "fetch the myrtle", not to the usage of "myrtle" in the Greek. The best solution (Badham/Paley)[4] seems to be to write μυρσίνας <θ'> ἱερὰν φόβαν to solve the last

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[1] A comparable parenthesis is restored by Diggle at *Hel.* 873 - cf. *Euripidea*, 428.

[2]Envisaging the alternative that he used the myrtle as well as the laurel for his purpose - which may well be, but assists with the Greek not at all.

[3]ἀ]πὸ Λοξίου σὺ μυρρίνας χρῆσαι - ? - might be deduced (edd.). Λοξίας and μυρρίνη are the certain elements in this.

[4]And Geo.-Schmid, among other more dramatic attentions.

mentioned problem, and, to help the previous one, to change ἵνα to ἄν, thereby giving τέγγουσι an object before the subordinate clause, which last has the further virtue of eliminating a freedom of responsion between 117 and 133.

It is worth noting that Herwerden was troubled by these last difficulties and wrote κρᾶναί τ' for τὰν, thereby turning the subordinate clause of 118f. into a clause in parallel with 117.

The text I suggest is as follows:

κάπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων,

ἂν δρόσοι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί,

<γαίας> ἀέναον

παγὰν ἐκπροΐεῖσαι,

μυρσίνας <θ'> ἱερὰν φόβαν,

122-3: παναμέριος ἅμ' ἀλίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ | λατρεύων τὸ κατ' ἦμαρ.

What is the sense and distinction of παναμέριος and τὸ κατ'ἦμαρ? Wilamowitz remarks on the former "den ganzen Tag" and on the latter "alle Tage". παναμέριος should indeed meant "all day" - *Il.* I 472, οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο, II 385, *Od.* XII 24 πίνετε οἶνον...πανημέριοι answered by ἅμ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι, *Il.* XI 278f. οὐκ ἐμὲ...Ζεὺς | εἴασεν...πανημέριον πολεμίζειν etc.[1]

The text can indeed be explained as Wilamowitz does. In the second phrase, the idiom whereby the time of day can be expressed by a quasi-adverbial neuter adjective is exemplified by: Theoc. I 15 οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμὴν τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν..συρίσδεν. It is best

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[1]Though πανήμερος certainly may mean "every day": A. *PV* 1024 ἄκλητος ἕρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος of the eagle. However τὸ κατ' ἦμαρ would then be redundant.

explained as a general "accusative of respect" going with the main verb. See discussion by Headlam-Knox on Herodas I 54 and Gow on Theoc. I 15. And the sense here is almost certainly "each day". Cf. the following Euripidean examples of κατ'ἦμαρ: *Tro.* 392 (ᾤκουν) of the Trojans who could, unlike the Greeks, live with their families; *Hec.* 628 of transient fortunes which change "from day to day"; *Ba.* 910 of the same subject; *El.* 145 "daily" of the λοιβαί, ibid. 182 "I wake to weep". Thus the distinction here *is* "all day" as against "every day", as these examples prove; Wilamowitz is justified. Ion less so, as he is exaggerating - it is only first thing in the morning when he sweeps the temple precinct.

ἁλίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ. "Wings" occasionally appear in poetry in connection with the sun - cf. Ion of Chius 745 *PMG*, fr. 34 Blumenthal ἀοῖον ἀεροφοίταν | ἀστέρα *μείναμεν*, ἀελίου | λευκοπτέρυγα πρόδρομον, E. *Tro.* 849 λευκόπτερου | φίλιον ᾽Αμέρας βροτοῖς | φέγγος, *El.* 465f. κύκλος ἁλίοιο | ἵπποις ἅμ πτεροέσσαις | ἄστρων τ' αἰθέριοι χοροί,[1] *Orphica* 62 p. 145 Kern ᾽Ηέλιε χρυσέαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσιν, Lucretius V 433: "hic neque tum solis rota cerni lumine largo / altivolans poterat".

The question arises whether the Greeks ever conceived of the sun itself having wings, or whether the passages that seem to imply such a conception quoted above are merely abbreviated ways of referring to the winged *horses* of the Sun as in the *Electra* citation. Winged horses appear frequently with Helios in iconography: Cf. *LIMC* V 2, addenda 1005 1: *EAA* III 1140f. in general: K. Schauenburg, *Helios: archaologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott* (Berlin 1955), fig. 17 (red-figure crater, Detroit), 9 (red-figure crater, Sammlung Giudice), 22 (amphora, Vienna), 23 (lekythos, Oxford). Schauenburg puts a strong case that wings are the proper attribute of Eos, not of the Sun *per se*, which he argues is foreign to Greek art.[2] Thus pl. 16 (red-figure pyxis, London) depicting the chariot and a winged figure beneath will be the dawn etc. The chariot of the sun *may* belong to the early seventh century: wings are present from the end of the black-figure period (cf. C.H.E.

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[1]The first *certain* literary examples: see Richardson on *h. Dem.* 89 where a comparison is made (ὡς τ' οἰωνοί of the horses of the sun)

[2]An attribute he rapidly gains in the Eastern Greek world (cf. LIMC 149 *lekythoi* 120-4 *LIMC* no. 2 (510-500) BC) Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems,* 31f.) and in his trans-mogrification as the Etruscan Usil - cf. *LIMC,* Helios - Usil 19, 20.

Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, 120. See Schauenburg, nn. 173, 293 (where our passage is discussed): Baldwin, *Arethusa*, IV (1927) 170, taf. 27 1: D. Levi, *Hesperia* XIII (1944), 284f. The earliest example in art of winged horses is a Melian amphora: Arias - Hirmer, *Greek Vase Painting*, 29, pl. 22, c. 650 B.C. (Apollo).[1]

λατρεύων: Of religious service: cf. 152 Φοίβῳ | λατρεύων μὴ παυσαίμαν. A remarkable parallel in the language of a 3rd cent. Attic inscription in honour of Syeris, priestess of Athena - [οὖ] πόνον οὐκ ἀκλεᾶ τόνδ' ἐλάτρευσα θεᾷ (IG² III 1 3464 l. 12 = Kaibel *EG* 850). Cf. 131.

Cf. 129: καλόν γε τὸν πόνον, ὦ Φοῖβε, σοὶ πρὸ δόμων λατρεύω (theme words of the monody).

125: *The intervening invocation*

Ion addresses the god in solemn, hymnic molossi. Both spondaic and molossic verse (the latter is a by-form of the former)[2] are closely associated with religious song though there is no ground for Owen's speculation that this was actually a cult hymn in use at Delphi, any more than we need assume that the molossic poetry at S. *Phil.* 827f. is a cult hymn to Hypnos. For the metrum with three long elements cf. the hymn to Apollo and Artemis quoted anonymously in Dion. Hal. *de comp.* 17 68f. Usener-Radermacher (= Page *PMG* 1027c, also claimed by Nauck, *TGF* adesp. 139):

ὦ Ζηνὸς καὶ Λήδας κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες.

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[1] A welcome further discussion of the πτέρυξ image is provided by Diggle (*Phaethon*, p. 137, ad. l. 173, cf. ibid n. 1). However the examples thus assembled (including Antip. Sid., *AP* VII 713 3f. = Gow-Page, *HE*, II 80f.) tend to promote the conclusion that "the dragon wing of night" is possible Greek.

[2]Correctly so treated by Wilamowitz, *GV*, 371f.

The "Berlin paean" is written entirely of long syllables, though of uncertain division (Powell-Barber, *New Chapters in Greek Literature,* 2nd series, 151: Heitsch, *GDK*, p. 168 no. 52, cf. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik,* 94f.). And a hymn of Mesomedes, the court poet to Hadrian, to Physis is written in lines of seven long syllables (Heitsch o.c. p. 26 no. 4). Cf. the hymn to Attis quoted by Hippolytus *adv. haer.* V ix 9. The hymnic effect seems to be imitated in the paratragic Ar. *Av.* 1058f. = 1088f., the birds' solemnly expressed hymn to themselves. Of the molossus D.H. notes ὑψηλός τε καὶ ἀξιωματικός ἐστι καὶ διαβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ πολύ, the latter observation to be modified by West's conclusion (*Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992)) that the rhythm approximated to slow anapaests (p. 155 and n. 66) cf. 317 no. 40. See West, *GM*, 172, Dale, *LM*, 100f, Wilamowitz, *GV,* l.c., West ll.c.

In drama I have already mentioned the beautiful hymn to Sleep in the Philoctetes, which is closely parallel to our passage: the chorus modulate into spondees.

εὐαὴς ἡμῖν

ἔλθοις, εὐαίων, εὐαίων ὤναξ·

(Not εὐαές, Hermann's conjecture, incorrectly reported as the text in *LSJ* - the quantity is aberrant and the antistrophe is easily corrected (κἀμείβῃ), as the same scholar saw).

In A. *Su.* 162 molossi or spondees appear to be the metre of the chorus' invocation of Zeus, but that is about all that can be said with certainty about the passage: ἃ Ζήν· Ἰοῦς † ἰὼ μῆνις μάστειρ' † ἐκ θεῶν. Abresch's conjecture is the only one to take account of the Σ notice. West prints the paradosis.

Nothing further need be said about the oddity that was once seen in praying that a god "will be happy". εὐαίων is indeed particularly a godly characteristic: A. *Pers.* 711 βίοτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγαγες "happy both for Persians and for yourself" brings out this reciprocal concept, cf. Callimachus *h. Del.* 292 εὐαίων Ἑκαέργη etc. But it has a

wider application. *IA* 550 ἐπ' εὐαίωνι πότμῳ means a πότμος that consists in a good αἰών. The *Philoctetes* passage is an exact analogy to our prayer, and Jebb rightly noted "happy and bringing happiness" (schol. ad loc.: εὐαίων: εὐμενής, καλῶς ἄγων ἡμῖν τὸν αἰῶνα). Wecklein's εἴην should be rejected.

128: γε highlights the oxymoron of καλόν and πόνον. 131 repeats the same point with apparently no difference in meaning - another repetition-pattern. Perhaps we should detect in Ion a certain over-protestation; he is anxious to assure himself that these servile tasks are worthy of him because of his deep piety. Cf. on 153.

130: τιμῶν μαντεῖον ἔδραν: The only occurrence of the adjective with two terminations. -ιος, -ειος and -αιος adjectives frequently offer this variant; no doubt in many cases the demands of the metre were the main factor, but it occurs too often in prose as well to warrant emending it there. Cf. Kühner-Blass I 536f. and works cited *ibid.* p. 535 n. 1, Kastner, *Die griechischen Adjektive zweier Endungen auf -os* (1967) 53f.

133: οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις·

The redundance is understandable, as we have already seen. Here Ion *dwells* on his position in the temple.

134f. εὐφάμους δὲ πόνους | μοχθῶν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω.

(μοχθεῖν L: μοχθῶν Wakefield).

The MS has εὐφάμοις δὲ πόνοις which Porson altered to the accusative. Paley is the only editor who has retained the dative, explaining "At labours that are holy I am never weary

of toiling". But the vague dative (of respect?) is difficult to explain, 102 has the accusative with this verb and repetition is a feature of the whole speech, the corruption is immediately explicable from the two datives in the line before, and verbs meaning "labour" are particularly common with internal accusative (see on 102). Not to mention near palaeographical identity. It is however possible that the text may yet be right, if we allow illogical "attraction" from the preceding datives - the construction introduced in 102 by Professor Lloyd-Jones.

μοχθεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω: The infinitive here is at best surprising, as Wakefield saw, emending to *μοχθῶν*. Wilamowitz sought to keep the text, comparing Pl. *Crit.* 45 B where Crito urges Socrates in the prison *μὴ ταῦτα φοβούμενος ἀποκάμῃς σαυτὸν σῶσαι*. However the difference in meaning makes the point. Discussing the distinction with this and similar verbs, Schwyzer (II 396) draws the distinction "ermatte beim Tun" as against "unterlasse aus Ermattung zu tun". This seems justified - Crito is urging Socrates not to "weary" of saving himself, in the sense of abandoning efforts at doing something which he is patently *not* doing. If this were the sense at *Ion* the indicative would have to be taken as prophetic - "I am not for ceasing from my toils". Contrast this with the type of weariness that does not stress *cessation* from the activity in question but an attitude that grows up *during* a process that has previously been taking place. Pl. *Men.* 81 D ἀνευρεῖν... ἐάν τις ἀνδρεῖος ᾖ καὶ *μὴ* ἀποκάμῃ ζητῶν. ("in mid progress of the search"), Xen. *Mem.* II 6 35 ὅπως τε ταῦτα γίγνηται τοῖς φίλοις οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις *μηχανώμενος* (obviously not "you do not cease doing this" but "while doing this you do not grow weary", Pl. *Pol.* 257 B *μηδαμῶς ἀποκάμῃς χαριζόμενος* - "do not fail to follow up" a previous act of kindness. Wakefield's conjecture should be adopted.

136: Φοῖβός *μοι γενέτωρ πατήρ*·

Herwerden, assuming that πατήρ was a gloss on γενέτωρ wrote κλύει in its place. But there

are two strong objections to any such change. Firstly the redundance that sounds a trifle strange in English - "the father *who begot me*", implying the existence of a second who did not - is remarkably common in poetry, a form of pathetic emphasis. Cf. *Alc.* 1137 ὁ φιτύσας πατήρ, *Hel.* 87 ὁ...φύσας πατήρ, *HF* 1367 ὁ φύσας καὶ τεκὼν ὑμᾶς πατήρ (!), *IA* 873 πατὴρ ὁ φύσας, *ibid.* 1177 ὁ φυτεύσας πατήρ, *IT* 360 ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ, S. *Tr.* 311 ὁ φιτύσας πατήρ, *OT* 793 τοῦ φυτεύσαντος πατρός, A. *Niobe* fr. 154a 1-2 Radt πατέρ' ἀναστενάζε[ται | τὸν] δόντα καὶ φύσαντα, A. *Cho.* 329 etc. This is merely a selection. Secondly the redundance has a particular point here. It is unconscious irony. Ion uses both terms to make his metaphor of paternity of Phoebus *bolder* - but it is not a metaphor, as he supposes, and the addition of the first term in fact causes him to utter the *exact truth*. γενέτωρ: cf. *Or.* 987, fr. 839, 2 N.

137: τὸν βόσκοντα γὰρ εὐλογῶ. Cf. 183 τοὺς βόσκοντας θεραπεύων. βόσκω as early as Homer was used in metaphorical sense cf. *Od.* XI 365 βόσκει γαῖα...ἀνθρώπους. However Ion may not be thinking of it as such.

138f. τὸν δ' ὠφέλιμον ἐμοὶ πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω

Φοίβου τοῦ κατὰ ναόν.

These lines have caused perplexity. I print the text of L above, if only because it is just comprehensible - "I speak of him who is beneficial to me - the name of my father, namely of Phoebus who dwells in the temple". But it is difficult. Two lines have been taken. The one (Musgrave: followed by Hermann, Paley, Murray, Owen, Biehl) is to assume that the ν of τόν is wrong and to write τὸ instead. Somewhat less popular has been Heath's change of the genitive Φοίβου τοῦ to the accusative, keeping τόν (adopted by Diggle). In

both cases there is still some doubt as to the translation. Musgrave gave a complicated explanation of his emendation: "Patris nomen tribuo utilitati, quam ex Phoebo templi incola percipio" (ὄνομα λέγω + acc., where English would have "by the name...") Hermann took ὄνομα πατέρος = πατήρ and explained Φοίβου τοῦ κατὰ ναόν as πατέρα λέγω, ὠφέλιμον ἐμοὶ ὄντα. The periphrasis for πατήρ is not in itself impossible: cf. *Pho.* 1702 ὦ φιλτάτου δῆτ' ὄνομα Πολυνείκους ἐμοί, *IT* 662 τόν τ' ἐν οἰωνοῖς σοφὸν | Κάλχαντ' Αχιλλέως τ' ὄνομα, *IT* 905 τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα τῆς σωτηρίας[1], S. *OC* 1003 καί σοι τὸ Θησέως ὄνομα θωπεῦσαι καλὸν | καὶ τὰς Αθήνας, where K's ὄμμα is *not* to be employed, E. *Or.* 1082 ἀλλ' ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄνομ' ὁμιλίας ἐμῆς...χαῖρε has the usual *v.l.* ὄμμα in some MSS and this is adopted by all recent aditors (Murray, Biehl, Willink, West) and makes better sense: ὄνομα is referred to in this connection in LSJ IV 1 but is highly doubtful.[2] Cf. in general the commoner usage of κάρα, δέμας, σῶμα, ψυχή, πούς etc. in this way. Paley adopted what seems to be a less clear version of Musgrave: "(I say *father*), for him who is my friend (τὸν ὠφελοῦντά *με*) I call by the name of father". (A simpler explanation of Musgrave's version, which has not been brought forward, is to translate λέγω with "speak aloud" not as "call.." i.e. "I speak aloud (as he just has) the beneficial name of my father, namely of Phoebus who dwells in the temple".[3]) If Heath's reading is adopted, we can either adopt the Hermann periphrastic explanation and assume that Φοῖβον is in apposition with πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω, translating "speak aloud", or we could assume that

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[1]ὄνομα L: ὄμμα apogr. Par., adopted by Diggle, however, and very possibly rightly, cf. S. *Tr.* 203; the "salvation" motif thereby implied is paraphrased in S. *El.* 65f.

[2]Further confirmation emerges from P. Geneva inv. 91 - second to third century A.D. Cf. Diggle, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Orestes* (1991), 116 and note 4.

[3]Biehl quotes the γρ.: τό from the XVI cent. MS Ricc. 32. It is probably a Renaissance conjecture (cf. Turyn, 378).

there were dashes before and after - πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω - rendering it into a parenthesis (which involves a difficult anacoluthon as λέγω is still required to govern the other accusatives in the sentence.) Alternatively, which is best, we could translate λέγω with "call" and translate "I call Phoebus by name father, who is beneficial to me". On balance I would favour the Heath emendation, with the last mentioned interpretation, as the simplest. The difficulty with all the proposed translations of τό is that the genitive of Phoebus' name is difficult to explain. It would have to be a genitive by attraction - Heath's emendation instead gives us straight-forward Greek.

144f. ANALYSIS. Grégoire (Budé vol. III (1923)), followed by Biehl marked this stanza, to 153, as an epode in form to the preceding ode rather than the start of the straight melic anapaests of 154f. This certainly suits the theme better; the ode has concerned the joys of service to Phoebus intermingled with a running commentary on the work he has been performing; th next section is almost exclusively concerned wtih one kind of cleaning work, namely scaring off the birds. 153 is thus a better conclusion to the first section than 140.

144-153

– – – – | – – –	Paroemiac
– – – –	Anapaestic monometer
– – – – | – – –	Paroemiac
– – – –	Anapaestic monometer
– ∪∪ – – –	Dochmius[1]
– ∪∪ – – –	Dochmius[1]
∪ ∪∪∪ – – –	Kaibelianus (dochmius)[1]
∪ ∪∪∪ – – –	Kaibelianus (dochmius)[1]
– – – – | – – –	Paroemiac
– ∪ – – | – – –	Paroemiac
– – – – | ∪∪ – – –	Anapaestic dimeter

[1]The colometry I offer is that of Hermann, Paley, Murray, Diggle, Biehl etc. It remains to consider what metre we have here. Hermann regarded it as dochmiac, which has been generally approved ("anapaestic dochmiacs" is Dale's term (*LM*[2], 59f.) cf. Seidler, 176, 144f.). If this is so, the term "Kaibelianus" is more convenient. – ∪∪ – – – is a standard dochmiac, and why should not E. have moved through it to ∪∪∪∪ – – –

by substituting ∪∪ for anceps? Dr. L.P.E. Edwards points out to me that just such a change from anapaests to dochmiac occurs at *Ion* 894-6

θεὸς ὀμευνέτας ∪∪∪ — ∪ —

ἄγες ἀναιδείᾳ — ∪∪ — — —

Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσων. ∪∪∪∪ — — —

Cf. too *Hec.* 185f., 187, West, *GM*, 112f., 121f.

The opposing camp (Paley, who maintains the conventional colometry (except for the final syllable of 152), and Wilamowitz (*GV*, 368) who rearranges (see below) have held to anapaests throughout).

To take them in turn. Paley regarded these lines as "hypercatalectic" anapaests admitting of proceleumatic" feet", taking his lead from the chaotic theory concerning the former term, apparently espoused by Hephaestion. Again, it founders on l. 150; five "bicipitia" (Maas, *GM*, para. 33 etc.) are unacceptable (as against single, in pairs, catalectic or otherwise, or, rarely, in "tripodies").

Wilamowitz propounded

— ∪ ∪ — — — | — ∪ ∪ —
ἂν ἀποχεύονται | Κασταλίας

— — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — | — —
δῖναι, νοτερὸν ὕδωρ | βάλλων

∪∪∪ ∪ — — → — — —
ὅσιος ἀπ' εὐνᾶς | ὧν· εἶθ' οὕτως

— — — —
αἰεὶ Φοίβῳ

To this Owen objects that Wilamowitz's first dimeter has a poor caesura with a broken spondee. That is not the point; it is rather that, while in wholly spondaic lyric anapaests the neglect of diaeresis is common, the prevalence of double short (on this arrangement) suggests recitative rhythm and should bring diaeresis with it. Moreover, the whole colometry is utterly insensitive to rhetorical division.

Therefore I would argue that 147f. would indeed have been understood by an Athenian audience as dochmiacs, and that all attempts to impose anapaests are misguided.

What effect such an "epode" might have had on the dancing movements of the chorus is of course quite unknown.

143: ἀλλ' ἐκπάυσω γὰρ μόχθους

How should we interpret ἀλλὰ γάρ? Jebb was determined that in every instance in drama the ἀλλά stood for a suppressed statement, and accordingly supplemented: i.e. S. *El.* 223 ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς οὐ σχήσω | ταύτας ἄτας "but" (you speak in vain) for...", 595 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετεῖν ἔξεστί σε "But (I will argue no more) for..." and so forth. *Quo usque tandem?* Wilamowitz (ad *HF,* 138 n. 1) gives an explanation of the collocation of these particles that requires considerably less imagination. Prior to the fourth century he suggests that the ἀλλά represents a suppressed thought that is the same in all instances - "aber das tut nichts: denn...". In the orators of the fourth century it declines to a strong adversative only (a point on which Denniston, *GP,* 98f. is sceptical). However in many instances in drama - and we have one here - even Wilamowitz' explanation fails to do justice to the sense. Preferable is the simpler explanation of Powell (ad *Pho.* 1762) who argues that in this phrase, as in καὶ γάρ, γάρ has not the force of "for, because" but approaches close to "in fact" as often with οὐ in dialogue. "But in point of fact I will now finish with that labour" is Ion's thought here. Denniston (l.c.) concludes on the origin of the phrase with caution: "We are driven to assume either ellipse of some kind or the petrification of the particles into a set formula, a tendency setting in at an early stage in Greek literature and proceeding with the passage of time, but never being so complete as to disallow the occasional use (though very rarely when the particles are juxtaposed) of the complex combination in which each particle has its full role".

145: δάφνας ὀλκοῖς. The sense of ὀλκοί has caused some doubt. ὀλκός it seems can mean "something which draws" (a windlass, Hdt. II 154, a mooring cable, E. *Rhes.* 146[1]

[1]Or 'landing machine' cf. 673.

etc.), "something caused by drawing" (Ar. *Thesm.* 779, Xen. *Cyr.* IX 18 etc., "something drawn" probably the sense in Nonnus *Dion.* III 413, ἐθείρης ὀλκοί), and, the action of drawing". It is the latter sense that I believe we should understand here, though the *certain* examples of this usage are somewhat late. Cf. Nicander *Ther.* 166 cf. 266 (of a serpent) ὀλκῷ δὲ τροχόεσσαν ἄλων εἱλίξατο γαίῃ i.e. "by an action of drawing himself" - τῷ δὲ ὀλκῷ τοῦ σώματος, τροχώδη κυκλοτερῆ ἁλωνίαν εἱλίξατο ἐν τῇ γῇ. (schol., ed. Crugnola, p. 93), Nonnus *Dion.* IV 329 (pass.), Dion. Perieg. l.191 p. 18 Bernhardy κείνοις δ' οὔποτε τερπνὸς ἀκούεται ὀλκὸς ἁμάξης "the drawing along of a chariot". But there may be a Classical example. The text of Antiphanes Comicus 234 4 K.-A. (of wine drinkers) reads ἕλκουσι γνάθοις (the cup) ὀλκοῖς ἀπαύστοις (γνάθοιν Mein.) It is possible, in such uncertain context, that ὀλκοῖς is here the adjective: but, whether we do or do not accept Meineke's γνάθοιν, the use of the noun here as the *nomen actionis* is somewhat more probable.[1] The sense that Owen suggests, "the trailing branch which is dragged", i.e. ὀλκοί as "the thing drawn" (passive) is insufficiently attested. Cf. Gow/Scholfield *Nicander (Alexipharmaca)* (1953), p. 191-2. Thus the translation here will be "But I will now stop my labours with regard to dragging along a piece of laurel". The dative will be one of respect. Cf. S. *OT* 25 (πόλις) φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός, etc., *Tr.* 1229 τὸ γάρ τοι μεγάλα πιστεύσαντ' ἐμοὶ | σμικροῖς ἀπιστεῖν. "in small matters": Moorhouse, *Syntax*, 87. Xen. *Cyr.* IV 1 8 διέφθάρθαι ταῖς γνώμαις[2] K.-G. 1 p. 440 (Note predominance of negative sense).

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[1]ὀλκῆς (Wilamowitz) may be the best way to keep γνάθοις as Kassel-Austin recommend.

[2]Thus MSS HAG, the other offering διέφθαρτο τὰς γνώμας which seems to be a simplification, though adopted by Hude. Dindorf keeps the perfect - on the tense cf. Wyse on Isaeus IX 37.

147: γαίας παγάν Cf. on 118. It is immaterial whether we capitalize the first letter of γαίας or not.

πηγή/-αί in verse frequently means just "waters". Cf. *IT* 1039 πόντου σε πηγαῖς ἁγνίσαι βουλήσομαι, *IT* 1192 πηγαῖσιν ὑδάτων (lustration), *El.* 56 φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίας *μετέρχομαι*

148-9: ἂν ἀποχεύονται | Κασταλίας δῖναι,

ἀποχεύονται is a poetic middle form developed from the Epic aorist -έχευα and is rarely found elsewhere, unless *Od.* VI 232 περιχεύεται is indicative and not subjunctive. Cf. καταχεύεται *OD* 583: χεύουσιν as an example of the χευ- present stem common in later epic is a variant at Hes. *Theog.* 83 - the earliest certain example of the middle indicative in -ε- is χεύετο in [Hes.] fr. 204, 125 M.-W. (probably sixth century).

See West ad *Theog.* l.c.

Κασταλίας δῖναι The same phrase as in 96.

On Castalia see the impressive description of Frazer *ad* Paus. X 89.[1] It is the enclosed rock pool at the head of the gorge from which the stream runs that Ion will be referring to, the one which Hadrian dammed up (Amm. Marc. XXII. 12. 8) because he himself after drinking it was able to prophesy his own rule, and he did not wish to allow others the same opportunity. Pausanias describes the pool (τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας) as καὶ πίνειν ἡδὺ <καὶ λοῦσθαι καλόν>. The myth of Castalia, like many nymphs, is obscure, a matter for antiquarians. All our information comes from Pausanias. Panyassis (fr. 15 Davies) held that she was a daughter of Acheloüs: another little known legend was apparently mentioned by Alcaeus to the effect that the waters were "a gift" from the Cephisus to Castalia. Pausanias proceeds to

[1]Cf. also Strabo IX 418

"confirm" this by quoting the curious custom whereby the Lilaeans on certain specified days throw πέμματα ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα νομίζεται into the Cephisus, which are believed to emerge in the pool of Castalia - a ridiculous idea, as the source of Cephisus is, of course, considerably lower than Castalia.

153: ἢ παυσαίμαν ἀγαθᾷ μοίρᾳ.

Wilamowitz remarks splendidly: "verrät er die Sehnsucht, über das Sklaventum hinauszukommen. Der Erechtheide regt sich in ihm".[1]

It is noteworthy that Ion closes the epode with not the usual paroemiac but with a complete anapaestic dimeter, an unusual effect which recurs at *Hec.* 196 and 215, though the textual difficulties here are dire (196 τᾶς σᾶς περὶ μοι ψυχᾶς is dubious Greek to say the least, and 211-215 have been deleted for other reasons by Wilamowitz, followed by Diggle - it is perhaps better not to cite these). See also Ar. *Ran.* 376 and West, *GM*, 121. The reason, as Owen remarks, is doubtless that there have been so many paroemiacs already in these stanzas that the dimeter is a more effective concluding line. For period end *within* the series without catalexis cf. *Ion* 167, *Hipp.* 1372. It is an effect confined in both cases to lyric anapaests.

153f. Ion now passes from anapaestic-dochmiac lyric to straightforward lyric anapaests for the concluding section of his monody. On the metrical problem at 167 (*brevis in longo*?) and 175 and on the metre of 178, see the notes ad loc.

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[1]This is a very patrician observation - what gives Ion pride is the knowledge that he stands in a special relationship with Apollo - how special, he knows not.

Ion now embarks on the third of his morning tasks, that of scaring off the birds which are by this point arriving from their eyries and nests: he is protecting the temple from the evil omen of a bird on the roof (see on 177f.) making its nest in the eaves (cf. Parker, *Miasma*, 162f. n.101) from the defilement that would result from a bird in travail (probably a swallow, 171f.), and in less elevated vein he is guarding the statues from bird droppings (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1114f.) On bodily functions in this connection - Ar. *Vesp.* 394, *Ran.* 366.

156f.: αὐδῶ *μὴ* χρίμπτειν θριγκοῖς | *μηδ'* ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους.

χρίμπτειν is invariably transitive in Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles: Euripides may be the first to use the active form in an intransitive sense. The passive form with the dative appears at A. *Eum.* 185 δόμοισι τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι E. *Pho.* 809 τείχεσι χρμπτομένα id. 99 etc. and the active used intransitively does so at *Andr.* 530 γούνασι δεσπότου χρίμπτων. The passive or middle takes εἰς at Euripides/Critias *Pirithous* 88 B 16 l. 3 D.-K. (= *TGF* I fr. 43) ὅστις ὢν τόπους | εἰς τούσδε χρίμπτη. Both therefore are attested for tragedy: what is discomfiting here is that *both* appear governed by a single verb. Wilamowitz, followed by Owen, emended θριγκοῖς to θριγκούς, understanding εἰς with both accusatives ἀπὸ κοινοῦ); there is an excellent case for so doing. On Euripidean *zeugma* see Breitenbach, 209f. *Ion* 1238 τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσσαν ἢ χθονὸς ὑπὸ σκοτίων *μυχῶν* πορευθῶ is a possible example: but less striking, particularly when dashes are understood after words 2 and 8.[1] *Or.* 1376 is a change of *sense*. There is nothing comparable to the asymmetry here (See in general Bruhn, *Anhang*, 113f. and 124-6).

Moreover, this delaying of the preposition in σχῆμα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is an especially common tragic idiom: A. *Septem* 1032 *μητρὸς* ταλαίνης κἀπὸ δυστήνου πατρός, *Pers.*

[1]Another possibility is - with Diggle - to adopt Hartung's σκοτίους *μυχούς*.

492 Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαῖαν ἔς τε Μακεδόνων χώραν, S. *Ant.* 366 τοτὲ *μὲν* κακὸν ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἕρπει, *OT* 734 ὁδὸς| εἰς ταὐτὸ Δελφῶν κἀπὸ Δαυλίας ἄγει, E. *Ion* 1441 ὃν κατὰ γᾶς ἐνέρων χθονίων *μετὰ* Περσεφόνας τ' ἐδόκουν ναίειν, *IT* 887 βάρβαρα φῦλα καὶ δι' ὁδοὺς ἀνόδους στείχων, See Breitenbach, 212 para 9, Wilamowitz on *HF* 237, Kiefner, *Die Versparung* (1964), 27f. It is known also from epic and lyric: *Od.* XII 27 ἢ ἄλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς...πῆμα παθόντες Alcman fr. 98 1 *PMG* θοίναις δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν. There is little doubt that Wilamowitz' emendation should be adopted here.

θριγκούς: The cornice (= γεῖσον). The etymology is unknown, but the root meaning seems to be the one employed here: it is in the plural, as most usually - *Od.* XVII 267, S. fr. 506 Radt θριγκοὺς < - > ἀποσεισαμένη, E. *Hel.* 430 δῶμα περιφερὲς θριγκοῖς (sing. *IT* 47). At *Ion* 1321 τρίποδα γὰρ χρηστήριον | λιποῦσα θριγκοὺς τοῦσδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδί (of the Pythia emerging from the temple). It appears to refer to the whole building (*pars pro toto*: cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 58 et al.). On its technical application cf. J. Janneray, *BCH* LXIV (1940) 138f., (1944-5) 89: Süssert, *Olympische Forschungen* I (Berlin 1944), 125f.: Chantraine *DE s.v.*

αὐδῶ *μὴ* χρίμπτειν θριγκούς: αὐδῶ with inf. of command cf. *IT* 1226 ἐκποδὼν δ' αὐδῶ πολίταις τοῦδ' ἔχειν *μιάσματος*, *S. OC* 864 αὐδῶ σιωπᾶν etc. (*LSJ* II 2)

157: *μηδ'* ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους. The adjective is apparently confined to Euripides: it recurs at *Ion* 1154 and in a phrase similar to this one at *IT* 129 ναῶν χρυσήρεις θριγκοί. On E.'s penchant for χρυσο - compounds cf. on l. 9. Guided by the *IT* passage Hense transposed οἴκους and θριγκούς.

158-9: *μάρψω* σ' αὖ τόξοις, ὦ Ζηνὸς | κῆρυξ,

αὖ is frequent in excited language e.g. *Il.* I 540, expressing impatience.

For the appellation cf., *Il.* XXIV 292f. αἴτει δ' οἰωνὸν ταχὺν ἄγγελον ὅς τέ οἱ αὐτῷ | φίλτατος οἰωνῶν καί ἐυ κράτος ἐστι *μέγιστον*. The scholiast offers four explanations for the association: a) it was born on the same day as Zeus b) it appeared to give a good omen for his rule c) it carried the youthful Zeus to heaven d) it is the transfiguration of Merops, the founder hero of Cos, who entertained Rhea. Eagles appear in many different contexts as the servants of Zeus: cf. D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds,* 12f. γαμφηλαῖς: In Homer only of jaws of animals (*Il.* XVI 489, XIX 394). Cf. A. *PV* 355 (Typhon) *σμερδ*ναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι συρίζων φόβον and Ar. *Eq.* 198 ὁπόταν *μάρψῃ* βυρσάιετος ἀγκυλοχήλης | γαμφηλῇσι δράκοντα (pseudo-oracular language). Almost invariably plural.

160-1: ὅδε πρὸς θυ*μέ*λας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει | κύκνος· (κύκλος L: corr. Victorius).

θυ*μέ*λας: Here probably of the whole temple. See nn. on 46 and 114.

The sense will be "another..a swan (this time)", a faintly colloquial touch which well illustrates Ion's hectic activity. ἐρέσσει: To an Athenian audience rowing had a rich metaphorical application, but in fact the equation of rowing and flying has a very wide literary currency. Cf. A. *Ag.* 52 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι with Fraenkel *ad loc.* *IT* 289 πτεροῖς ἐρέσσει (of a Fury), Verg, *Aen.* VI 18f.: sacravit/remigium alarum, id. I 300: volat illa per aera magnum/remigio alarum, Lucr, VI 743: remigi oblitae pennarum vela remittunt (of birds), Ov. *Met.* VIII 228 remigioque carens non ullas percipit auras (of Icarus), Apuleius *Met.* V 25: remigio plumae raptum maritum (of Cupid leaving Psyche). It appears in the form of a simile in A.R. II 155 and the comparison is also made in Aristotle *MA* 710 A 19 and Cic. *ND* II 125: tamquam remis ita pennis. From the start it can also operate the other way: oars are compared to wings. Cf. *Od.* XI 1251 οὐδ' εὑήρε' ἐρετμὰ τά τε πτερὰ

νησσὶ πέλονται, Hes. *OD* 628 νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο (likewise fr. 205 7 M.-W.).[1]

See A. Pischinger, *Der Vogelzug bei den griechischen Dichtern*, 66 n. 116: Hollis and Bömer on Ovid, *loc. cit.*: McCartney in *CJ* XXXIV (1938-9), 234f.: Pease on Cicero *ND*, loc. cit.: West on *OD*.

162-3: οὐκ ἄλλαι φοινικοφαῆ | πόδα κινήσεις;

The adjective is rare. Cf. *Ion* 1207. Only elsewhere in Artemidorus II 3 (of clothing), which inspired Nauck to write φοινικοβαφῆ here. (At Artemidorus l.c. L has -φανής. V (in a slightly different version) -βαφής. The latter is adopted by Pack, in that technical context probably rightly.) For the formation cf. *Hec.* 636 χρυσοφαής, *Hipp.* 741 ἠλεκτροφαής, Breitenbach, 66 etc. The whooper swan, a winter visitor to Greece from the North, has red feet.

164: οὐδέν σ' ἀ φόρμιγξ ἀ Φοίβου | σύμμολπος τόξων 'ρύσαιτ' ἄν'

What is the sense? Wilamowitz takes φόρμιγξ σύμμολπος τόξων together "the lyre that resembles the sound of the bow-string" comparing for the idea 173 ψαλμοὶ τόξων and Heraclitus 22 B fr. 51 D.-K. παλίντροπος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης. The latter is unlikely to be relevant. He might have added Lyc. 918 λυρόκτυπος of an arrow string. Cf too *Od.* XXI 411, Theognis trag. *TGF* I 28 fr. 1 φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος (ἐπὶ τοῦ τόξου) Ar. *Rhet.* 1413 a l. "Wenn er auch zum Leierspiel des Gottes gesungen hat und daher Schonung erwarten kann, wird ihn jetzt die φόρμιγξ σύμμολπος τόξων nicht retten". (W.-M.) Biehl, observing that the genitive goes better with 'ρύσαιτ' ἄν, as indeed it does, wished to have it both ways and suggested that τόξων was governed by both the adjective and the verb, a

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[1] *Tro.* 1085f: πόντιον σκάφος ἀΐσσον πτεροῖσι (lyr.)

σχῆμα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ for which one would like to see a parallel. Wilamowitz' conjunction of words must in fact be completely abandoned. Firstly there is the reason just advanced: not only does τόξων go naturally with 'ρύσαιτ'ἄν,[1] but is very difficult to join it with σύμμολπος, where we expect a dative. It is a hapax, but this is universally the construction with σύμφωνος: with συνῳδός a genitive is very rare and late. Yet more importantly, the suggestion offends against a fundamental canon of good taste in both Classical and modern poetry. τόξα, in the sense of those that Ion is employing, have been brought to the front of our attention in this scene - 108, 158 and again at 173. What poet will then proceed to introduce a *simile* concerning τόξα in general, calculated to confuse his audience? τόξων goes with 'ρύσαιτ'ἄν and with σύμμολπος we supply σοί. "The φόρμιγξ of Phoebus which has strains that resemble your own will not protect you from the arrows". σύμφωνος thus has to be equivalent to ὁμόφωνος. Another possibility is emendation to solve the problem of the absolute σύμμολπος; a solution, and, it must be admitted, a more credible expression, is gained by reading Φοίβῳ, if it could be accepted that φόρμιγξ might represent the song of the swan itself. For the idea of the swan as "musician" and in comparison with the praise due to Apollo *from* the φόρμιγξ cf. *h. hom.* XXI, Ar. *Av.* l.c. in note with Kock *ad loc.*, E. *IT* l.c. For a swan representing a poet cf. *AP* VII 19, a auloi referred to as an ἀηδῶν E. fr. 931 N., λωτίνας ἀηδόνας, for poems as ἀηδόνες most famously Call. *ep.* II 5. It is possible that the metaphor which this conjecture would represent might be of this category.

Swans are indeed closely associated with Apollo. Acording to one tradition they sang as Leto gave birth on Delos (Callimachus *h. Del.* 254: κύκνοι ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσιν ἄεισαν - alluded to in E. *IT* 1104f. λίμναν θ' εἰλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ | κύκλιον ἔνθα κύκνος μελῳ | δὸς Μούσας θεραπεύει). We cannot tell whether their association with song led to a further

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[1]Cf. *Alc* 770 κακῶν... μυρίων, Hdt. I 86, Ar. *Lys.* 342 etc.

association with the god or whether it worked the other way. The first known reference to singing swans in general is probably [Hes.] *Scut.* 314

ἀμφὶ δ' ἴτυν ῾ρέεν ῾Ωκεανὸς πλήθοντι ἐοικώς

πᾶν δὲ συνεῖχε σάκος πολυδαίδαλον· οἳ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν

κύκνοι ἀερσιπόται μεγάλ' ἤπυον,οἳ ῾ρά τε πολλοί

νῆχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδωρ· παρὰ δ' ἰχθύες ἐκλονέοντο.

The association with Apollo appears in *h. Hom.* XXI 1 Φοῖβε σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' ἀείδει: we learn from Himerius *or.* XLVI 6 f. (Colonna) that it was mentioned by Sappho (fr. 208 L.-P.) and Pindar (fr. 52c S.-M.) τὰ δὲ σὰ νῦν δέον καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Μουσηγέτῃ εἰκάζεσθαι, οἷον αὐτὸν καὶ Σαπφὼ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾠδῇ κόμῃ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύρᾳ κοσμήσαντες, κύκνοις ἔποχον εἰς ῾Ελικῶνα πέμπουσι κτλ.[1]

The oldest reference to the legend that they sing *as they die* is A. *Ag.* 1444 (cited on n. 168) as Fraenkel shows: the next known to us in Pl. *Phaed.* 84E,[2] but, as it is there cited as if familiar form, these facts are probably of no great importance.

With our passage compare *h. Hom.* cited above: Ar. *Av.* 770f. τοιάδε κύκνοι... συμμιγῆ βοὴν ὁμοῦ | πτεροῖς κρέκοντες ἴακχον ῾Απόλλω...ὄχθῳ ἴαχχον ἑφεζόμενοι παρ' ῞Εβρον ποταμόν, ibid. 870 κύκνῳ Πυθίῳ καὶ Δηλίῳ, Plut. *de def. or.* 409 E alludes to a Delphic version of the ὀμφαλός myth in which swans took the place of the eagles. Allen-Halliday ad *h. Hom.* XXI assemble a large collection of writers who endeavoured to provide explanations for the song of the swan, the most popular of which in the ancient world was that the sound was produced by the vibration of their feathers: thus schol. ad Ar. *Av. loc.*

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[1]S.-M. following Schroeder may be right to attach it to *paean* III; just as possible is its affinity with fr. 94c.

[2]γεγηθότες ὅτι μέλλουσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι οὗπέρ εἰσιν θεράποντες.

cit. prior. διὰ τῆς τῶν πτερῶν κινήσεως ὕμνουν Ἀπόλλωνα etc.

Cf. for the swan at dawn *Phaethon* 78f. Diggle παγαῖς τ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ | μελιβόας κύκνος ἀχεῖ. (For the comparison of φόρμιγξ and swan cf. *h. Hom.* XX1 3-4 and Kock on Ar. *Av.* 770 f.).

See Fraenkel *l.c.*, Diggle on *Phaethon l.c.*, Wilamowitz on *HF* 110, D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds,* 159f.

In a sense quite different from that intended by Wilamowitz and Biehl, the antithesis between arrows and song brought into play here may be intended as a special effect as the arrow and the lyre are the two characteristic implements of Apollo and some play is made of this elsewhere: cf. Horace *carm.* II 10 18f.: quondam cithara tacentem/suscitat Musam neque semper arcum/ tendit Apollo, id. *carm. saec.* 33f.: placidusque telo/supplices audi pueros Apollo.

167: λίμνας ἐπίβα τᾶς Δηλιάδος·

The famous circular lake of Delos is mentioned as a feature by Hdt. II 170: (τροχοειδής) καλεομένη,[1] Theognis l. 7 τέκε πότνια Λητώ.. ἐπὶ τροχοειδεῖ λίμνῃ; is famed as the birthplace of Apollo, of course; thus Call. *h. Del.* 261 - the τροχόεσσα λίμνη then ran with gold, id. *h. Ap.* 59. E. refers to it elsewhere at *IT* 1104. As it stands the last syllable of Δηλιάδος is in *brevis in longo* with 168. Is this tolerable when no obvious pause occurs? Wilamowitz imaginatively speculates "der Schwan war etwas zurückgeflattert und kommt nun wieder". West, *GM,* 122, sees in this an example of acatalectic period end (cf. on 153). Diggle, (*Studies,* 96f.), in a general discussion of hiatus in Euripides' anapaestic systems, adds a list of similar examples. Many, as he admits, may be textually suspect on other grounds.

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[1]Presumably therefore its *name* (ἡ Τροχοειδής).

Alternatively the speaker may change (see Page on *Med.* 1396). At *Hipp.* 1377 synaphea is broken by an exclamation. It is therefore doubtful whether we should allow it here, and transposition of 168 and 169 is easy.

168: αἰμάξεις,εἰ μὴ πείσῃ,| τὰς καλλιφθόγγους ᾠδάς·

Notoriously obscure. The verb and the noun seem only syntactically a unit, not in sense. K.H. Lee, in a discussion (*CR* XIX (1969), 13f.) rightly rejected by Diggle (*Studies,* 97), endeavours to press into service *Tro.* 440f. as a parallel (of the cattle of Hyperion): αἱ σάρκα φωνήεσσαν ἥσουσίν ποτε | πικρὰν Ὀδυσσεῖ γῆρυν. But it is wholly inadequate. As it is it means "they will send forth their bodies in song", and πικρὰν Ὀδυσσεῖ γῆρυν stands in apposition to the action of the sentence. ἥσουσι will be explicable in terms of the usual φωνὴν ἱέναι (Homer etc.) with the added σάρκα independently explicable with the verb as well. σαρξὶ φοινίαισιν (Bothe, adopted by Diggle) admittedly simplifies; it converts an expression amenable only to the involved explanation just offered into one that is comprehensible but unpleasing. This is the Cassandra of Lycophron. However cf. Jackson, *MS,* 242. It is not a true fusion of incompatibles as here. Bayfield assembles a disparate collection of phrases to illustrate the contention that our phrase is one of those in which the verb "contains *two* predications". Thus μηκύνων βοήν (S. *OC* 489) means (with ἄπυστα φωνῶν preceding) not "to make louder a cry already begun" but "to utter one, and that right loudly". Likewise λιγαίνειν μέλος, "to sing a song and that sweetly". οἰμωγὰν τήκειν (S. *El.* 124) would mean "to utter a languishing lament" and approaches our passage to some degree in boldness, but it has been questioned (τίς ἀεὶ τάκει σ'][1] has been suggested) κλέπτειν μύθους is "to utter weasel words": φλέγειν λόγους is not quite the same, there we

[1]Kvičala: further discussion of this passage and an attempted defence on 495 f. n.

have two concepts, each of which in its own way adds up to the sense "to emblazon abroad your words" - there is no double predicate. So on this argument αἰμάσσειν ᾠδάς means "to utter, and that amid blood". But the insurmountable objection to these supposed parallels is that in all of them the meaning of the verb is *in some comprehensible fashion* related in sense, appropriacy etc. to the noun it governs. There is no such link between αἰμάσσειν and καλλιφθόγγους ὠδάς.[1]

Wakefield suggested οἰμώξεις, which is certainly the sense we desire: Hermann's ἀλλάξεις is weaker.[2] Much the best is Nauck's αἰάξεις (incorrectly attributed to Page by Owen). For the following accusative cf. *IT* 227f. οἰκτράν τ' αἰαζόντων αὐδάν | οἰκτρόν τ' ἐκβαλλόντων δάκρυον, Timo fr. 66 Diels (PPF) = fr. 840 SH l. 1 φῆ δέ τις αἰάζων, οἷα βροτοὶ αἰάζουσιν. (οἳ' ἄμμοροι Ll.-J.)

Two interpretations suggest themselves. The first would be to see a reference to the famous "swan song" of the dying bird that has been the stuff of poetry from Classical times to the present day: it was proverbial (τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσαι etc.) Ion will shoot the swan and cause it to sing its sweetest notes in death. But this is unattractive with a verb of the meaning of αἰάξεις. I suspect we have an example of an oxymoron particularly congenial to the tragedians, whereby musical terms indicative of a particular genre are, for emotional effect, juxtaposed with other such terms which are noticeably inappropriate. Thus the effect will be "your καλλίφθογγοι ᾠδαί will consist in αἰαῖ". An important parallel - where however it is the verb that contains the "joyful" element, to be negated by the noun, is *Ag.* 1445f. (of Cassandra)

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[1]Which is what Wilamowitz means by "statt der Töne oder mit ihnen Blut aus dem Schnabel kommt".

[2] αἰμάξω σ' (Musgrave) produces an unattractive accusative of respect.

τὸν ὕστατον *μέλψασα* θανάσιμον γόον

κεῖται φίλη πως τῷδ'. (φιλήτωρ vel φιλήτως τοῦδ' codd.: coni. Maas e schol.)

Likewise *Ag.* 645 πρέπει λέγειν παιῶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων, *Cho.* 151 παιῶνα τοῦ θανόντος with the scholiast, who remarks on the effect, *Septem* 869 (possibly spurious but no less relevant) τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐρινύος | ἠχεῖν Ἅιδα τ' | ἐχθρὸν παιῶν' ἐπιμέλπειν (locum del. Bergk, adnuente Hutchinson ἠχεῖν Elmsely) *Pers.* 619 f.

ἀλλ' ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων

ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τόν τε δαίμονα

Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε. Cf. 625.

E. *Alc.* 423f. πάρεστε καὶ *μένοντες* ἀντηχήσατε | παιῶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἄσπονδον θεῷ.[1] A. *Ag.* 990f. τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὅμως ὑμνῳδεῖ | θρῆνον Ἐρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν | θυμός. E. *Tro.* 119f. | ἐπισῦσ' αἰεὶ δακρύων ἐλέγους· | μοῦσα δὲ χαὔτη τοῖς δυστήνοις | ἄτας κελαδεῖν ἀχορεύτους.

Tro. and *Hec.*, for obvious reasons, are particularly rich in such perversions: cf. *Tro.* 126 αὐλῶν παιῶνι στυγνῷ (though there "the *Greek* paean which is hateful to *us*"), 514 ὦ Μοῦσα, καινῶν, ὕμνων | ᾄσον σὺν δακρύοις ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον. | νῦν γὰρ *μέλος* ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω. It is closely related to the "negating adjective" effect (cf. Breitenbach, 247f. and in *primis* D. Fehling, *Hermes* XCVI (1968), 142f., id. *Wiederholungsfiguren*, 186f.) which is similarly common with musical terms: cf. A. *Eum.* 341f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ | τόδε *μέλος*, παρακοπὰ, | παραφορὰ φρενοδαλής, | ὕμνος ἐξ Ερινύων | δέσμιος φρενῶν

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[1] *Alc.* 424: ἄσπονδον schol.: ἀσπόνδῳ codd., schol. A. *Cho.* 151. The former is undoubtedly better and is rightly adopted by Diggle. On the tragic conceit whereby musico-religious terms are combined in oxymoron, which this involves, cf. my note on 168f. with bibliography, D. Fehling, Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, *Hermes* XCVI (1968), 142f. Rudhart, *Notions fondamentales*, 181f. ("les chants religieuses") and elsewhere, has some sensitive comments.

ἀφόρμικτος, αὐσνὰ βροτοῖς, *IT* 144f. δυσθρηνήτοις ὡς θρήνοις | ἔγκειμαι, τᾶς οὐκ εὐμόύσου | μολπᾶς ἀλύροις ἐλέγοις αἰαῖ | ἐν κηδείοις οἴκτοισιν, *Pho.* 791 κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις. It joins the wide literary spectrum of the confusion of genres, religious in particular, for tragic effect: the "marriage" of Cassandra in *Tro.* springs to mind as a deeply moving example. See further Seaford, "The Tragic Wedding", *JHS* CVII (1987), 106f.[1]

καλλιφθόγγους: cf. *IT* 222, *HF* 350. Confined to Euripides.

The third bird is not named: from the suggested location of the nest we may be invited to think of the swallow. Euripides has given us a winter visitor in 164f. (the only swan that does sing and has the colour of feet of φοινικοφαής), whereas here we appear to be in spring - an assorted menagerie that if found in a modern work might remind one of the "Swiss Family Robinson". But we should not look for realism - and perhaps all swans could be given the attributes of the whooper swan in poetry.

εὐναίας καρφυράς has caused difficulty. Firstly, the orthography of the second word. L has καρφηράς. Hesychius offers: 939: καρφυλαί: νοσσιαί, θάμνοι (-υραί Arnaud) 940: κάρφυροι: νεοσσοί (del. Latte) 941: καρφυραί: αἱ ἐκ τῶν ξηρῶν ξύλων γινόμεναι κοῖται· Εὐριπίδης Ἴωνι. Out of place because corrupt at 879: καρπύραι: ξύλων ξηρῶν κοπαί (i.e. κοῖται: del. Latte).

It is a glossographic mess. The two suspect glosses, even if spurious, can aid us with the text. The direct ascription to the *Ion* of this hapax combined with the fact that all four glosses have an upsilon where L has epsilon suggests that we should follow Arnaud in

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[1] All of this counters Kraus' description (o.c. 37) of αἴαξεις as "eine Banalisierung" - his remarks here are no more helpful than those of G. Norwood (reviewing A. S. Owen's edition), *AJP* CLXIII (1942), 109.

restoring the Hesychian spelling in our text.[1] For κάρφος of bird's nests cf. Ar. *Av.* 643, Arist. *HA* 612 B 23 etc. We are still left with the difficulty of the meaning. The root of καρφυραί is evidently κάρφος / κάρφη "dried grass, hay" - there is one of the rare scholia in L at this point: λέγει δὲ τοὺς φωλεοὺς οἳ ὡς ἐπὶ <τὸ πλεῖστον> ἐκ καρφέων γίνονται (τὸ πλεῖστον etiam nunc praebet Ricc. 32) - but it is still uncertain which is to be thought of as the substantative, εὐναῖα or καρφυράς as both are adjectival in form.[2] If καρφυράς then εὐνάς will be understood, presumably. But could it be εὐναίας (adj. pro nom.)? εὐναία in A.R. I 955, 1277 means "anchor" (ἀγκύρα understood). the Orphic *Lithica* 223 reads ὄρνυε πινέμεναι νύμφην ἵνα νήπιον υἷα | μαστοῖσιν μεθύοντα παρ' ἀεν[ν]άοισι κομίζῃ. The MS variant εὐναίοισι exists for ἀε[ν]νάοισι which, quite apart from the fact that the other reading may as well be the right one, is only evidence for the use of the *neuter* plural in the sense we want. Paley adduced *Ion* 1154 Ἄρκτος στρέφουσ' οὐραῖα χρυσήρη πόλῳ (but this may be adverbial) and A. *Su.* 631 εὐκταῖα γένει χεούσας. There however εὐκταῖα does not stand for εὐχά but means "desirable things" like ἀγαθά - there could be no commoner use of the neuter of the adjective in this way: εὐναία = nest (fem.) is something completely different. That εὐναία in the sense of εὐνή (anchor) is reported for Euripides by Eustathius *Il.* 131 21 (cf. 474 45) has no relevance to *Ion* - cf. Zuntz, *Transmission,* 148 n. 1 more probably to *IT* 432 (thus v. der Valk - *TGF* II fr. 589 Kannicht-Snell).

If this possibility is dismissed for lack of evidence, we must either take Hesychius at his word on the nominal status of καρφυραί - which there is no compelling reason to do, as

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[1]Its position in the dictionary order also shows this, as Hermann saw, contra Musgrave who compared such formations as γαμφηλή etc.

[2]This prompted Paley to suggest καρφήρεις. On the relation of scholium to Hesychius cf. Endnote.

the gloss may have been composed to explain a corruption here already in existence (the presence of two apparently conflicting glosses, if 938 is also meant to refer to *Ion*, suggests it) - or emend the text. I suggest εὐνὰς σὰς | καρφυράς.

173: ψαλμοί σ' εἴρξουσιν τόξων.

ψαλμοί: Cf. *HF* 1062 ἔκανε δὲ ψαλμῷ τέκεα τοξήρει. See on 164f. It is most usually used of stringed instruments (root ψάλλω): Pind. fr. 125 l.s., Phrynichus trag. (*TGF* I 3 F 11), ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀείδοντες μέλη.

174-176: οὐ πείσῃ; χωρῶν δίνας
τὰς Ἀλφειοῦ παιδσύργει
ἢ νάπος Ἴσθμιον,

Ion directs the birds to the temple of Zeus at Olympia on the Alpheus or to the temple of Poseidon at the Isthmia (cf. Pind. *Isthm.* VIII 63 Ἴσθμιον ἂν νάπος). He is single-mindedly devoted to his patron god - we may think once more of Hippolytus, though Euripides treats it with a light touch: as Wilamowitz remarks "etwas naiv, dass die andern Götter sich den Vogelschmutz gefallen lassen sollen".[1]

The text is not satisfactory. L reads the dative δίναις ταῖς which can hardly stand with the accusative νάπος in 176 where Beck wrote ἢ 'ς i.e. ἢ ἐς. But is it worth it? The dative is in itself difficult to understand: if it remains it will have to be explained as locative.

Probably we should follow Badham and write δίνας τάς.

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[1] Ion, or rather Euripides, alludes incongruously to the formula of ἀποπομπή of a god or daimon (cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1573).

We are left with the hiatus παιδούργει / ἦ νάπος. May we allow this? Diggle *Studies*, 95f. is prepared to with lyric anapaests, at least in the case of paroemiacs. The best example where there is no *grammatical* pause to justify it is *Ion* 860 πῶς δὲ σκοτίας ἀναφήνω | εὐνάς, αἰδοῦς δ' ἀπολειφθῶ;. The other instances from Euripides are *Hec.* 191 οἴμοι· μᾶτερ πῶς φθέγγῃ; ἀμέγαρτα κακῶν μήνυσόν μοι, if punctuated with question mark after κακῶν with Murray and others, not φθέγγῃ with Page and Diggle. But it would be a poor actor who would not pause after the opening question of Polyxena, who is about to meet her fate, and Diggle is right to punctuate after φθέγγῃ. The hiatus after the dimeter at *El.* 112 σύντειν' - ὥρα - ποδὸς ὁρμάν - ὦ - | ἔμβα κτλ., as Diggle himself notes, is rendered exceptional by the presence of the inorganic exclamatory particle at the end of the line, necessitating pause. *Ion* 907 ὠή· τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ | ὅστ' ὀμφὰν κληροῖς is easily mended (αὐδω <σ'> Badham: the three following lines have sigma as the end letter - cf. Diggle, *PCPS* XX (1974), 25).[1] Synapheia, which both emendations require, at period end may be doubtful, however - *Tro.* 129 is in a corrupt context. Cf. West, *GM*, 121. It is no doubt best to invoke dramatic pause here too. Which brings us back to 860. It is quite possible to emend with Heath to i.e. ἀναφήνασ'. But I do not think it is needed. Surely Creusa pauses before uttering the most sensitive word in the play, which she is contemplating revealing? The hurried, matter of fact manner occasioned by the elision is unthinkable.

There is no reason for pausing here, in the middle of a disjunction. The best correction is that of Badham: he omits the semicolon after πείσῃ and reads παιδουργεῖν in 175 (Owen rightly notes that ν is often represented in L by a very slight stroke which might easily disappear"). Without the alteration in punctuation, we must assume that the infinitive

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[1]Diggle's own αὐδῶσ' seems to make the amazing imperative to the god somewhat banal (= *Euripidea*, 120).

is imperatival (cf. on 98): with it, παιδουργεῖν will be governed by πείσῃ cf. *Hipp.* 950 οὐκ ἂν πιθοίμην...φρονεῖν κακῶς, *Andr.* 233 πείθου...συμβῆναι, S. *Ph.* 624-5 πεισθήσομαι..ἀνελθεῖν, A. *Eum.* 794 ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν, Hdt. VIII 60, Pl. *Prot.* 338A.

177-8: ὡς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται | ναοί θ'οἱ Φοίβου < >.

178 is metrically deficient: it will not fit into an anapaestic system, and cannot be defended as Owen, following Denniston, does by explaining it as a spondaic dochmius: it would be the only one in the whole system from 153f. and would disrupt the economy of the rhesis. Wilamowitz reduces it to a monometer ναοῖς [οἱ] Φοίβου following Wecklein's ναοῖς τοῖς Φοίβου, the motive of which was to concentrate attention on the temple as being in danger. However the temple would share in the general pollution. Others have expanded it - to a dimeter in Hartung's case, <μαντεῖοι> post Φοίβου cf. 130, likewise Herwerden <θεόδμητοι>. Fix preferred a paroemiac[1] as did Murray with the extraordinary σοῦ σοῦ and the rather better ὠή. Outstanding for ingenuity and palaeographical probability is Diggle's insertion: ναοί τ' <εὔθριγκ>οι Φοίβου. θ' οἱ will be the remains of the adjective he desires, whose first syllables will have been lost by omission after -οί. For other references to the θριγκοί cf. on 156.

Such defilement would have a religious as well as an aesthetic aspect. Ar. *Av.* 1114f. has already been cited on 153, where we learn of the μηνίσκοι such statues wore to avert this problem, ἢν δὲ μὴ κρίνητε, χαλκεύεσθε μηνίσκους φορεῖν | ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες· ὡς ὑμῶν ὃς ἂν μὴ μῆν' ἔχῃ, | ὅταν ἔχητε χλανίδα λευκήν, τότε μάλισθ' οὕτω δίκην | δώσεθ' ἡμῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ὄρνισι κατατιλώμενοι.

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[1] <λαμπροί>

Previous commentators have shown a mania to inform us that this is the origin of the *nimbus* of the saints in Christian art: this is by no means certain.[1] Paley has an interesting note on the whole subject - *pace* that editor, I cannot believe that this is the reference of the ill-omened bird of A. *Su.* 646f. Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορ' ἐπίσκοπον | δυσπολέμητον, ὃν τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχοι | ἐπ' ὀρόφων μιαίνοντα; βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* I 8 37 (of the speaking Priapus) mentior ac siquid, merdis caput inquiner albis / corvorum.

The other sort of βλάβη that the birds could effect is that of placing an evil omen on the sacrifices and prophecies by sitting on the roof of the temple. This *is* undoubtedly the reference of the remarkable image in A. *Su.* l.c.: cf. also the advice of Hesiod *OD* 746f.:

μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν,

μή τις ἐφεζομένη κρώξῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV 462: solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo / saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces, with Servius *ad loc.* and Pliny *HN* X 35. These are birds of ill omen in themselves, but sufficient anthropological material is collected by Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1910), 310f. and West commenting on *OD* loc. cit. concerning the roof as a locus of superstition to show that this is not all.

179-181: κτείνειν δ' ὑμᾶς αἰδοῦμαι | τοὺς θεῶν ἀγγέλλοντας φήμας | θνατοῖς·

Ion is thinking of the omens derived from ornithoscopy: on φήμη cf. 99 and n. See Ar. *Av.* 720f. ὄρνιν τε νομίζετε πάνθ' ὅσαπερ περὶ μαντείας διακρίνει· | φήμη γ' ὑμῖν ὄρνις ἐστί.... ἆρ' σύ φανερῶς ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐσμὲν μαντεῖος Ἀπόλλων; | ἦν οὖν ἡμᾶς νομίσητε θεούς | ἔξετε χρῆσθαι μάντεσι μούσαις, Xen. *Mem.* I 1 3: ὅσοι μαντικὴν

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[1]For more sensible hypotheses cf. Graber, *Christian Iconography* (1961), 117: R. Milburn, *Christian Art and Architecture* (1988), 57 n. 9. It may owe something in its later form to Mandaean symbolism; the scriptural Transfiguration is equally relevant.

νομίζοντες οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται και φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις, A. *PV* 488: γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν...διώρισα, *Septem* 24 ὁ *μάντις*... οἰωνῶν βοτήρ, S. *El.* 1058: τοὺς ἄνωθεν φρονιμωτάτους οἰωνούς, *OT* 310 ἀπ' οἰωνῶν φάτιν, 395, 398, *Ant.* 1000f. etc.[1]

179: the δὲ is in parataxis but as Owen says really explains the preceding words. This illustrates Ion's hurried action.

181-183: οἷς δ' ἔγκειμαι *μόχθοις*, | Φοίβῳ δουλεύσω, κοὐ λήξω | τοὺς βόσκοντας θεραπεύων.

ἔγκειμαι is a general word meaning "be involved in" and is frequently applied to undesirable things (like *μόχθοι*) cf. S. *Ph.* 1318 ἐκουσίοισιν ἔγκεινται βλάβαις, E. *Hel.* 269[2] ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλαῖς συμφοραῖς ἐγκείμεθα, Archilochus fr. 193 West δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθῳ. A.R. II 627 apparently has it with accusative; ἀτλήτους *μελεδῶνας* | ἔγκειμαι (v.l. ἄγκειμαι). Thus Ion's monody ends on a pleasant note. With *μόχθοις* in another context, one would interpret this as a complaint: in his closing prayer Ion reverses the sentiment παρὰ προσδοκίαν and prays that his work will ever continue.

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[1]*Pho.* 839 οἰωνίσματ' οἰωνῶν *μαθών*, *Ba.* 347f. θάκους τοῦδ' ἵν' οἰωνοσκοπεῖ (Teiresias), cf. Call. *Lav.Pall.* 123-4 - (Pallas promises to the youthful Teiresias) γνωσεῖται δ' ὄρνιχας, ὃς αἴσιος οἵ' τε πέτονται |ἤλιθα καὶ ποίων οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ πτέρυγες. See Bouché - Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (1879-82) I, 127f.

[2]θρήνοις *IT* 144, *Andr.* 92 κακοῖς *Hel.* 924: ὀνείδεσιν *Andr.* 784.

184f. *Metrical Analysis*

184-204. An uncomplicated Aeolo-choriambic stanza with no textual problems crucial to the metre; the simple structure is typically Euripidean. Runs of glyconics are rounded off by concluding pherecratean.

⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	Pherecratean
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Glyconic
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – –	Pherecratean[1]
⏑ – – ∣ ⏑ – –	Syncopated ia. dim. (2 x bacchius)[2]
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –	Chor. enoplion, A[3]
– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	Chor. enoplion, B[3]
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	Reizianum[3]

Notes:

[1] Vowel before β/λ long, as apparently always in βλέπω compounds in tragedy; cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 1308. βλ is never treated as syllable-releasing before the fifth century.

[2] On the responsion cf. Dale, *LM*², 101f.

[3] 191-3 = 202-4 could be rearranged into more conventional cola, Dr. Edwards points out to me, by the following system:

⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Telesillean
– – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	Polyschematist

— ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — Pherecratean

All this would be in synartesis; unfortunately much damage is done to the rhetorical pauses (παῖς 192, ἵππου 202) and I would prefer the system I have adopted for that reason.

205-237. Here the aeolo-choriambics, which are freer in responsion than in the preceding, and attended by textual uncertainty, modulate into iambic cola. The latter in the antistrophe, correspond with a change in the Chorus' interest, from the local antiquities to direct conversation with Ion. As often, this change of metric genre serves as a bridge to lead us back into spoken verse in the long stichomythia which follows. The antistrophe is unique in tragedy in its form, in that, while the utterances of the chorus maintain lyric responsion, albeit with an unusual degree of freedom, these are interspersed with Ion's replies in recitative anapaests.

⏑ — — ∪∪ — ∪ — Glyconic

— ⏑ — ∪∪ — ⏑ — Glyconic (with drag in strophe: see note)

⏑ — ⏑ — ∪∪ — — Chor. enoplion, B

? ? ? *Locus desperatus*; see note.

— — — ∪ — ∪∪ — Polyschematist responding to glyconic
∪∪ ∪

— — — — — ∪∪ — Polyschematist responding to glyconic
∪∪ ∪

— — — ∪∪ — — Pherecratean

∪ — ∪ — | ∪ — ∪∪ Iambic dimeter

— ∪∪ — ∪ ∩ || Dodrans[1]

∪ — ∪ — | ∪ — — Syncopated ia. dim.

∪ — — | — ∪ — Syncopated ia. dim.

⏑ – ⏑⏑ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ –	Iambic dimeter (see note *ad loc.*)
– ⏑⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑	Iambic dimeter[2]
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑ – –	Iambic dimeter catalectic[2]
⏑ – – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑ – –	Iambic trimeter, syncopated[2]

Notes:

[1] This analysis involves assuming *brevis in longo* at 213 and 231 (Dale does not, and finds an anapaestic monometer accordingly). On the former assumption a dochmiac would be possible, but, in the aeolic context preceding, a dodrans seems a better way to regard it.

[2] Thus Murray and Diggle, rightly. Biehl has instead

– ⏑⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	Ia. trim.
⏑ – – ⏓ ⏑ – –	Ia. dim. sync. - 2x bacch.
– ⏑ – ⏑ – –	Ithyphallic

The important rhetorical pause after τυράννων is thus impaired. Note the coincidence of word division in strophe and antistrophe (i.e. without elision): βακτρους - τυράννων.

184f. Introduction

The chorus of Creusa's handmaidens burst upon the scene, and the lively commentary that they offer on the antiquities they have been permitted to inspect is a masterpiece of complex lyric dialogue ("ein Wunderwerk anschaulicher Schilderung des Choreinzuges" Kranz, *Stasimon*, 208). The intrusion of Ion's spoken anapaests in the second section is,as remarked, unique in tragedy.

The depiction of plastic art appears to have been particularly congenial to Euripides, and this is the most eloquent example; one might compare *El.* 452f. (the shield of Achilles, an obvious Homeric reminiscence), *IA* 213f. (the Greek figureheads). It was left for Vergil to exploit this device yet further in making a speaker's impression of a picture unconsciously relevant *to himself* (*Aen.* I 456f., the carvings on Juno's temple, VIII 617f., Aeneas' shield, both famous examples; cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1987), 209f. with bibliography).

The chorus alternate from singular to plural in referring to themselves (there seems here at least to be no discoverable purpose, though cf. M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number used* (Helsinki 1970), 108). We need not assume that the plural is to be understood literally and this would damage the economy of the division of the parts, which seems to correspond to the number of *choreutae*, as Owen tentatively suggests.

Though the detail of this description of what is before the Chorus' eyes is unparalleled in tragedy, it is important to note that it forms an important element in arrival-scenes in Epic. Alcinous' palace is described with like minuteness at *Od.* VII 81f. and a variation of this is the description of Calypso's cave at V 63f. Virgil has already been noted; a possible

Hellenistic channel was A. R. III 215-41, Aeetes' palace, in itself modelled on *Od.* VII l.c.

It is not the place to discuss modern suggestions of a possible significance of these particular metopes to the action of the play (e.g. G. Müller, "Beschreibung von Kunstwerken im *Ion* des Euripides", *Hermes* CIII (1975), 25f.; others discussed by M. Lloyd (art. cit. ad l. 68). It is sufficient to note Lloyd's sensible point that the favoured common theme, the struggle between Olympian and earth-born forces, would be out of keeping with the respectful tone adopted in the play towards the famous Athenian foundation myth of Erichthonius and most misguiding in connection with Creusa; and to add that, as I point out in app. I, they are among the commonest scenes he could have assembled from metopes. If a special point were to be made, would not a search further afield have been more likely?

An excellent discussion of the history of artistic description in literature forms the introductory essay to P. Friedländer's edition *Johannes von Gaza, Paulus Silentiarius und Prokopius von Gaza: Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Berlin 1912) - on epic and drama see 1-31, on *Ion*, 28.

184: On the ζα- prefix to adjectives cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique* I, 169. It is a byform of δια- and has intensive force: ζαμενής 'violent', ζαπληθής, ζάκοτος, etc. Cf. such related δια- compounds that imply completion, saturation; διαπράττω, διεργάζομαι, διαμάχομαι; the hapax διαγαληνίζω (Ar. *Eq.* 646) is cited by Frisk as an example of the pure intensitive δια in a verbal, (= make quite calm).

Athens is similarly termed at *Tro.* 218f. ἱερὰν Θησέως ζαθέαν ἐλθεῖν χώραν.

185: εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὐλαὶ θεῶν μόνον,

The adjective appears only here in tragedy and may be a Euripidean invention (Breitenbach, 75): it reappears (with ἐσχαρεών) at *AP* VII 648 l 7. At *PV* 122 Διὸς αὐλήν refers to heaven: cf. E. *Hipp.* 68.

ἦσαν: the past tense indicates the recognition of a truth previously true but not previously apprehended by the speaker, *IT* cf. 369: Ἄιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως perhaps *Med.* 703. Similarly S. *Ph.* 978 ὀδ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ ξυλλαβών με, *Od.* XVI 420 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἔησθα, Pl. *Phaedo* 68 B etc.; cf. K.-G. I, 146. It is more difficult to say whether ἄρα is required with this inferential use of the imperfect (where English and German would use the present). Herwerden's οὐκ ἄρ' ἐν ζαθέαις should be carefully considered. For the text, it might be said that these examples are all more or less subjective *conclusions*; our imperfect may be closer to the more regular transposition of a present meaning into the past, e.g. Pl. *Phaedr.* 230 A ἆρ' οὐ τόδε ἦν τὸ δένδρον, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦγες ἡμᾶς.

186-7 οὐδ' ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι·

On the questions of staging, of interest in this ode, see Appendix I. The chorus refer with

θεῶν αὐλαί to the painted backdrop of the temple; with ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι, however, a real piece of stage equipment is pointed out which is a permanent feature: cf. Pollux IV, 123 who locates the ἀγυιεύς in the σκηνή (see on 46) - ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀγυιεὺς ἔκειτο βωμὸς [ὁ] πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν καὶ τράπεζα *πέμματα* ἔχουσα ἡ θεωρὶς ὠνομάζετο ἡ θυωρίς: cf. Arnott, *SC*, 45 and MacDowell on *Vesp.* 875. That Pollux is right may be gleaned from the frequent references and addresses to Apollo under this title in both tragedy and comedy: his presence on stage has no original connection with the theatre as such - monuments to Agyieus as guardian of ways, as we gather from a plenitude of ancient sources, commonly stood outside the doors of houses (overseeing going out and coming in, like the Latin Janus) and hence belonged naturally outside the stage-building. (The root is ἄγυια, a quasi-participial form of ἄγω; the related form ἀγυιάτης is found at A. *Ag.* 1086.) There is a considerable dispute as to what form this monument took, which clearly is a very early religious feature: the basic contradiction in the sources depends on whether it is an altar or a primitive conical image of Apollo, and there also seems to have been confusion at some point with herms, naturally enough.[1]

Cf. Cassandra in the *Ag.* passage already quoted: Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον Ἀγυιᾶτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός on her arrival at the palace of the Atreidae; E. *Pho.* 631 καὶ σὺ, Φοῖβ' ἄναξ Ἀγυιεῦ, καὶ *μέ*λαθρα χαίρετε (Polyneices as he leaves the city gates for battle), Ar. *Vesp.* 875 ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ γεῖτον ἀγυιεῦ, τούμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε, Pherecrates fr. 92 K.-A. ὦ δέσποτ' ἀγυιεῦ, ταῦτα συμμέμνησό μοι (and cf. Plautus *Bacchides* 172-3 'saluto te,

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[1]It certainly had the conical attribute, as our - surprisingly rare - archaeological evidence (cf. *LIMC* II 1 p. 327f. "Apollo Agyieus" (Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi)) indicates an altar may well have accompanied it. The literary sources are assembled by Blaydes ad *Vesp.* l.c. p. 343, Wentzel-Reisch *RE* I 1 909-913 s.v. "Agyieus" - for various interpretations cf. Jane Harrison, *Themis* (1927), 406 f. H.-V. Herrmann, *Omphalos* (1959), 25 f., others listed in *LIMC* o.c. See now J. P. Poe "The Altar in the Fifth Century Theatre", *Cl. Ant.* VIII (1989) 116f.

vicine Apollo, qui aedibus; propinquus nostris accolis'). μὰ τόν 'Απόλλω τουτονί as an exclamation is known both from New Comedy (cf. Fraenkel ad *Ag.* l.c.) and from Ar. *Thesm.* 748. It is unknown whether Sophocles fr. 370 R. from *Laocoon* refers to actual stage action: λάμπει δ' ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρὶ | σμύρνης σταλαγμούς, βαρβάρους εὐοσμίας. And so forth. In all probability Ion, in his address to Apollo, turns to the ἀγυιεύς (384f.), as will Clytemnestra (S. *El.* 637 (Φοῖβε προστατήριε)). For the phrase with adjective compare *Hyps.* I II 7 εὐωποῖς ἢ θεραπείαις. Hypsipyle *serves* the child with *smiles* - two ideas.[1]

There is an allusion to our passage with explanation in Eustathius: 166 23 ad *Il.* II 12: ἔφη δέ τις καὶ ἀγυιάτιδας θεράπνας τοὺς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν βωμούς, οἳ πρὸς χάριν 'Αγυιέως 'Απόλλωνος ἵδρυντο, τιμωμένου πρὸ πυλῶν ὡς ἀλεξικάκου.

At least part of this (from οἱ πρὸς χάριν is a later addition by Eustathius) should be a citation from Aelius Dionysius (= α 28 Erbse). Eustathius', or Aelius' error θεράπνας should probably be recorded in the app. crit. as representing earlier evidence, though little of value seems to be conveyed and a misreading of a ligature for ει is probably responsible. Cf. Zuntz,*Political Plays,* 151 n. 1. θεῶν θεραπεία (*El.* 744, Plato *Rep.* 427 B etc.) is a recognized locution.

188ff. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι

τῷ Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-

πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς.

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[1]Professor Lloyd-Jones in discussion it should be added, proposed an entirely different approach: ἀγυιάτιδες κτλ. might mean 'road maintenance'. Thus we confine our attention solely to the architecture. But in the context of Delphi? And, though humour there is in the wonder of the chorus, it is concerned with their amazement at things specifically Delphic.

This phrase poses problems, which hinge on the interpretation of the phrase διδύμων προσώπων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς. (καλλι<βλέ>φαρον is the generally accepted conjecture of Canter and Brodaeus for the MS καλλίφαρον. The 'irrational' loss of one syllable is no surprise: see Paley ad loc. for several parallels from L.) If προσώπων is to be taken literally of faces, we must think of statues, and the only 'statues' that have been referred to are the ἀγυιεῖς. But though we know from one of our conflicting testimonia of the ἀγυιεὺς οὕτω καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων τετράγωνος (schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 489), there is no evidence literary or archaeological for two-faced ἀγυιεῖς (the parallel with Janus does not go this far). Moreover, the oddity of expressing surprise at the presence of statues of Apollo Agyieus at the greatest shrine of that very god, as well as at Athens, surpasses even the naïveté of *this* chorus. It is possible to refer to the idea that herms 'go along with' the ἀγυιεύς at the gate and obtain δίδυμα πρόσωπα that way; but that rests on a misreading of the notice in the 'Photius Berolinensis'.[1] A pair of statues, such as Apollo and Leto in a group, has also been suggested: but it is desirable that the thing that the chorus says is ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι should link up with those things they have just said to be 'not only at Athens...'[2]

Perhaps then it refers to θεῶν αὐλαί. It is possible in verse to refer to the πρόσωπον of a temple as one of its facades cf. Pind. *Pyth.* VI 14 φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ...νίκαν...Κρισαίαις ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ - the reference in l. 9 is to the Ἀπολλωνία νάπα. And we find the expression in documentary matter as well: P. Petrie III p. 2 κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς νεώς (third century B.C.). Wilamowitz, who

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[1]p. 26 5 Reitzenstein s.v. ἀγυιεύς: ἰδίους δ' αὐτούς φασιν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, οἳ δὲ Διονύσου, οἳ δ' ἀμφοῖν. This merely allows that an ἀγυιεύς might - in the primitive form Photius mentions, κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων - be set up to Dionysus, not that a herm might be to Apollo.

[2]which also tells against the interpretation of ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι as 'road maintenance'.

assumes the backdrop of a colonnade (preface ('die Bühne'), 22f.), explains 'das schöne Auge der beiden Gesichter *d.h.* von beiden Seiten des Weges blickt uns etwas Schönes an'. Owen suggests a reference to the east and west facades of the temple - 'the chorus will see only one but will assume the existence of another'. It has also been suggested that two different temples are in question, perhaps that of Apollo and Athene Pronaia (cf. Paus. X 8 6): in that case, however, the obvious point of parallel with the Acropolis would be the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, an anachronism, but not therefore impossible: cf. on 497.

It is most unlikely that καλλιβλέφαρον could here be passive, 'fair to look upon': none of its compounds (ἀγανοβλέφαρος, Ibycus 288 3 *PMG*; ἑλικοβλέφαρος, *h. Hom.* VI 19 etc., ἰανογλέφαρος, Alcman fr. 1 69 *PMG*; ἰοβλέφαρος Bacch. XIX 5, χαριτοβλέφαρος, *IG* III 1376) bear this sense. ὄμμα can it seems mean 'something seen' (S. *Aj.* 1004 ὦ δυσθέατον ὄμμα, *El.* 903 ἐμπαίει τί μοι | ψυχῇ σύνηθες ὄμμα);[1] βλέφαρον is confined to 'eyes' or 'eyelids' (*Ag.* 15). It is necessary to adopt Wilamowitz's bold metaphor if we assume that parts of the temple architecture are intended, as I think we should. It is difficult to know how much further we should press for specificity (the phrase was of course one of the mainstays of the argument of those who assumed that E. was describing the modern two pediments of the Alcmaeonid temple). Owen's explanation puts the least strain on assumed scenery, but it is unnatural; however, it must convey something actual to the audience. I suggest that the simplest explanation is that the chorus point, as they process across the orchestra, to the two sides of the temple that the *audience* can see, the front and the side, if we assume σκηνογραφία in perspective, like the Wurzburg *Stheneboea* vase; an explanation that somewhat weakens διδύμων (they do not match) but is easier to convey on stage.

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[1] φάσμα Nauck.

190: ἰδοὺ τάνδ' ἄθρησον

ἀθρεῖν of urgent, rapid glances: cf. E. *Hipp.* 300 δεῦρ' ἄθρησον, *Andr.* 1228. τᾷδε (Dobree for MSS τάνδε) is unimaginative. What sightseer has not said to a companion 'come and look at *this*', without specifying the object? τάνδε of course = τὴν ὕδραν (τόνδε Milton, i.e. Ἡρακλέα is pious; but perhaps to this audience the sensational interest of the monster might rank higher).

191ff.: *Heracles and Iolaus fight the Hydra*

The first literary reference to this famous Labour is Hes. *Theog.* 313, where Iolaus is already established as Heracles' companion in arms:

τὸ τρίτον Ὕδρην αὖτις ἐγείνατο λυγρὰ ἰδυῖαν
Λερναίην, ἣν θρέψε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη
ἄπλητον κοτέουσα βίῃ Ἡρακληείῃ.
καὶ τὴν μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνήρατο νηλέϊ χαλκῷ
Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης σὺν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ
Ἡρακλέης βουλῇσιν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης.

Likewise the chest of 'Cypselus' in the temple of Hera at Elis depicted Iolaus in a victory chariot ὃς ἐθελοντὴς μετεῖχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν πόνων (Paus. II 37 4; cf. V 17 10). He appears on geometric fibulae in this connection (cf. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen* 147 SB 28, *LIMC* (sv. Iolaus) no. 28, the earliest evidence). At *HF* 419-21 the story is told without mention of him, but cf. *Hcld.* 216 τῶνδ' ὑπασπίζων πατρί. Pausanias X 18 6 refers to a depiction of Heracles at Delphi without mentioning Iolaus in a Hydra scene: we know that at Olympia such was the case (cf. the excellent discussion of E. Kunze (*Olympische Forschungen* (Berlin 1950), 103f., esp. n. 1)

on the iconography of the whole episode; and on Iolaus in particular in art, Botte *RE* IX 49.)[1]

The weapon traditionally used was the ἅρπη, a sickle, as it was for Perseus: sources ap. West, *Theogony*, 217.[2] Iolaus (rather than Heracles himself) appears with one in the seventh-century fibulae just referred to and in Corinthian vases: in Attic art he bears the torch or guides the chariot. Cf. Quintus Smyrnaeus VI 215ff. πόνος δ' ἔχεν Ἡρακλῆα | θαρσαλέον τ' Ἰόλαον ἐπεὶ κρατερὰ φρονέοντε | ἄμφω, ὁ μὲν τέμνεσκε καρήατα μαιμώωντα | ἅρπῃ ὑπ' ἀγκυλόδοντι θοῶς, ὁ δὲ καῖε σιδήρῳ | αἰθομένῳ. From Hesiod we would only gather that Iolaus took an equal part in the actual battle with the Hydra; that his role was to cauterize the heads of the monster to prevent them growing again is first explicitly attested here, but is presumably early (because this was the one labour that Heracles *could not* achieve on his own by tradition). Thus Diodorus Siculus IV 11 5 λαμπάδι καομένῃ...ἐπικαίειν, Apollodorus II 5.1, Quintus l.c. supra. He appears in action doing this on some coins of Agyrion (Head, *Historia Nummorum*[2], 125). Cf. Kroll *RE* IX 1844f.

The phrase ὕδραν τέμνειν is proverbial by Plato: *Rep.* 426 E etc.

192: ἅρπαις: Owen rightly explains the plural - more than one attack with the sickle was required (!). Cf. *Ion* 217 where Dionysus attacks a giant κισσίνοισι βάκτροις, S. *Aj.* 230 (of Ajax) συγκατακτὰς | κελαινοῖς ξίφεσιν βοτὰ καὶ | βοτῆρας ἱππονώμας.

χρυσέαις ἅρπαις: Heracles is not allowed the anachronism of iron weapons: cf. *IA* 1071 χρυσέων ὅπλων, *Hec.* 110 ὅπλοις, *Rhes.* 340 etc.

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[1]See now Pipidi's article "Iolaus" (*LIMC* V 1 (1991), p. 686 f.) - on Heracles, Iolaus and Hydra cf. C (f) and p. 695.

[2]1990 - 2027. And iconography *LIMC* V 1 "Heracles" (Boardman et al.). 1990-2027. The *harpe*, occasionally, in Iolaus' case, with Heracles carrying a sword, is most frequent.

195: πανὸν πυρίφλεκτον αἴρει τις·

L reads the nonsensical πτανόν for πανόν, which was restored to the text by Pierson in the light of Athenaeus 700E, slightly corrected: πρότερος δὲ ... Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι *μέμνηται* τοῦ πανοῦ <καὶ Εὐριπίδης *add.* Meineke> ἐν Ἴωνι. The same operation was performed by Musgrave at 1294, where once again πτανοῖς appears in the text and the sense 'torch' is clearly required: there however L records a γρ. δαλοῖς which might have begun life as a gloss (however cf. Endnote on these annotations).

Cf. the *Ag.* quotation mentioned, 284 μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον | Ἀθῷον αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο.

Both πανός and φανός are attested, though the tradition of the grammarians never specifically distinguishes them - Chantraine *DE* s.v. φαε- (6) wonders if they may be different words. Certainly in the long discussion of words for 'lamp' in Ath. 700 B et seq. none is made, if the text can be trusted. Eustathius, *Il.* 1189-92 ad XIX 375 alleges a metabolism of *phi*, the latter being proper to Attic.

What emerges from the morass of Atticist distinctions - our third major source is Phrynichus att. para. 40 R - is that the opinion in later antiquity was that, whereas the correct Attic usage confined the word(s) to δέσμη κληματίδων i.e. an outdoor torch in the modern sense (Eustathius, Athenaeus, Phrynichus *app. soph.* 50 22). In their day it had been extended to mean every kind of lamp (πᾶν το φαῖνον, schol. Ar. *Lys.* 308). Eustathius tells us specifically that "we (now)" use φανός for the ancient λαμπτήρ, cf. Silenus ap. Ath. l.c. Though the Athenaean discussion is not entirely straightforward, it seems that the numerous citations his disputants offer from comedy (and cf. *TFG* II fr. 160, quoted by Eustathius), as well as Aeschylus *Ag.* l.c., show them to be right - all are best interpreted thus. See too Photius s.v. πανόν, πανός, Pollux X 117.

196f. ἆρ' ὃς ἐμαῖσι *μυθεύεται* παρὰ πήναις,

πήναις: cf. *Hec.* 470f. ἐν δαιδαλέαισι ποικίλλουσ' ἀνθοκρόκοισι πήναις (= woof). Wilamowitz remarks 'sie kennt die Geschichte aus der Spinn- oder vielmehr Web-stube, wo sie sich Märchen erzählen'. This is better than assuming that they are referring to the actual subject of their weaving: cf. the same chorus at 507f. οὔτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων φάτιν | ἄϊον εὐτυχίας μετέχειν θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς, and *IA* 788 Λυδαὶ καὶ Φρυγῶν ἅλοχοι

| στήσουσι παρ' ἱστοῖς | μυθεύουσαι τάδ' ἐς ἀλλήλας (-εῦσαι *codd.*: Matthiae[1]).

199: κοινοὺς αἱρόμενος πόνους: cf. Paus. II 37 4, quoted on 191f.

201: ἄθρησον: cf. on 190. A paragraphus before 201 is required. Precise parallelism with 190.

202ff: *The episode of Bellerophon*

Theog. 325 is the first explicit mention of Pegasus: the episode is alluded to in Homer (*Il.* VI 152 f) where, in accordance with the Homeric manner of disguising the inrush of Oriental themes occurring shortly before his period, he refers obliquely to θεῶν τέρατα.[2] Cf. also the Hesiodic *Catalogue* fr. 43(a) 84f. M.-W. τῷ δὲ (Bellerophon)...[πα]τὴρ πόρε Πήγασο[ν ἵππον] ... σὺν τῷ πῦρ [πνείουσαν ἀπηλοίησε Χίμαίραν],[3] and Pind. *Ol.* XIII 84ff. ἤτοι καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς ὀρμαίνων ἔλε Βελλεροφόντας, | φάρμακον πραῦ τεύνων ἀμφὶ γένυι, | ἵππον πτερόεντ'· ἀναβὰς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεὶς ἔπαιζεν. | σὺν δὲ κείνῳ καί ποτ' Ἀμαζονίδων | ...γυναικεῖον στρατὸν | καὶ Χίμαιραν πῦρ πνέοισαν καὶ Σολύμους ἔπεφνεν. On the iconography, see the works quoted above and *EAA* VI 2 f; *LIMC* III I 249f. (on the Chimaera); on Bellerophon *LIMC* s.v. Pegasos (forthcoming). There are kotylai from

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[1]σχήσουσι Tyrwhitt, adopted by Diggle.

[2]A view that needs defending, but not here: on the Oriental influence in the eighth century see W. Burkert's splendid study *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* (Heidelberg 1984); on the Asian origins of the winged horse see in particular L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*[2] (1938) 97, 109; on the fact that Homer represses or *alludes* to these new beliefs, nothing better can be quoted than Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (1924), ch. III.

[3]ἀπηλοίησε (West).

seventh-century B.C. Greek work. Cf. the Introduction to this section, and also H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1927), 11, 133.

203f. τὰν πῦρ πνέουσαν ἐναίρει | τρισώματον ἀλκάν.

A poetic periphrasis: cf. *HF* 181 (of a centaur: τετρασκελές θ' ὕβρισμα, Κενταύρων γένος, | Φολόην ἐπελθών). It is a comprehensible offshoot from the σθένος paraphrase, common from Homer onwards, e.g. *Il.* XIII 248 σθένος Ἰδομενῆος, Hes. *OD* 598 Ὠρίωνος, [Hes.] *Scutum* 97 θοὸν ἅρμα καὶ ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων. ἀλκά is used figuratively in this fashion in *HF* 805f. λαμπρὰν δ' ἔδειξ' ὁ χρόνος | τὰν Ἡρακλέος ἀλκὰν. | ὃς γᾶς ἐξέβα θαλάμων,[1] *Rhes.* 382 χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκάν, and in particular with weapons: *Pho.* 1363 μονομάχου τ' ἀλκὴν δορός, probably fr. 298 2f. N. οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ μητρὸς κακῆς | ἐσθλοὶ γένοιντο παῖδες εἰς ἀλκὴν δορός. The similar periphrasis with βία is too common to require parallel.

τρισώματος cf. Horace *Carm.* I 27 23 'vix illigatum te triformi | Pegasus expediet Chimaera'.

206: πάντα τοι βλέφαρον διώκω.

Parts of the body may be 'chased' in tragedy as a means of describing motion (commemorated in Housman's 'Go, chase into the house a lucky foot' Cf. *Or.* 1344 διώκω τὸν ἐμὸν ἐς δόμους πόδα, *HF* 1040f. πρέσβυς ὑστέρῳ ποδὶ | πικρὰν διώκων ἧλυσιν πάρεσθ' ὅδε.

207f. σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τείχεσσι | λαίνοισι Γιγάντων.

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[1]Vel ἐξέβας, em. Diggle.

L has τείχεσι. The minimum correction necessary is Murray's restoration of the double Homeric sigma to lengthen the last syllable of the glyconic in 206.[1] There is uncertainty as to the metre of the antistrophe line answering to 207, and Wilamowitz adopted a version of what seems to be Dindorf's τύποισιν ('τείχεσι kann nur aus τύπους, Reliefs, verdorben sein') - despite the attribution to 'Anonymous' of the longer version. Hermann conjectured τύκαισι 'carved work', which is not found. τείχη goes as well with λάϊνα as anything else: cf. *Pho.* 116 χαλκόδετ' ἄρ' ἔμβολα † | λαϊνέοισιν Ἀμφίονος ὀργάνοις | τείχεος † ἥρμοσται, *Tro.* 1087 Ἄργος, ἵνα <τε> τείχη | λάϊνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται, *Pho.* 797 ἀντίπαλον κατὰ λάινα τείχεα | χαλκῷ κοσμήσας. The emendations mentioned, apart from that of Murray, aim to avoid the metrical licence whereby a glyconic with 'drag' (206) responds with a normal one (220 | -δῶ θέμις γυάλων ὑπερ-). But there are a sufficient number of examples in the text of Euripides to excuse this. This is admirably analysed by Itsumi, *CQ* n.s. XXXIV (1984), 75f., who does indeed add the caution that in only three places in tragedy is this responsion assured, properly treating this example with reserve. However, the sense has much to recommend it and it seems that the text should stand, with Murray's correction. 'Observe the battle taking place *on the walls*' is a more natural mode of expression than 'the battle *in the reliefs*', which is what the reliefs consist in.

κλόνον: 'the battle rout' (Homeric, only in *Iliad*). The root is κέλομαι, and from this comes the alternative sense 'a throng of men': cf. [Hes.] *Scutum.* 148 δεινὴ Ἔρις πεπότητο κορύσσουσα κλόνον ἀνδρῶν, *Pers.* 106f. ἱππιοχάρμας ... κλόνους, *Ag.* 404f. κλόνους λοχισμούς τε καὶ | ναυβάτας ὁπλισμούς.

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[1]The MSS of Euripides never offer the epic termination: it is, however, a certain conjecture at *Tro.* 280, *Ba.* 76: *Ba.* 560 is a Triclinian device and there is uncertainty as to the text at *Alc.* 756 and fr. 791 l. 3 N.

208: †ὦδε δερκόμεσθ' ὦ φίλαι.

Both this line and 222 with which it should respond (†οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ σέθεν ἂν πυθοίμαν αὐδάν) are textually suspect. The strophe cannot possibly stand as it is: the minimal correction is that of Wilamowitz, following Hermann, ὦδε δερκόμεθ' ὦ φίλαι (i.e. false Homericization) which creates a glyconic which he would have respond with οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ σέθεν ἂν πυθοίμαν (hipponactean) with αὖδα τί θέλεις for τίνα τήνδε θέλεις; as Ion's reply in anapaests. But the latter move is radical, and the 'Responsionsfreiheit' uncertain. Murray transposed the strophe to ὦ φίλαι ὧδε δερκόμεσθα (choriambic enneasyllable, such as A. *Pers.* 659 ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου (πυθοίμεθ' must be written for πυθοίμαν (Paley): thus also Dale) and regarded the initial οὐδ' ἂν of 223 as the words of the chorus, who appear to be interrupted at 221 (both sense and metre are affected). The difficulty with this is that, though the chorus might indeed be interrupted (*antilabe*), it is scarcely probable that they would immediately proceed on to a *quite different point.* Much more hopeful if this line is to be followed is the supplement <οὐδόν> (Lindau), to follow λευκῷ ποδί γε - which then got shifted to the wrong line and changed into οὐδ' ἄν. Wecklein adopted the de-Ionicized version of 208, altering φίλαι to <γυναῖκες> and leaving the antistrophe untouched: by dint of placing a bacchius such as this at the end of 208 in the word order of the MS and giving αὐδάν to *Ion* as part of his anapaestic reply, it is only necessary to remove the Ionicism of δερκόμεσθα to obtain two hipponacteans.

Biehl restored two choriambic dimeters with 'solutior responsio' (see adn. crit. ad 223) by dint of doing nothing more to the strophe than placing the [ὦ] in square brackets - in itself a probable corruption - but tampering over-radically with 223 (σὐδ' ἂν πυθοίμαν σέθεν ἄν...)

Two main lines of approach summarize the various attempts discussed. In the strophe,

do we transpose the word order, or alter it into a glyconic? The latter is simpler, but there seems to be no possible way of forcing 223 into anything shorter than a hipponactean, and this is implausible. In the antistrophe, on the assumption that it is too long, is it the οὐδ' ἄν that we remove, by whatever device, making a choriambic enneasyllable (with πυθοίμεθα unless we are prepared to tolerate a 'dragged' version of this line): or, do we shift the αὐδάν into the anapaests, in which case, keeping the MS πυθοίμαν, we obtain a hipponactean? Lindau's <οὐδόν> to fill the metrical gap in 221 is the most ingenious method of getting rid of this first word; but the cost is the transposing of a word up two lines, the changing of the strophic word order and the alteration of πυθοίμεθα; the cost of moving αὐδάν merely to the next speaker on is less (no further attention to Ion's reply is required, *pace* Hermann (αὐδάν is implicit object of πυθοίμαν)), and we must invent a supplement of our own choice for 221 (forms of θριγκός with γ' deleted, cf. 1321 θριγκοὺς τούσδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδί, have been advocated by Hense and Wecklein, and there are many possibilities). But the difficulties of plausibly enlarging the φίλαι of 208 into the requisite bacchius to end the hipponactean, though the only other change then necessitated there is the de-Ionicization of δερκόμεσθα, are nonetheless formidable: what explanation could be put for Wecklein's proposed <γυναῖκες>? And the addition of an unnecessary monosyllable (<δή> Hermann, etc.) should surely be rejected out of hand.

There is one further possibility which involves only πυθοίμεθα in 228 and the correction of the Ionic form in 208 with a *supplement* (rather than Wecklein's radical *replacement* of φῖλαι with γυναῖκες) after the last word. (γυναῖκες *will* do as well as any: perhaps a *saut du même au même* from Γιγάντων in the previous line)[1]. That is to explain

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[1]Dr Diggle suggests that the antistrophe too could be 'saved' if we add earlier e.g. (σύνδουλοι) and assume dragged responsion.

both lines as a form of what is usually termed the 'Phalaecian hendecasyllable' after the fourth-century B.C. poet. It is predominantly a Hellenistic metre, though found in tragedy - note especially its predominance in the hyporcheme at S. *Aj.* 693f. - a genre whose tone suits our light-hearted chorus. It has archaic antecedents: this is the metre of the Harmodius scholion, and, if we may believe Caesius Bassus (*Grammatici Latini* VI, 258 15 Keil), Sappho wrote the metre κατὰ στίχον ("cuius in quinto libro complures huius generis et continuati et dispersi leguntur"). Nor was it unknown to comic drama: Cratinus used it in a hymn to Pan (fr. 321). See Wilamowitz, *Mélanges Weil* (Paris 1898), 449f. = *GV*, 137f., West, *GM*, 151f., Gow on Theocritus, *ep.* XVII, (Vol. II, 541). Perhaps such a metrical twist would suit the gay and festive religious sight-seeing tour that Euripides depicts for us. Added advantage is that it leaves the antistrophe intact except for one syllable.[1]

οὐδέ in a question unaccompanied by another interrogative particle has a somewhat indignant tone (e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 1302 οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθε ταῦτ' ὦ παρθένοι τὰν τῇ πόλει, unless 'not even' is preferred: cf. Denniston, *GP*, 198 IV), which is here mitigated by the 'polite' optative: cf. *IT* 505 οὐδ' ἂν πόλιν φράσειας ἥτις ἐστί σοι (Iph. to Or.) for a similar combination. On the optative in questions cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, para. 445. On the tone of the chorus to Ion cf. 219 and 235 nn.

Regarding the limitations of freedom of responsion between Aeolic cola cf. Barrett *Hippolytus*, p. 265, Dale *LM*^{2}, 129-32, Denniston on *Electra*, p. 215, Itsumi l.c. and *CQ* n.s. XXXII (1982), 59-74.

209ff. λεύσσεις οὖν ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ

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[1]οὐδ' ἄν regains respectability. Its presence may now justify the haplography from οὐδόν.

γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἴτυν...;

λεύσσω Παλλάδ', ἐμὰν θεόν.

Athena is depicted with her adversary Enceladus. (On the possibility that such a scene is actually found on the west pediment of the Alcmaeonid temple cf. 184f. Introduction, and E. Lapalus, *Le fronton sculpté en Grèce* (1947), 442f. Pausanias is silent on the matter, and indeed on the question of a Gigantomachy in general; but he is describing the temple of post-373, when an earthquake caused much damage.)

On Athena's role in the Gigantomachy cf. Apollodorus I 6 1-2 who provides a detailed account.

The tradition that Enceladus was Athena's particular opponent goes back early: they appear together named as such on an archaic amphora (Louvre E 732 = *LIMC* II 1, 990 no. 381 = Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (1951), 36f. no. 96 and pl. 22). Possibly the tradition took some form of order in a work such as the *Titanomachia* of Arctinus/Eumelus, though the ever-present warning of the king-lists of Attica do not encourage certainty. Euripides refers to them also at *HF* 907f. τάραγμα ταρτάρειον ὡς ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ ποτέ, Παλλάς, | ἐς δόμους πέμπεις. He appears on possibly twelve vases of the fifth and fourth centuries. From a scholiast to Ar. *Eq.* 566 we learn that he figured in the Panathenaic πέπλος. Athena with her adversary is well known from reliefs: apart from the Delphic example already quoted, they appear on the Acropolis (Mus. Acr. 120; *LIMC* II 1, 970, 124), from the Athenian Hekatompedon (Mus. Acr. 631A; *LIMC* o.c., 125), from the Parthenon itself *in situ* (*LIMC* l.c. 235, cf. Vian no. 31), and from the temple of Poseidon at Sunium (*LIMC* 246). The motif that he fought Zeus rather than Athena is known from the fourth or third century in iconography cf. *Batrachomyomachia* 283. At some point he also took the role in some accounts of Typhoeus, in that he is buried under Etna: the idea

first appears in Call. *Aet.* fr. 1 35-6 τό μοι βάρος ὅσσον ἔπεστι | τριγλώλχιν ὁλοῷ|
νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ; cf. Verg. *Aen.* III 578 'fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
| urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam | impositam ruptis flammam exspirare
caminis'. It is Athena who is responsible for this according to Apollodorus l.c. Ἀθηνᾶ δ'
ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ φεύγοντι Σικελίαν ἐπέρριψε τὴν νῆσον (on the point cf. Williams, *Aeneid*
III (Oxford 1962) on 578 and Langen on Valerius Flaccus II 24).

At E. *Cycl.* 5f. Silenus humorously claims the victory over Enceladus for himself.[1]
For the literary accounts of the two cf. Horace *Carm.* III 4 55f. 'quid Rhoetus evulsisque
truncis | Enceladus iaculator audax | contra sonantem Palladis aegida | possent ruentes?',
Aristides II 11. Their battle is alluded to in the battle speech of Gaia at Nonnus *Dion.*
XLVIII 21f.

See in general, in addition to the works quoted above, Schefold, *Die Göttersage in den klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (1981), 91f., 95, id. *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (Eng. 1966), 64, Vian, *La guerre des géants: le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique* (1952), 199f.; Escher *RE* V 2 2578-9 (Enceladus), ibid. *Supplement* III 742f. ('Giganten').

γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἴτυν: πάλλουσαν is evidently a *Volksetymologie* of the name of the goddess in question, and this, along with Plato *Cratylus* 406 D-E, is the earliest occurrence: the next is the gloss in P. *Oxy.* XX 2260 col. ii. It proliferates in the later writers: thus *E.M.* 649 57 παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ πάλλειν καὶ κραδαίνεν τὸ δόρυ (cf. E. *HF* 1003 Παλλὰς κραδαίνουσ' ἔγχος †ἐπὶ λόφῳ κέαρ†). Eustathius Il. 84. 35 ad *Il.* I 200 offer πάλλω in the allegorical sense of ὀξυκίνητος φρόνησις. Another proposed candidate was ἀναπεπάλθαι (ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς *E.M.* s.v.) and among the glosses in P. Oxy. l.c.

The truth is probably that the name derives from an ancient term meaning 'maiden'.

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[1] Ἐγκέλαδον ἰτέαν ἐς μέσην θενὼν δορὶ | ἔκτεινα (l. 7).

Cf. Hesychius cf. παλλάκιον: *μειράκιον*, and various notices to the effect that πάλληξ, πάλλας = ὁ νέος (Hesychius, Eust. *Il.* 84 42 ut supra cf. 1742 38 ad *Od.* XIII 300, Ael. Dion. 134 Erbse, Ammonius *Lex. Hom.* 35 Valck. = no. 117 Nickau).[1] Cf. Seel *RE* xviii 3 s.v. *Pallas*. Aulus Gellius is the only tradition to profer a feminine sense (i.e. "paelex"). For Indo-European parallels cf. R. Gansiniec, *Eranos* (1959) 561, Boisacq *Dict. Etym.* s.v. παλλακίς. For mythic etymologies see (possibly) also Apollodorus I 6 3, III 12 3, Strabo VII fr. 27.[2] Hesychius may be advancing another etymology - ἡ παίουσα (?) τοὺς αὐλούς (presumably the myth recounted in Pind. *Pyth.* XII etc.

γοργωπὸν...ἴτυν: cf. *Rhes.* 8 λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν, *HF* 868, 1266. ἴτυς in Ion refers apparently to the whole shield and not merely to its natural sense, the 'felloe' or outer rim. Thus in *Tro.* 1197 ἴτυός τ' ἐν εὐτόρνοισι περιδρόμοις ἰδρώς. Elsewhere it is literal (*Pho.* 1384). Cf. Denniston ad *El.* 458, περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἴτυος ἕδραι which is ambiguous; also Xen. *An.* IV 7 12 etc. The reference, by way of a play on words, is of course to the apotropaeic eyes of the Gorgon on the boss of Athene's shield.

213ff: τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον

ὅβριμον ἐν Διὸς

ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν;

ἀμφίπυρον: cf. *Hec.* 473 Τιτάνων γενεάν | τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ κομί|ξει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας, *Hipp.* 559 βροντᾷ γὰρ ἀμφιπύρῳ | τοκάδα τὰν διγόνοιο Βάκ|χου νυμφευσαμένα...κατηύνασεν. It is not entirely certain what type of thunderbolt is

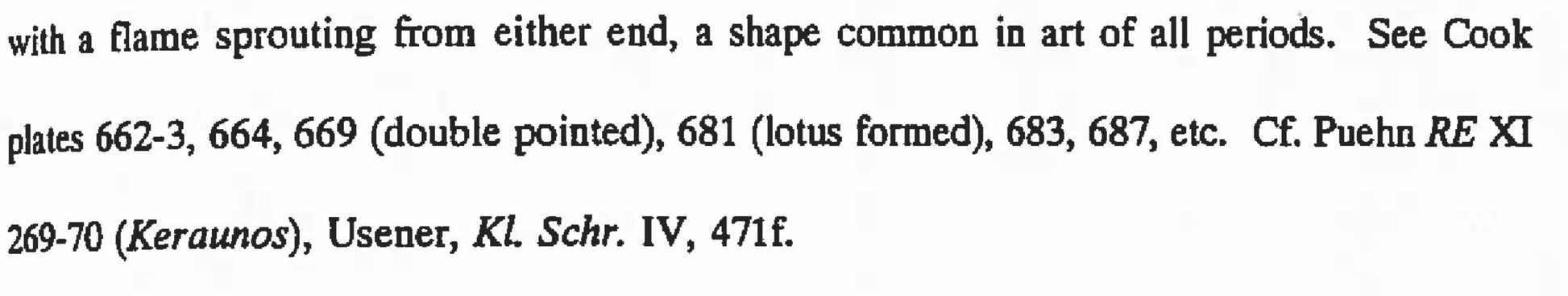
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[1] The -ᾶς form is attested in Philistid. I J.

[2] Though in Strabo XVII 816 Xylander's παλλακίδες for παλλάδες should certainly be read.

designated by the expression.

The various depictions of the *keraunos* are discussed exhaustively by Cook (*Zeus* II, 722f.). Three possibilities occur, which I give in increasing order of probability. (a) Zeus Ὅρκιος holds a thunderbolt in *both hands* (Cook o.c., 726f.). This would be strained Greek. (b) The weapon might be two-pronged like a fork with a flame in either prong (Cook 764, 787). But would this be called *keraunos*? (c) The weapon is shaped something like



with a flame sprouting from either end, a shape common in art of all periods. See Cook plates 662-3, 664, 669 (double pointed), 681 (lotus formed), 683, 687, etc. Cf. Puehn *RE* XI 269-70 (*Keraunos*), Usener, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 471f.

215f: ὀρῶ˙ τὸν δάιον | Μίμαντα πυρὶ καταιθαλοῖ.

Wilamowitz sensibly remarks 'als Gegner des Zeus konnte jeder bekannte Gigantenname genannt worden'. The Μίμας of Hes. *Scutum* 186 is a centaur, not a giant, and this may be the first literary reference to this giant. In A.R. III 1227 he is the opponent of Ares (θώρηκα...τόν οἱ πόρεν ἐξεναρίξας | σφωιτέραις Φλεγραῖον Ἄρης ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μίμαντα (likewise Claudian *Gigantomachia* 87)), and this is also the tradition preferred in the iconography (cf. *RE* XV 1714f.). In Horace *Carm.* III 4 53 he opposes Pallas. What Eumelus or Arctinus recounted is of course unknown. Cf. W. Kranz, 'Titanomachia', (*Studien zur antike Literatur* (*Kl. Schr.* (1967)), 89f.

δάϊον: always in the Doric form in tragedy, as νάϊος and γάϊος (though δῃοῦν and ἀδῄος are Atticized).

καταιθαλοῖ: cf. E. *Su.* 640 (Capaneus) ὃν Ζεὺς κεραυνῷ πυρπόλῳ καταιθαλοῖ.

217f: καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον ἀπολέμοι-

σι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις

ἐναίρει γᾶς τέκνων ὁ Βακχεύς.

Βρόμιος: the root will be βρέμω (cf. the formations ἐρί- βρομος, πυρί-βρομος etc.). The Suda s.v. suggests a metathesis of βορά, and of course Βρόμη or Βρομίη as a nymph was invented (Servius ad Verg. *ecl.* VI 15; cf. Hyg. *fab.* 182). Pind. fr. 128 c 4 S.-M. (Διόνυσος), fr. 706 6, fr. 75 10, are the earliest known occurrences.

ἄλλον: the tradition as to whom Dionysus fought in the battle is not rich and was probably never codified. He appears in the reliefs on the north side of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi (c. 525), in a Gigantomachia in company with Themis dressed in the νεβρίς and carrying a spear: the giant in question is thought to be Tharos. Cf. Mistrokastos, *AM* LXXI (1956), 78f., Simon, *ZPE* LVII (1984) 6f. (Vian, *Répertoire* no. 20), *LIMC* III 1 Dionysus no. 651. The literary tradition is late and various: he fought Rhoeteus, according to Horace *Carm.* II 19 23, but Nonnus (XXV 90) makes it Alcyoneus and Apollodorus (I 6 2) Eurytus. Cf. schol. Pind. *Nem.* I, 101 (Γῆ prophesied that two ἡμίθεοι would win the battle: Heracles and Dionysus were chosen). He is however a standard figure in the conventional depictions of the scene: he appears as early as the sixth century in vase paintings (*LIMC* l.c. 646 (560-550), 613 (Attic amphora, c. 530) 644-5, 647) and he accompanies Pallas in 642 (Attic amphora, 520-500) and 643 (Attic lekythos, 500-480); elsewhere he appears with Ares, or his usual entourage of Bacchanals. He is common in reliefs: at Olympia (652), and again at Delphi in the treasury of the Massiliots (653). (See *LIMC* o.c. 613-663, Crusius *RE* V 1038f., *Fouilles de Delphes* IV 3 (1931), 26f.)

ἀπολέμοισι... βάκτροις: for the idea cf. *Ba.* 798f. καὶ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἀσπίδας | θύρσοισι Βακχῶν ἐκτρέπειν χαλκηλάτους.

The form Βακχεύς is confined to lyric (S. *Ant.* 1121, E. *Ba.* 145, coni. Nauck ad A. fr. 341 Radt). Both in point of sense and of metre Musgrave's τέκνων must be adopted for the MS τέκνον.

219-210: σέ τοι, τὸν παρὰ ναὸν αὐ|δῶ.

The chorus address Ion in what is perhaps a surprisingly peremptory tone, as σέ τοι indicates. Doubtless, as he is bearing a broom and other washing tools, they assume that he is a slave in the humble sense that they *themselves* might understand that word. Cf. S. *El.* 1445 σέ τοι, σὲ κρίνω, ναὶ σέ, τὴν ἐν τῷ πάρος χρόνῳ θρασεῖαν, *Aj.* 1228 σέ τοι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω, E. *IA* 855 ὦ ξέν', Αἰακοῦ γένεθλον, μεῖνον, ὦ, σέ τοι λέγω | τὸν θεᾶς γεγῶτα παῖδα (where urgency is the point), Ar. *Av.* 406 ἰὼ ἔποψ· σέ τοι καλῶ, id. 274f. - οὗτος· ὦ σέ τοι - τί βωστρεῖς; - ἕτερος ὄρνις οὐτοσί. The τοι 'conveys a summons to attention often peremptory in tone' (*GP,* 542). On the emphatic σε in first position, often with the verb of addressing omitted, cf. S. *Ant.* 441 σὲ τὴν νεύσουσαν ἐς πέδον κάρα | φῇς, ἢ καταρνῇ κτλ., E. *Hel.* 546f. σὲ τὴν ὄρεγμα δεινὸν ἡμιλλημένην | τύμβου 'πὶ κρηπῖδ' ἐμπύρους τ' ὀρθοστάτας, | μεῖνον, *HF* 1214f. εἶέν· σὲ τὸν θάσσοντα δυστήνους ἕδρας | αὐδῶ... δεικνύναι, *Med.* 271 σε τὴν σκυθρωπὸν καὶ πόσει θυμουμένην | Μήδειαν εἶπον (codd: Μήδει' ἀνεῖπον Harrison, approved by Page, adopted by Diggle 'normal usage requires not the accusative but the vocative of the name when the name is appended to a pronoun thus" (Harrison, quoted by Page)), *Aj.* 1047f. σὺ τος σὲ φωνῶ...μὴ σῦγκομίζειν. Jebb (*Electra* ad loc.) notes 'the abrupt accusative calls the person's attention in a rough and harsh way'.

On αὐδῶ with accusative and the remarkable tone cf., *in primis, Ion* 907 f. Creusa - ὠή, τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ. Cf. *HF* 498 ἐγὼ δὲ σ', ὦ Ζεῦ, χεῖρ' ἐς οὐρανὸν δικὼν | αὐδῶ,

Hipp. 583, *HF* 1214f. (quoted) etc.

220-1: θέμις γυάλων ὑπερ|βῆναι λευκῷ ποδί γ' <- ->;

On the particular relevance of γύαλα to Delphi cf. on 76. They wish to enter the prophetic μυχός itself, and Ion forbids them to do so, for they have not made the customary πρόθυμα (cf. on 226f. and G. Roux, *Delphi,* 54f.)

The difficulties of the phrase have been partly discussed on 208. One thing is clear: the division of the lines as given in the MS cannot stand, as 220 (|-σι λαίνοισι Γιγάντων 207) is two syllables short.[1] On specific supplements cf. the earlier discussion. It is sufficient here to note that metre is not the only reason for making an alteration in the colometry or an addition, and that Murray's expedient of merely making οὐδ' ἄν (following Ion's line) the conclusion to this line of lyric is highly doubtful. What is wanted is an accusative governed by ὑπερβῆναι (οὐδόν Lindau (ex οὐδ' ἄν factum), θριγκούς Wecklein etc.), as there is no reason to believe that ὑπερβαίνω can take a genitive. At E. *Su.* 1049 we have δόμων ὑπερβᾶσ' ἦλθες ἐς τήνδε χθόνα (Iphis to Evadne). Kirchoff's ὑπεκβᾶς' suits the sense a great deal better: the ὑπεκ- gives the sense of Evadne's furtive flight from Argos to Attica (cf. Collard ad loc., despite the fact that ὑπεκβαίνω is next attested in Galen). The cause of the error as Collard notes is not far to seek: L has δόμον at that point and Triclinius mended the metre with his usual γε: ὑπερβᾶσα will have been a scribe's 'emendation', when he saw the impossibility of ὑπεκ- governing an accusative at all, though an inaccurate one in fact. (The genitive only reappears in the apogr. *Par.*, probably owing to humanistic correction.) At Hdt. III 54 τοῦ... ἑστεῶτος πύργου... ὑπερέβησαν one family (DRSV) have ἐπέβησαν. However, Rosén in the latest Teubner text (vol. I, 1987) adopts

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[1]possibly the explanation for the 'rasura sex vel septem litterarum' in L in the latter.

ὑπερ- in the face of this evidence. (For *Ion* 514 οὔπω δῶμ' ὑπερβαίνει τόδε cf. note *ad loc.*. At *Med.* 381f. εἰ ληφθήσομαι | δόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα (L) there may be something to be said from the point of view of sense for Housman's ὑπεσβαίνουσα for the same reason mentioned above, if Medea is contemplating furtive action hence the ὑπο- (Housman *CP* I, 117). Bothe also contributed ὑπεμβαίνουσα. However, the examples quoted - *a propos* of περᾶν in the same significance - of ὑπερβαίνω meaning "to cross (the threshold)" by Barrett ad *Hipp.* 782-3 indicate that 'enter' is the meaning in *Medea* (and τεχνωμένη shows that it is not on her *exit* that Medea fears discovery, which rules out ὑπεκβαίνουσα, which earlier occurred to me). Here "stepping *from* the threshold".

Lindau's οὐδόν derives much probability from *Od.* VIII 80.

λευκῷ ποδί γ': Wilamowitz writes 'Weiss ist der weibliche Fuss als solcher, also liegt keine Bezeichnung der Schönheit darin, die im Munde der Sklavinnen unpassend sein würde.' However, if this is so, the γε must go: it obviously *emphasizes* the two words preceding as a condition of entering the temple. Two possibilities occur: either the chorus are enquiring whether they should remove their shoes before entering the temple, or (if Wilamowitz' first remark is correct) they are envisaging that the temple might be one to which access to women was forbidden by taboo (cf. Halliday *Plutarch's Greek Questions*, 173, 176, 215 with bibl.). If the remark is after all merely formulaic, the γε should be deleted[1] and a supplement such as <θριγκοὺς> or <βηλὸν> (Hermann) contemplated. But this will mean abandoning the obvious advantages of Lindau's <οὐδόν>: perhaps the second of the two explanations is to be preferred.[2] οὐδόν was omitted by haplography for οὐδ' ὅν on that argument.

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[1]quid legerit P incertum

[2]And any reader of the next chorus - especially antistrophe 972 f. will see that *this* chorus of slaves is not depicted naturalistically. However, cf. on this instance Bergson, *L'Épithète* 92.

Cf. *Med.* 1164 ἁβρὸν βαίνουσα παλλεύκῳ ποδί (the princess), *Cycl.* 72 βάκχαις ξὺν λευκόποσιν; *Ion* 891 λευκοῖς... καρποῖσιν χειρῶν.

222f. See on 208.

223-5: ἆρ' ὄντως *μέσον* ὀμφαλὸν
γᾶς Φοίβου κατέχει δόμος;
- στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ † Γοργόνες †.
οὕτω καὶ φάτις αὐδᾷ.

On the expression *μέσον* ὀμφαλὸν γᾶς cf. *OT* 898 οὐκέτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι γᾶς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων, id. 480 τὰ*μεσό*μφαλα γᾶς ἀπονοσφίζων | μαντεῖα, *Med.* 668 τί δ' ὀμφαλὸν γῆς θεσπιῳδὸν ἑστάλης; and more generally E. *Or.* 331 ἵνα *μεσό*μφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί, E. *Pho.* 236f. χορὸς γενοίμαν ἄφοβος | παρὰ *μεσό*μφαλα γύαλα Φοί|βου Δίρκαν προλιποῦσα, A. *Septem* 747f. *μεσομφά*λοις Πυθικοῖς χρηστηρίοις, *Cho.* 1036f. *μεσό*μφαλόν θ' ἵδρυμα, Λοξίου πέδον, Aristonous fr. ii p. 164 Powell 2f. Ἑστίαν... |... μυχὸν γαίας *μεσό*μφαλον ἀεί |... κατέχουσα... | ναὸν ἀν' ὑ[ψίπυλ]ον Φοίβου χορεύεις. On the myth cf. on 5f. ὀμφαλός (cf. Lat. *umbilicus*) probably originally meant 'navel' as it is usually translated. (The schol. to *Or.* 331, who confuse the issue further by confusing Delphi and Delos which is the centre of the *Cyclades* and the other great shrine of Apollo, refer to a derivation from ὀμφή or φήμη.) Cf. Paus. X 16 3, Strabo IX 3 6, Plut. *Mor.* 409E. See also Fraenkel ad *Ag.* 1056. On the idea, West (ad *Or.* loc. cit.) refers to A.J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* (1916) and M. Eliade, *Shamanism* (1964), 268-72. It is worth noting that the Eastern origins of the idea cohere very well with the fact, unknown to Wensinck, that much of the apparatus of the Delphic oracle

seems to have its origin in what Burkert has taught us to regard as the 'orientalisierende Epoche' in Greek religion, the eighth century, when in all probability the obviously oriental myth of Apollo and Python (the myth of Ninhursag) was also inherited as a foundation myth: the practice of ecstatic prophecy, interestingly, has an exactly contemporary upsurge in the cult of Ishtar of Arbele, as Burkert has pointed out. The Korykian cave is yet another example: the 'real' Korykian cave is in Cilicia.

στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν: cf. A. *Eum.* 39 ἐγὼ μέν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῆ μυχόν, Ar. *Plut.* 39 τί δῆτα Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ τῶν στεμμάτων; (a parody apparently, according to the scholiast, of a line of Euripides). On the significance of στέμματα, see on 104.

ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργόνες: this has caused puzzlement, and rightly so. In no account of Delphi do we hear of figures of Gorgons surrounding the *omphalos*, and it is difficult to see what they could be doing (Wilamowitz speculates 'dass der Erdnabel vor profanen Blicken durch γοργόνες geschützt war, oder vielmehr, dass man sich auch dies erzählte'). The only decoration attached to the ὀμφαλός that we know of is αἱ δύο εἰκόνες τοῦ μύθου (that of the eagles: Strabo l.c. supra), which will hardly fit. Owen suggests 'they were no doubt primitive sculptures and having become much worn might be described in more than one way and the ordinary visitor would have to depend on the account given of them by the Delphians who alone could enter the *adyton*'. But the Gorgon is quite distinctive!

Studniczka (*Hermes*, XXXVII (1902), 258f.) grasped the bull by the horns and questioned the text. He points out, in a most informative discussion of the ὀμφαλός, that there is no room in any Classical account of any date for Gorgons in the *adyton* - one might add that there is no iconographic evidence -, whereas the two eagles are associated with it not only by Strabo IX 3.6 but on Delphic coins (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* IV 4 (Apollo) χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος). He assumes that one of Ion's anapaests has dropped out and writes:

στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ γοργῶ

<χρυσοφαέννω Διὸς οἰωνώ>.

Studniczka's objections should be taken seriously. I would tentatively like to advance another possibility that involves less surgery. Paus. X 5 (= Pind. fr. 52i S.-M. 70ff.) quotes a fragment concerning the first temple at Delphi (emended from the papyrus) as follows: χρύσεαι δ' ἔξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ | ἄειδον Κηληδόνες. We have very little idea of what the Κηληδόνες were (cf. Frazer, Pausanias ad loc.), but with the god of song one might think of creatures of the Siren type. P. Oxy. XV 1791, in which the Pausanias citation is contained, helps us little, though confirming the context Pausanias indicates. Sirens are of course winged, as we learn from literature and art (cf. E. *Hel.* 169 πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες, etc.; on the iconography cf. J.E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion,* (197-207), *EAA* VII 341f.; cf. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst* (1902), 85f.)[1] And it is of the greatest interest that Pausanias, introducing the quotation, had the same though: τὰ ἐς τὰς ᾠδοὺς τὰς χρυσᾶς ἃ δὴ Πίνδαρος ᾖσεν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ναῷ... οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐς μίμησιν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Σειρήνων ἐποίησε. The connection between the mysterious Κηληδόνες and sirens is further bornout by Philostratus (*vit. Ap.* VI 9) - from one of the great temples at Delphi, Apollo is said χρυσᾶς ἴυγγας ἀνάψαι... Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθώ. The reference to "wrynecks" may well be semi-metaphorical for magic, bird-like images - in fact a version of the polymorphous Siren-type. We then turn to three glossographic notices which now assume considerable significance: Hesychius s.v. Γοργάδων: ἁλιάδων: (referring to Sophocles in the *Daedalus*); id. s.v. Γοργίδες: αἱ Ὠκεανίδες; Zonaras s.v. Γοργάδες: αἱ δέσποιναι. There is no recorded use of the form Γοργών merely

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[1]Gorgons combine wings with a serpentine and unlovely aspect (at least for Classical Greeks), undeserving of these attributes. On the fusion cf. the study by Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Studien zur Gorgo* (Berlin 1936), ch. v, 38f.

in its root meaning 'the Grim One' - it always refers to the three. But the same is not apparently so of the two cognate forms known to the encyclopaedists, and when we gather also that it was used in tragedy to refer to sea-nymphs, it is tempting in the extreme to compare Pausanias' interpretation of the Pindar fragment concerning the Κηληδόνες in the mythological temple at Delphi and Philostratus' allusion, and suggest that Euripides might be referring to just the same tradition here (Hesychius could be glossing *this* passage of Euripides). So ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργάδες may be the correct text here (the variation in spelling is unimportant and may be due to error). The error is easily explicable: the epithet Γοργάς is very rare, but the scribe will have known all about Gorgons, so that is what he wrote.

It is doubtful whether the question of the nature of the *omphalos* will ever find a solution, and the literature it has generated is vast: for a review cf. H.-V. Herrmann, *Omphalos* (1959). Possibly a solution, as such, is not what is called for - confusion set in early. We do not know when the idea of the 'world navel' and the associated myth of the eagles (probably later) crept into Greek thought: it is an idea that occurs in other cultures (Eastern, Celtic, etc. - see Deonna o.c.). But it is quite clear, as Jane Harrison pointed out long ago, that it had the attributes of a tomb (we need not go further and argue that 'the Erinyes were primarily ghosts, the omphalos their sanctuary, the grave which they haunted' (ead., 'Delphica' *JHS* XIX (1899), 225f. (B)). But there is ancient tradition to support the general thesis, the most common being that it is the grave of Python (Varro *de l.l.* VII 17, Hesychius s.v. Τοξίου βουνός) another readily comprehensible tradition assigns it to Dionysus (Tatian *adv. Gr.* VIII 251). See Frazer, Pausanias V, 315f. It has the appearance of what the Greeks thought of as a beehive tomb. That the schol. to A. *Eum.* 40 refers to it as a βωμός may not be significant: more so is evidence from iconography of sacrifices being made at such an object (Harrison, o.c.). Archaeology has since confirmed this with a

remarkable piece of evidence (an *omphalos* found at Delphi with a pipe going vertically through it: libations spring to mind, or even the myth of the 'vault' whence the prophetic vapours came - the tripod was next to it, presumably, and it was possible to sit on the omphalos, as iconography tells us). Hence χθονὸς στόμα. (Not *the* omphalos as the excavator (*AJA* LIV (1933), 212f.) thought; there were copies, and it appears at other sanctuaries: cf. Paus. X 16 3, Courby, *F. de D.* II (1927), 69f.)) There is no evidence in fact for sacrifices or libations of the type the vases seem to suggest, but in early times there may have been - hence the στέμματα. Pind. fr. 75. 3 S.-M. (Athens or the acropolis as ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα may be metaphor). There is no evidence of worship of Gaia at it despite its title. Grave, altar, sanctuary. It is conceivable that 'fertility symbol' should be added to the list; one should not be cautious in elaborating in what is already a complicated pattern of ideas. To it must be added the obvious notion of stone-cult: Burkert, *GR*, 39 is appropriately cautious, but it seems to be attested in ancient descriptions of 'the oldest image of...'; and if the Ἀπόλλων τετράγωνος mentioned above is not a mistake, the description is appropriate.

226ff: εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πελανὸν πρὸ δόμων

καί τι πυθέσθαι χρῄζετε Φοίβου,

πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας· ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις

μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν.

The general difficulty is, how many operations is Ion referring to? It is with this in mind that we must consider the textual problem in 226 (where L has the nonsensical ἐδύσατε, with ἑλύσατε s.l.). Stephanus corrected to ἐθύσατε.

There is no difficulty in itself in the expression πελανὸν θύειν:[1] cf. A. *Pers.* 204 θέλουσα θῦσαι πελανόν, ὧν τέλη τάδε: Pl. *Lg.* 782C includes, among the objects of θύειν, πελανοὶ and καρποί. (On the nature of πελανός see below). But it cannot be the same sacrifice as that referred to in 228f., ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις *μήλοσι* which the chorus are also supposed to have done before entering the inner sanctuary. To combine the two into one Wecklein followed by Wilamowitz conjectured ἐδεύσατε. That is to say, the πελανός was to be dampened with the blood from the sacrifice of the animals which was made at the same time (and cf. *Hipp.* 147 ἀνίερος ἀθύτων πελανῶν with Barrett ad loc.: 'a kind of batter or porridge poured on the altar in sacrifice and then burnt'). The sole evidence advanced for this practice is *Alc.* 851 ἦν... *μὴ μόλῃ* | πρὸς αἱματηρὸν πελανόν (Thanatos). However, πελανός can be used *if the context so indicates* of blood itself: cf. A. *Pers.* 816 πελανὸς αἱματοσφαγής. E. *Rhes.* 430, and the *Alc.* quotation should be read in the light of *Alc.* 844f. καί νιν (Θάνατος) εὑρήσειν δοκῶ | πίνοντα τύμβου πλησίον προσφαγμάτων. In other words, the αἱματηρὸς πελανός =αἷμα, and Thanatos is depicted as a blood-sucking ghoul desiccating the sacrificial offerings that have been made, in the heroic fashion, at the tomb of Alcestis. It is not a πελανός in the technical sense, which has been soaked in blood. The objection that, if this argument is correct, ἐθύσατε πελανόν could simply mean 'make the blood sacrifice' of 228 will not, I think, have much weight, because in the two parallels quoted for *Alc.* 851 the context makes it clear that πελανός is being used in an extended metaphorical sense: with the expression θύειν πελανόν one will naturally not think of a blood sacrifice, but of the normal sense of the word.

I suggest that the difficulty is illusory, and that Wecklein misunderstood the geography

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[1]Accent as given: σεσημείωται τὸ πελανὸς οὐρανός Hdn. Gr. I 178, in contrast to the general rule, cf. Eust. 1601. 4, ad *Od.* VIII 312, Fraenkel *Ag.* II 54-5.

of the temple. Ion is referring to three actions. (a) The chorus must make the πρόθυμα of a πελανός (on which cf. P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris 1950), 86f., G. Roux, *Delphi*, 76f.). (b) They may then proceed into the temple (πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας) where the θυμέλη in this sense has its root meaning of the sacrificial hearth of Apollo (cf. on 46) which stood *inside* the temple and was the place to make the *blood* offering. Neoptolemus does so at *Andr.* 1113, cf. 1156f., when *inside*, ἔρχεται δ' ἀνακτόρων | κρηπῖδος ἐντός... τυγχάνει δ' ἐν ἐμπύροις (though some doubt has been raised as to the precise order of events leading to his murder: cf. the works listed by Stevens ad loc. - the best view seems nonetheless that this refers to the θυμέλη and that the whole thing took place inside the main temple: thus J. Fontenrose, *The Cult and Myth of Pyrros at Delphi* (1960), 213-18).) See Fernand Robert, *Thymélè* (1939), 273f. and *passim*. (c) When they had made this second sacrifice they are bidden to proceed from the θυμέλη into the actual prophetic recess (πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν) and receive the oracle (for it is so described, cf. e.g. A. *Eum.* 39 quoted on 224). The δέ of 227 is not adversative: it takes the chorus on to the next step of the process (curious use of the *Ion* evidence is made by Arnott, *SC*, 48).

πελανός: it is uncertain what the basic meaning of this puzzling term is. The most popular etymology compares it with the Latin *planus* (and hence perhaps πέλαγος, though this is less certain) and refers it to the flat cakes which are certainly covered by the term (thus Frisk, *EW* etc.). This view receives some support form a passage of Pausanias (VIII 2, 3) in which he discusses such cakes (πέμματα ἐπιχώρια) and goes on to say that ἔτι καὶ νῦν the Athenians call these πελανοί. Evidently he regards this use of the noun as of extreme antiquity. Another suggestion has been πίμπλημι ('Fulle, Reichtum', Specht, *KZ* LXI, 213) which Chantraine regards as 'très douteuse' (but cf. Ernst Fraenkel, *Mélanges Boisacq* I, 358, n. 1). For other less probable suggestions, see Frisk s.v. πελανός.

However that may be, it comes to include 'any thick liquid substance' (LSJ) and correctly refers to the mixture honey, meal and oil which may be offered either to the gods or the dead (e.g. A. *Cho.* 92; cf. Garvie ad loc.). It could be poured (*Cho.* loc cit.) or ignited on the altar (*Ion* 707) καλλίφλογα πελανὸν ἐπὶ πυρὶ καθαγνίσας or turned into little cakes (Paus. l.c. et al.: cf. the glossographers under πέμματα). Metaphorically it can refer to oil (*Ag.* 94f. χρίματος ἀγνοῦ | μαλακοῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις | πελανῷ μυχόθεν βασιλείῳ), blood (see above), or even foam at the mouth (*Or.* 220). See the fundamental article of Herzog, 'πελανός' *Hermes* XXIX (1894), 625f., Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (1914), 270f., Meuli, 'Griechische Opferbräuche', (*Phyllobolia P. v. der Mühll*,191f.), Stengel *Die Opferbrauche der Griechen* (1910) 66f., Fraenkel, loc. cit., Rudhart, *Notions fondementales de la pensée réligieuse en Grèce* (1958), (see index); also Ziehen *RE* XIX 246f. (the μῆλα will perhaps be goats, cf. D.S. XVI 26; goats discovered Delphi originally, οὐ χάριν αἶξι μάλιστα χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί.)

ἐθύσατε | πελανόν: the metre has caused suspicion, in that a dactyl is followed by anapaest, which is highly doubtful in spoken anapaests if that is what we deem Ion to be doing here. It is certainly acceptable in lyric: cf. *IT* 215 ψαμάθων Αὐλίδος | ἐπέβασαν (lyric rhesis of Iphigenia),[1] *Hec.* 97 πέμψατε δαίμονες ἱκετεύω,[2] *Tro.* 177 τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπακουσομένα, id. 194 τὰν παρὰ προθύροις φυλακὰν κατέχουσ', *IA* 1322 ὤφελεν ἐλάταν,[3] E. fr. 114 4 N. (Andromeda's rhesis) αἰθέρος ἱερᾶς.[4] The evidence from spoken anapaests, slight as it is, is discussed by Denniston ad *El.* 1319, Barrett,

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[1]-βᾶσαν Scaliger.

[2]probably spurious.

[3]perhaps corrupt

[4]ἱρᾶς Hermann.

Hippolytus, p. 404, Diggle, *Studies*, 45. Of the other examples D. takes into account (*Hec.* 145, *El.* l.c. and 1322-3) he shows that in the last instance the pause between dactyl and anapaest makes a difference, that transposition can eliminate the anomaly in the second, and that the first is for other reasons likely to be spurious. If Paley's ἔθυσας is adopted, Ion must be deemed to be addressing the Chorus as if they were a group of individual people seen collectively. However there are difficulties. Though the parallels cited in Diggle's *apparatus* certainly show that θύω compounds are appropriate with πελανός, what in fact L has is ἐδύσατε with λ s.l. (a nonsensical mistaken reading from Δ). Whence Wecklein's ἐδέυσατε.[1]

Paley's attempt at normalizing, illustrates precisely the difficulty of finding a suitable emendation to this passage: he changed ἐθύσατε to ἔθυσας, which then involved him in altering χρῄζετε and both occurrences of πάριτε into the singular, still leaving unexplained why Ion in 233 and 235 reverts to the formality of the plural.

There is no other sign that Ion is replying to the chorus in song, as Barrett suggests, and much to the contrary. One is defeated by the fact that we have only a fraction of the corpus of Greek tragedy to judge by and of Euripides. A. *Septem* 827f. δυσδαίμονας | ἀτέκνους seems safe. *Eum.* 950 may be unhappily normalized by Meineke's ἀκόυεις for ἀκόυετε πολέως. I suggest leaving the text as it is with the possible excuse that a lyric *context* might attract a lyric licence into spoken verse. The passage is in any case metrically without parallel (see introduction and Metrical Analysis *supra*).

228: ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις | *μήλοισι*

For this usage of ἐπί cf. A. *Ant.* 556 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις with Jebb

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[1]It is just conceivable that this *is* the reading of P, if not L as well.

ad loc. and *Il.* IV 175 ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ. It is a natural extension of the use of ἐπί + dat. to indicate the *condition* under which something is to be done (as in ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐφ' ᾧτε, etc.): cf. LSJ III 3.

230-1: ἔχω μαθοῦσα· θεοῦ δὲ νόμον | σὺ παραβαίνομεν,

Here both words have their full force ('I stand informed' Owen). παραβαίνομεν is an instance of the frequent *praesens propheticum* - the connotations are likelihood, danger and here *intent* ('I am for not transgressing the laws of the god'). Cf. e.g. Dem. XIX 36 εἰ δέ φησὶν οὗτος, δειξάτω καὶ παρασχέσθω κἀγὼ καταβαίνω, Hdt. VIII 102 Μαρδονίου δέ, ἢν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται ('this is what I wish to have spoken about me...'). See Goodwin, *GMT* para. 32; Gildersleeve, *Syntax* p. 83 para. 194; *KG* 1 p. 138f. There are however limits to its use. At *Andr.* 785, φέρομαι is rightly obelized by Diggle. A conative present - Stevens - is of course quite possible, but the same preceded by an instantaneous aorist is almost inconceivable sytactically. Herwerden's σέβομαι at least restores what we need - an ordinary present tense - but cannot be regarded as palaeographically probable.

One might consider e.g.

ταύταν ἤνεσα ταύταν κἀκφέρομαι βιόταν

"I praise and bring forward for praise from others this form of life"

ἐκφέρω: cf. LSJ I 4; middle in this sense Aeschines III 125. ἐκφέρεται προβυλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

234: με θεοῦ γύαλα τάδ' εἰσιδεῖν .

Here we encounter another irregularity in responsion. L reads θεοῦ με γύαλα τάδ' εἰσιδεῖν to answer to Μίμαντα πυρὶ καταιθαλοῖ. Hermann altered the text to με θεοῦ κτλ.,

Wecklein[1] to θεοῦ. Wilamowitz was prepared to tolerate a moderate degree of 'Responsionsfreiheit' and wrote *με* γύαλα τάδ' ἐσιδεῖν θεοῦ, on the assumption that θεοῦ was left out and subsequently added at the start of the line by the *diorthotes*. Diggle adopts Hermann's version. This is undoubtedly the simplest, and should be followed. The line is unmetrical as it stands, whether one scans θεοῦ as one syllable or two (though syncopated and unsyncopated iambi *may* respond (cf. Denniston in *Greek Poetry and Life* (1936), 142). On ἃ δ' ἐκτός 'things outside' cf. LSJ s.v. ἐκτός II; τέρπω with the accusative is unusual (S. *Tr.* 1246, E. *Hcld.* 433). The syntax of these lines has not hitherto been questioned - all take *με*θεῖσαν as indicative. This is not entirely acceptable, and the possibility that it is an aorist passive participle agreeing with *με* with τέρψει understood, Ion's reply being *in paranthesi*, must be seriously considered. The remark, if indicative, will be completely gratuitous - Ion has not enquired of the source of their authority to visit the temple - and the asyndeton is troubling. A particle would be welcome (e.g. τοι). δεσπότᾳ on this interpretation will be dative of agent - cf., for this case with tenses other than perfect and pluperfect, K.-G. 1 422. I suggest therefore no punctuation after 232.

235-6: Παλλάδι σύνοικα τρόφμα *μέλα*|-θρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων •

How should we translate? The MS has Παλλάδος ἔνοικα: the genitive is difficult to explain and the sense seems wrong. Παλλάδι σύνοικα is a palmary correction by Badham. The reference will not be to a specific temple (the Erechtheum?) as Wilamowitz thought, but will be general ('Pallas is a member of our household, inasmuch as she is the tutelary deity of the line of Erechtheus'). On the idea of a god as σύνοικος cf. A. *Su.* 414f. ἐκδόντες ὑμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν | βαρὺν ξύνοικον θησόμεσθ' ἀλάστορα, Isoc. X 62 (Helen of

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[1]et Hartung.

Menelaus: σύνοικος and πάρεδρος when she translated him to divinity - an ingenious religious joke); A.D. Nock, 'Σύνναος θεός' (*Collected Papers* I, 202f). The genitive τῶν τυράννων will probably be objective, governed by τρόφιμα. It is commoner in the passive, cf. *Ion* 684f. ὃδ' ἀμφὶ ναοὺς σέθεν | τρόφιμος, and both substantive uses of the adjective are passive - that of 'foster children' and the special application to a slave's 'young master' (because the senior slave of the house had certain didascalic duties, as we learn from e.g. Terence *Adelphi* 961f.): this will be the Greek original of the Latin *erilis filius* (id. *Andria* 602, *Eunuchus* 289, etc.).

At 235 the original of L was uncertain as to the ascription and wrote χορὸς ἡ Κρέουσα (on the intellectual background to this see the bibliography adduced by Mastronarde, *Pho.* 264 - here the ludicrous idea that all the *factual* information given in this chorus belongs to Ion as "guide" has prevailed, despite what is obviously his first time of address by the chorus in 219. See app. crit. for details. This chorus seems to have been unusually badly served as far as a sensible tradition of ascription was concerned). The phrase τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων is obviously decisive for the chorus.

The reply to Ion's question is intentionally riddling: he does not see the point, as his ignorance of Creusa's home country at 260 indicates. It suits the mild impertinence of the chorus towards Ion, which we observed at 219.

237f. γενναίότης σοι καὶ τρόπων τεκμήριον

τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ', ἥτις εἶ ποτ', ὦ γύναι.

The abruptness both of manner and of the syntax have long been noted. Wilamowitz defends it with *Pho.* 1679f. (Antigone). συμφέυξομαι τῷδ' ἀθλιωτάτῳ πατρί. (Creon). γενναιότης σοι, μωρία δ' ἔνεστί τις (Creon - a passage deleted by many editors: see Mastronarde *Phoenissae* (Teubner (1987) and comm.). Geel sought to gild the lily by writing: μωρίας ἔνεστί τις. However the δέ is needed - it is adversative, and it is that too which makes a difficulty with our passage as γενναιότης σοι and τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ' are *not* conjoined: in the *Pho.* passage both nouns are the subject of ἔνεστι.

If we adopt the received text of the Ion here, we must assume anacoluthon with the construction changing after the word σοι.[1] (In a translation, one could best convey this by placing an exclamation mark after it). Of the suggested emendations the best is Boissonade's γενναιότητος. The remaining option is to posit a lacuna - which goes most naturally at the start of the speech. Thus Lloyd-Jones (*CR* n.s. VII 2 (1957), 97), who suggests *exempli gratia* <ὦ χαῖρ' ἄνασσα· καὶ γὰρ οὖν μορφῇ τ' ἔνι> before 237. (For ὦ χαῖρ' ἄνασσα cf. S. *El.* 666, where the Paidagogos addresses Clytaemestra on first announced encounter with the same words. For the correct use of ἔνι in tragedy see Diggle (*Studies* p. 46).

One may still have qualms about the σοι, but a supplement of this meaning assists the syntax. It has the added advantage of softening the abruptness of Ion's address to Creusa "so at variance with the ceremonious addresses to royal ladies which abound in tragedy" (Lloyd-

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[1]Kraus (o.c., 38) seeks to compare *Il.* I 167 σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μεῖζον, ἐγὼ ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε | ἔρχομ' ἔχων. However, a simple dative with a word of the meaning of γέρας is much simpler than with an abstract quality; for the ellipse he might more profitably have compared *Med.* 898 σπονδαὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ μεθέστηκεν χόλος though the same objection applies (and the dative is under an indirect influence from μεθέστηκεν, probably).

Jones *loc. cit.*) and, for that matter, so unexpected from the temple servant. Diggle is probably right to adopt it, adding *Hyps.* fr. 60 23-4.

τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ' κτλ.: For τεκμήριον of the means whereby one deduces someone's character, cf. *Med.* 517f., where M. refers to the τεκμήριον on a piece of gold and complains that in the case of human beings οὐδεὶς χαρακτὴρ ἐμπέφυκε σώματι. Likewise at *Hipp.* 925 Theseus remarks: χρῆν βροτοῖσι τῶν φίλων τεκμήριον σαφές τι κεῖσθαι (It is a general word, "anything by which one τεκμαίρεται", Barret *ad loc.*). With the Medea passage especially, compare *HF* 659 φανερὸν χαρακτῆρ' ἀρετᾶς.

For the idea that you can tell the nobility of someone by looking at them, see on 239-40.

σχῆμα: σχῆμα means "personal appearance". Cf. *Med.* 1071f.: ὦ φιλτάτη χεὶρ, φίλτατον δέμοι στόμα | καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενὲς τέκνων *fr.* 688 1f. N. ἥκιστα φαῦλος ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον | τὸ σχῆμα σεμνὸς κοὐ ταπεινός, *Ion* 992 ποῖόν τι μορφῆς σχῆμ' ἔχουσαν ἀγρίας (for other reasons the order of lines is here doubtful).

Applied to a person, it is more common referring to dress (cf. σχηματίζομαι).

For the mode of expression (and the unconscious irony) cf. *Hypsipyle* I i 5: ὦ μακαρία σφῶν ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἥτις ποτ' ἦν. On ἥτις ποτ' ἦν see on l. 324.

239-40: γνοίη δ' ἂν ὡς τὰ πολλά γ' ἀνθρώπου πέρι
τὸ σχῆμ' ἰδών τις εἰ πέφυκεν εὐγενής.

Owen remarks "a sententious observation to come from a boy". More could be said. Ion has σεμνότης in his way, but he is not in this part of the play given to windy pomposity: and here, in his first meeting with Creusa, which is a scene characterised by his eager curiosity and a certain naiveté, they seem totally out of place.

In fact they seem to be an interpolation, probably a marginal parallel extracted from another play to illustrate the point made in the previous two lines.[1] This seems more likely than assuming that they are a deliberate interpolation by an actor, as σχῆμα used in the same slightly unusual sense reappears: note too γενναιότης 237: εὐγενής 240: εὐγενῆ 242 (which last prompted Wecklein to cure the obvious repetitiousness with εὐπρεπῆ).

Little reliance should perhaps be placed on the argument from equality of verse numbers, one that has enjoyed inordinate popularity in certain quarters of late: however with the excision of the lines Ion's speech to Creusa and her reply (247-254) come to eight lines each.

Furthermore the physiognomic "theory" which underlies the lines is very common as a *gnome* in Greek tragedy (and elsewhere). One might expect them to travel from play to play.

S. *El.* 664: πρέπει γὰρ ὡς τύραννος εἰσορᾶν is of the same feather. It is yet more significant that *a series of such statements got into the anthological tradition.* Thus Stobaeus includes in his section περὶ εὐγενείας E. *Hec.* 379 δεινὸς χαρακτὴρ κἀπίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς | ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι and from the *Archelaus* (fr. 232 N. 1f.) ἐν τοῖς τέκνοις γὰρ ἀρετὴ τῶν εὐγενῶν | ἔλαμψε κρεῖσσόν τ' ἐστι πλουσίου γάμου|<γένος>.[2] An unknown anthology of this kind might well have been the source for the alleged "parallel", that has, I

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[1]Kraus (o.c. 38-9) has arrived at the same conclusion, largely basing himself on the different senses here attached to εὐγενής. Biehl (*Philol.* o.c., 15f.) offers a psychological explanation which fails to convince. On the concept of χαρακτήρ in E. cf. Körte, "χαρακτήρ", *Hermes*, LXIV (1929), 69f. F. Will, "The Concept of χαρακτήρ in Euripides", *Glossa* XXXIX (1961), 233f.; also F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin 1912), 131f.

[2]Harder *Kresphontes and Archelaos* (1985) fr. 6 A. Harder offers further parallels for the relationship between money and noble breeding in Greek thought in his commentary (p. 215). I adopt Nauck's supplement, though as H. points out if we adopt the v.l. κρείσσων (SM in Stobaeus, - ον A), <ἀνὴρ> πένης γὰρ may be more to the point.

suggest, crept into the text here by accident and subsequent scribal confusion.

241: ὄμμα συγκλήσασα σὸν Cf. *Hec.* 430: ὄμμα συγκλήσει τὸ σόν

242: δακρύοις ... παρηίδα cf. *Hel.* 1189 χλωροῖς τε τέγγεις δάκρυσι σὴν παρηίδα |

κλαίουσα

245-6: ὃ πάντες ἄλλοι γύαλα λεύσσοντες θεοῦ

χαίρουσιν, ἐνταῦθ' ὄμμα σὸν δακρυρροεῖ.

ὃ: MS οὗ Pierson, adnuente Diggle et Wilamowitz, dissentiente Murray.

If ὃ is kept, we will have a verb meaning "rejoice" which can often take a direct accusative of the subject of that emotion, presumably (as Barrett points out on *Hipp.* 1339), by analogy with the usual construction after *verba sentiendi*

This is however more common when a participles accompanies the accusative.

Cf. S. *Ph.* 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε, *Hipp.* loc. cit.: τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ | θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι. *Rhes.* 390: χαίρω δέ σ' εὐτυχοῦντα. S. *Aj.* 136 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω (perhaps the most surprising of all, with the verb prefix, but extremely difficult to emend satisfactorily).

A. *Septem.* 814: τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα,
πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσαν...

(though here a clause begins[1] (οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται etc.)

E. fr. 673 N. (*Sisyphus*): χαίρω σέ τ', ὡ βέλτιστον Ἀλκμήνης τέκος,
<˘ -˘> τόν τε μιαρὸν ἐξολωλότα.

<ἐλθόντα> (Valckenaer), ἔρχομαι domum redire significante.

With intransitive verbs of displeasure:

Il. XIII 352: ἤχθετο γάρ ῥα | Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους, Eupolis fr. 49 K.-A.: ἤδη γὰρ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντ' ἄχθομαι. There are however a small number of examples where a simple accusative appears: *Ion* 358| τὰ κοινὰ χαίρων οὐ δίκαια δρᾷ μόνος (where see my note), Dem. *de cor.* 292 ταὐτὰ χαίρειν Plut. *Pelopidas* 30| ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔχαιρε and perhaps S. *OT* 785| τὰ μὲν κείνοιν ἑτερπόμην. Cratinus fr. 164 K.-A. is quoted by the scholiast on *Il.* IX 77 (Erbse II 416) τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειεν; in the form γέγηθα τὸν ἄνδρα with the explanation λείπει τὸ ὁρῶν (according to παλαιὰ

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[1]"The short and dependent μέν clause is succeeded by a long and dependent δέ clause" (Hutchinson ad loc.)

συνήθεια) Most editors have baulked at this, though, and posited a lost accusative participle in the text.

How to explain the usages? 1. Accusative of respect 2. With Barrett (above) by analogy with *verba sentiendi* 3. With Schneidewin in *Aj.* l.c., as aberrant absolute accusative participles 4. The scholiast's absurd suggestion. Unity is to be preferred - and on balance the "internal" or "accusative of respect" seems a better explanation than thinking that these verbs were felt to be actually transitive. The participial examples will then be predicative "I am delighted with regard to you in that you are fortunate", the examples where a participle is not present are generally short phrases and pronouns. See in general Blaydes and Lobeck (quoting grammarians) on *Aj.* l.c.

Is our ὃ an example of the this category? If so ἐνταῦθα must mean "in this matter" contrasting with "that in respect of which others rejoice" which is possible. Thus presumably Murray *OCT*, who retains ὃ.

However the simplification of Pierson, in which οὗ simply means "where" correlating with ἐνταῦθα "there", is available. Thus Diggle and Wilamowitz. It may be too simple.

246: δμμα σὸν δακρυρροεῖ Cf. *Alc.* 826 δμμ' ἰδὼν δακρυρροοῦν *Pho.* 370 δι' δσσων ὄμμ' (νᾶμ' Musgrave) ἔχων δακρύρροον On the idea (an evil omen) cf. *Su.* 289 μὴ δακρυρρόει | σεμναῖσι Δηοῦς ἐσχάραις παρημένη and *Ion* 639 θεῶν δ' ἐν εὐχαῖς † ἢ γόοισιν ἢ † βροτῶν | ὑπηρετῶν χαίρουσιν οὐ γοωμένοις>, however we translate or emend Apollo especially is a god of cheerfulness to whom the θρῆνος should not be sung, cf. A. *Ag.* 1075 οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν, where see Fraenkel: note the schol. *Pho.* 1028 ἀπενθὴς δὲ θεὸς Απόλλων (on ἄλυρον ἀμφὶ Μοῦσαν). On the common play between θρῆνος and παιών, cf. on 168 f.

247f: ὦ ξένε, τὸ μὲν σὸν οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἔχει

ἐς θαύματ' ἐλθεῖν δακρύων ἐμῶν πέρι.

It is not clear why Owen regards this as "a blend of two constructions". τὸ σόν is the subject

of ἔχει, and ἐλθεῖν is an exepegetic infinitive of the usual type. ἐς θαύματ' ἐλθεῖν: ἔρχεσθαι etc. is occasionally found of mental states. Cf. Pl. *Ep.* VIII 339E πρὸς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν. See below *Ion* 404 and 322 on this usage. Ellendt-Genthe *LS*, 275.[1] *Pho.* 361 ἐς φόβον τ' ἀφικόμην, *Ba.* 610 εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἀφίκεσθ'

250: μνήμην παλαιὰν ἀνεμετρησάμην τινά·

ἀνεμετρησάμην is a metaphor taken from mathematics (in origin) and is confined to Euripides in tragedy. Cf. *Or.* 14 τἄρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαί (with scholiast, Gudianus gr. 15): ἀναμετρήσασθαι... ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διηγήσασθαι, *IT* 346 (Iphigenia to her καρδία) is difficult: ἐς θούμόφυλον ἀναμετρουμένη δάκρυ. The verb seems to look both ways: I. both *remembers* that the Greeks she is sacrificing are her countrymen and *measures out* her tears in accordance with the strength of her feelings. Fr. 739 N. 1f. is to be read in the light of our passage, though its textual problems are formidable: (*Temenidae*: I give Nauck's text)

φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ φῦναι πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἄπο
ὅσην ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξίωμά τε.
κἂν γὰρ πένης ὢν τυγχάνῃ, χρηστὸς γεγὼς
τιμὴν ἔχει τιν', ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως
τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ὠφελεῖ τρόπῳ.

l. 2 ἔχει δόκησιν ἀξιώματος: Meineke l. 3: χρηστοῦ Valckenaer: l. 4: ἀναμετρούμενον (passivus) Kock.

Note too Plut. *Pericles* 38: τὰς πράξεις ἀνεμετροῦντο, Lucian *Men.* 18 ἀκούων

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[1]There is no intrinsic justification for deleting 248 as an expansion of 247, as has recently been suggested, and some to the contrary - ἐγὼ δ' in 249 would be in unreal contrast to τὸ σόν and the speech would begin abruptly.

οἰμωζόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν τύχην ἀναμετρουμένων (where some codd. have -ούντων).

251: ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον ἐνθάδ' οὖσά περ.

Most problematic. Murray prints the MS reading οἴκοι δὲ τὸν νοῦν... που, adopting only Stephanus' ἔσχον for the unmetrical ἔσχομεν. As the aorist of ἔχω is always ingressive, this is better than εἶχον. Biehl however favours, as *difficilior lectio*, Wakefield's ἔχομεν. He compares 1250f. (Creusa): πρόσπολοι, διωκόμεσθα θανασίμους ἐπὶ σφαγὰς Πυθία ψήφῳ κρατηθεῖσ' κτλ[1] for the change of number. But there it has point. Creusa includes the πρόσπολοι with herself in that all are being pursued, and then her mind travels to her own peculiar predicament: only she has been condemned to death by the Delphic council (ἔκδοτος δὲ γίγνομαι)[2]

The real difficulty has been felt with οἴκοι... ἐνθάδε, which was emended to ἐκεῖ δέ by Burges. However the *mot juste* in this type of expression seems to be ἐκεῖσε. Cf. *Ion* 1370 ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν δούς, *Phaethon* fr. 781 56 N. l. 265 Diggle θυηπολοῦσα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει φρένας, *Pho.* 360 λόγοισι χαίρει, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει, id. 1418 τὸν νοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχων, ἐκεῖσε δέ, tr. fr. adesp. 385 N. ὅπου τις ἀλγεῖ,κεῖσε καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχει (τὴν χεῖρ' Plutarch, τὸν νοῦν Stobaeus, the latter obviously preferable).[3] Cf. S. *Tr.*

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[1]He might add 391 κωλυόμεσθα μὴ μαθεῖν ἃ βούλομαι.

[2]Unless διωκόμεσθα is royal plural. Cf. too A. *Eum.* 141: ἀνίστω κἀπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον | ἰδώμεθ εἴ τι τοῦδε φροιμίου ματᾷ: K.-G. 1 p. 84 and my note on 391.

[3]as the context shows: ἀλλὰ καὶ το ἡδόμενον ἕλκει τὴν φωνὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτό - an intellectual word is required. However (though it does not effect the relevance of the example) it should be noted that there is little reason to think that Nauck's ascription is accurate. Stobaeus (v 860 Hense) refers to it as παροιμία; it is so regarded, and hence omitted, by Kannicht-Snell, *duce* Wilamowitz (*Kl. Schr.* I, 195). It would also appear that the rather curious variant in Plutarch is due to misrecollection, or possibly his notorious

272f. θήτέρᾳ δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντ'; Sappho 96 2 L.-P. Likewise Latin: cf. Aeneid IV 285: Ellis on Catullus LXIV l. 15. Other examples are assembled by Diggle (*Studies*, 97, *Phaethon* n. ad 265, admittedly not all geographical contexts). Herwerden was the first to suggest this, followed independently by Owen. The change from οἴκοι δέ to ἐκεῖσε is not violent, and the emendation deserves serious consideration (etacism). (Aristoxenos D. Skiadas (*Festschrift Merentitis* (Athens 1972), 378 f.) has defended the MS. text, arguing against Burges' text that ἐκεῖ is too general and does not indicate the precise and significant place that Creusa has in mind which he regards as assisted by που. But surely Creusa is allowed to *allude* in a fashion comprehensible to the audience if not to Ion?).[1] The asyndeton might be justified if we regard the sentence as a *Nachtrag* to what has just been said or signifying pause.

There is also much to be said for περ in place of που - suggested first by Dobree (not Hermann, as Diggle, *Studies*, 98 points out): Diggle refers to Bast, *Comm. pal.*, 763.

252f.: ὦ τλήμονες γυναῖκες· ὦ τολμήματα | θεῶν

Cf. E. *Su.* 292: ὦ τλήμονες γυναῖκες - οὐ σὺ τῶνδ' ἔφυς. τολμήματα θεῶν is a most striking indictment of Apollo's conduct: τόλμα is generally a baneful *mortal* tendency that operates against the divine (cf. e.g. A. *Cho.* 996 τόλμης ἕκατι κἀκδίκου φρονήματος, E. fr. 426: τά τοι *μέγιστα* πάντ' ἀπείργασται βροτοῖς | τόλμ' ὥστε νικᾶν, S. *Ant.* 371

διορθωσις as in *de aud. poet.*, hence not to his purpose but perhaps recalled from elsewhere.

[1]Contra Wilamowitz: "Irgendwo zu Hause, nicht an der heiligen Statte, ist ihr Geist". However, for this purpose, που is too far from οἴκοι. Skiadas' argument is, in effect, restated by Kraus (o.c., 39f.) who considers that Diggles' adverb should be confined to its metaphorical sphere (he adds other exx.), and is thus a false antithesis with ἐνθάδε. οἴκοι... που he understands as referring to the ill-fated grotto (highly unlikely), and he compares for the word order l. 358 (the meaning of which is still in dispute, and the word order deliberately distorted, so this cannot be regarded as decisive).

etc. Prometheus' ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τολμῆς (235) is thus made especially significant.[1] τί δῆτα: Cf. Denniston, *GP*, 270 para 2 on τί δῆτα in mid-speech.

* ubi τόλμαις τὰ νικῶντ' possis.

253-254: ποῖ δίκην ἀνοίσομεν
εἰ τῶν κρατούντων ἀδικίαις ὀλούμεθα;

ἀνοίσομεν is Musgrave's correction for ἀνήσομεν MS. It should undoubtedly be adopted. There has however been some doubt as to the appropriate translation. Owen and Paley prefer "to what standard shall we refer justice?": Verrall understands it in its technical legal application "to what court shall we refer our suit?", to which Owen objects that this would require τὴν δίκην (But "*a* case" = δίκην). However, the legal connotations are certainly present, and why should a *particular* suit be referred to? No one would require a definite article in the standard general expression δίκην δικάζειν etc. ἀναφέρειν with τι, εἴς τι, dative etc. is the phrase for referring a matter to a court or legal body. The sense here is indicated by two passages of Antiphon: ὅ τι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶτε, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἄν τις ἀνενεγκὼν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπολύσαιτο (V 82, cf. VI 6).[2] Cf. also Hdt. I 157 ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν

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[1]The contracted form ὁ τολμῆς has much to be said for it, though West adopts ἐτόλμησ', the less attested reading - similarly Griffith (see his comm. *ad loc.* and *The Authenticity of the Prometheus Bound* (1977), 83). The contraction in tragedy is most unusual, though τολμήστατε at S. *Ph.* 984 seems un-emendable - Housman's τόλμης τέρας pays more attention to palaeography than meaning, while the reverse could be said for Porson's τόλμης πέρα. The editors of the *OCT* (see *Sophoclea*, 203f.) are rightly conservative. The abrupt syndeton with ἐτόλμησα is the lesser offence in comparison with the advantage of the vivid meaning - "I, the bold Prometheus..." (thus Dawe, *Collation*, 165). The suffrage of MS tradition, (often with the wrong accent, because of the unfamiliar form), and above all of the scholia, is an important argument.

[2]But cf. Gernet (Budé) p. 106: the exactness of the duplication may suggest the language of legal formula.

Βραγχίδῃσι (The vulgate is ἄνοισι which is nonsense. Bredow's conjecture which I adopt is the best. Baehr's ἀνῶσαι has less to recommend it in this context.), id. III 71: ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἐδόκεε, Diodorus XV 41 οἱ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ... περὶ πάντων ἀναφέρουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Euripides employs the same metaphor from the law-courts in a more extended passage, *Or.* 597f. ἦ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ὁ θεὸς ἀναφέροντί *μοι* | *μίασμα* λῦσαι; ποῖ τις οὖν ἔτ' ἂν φύγοι | εἰ *μὴ* ὁ κελεύσας ῥύσεταί *με μὴ* θανεῖν; See the remarks of Willink *ad loc.*

Nor would it perhaps have escaped an Athenian audience that ἀδικία has a juristic significance and one which has a peculiar significance to Creusa: *adulterium.* Cf. E. *Med.* 265 ὅταν δ' ἐς εὐνὴν ἠδικημένη κυρῇ κτλ. for the same allusion cf. Men. *Georg.* 30. Sandbach, Plut. *Arat.* 49 (Philip) τὸν νεώτερον Ἄρατον ἠδίκει περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα cf. *Mor.* 61 B, 144 A, Xenophon Ephesius II 6 5 σε ἠδίκησε, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἄλλης ἐρῶν, cf. III 5 4. It does of course have the general sense of civil iniquity (cf. Hdt. VI 136, where Miltiades is mulcted κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην to the city, n.p.

τῶν κρατούντων : Ion picks up the remark in 439 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κρατεῖς, ἀρετὰς δίωκε. Cf. *Alc.* 251 λίσσου δὲ τούς κρατοῦντας οἰκτῖραι θεούς, A. *PV* 937 cf. 324, τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεὶ of Zeus etc. "Sie kann man vor kein Gericht ziehen" (Wilamowitz).

255: τί χρῆμ' †ἀνερεύνητα † δυσθυμῇ γύναι ;

To solve this crux Wakefield suggested ἀνερμήνευτα, which *may* be Euripidean, if *Hypsipyle* I iv 18 is correctly restored from the mess the papyrus offers ἀπορονανερμήνευτον, converted to ἄπολις ἀνερμήνευτος by Herwerden. But the corruption is obviously included in the preceding words, nor am I confident that the meaning suggested is appropriate. Moreover we next meet with it in Sextus Empiricus and the patristic

writers, giving further cause for doubt. ἀνερεύνητος is found in Plato thus - *Cratylus* 421 D.[1] We should probably keep the text and emend with Matthiae to τί χρῆμα δ(ε). The omission of the δέ will be due to the scribal conviction that the iambic line should have twelve *syllables*, ignoring the elision, as at 286.

δυσθυμῇ: A rare word. Cf. *Med.* 91 καὶ μὴ πέλαζε μητρὶ δυσθυμουμένῃ. Also Democritus 68 B 286 D.-K. Cf. Page ad *Med.* loc. cit. The opposite εὐθυμέομαι is known to Democritus, Xenophon and Aristotle. For the phrase cf. E. *El.* 83 τί χρῆμ' ἀθυμεῖς;

256-7: οὐδέν· μεθῆκα τόξα· τἀπὶ τῷδε δέ

ἐγώ τε σιγῶ καὶ σὺ μὴ φρόντιζ' ἔτι.

μεθῆκα τόξα: This phrase has not been properly interpreted. Owen offers two translations (a) 'I have shot my bolt' i.e. 'said all I wanted to' (b) 'I have laid aside my bow'. He expresses preference for the first, but, apart from the difference in English idiom, they appear to collapse into one another. The real point of the arrow metaphor in speech is that it implies rash, tendentious or imprudent speech - Creusa has been on the verge of giving away her secret. Thus at 1411 she approaches her final revelation with the same turn of phrase: Ἰω. παῦσαι πλέκουσα - λήψομαί σ' ἐγὼ-καλῶς[2]. Κρ. ἐς τοῦθ' ἱκοίμην, τοῦδε τοξεύω, τέκνον.

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[1]Though there the v.l. ἀνεύρετα occurs (adopted by Burnet in the *OCT*). Elsewhere ἀνερεύνητος only means "not (actually) discovered" - Pl. *Hipp. Ma.* 298 C: Aristotle *EN* 1181 6 12. Here it will be nearer to "inscrutable".

[2]Diggle, *Studies*, 115, argues for Jacobs' πλοκάς and offers evidence for the metaphor and the construction. All the same could be adduced in favour of Verrall's κάλως, though we undoubtedly need Diggle's parenthesis to accommodate it (he cites Jackson *MS* 128 on the danger of scribal obliteration of parentheses; V. wrote λήψομαι δ' and explained the sentence as a metaphor from rope-making, which, with Porson's famous emendation, suits *Ant.* 40 better than here). D.'s explanation of his proposed corruption - an arbitrary change to mend the sense after this loss had occurred - attributes a great deal to scribal wit.

Likewise *Andr.* 365: καί σου τὸ σῶφρον ἐξετόξευσεν φρενός (see Stevens *ad loc.* for other difficulties in this line and Diggle, apparatus), *Tro.* 444 (at the end of Cassandra's premature prophecy of Odysseus' fortunes) ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως ἐξακοντίζω πόνους, *Su.* 456 (Theseus of his spontaneous and angry argument against the herald) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὰ σ' ἐξηκόντισα, A. *Su.* 446 γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, Menander 1091 K. αἰσχρόν γ' ὅταν τις <εὐεπὴς> γλώσσῃ φυείς | γλώσσῃ ματαίους ἐξακοντίσῃ λόγους[1] E. *Hec.* 603 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευσεν μάτην. See too Pl. *Theaet.* 180A. ῥηματίσκια ἀποτοξεύουσι (of the Heracliteans).

καὶ σὺ μὴ φρόντιζ' ἔτι: ἔτι (Barnes) for the *MS* φρόντιζέ τι is clearly a necessary *Deutung* of the text. For the phrase cf. *Hel.* 156-7 μήτε σὺ ζήτει μαθεῖν | ἐγώ τε σιγῶ.

258 - 261: Ἰω. . τίς δ' εἶ; πόθεν γῆς ἦλθες; ἐκ ποίας πάτρας
πέφυκας; ὄνομα τί σε καλεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών;
Κρ. Κρέουσα μέν μοι τοὔνομ', ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως
πέφυκα, πατρὶς γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

L. Dindorf's ἐκ ποίου πατρός has an obvious superficial attractiveness: in this way Creusa will answer Ion's questions in exact reverse order, whereas as it stands (a) Ion effectively asks her for her place of origin twice in different wording (b) Creusa gives the name of her father Erechtheus unasked.

But there are two major objections.

The first is advanced by Diggle (*Studies,* 98), namely that normal Greek idiom

[1]Rejected by K.-Th. Valckenaer and Dobree thought of Euripides (TGF II 529). φυείς is non-Attic (γεγώς Herwerden, et al.). φυθείς has the suffrage of Galen (VII 725 K.)

tolerates ἐκ ποίας γῆς etc.[1] but not ποίου πατρός, τίς being the orthodox interrogative particle for this. He rightly notes two apparent counter examples in the indirect form: *Ion* 573f. ὅπως σύ τ' ὦ παῖ μητέρ' εὑρήσεις σέθεν | ἐγώ θ' ὁποίας μοι γυναικὸς ἐξέφυς and ibid 803. The two Paris apographs of L read δὲ ποίας in 803 which is the only justification for dividing the line between the πρεσβευτής and the chorus. As Owen says, a direct question would be expected; grammatically, it would be altogether too accommodating if the old man "divined" that οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι would justify ὁποίας. The ascription in L is mistaken and Kirchhoff right in assigning all of 803 to the chorus. - Πρ. μητρὸς δ' ὁποίας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι. The sense is probably "what sort of mother" i.e. "of what social class". This is certainly the point in 573f. - on *Ion*'s concern about this cf. 668f.

The second is that redundant utterance is the very stuff of tragic requests for someone's identity. This goes back to Homer (τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;). Cf. S. *OC* 204-6 αὔδασον, τίς ἔφυς βροτῶν;| τίς ὁ πολύπονος ἄγῃ; τίν' ἂν | ᾽σοῦ πατρίδ' ἐκπυθοίμαν; A. *Cho.* 657: εἶἐν, ἀκούω. ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; πόθεν; E. *El.* 779-80: χαίρετ' ὦ ξένοι˙ τίνες | πόθεν πορεύεσθ'; ἔστε τ' ἐκ ποίας χθονός; E. fr. 1 N. (*Aegeus*) reaches almost comic proportions: ποίαν σε φῶμεν γαῖαν ἐκλελοιπότα | πόλει ξενοῦσθαι τῇδε; τίς πάτρας ὅρος; | τίς ἔσθ' ὁ φύσας; τοῦ κεκήρυξαι πατρός; Cf. Denniston on *El.* loc. cit. and Kannicht on *Hel.* 87-8 (who notes "Fragen nach dem Signalement eines Fremden werden oft mit tautologischer Exuberanz formuliert". This is that "Exuberanz".

Hel. l.c. is a precise parallel for the order of the reply here: ὄνομα μὲν ἡμῖν Τεῦκρος, ὁ δὲ φύσας πατὴρ | Τελαμών, Σαλαμὶς δὲ πατρὶς ἡ θρέψασά με. For the phrase ποίας

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[1]To mean little more than τίς apparently: as aptly illustrated by the variation in E. *El.* 779-80 - quoted in the next paragraph - Cf. *IT* 495, *Pho.* 278 etc.

πάτρας[1] cf. also *Cycl.* 102 χαῖρ', ὦ ξέν', ὅστις δ' εἶ φράσον πάτραν τε σήν S. *Phil.* 220 κάκ ποίας πάτρας... ποίας πάτρας ἂν ἢ γένους ὑμᾶς ποτὲ | τύχομ' ἂν εἰπών.[2] See too E. *Pirithous* fr. 591 1 1f. N.: (πατρὶς... ὄνομα... πατρὸς ἐξέφυν Διός)

The examples assembled here indicate that ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ in *Ph.* 220 should be rejected (the Roman family of MSS alone preserve it). It is probably an ancient variant though, suggested by 217f. (See Page *AI*, 14f. on the dangers of actors forgetting their lines and extemporizing in this fashion).

259: ὄνομα τί σε καλεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών;

The line is metrically bold, as it contains two consecutive tribrachs. In this play the same occurs at 1163 κατ' εἰσόδους δὲ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας, 1389 ὦ στέμμαθ' ἱερά, τί ποτέ μοι κεκεύθατε... . 1143 πρῶτον μὲν ὀρόφῳ πτέρυγα περιβάλλει πέπλων interposes a dactyl (see Owen *ad loc.*). The statistics for "cumulative" resolution in the later plays are given by Zielinski, *Tragodoumena* II, 164. Alien to the *stilus severior* (see ibid. II, 142). See Cropp and Fick *BICS* su. XLIV, (1985), Table 4.1 and 4.2.

262-3: ὦ κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ' ἄστυ γενναίων τ' ἄπο
τραφεῖσα πατέρων, ὥς σε θαυμάζω γύναι.

θαυμάζω: "Honour" or "respect" rather than "wonder at". Cf. E. *El.* 84 (Orestes to Pylades) μόνος δ' Ὀρέστην τόνδ' ἐθαύμαζες φίλων (honour as a friend), *Med.* 1144: δέσποινα δ' ἣν νῦν ἀντὶ σοῦ θαυμάζομεν, *Hec.* 329 f. μήτε τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας | θαυμάζεθ'

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[1]I hope the evidence assembled in the last paragraph is sufficient to refute Diggle's proposed deletion - *Studies,* 48 - partly based on supposed redundance.

[2]Cf. Lloyd-Jones/Wilson, *Sophoclea,* 184 ,Fraenkel, *Due Seminari Romani,* 148 on the problems here and the variant in 220.

(inaccurate observation on Asian cult of the dead), S. *Aj.* 1093: οὐκ ἄν ποτ', ἄνδρες, ἄνδρα θαυμάσαιμ' ἔτι ("I would hold him in no repute"). Cf. Denniston (*El.* l.c.).

264: τοσαῦτα κεὐτυχοῦμεν, ὦ ξέν', οὐ πέρα.

The καί is extremely curious. Owen: "Thus far I *am* fortunate" But what does this really mean? The καί is in a most irregular position: one would naturally translate "thus far I could say that I am even *fortunate*" which is not the sense required.[1]

Denniston (*GP,* 321 (7)) classes this instance under the alleged use of καί which "contrasts the objective reality of an idea with the subjective reality or the unreality of something else" (as against stressing the contrast of two ideas) observing "this (usage) has not been adequately recognized". But the notion is almost impossible to bring out in plain English or Greek. Moreover, at least a substantial portion of the examples he adduces could readily be reduced to climactic καί, καί = even, or in some cases καί correlative. Here no climax is called for: and why should Creusa wish to *emphasize* any aspect of her good fortune? What we need is "thus far *at any rate* I am fortunate". τοσαῦτά γ' imposes itself (suggested by Musgrave: it occurred to me independently).

Owen may be right to notice the proliferation in this scene of impersonal modes of address between the unknown mother and son - Creusa calls Ion ξένε five times, Ion his mother γύναι eight times. Cf. S. *El.* 1180f where Electra addresses Orestes three times as ξένε in a short space, unaware of their relationship.

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[1]*Per se* the crasis is permissible: cf. Diggle *Studies* , 70 and *Andr.* 888 κεὐτυχοῦσα in particular. The form κηὐτυχοῦμεν appears to be outlawed, both from dialect - cf. V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas,* 20f. - and from the obvious ambiguity with the imperfect.

265: πρὸς θεῶν, ἀληθῶς, ὡς *μεμύθευται* βροτοῖς...;

The first two words should be taken as an independent exclamation by Ion which would emphasize his ardent curiosity about the myths of early Athens ("By the gods, is it really true that...")[1] Cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 219 - πρὸς θεῶν in questions : Dem. XIII 16: Plat. *Rep.* 452 A etc.

266: τί χρῆμ' ἐρωτᾷς, ὦ ξέν', ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων;

θέλω MS. θέλων Badham.

Diggle is surely right to accept this simple emendation of Badham. An analogous change of these two words occurs at *Ba.* 475. εἰδέναι θέλω is indeed as Owen calls it "a formula" (see his note for examples). But here it is inappropriate. Creusa is not over eager to answer Ion's questions - she has other things on her mind than her family antiquities (see note on 276). ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων here represents her reaction to Ion's ardent curiosity (see note above).

As so often in tragic stichomythia, a character questioned inquires as to the content of the question before that question is fully uttered: readers of Housman's *Fragment of a Greek Tragedy* will find nothing new in this. There is a sensible discussion of this line in Mastronarde, *Contact and Discontinuity*, 47f. Similar examples where "complex explanatory narrative is cast in stichomythic form" are A. *Su.* 287f., E. *Su.* 113f., *Ion* 936f., 987f., *Pho.* 399f., *IA* 697f. On the "Housmanic" interpretation cf. *id.*, 56.

267: ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλαστεν πατήρ;

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[1]For the phrase (ὦ) πρὸς θεῶν φράσον cf. *OT* 1037 (without ὦ, *El.* 1346). On this idiom of urgent speech, often with the imperative, see too Fraenkel ad *Ag.* 22.

Much difficulty has been made as to the meaning of the phrase πρόγονος πατήρ, and needlessly so. The dispute has hinged on whether this combination of terms implies that Erichthonius is Creusa's grandfather or great-grandfather. (So for example Owen: "if πρόγονος were absent it would be the former, if πατήρ the latter").

πρόγονος obviously can mean "grandfather": thus, for example, Nereus is accurately so termed in relation to Theonoe in *Hel.* 15 πρόγόνου λαβοῦσα Νηρέως τιμὰς πάρα. But it is not a technical term like πρόπαππος. (Hesychius' gloss πρόγονος: πρόπαππος, προπάτωρ, means merely that in the text from which this gloss derives πρόγονος had that meaning.[1]

The basic meaning is "ancestral" and thus it need add nothing to the content of πατήρ. Terms of relationship are notoriously redundant in tragedy, and one need look no further than 136 of this play for a precise parallel: Φοῖβός μοι γενέτωρ πατήρ (see my note there for other examples). Translate: "did the ancestor of your father spring from the ground".[2]

Furthermore πρόγονος in this vague sense is particularly suited to divine or (as Erichthonius)[3] semi-divine "ancestors". Cf. Hdt. IV 127 (Zeus), Plato *Symp.* 186E (Asclepius), id. *Euthyphro* 11B (Daedalus) in all of which such a figure is spoken of as πρόγονος with a personal pronominal adjective by a mortal, with no specific relation intended. θεοὶ πρόγονοι are too common to require quotation.

Which connection this assigns respectively to Erichthonius and Creusa remains

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[1]It is interesting that Zuntz (*Transmission*, 40 n. †) went so far as to use our passage to *emend* the *Helen* (πατρός for πάρα), owing to the lack of specificity of πρόγονος.

[2]Mr N.G. Wilson suggests to me that σοι not σου should be read here. This is an obvious improvement, and accords with the "associative terms" rule (terms expressing relation, such as μήτηρ do not require a possessive pronoun). Moreover the upsilon in *L* is difficult to distinguish from iota.

[3]N.B. 1000 (Ἐριχθόνιον) ὃν πρῶτον ὑμῶν πρόγονον ἐξανῆκε γῆ.

therefore ambiguous and irrelevant here. (As to which it might be in this play, see on 20-21). The later king-lists record a Pandion, intervening between Erechtheus and Erichthonius (Pausanias I 5 3: Apollodorus III 14 6-7) who shares his name with the later, better-known father of Aegeus.

It is quite probable that one or the other is a genealogical stop-gap invented to solder up the defective and inconsistent chronology of the lists as transmitted to the organized mind of a Philochorus in the fourth century (like Cecrops I and II). But whoever did so took the trouble to provide some mythological narrative for both (see Apollodorus l.c. supra, with Frazer ad loc.), and thus it remains unclear which one, if either, is a later invention. And of course the state of the tradition in Euripides' time is unknown.

See R.C.T. Parker "Myths of Early Athens" in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* ed. Jan Bremmer (1987), ch. 9.

269: ἦ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανεῖλετο;

ἐξαναιρεῖν A rare word. First found in *h. Hom. Dem.* 254 (of Demeter "gathering up" the child Demophon, ἐξανελοῦσα πυρὸς θυμῷ κοτέσασα *μάλ'* αἰνῶς. It recurs in later poetry: A.R. III 867, Oppian *Halieutica* IV 556.

270: ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν.

What is by nature a noun form παρθένος is here used as an adjective, as not uncommonly in verse: cf. *Pho.* 838 κλήρους τέ *μοι* φύλασσε παρθένῳ χερί, *Hipp.* 1006, A. *Pers.* 613 etc. The extended employment of such nouns as adjectives, which derives from a simpler form of apposition (see below) appears to be almost entirely confined to tragedy, and Euripides is especially fond of it. Cf. E. *Or.* 529 γέροντ' ὀφθαλμόν, *Alc.* 679: νεανίας

λόγους | ῥίπτων (possibly) *El.* 443 μόχθους ἀσπιστάς, *El.* 993 τιμὰς σωτῆρας, *HF* 1095 νεανίαν θώρακα, *Hcld.* 699 ὁπλίτην κόσμον, *Rhes.* 701 νησιώτην... βίον, *Ion* 1373 οἰκέτην βίον. Theocritus VII 17 imitates the idiom, γέρων ἐσφίγγετο πέπλος (see Gow ad loc.). Cf. Pearson ad *Hcld.* l.c., K.-G. 1 273 para. 405.

That all these noun/adjectives are words for persons gives us a clear clue to the origin of this poetic idiom. In Homer appositions of *two* person-words are familiar already (ἀνὴρ βασιλεύς, δμῶες γυναῖκες, ἄλοχος δέσποινα etc.). The transition from this to the apposition of a person-word and something inanimate is fascinatingly illustrated by Hes. *OD* 191: μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν | ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι ("a ὕβρις kind of man", West ad loc. - see his note).[1] Thus in our passage παρθένους χεῖρας "a woman - a maiden" modulates to "a hand - (of) a maiden".

271: δίδωσι δ', ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται;

The present "of verbs expressing unity of character or continuity of action" (Gildersleeve, *Syntax* para 202.) Here the latter.

διδόναι is frequently so used, for obvious reasons (the act of giving is not confined to the moment of award but continues throughout the ownership of the gift). Cf. E. *Hec.* 1133 Ἑκάβης παῖς, ὃν ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί | πατὴρ δίδωσι Πρίαμος ἐν δόμοις τρέφειν (Polymestor is acutely conscious that the act of giving *still* has consequences), *Hel.* 32f. (Hera at the Judgement of Paris) ἐξηνέμωσε τἄμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη | δίδωσι δ' οὐκ ἔμ' ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσασ' ἐμοὶ | εἴδωλον ἔμπνουν οὐρανοῦ ξυνθεῖσ' ἄπο | Πριάμου τυράννου παιδί *Med.* 700f. Μη. ἀνδρῶν τυράννων κῆδος ἠράσθη λαβεῖν. Αἰ. δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ τίς; πέραινέ μοι λόγον, *El.* 34 (the *autourgos* of his wife, Electra) ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ δίδωσιν Ἠλέκτραν ἔχειν | δάμαρτα, *IA* 701 f. (Agamemnon to Clytaemestra) ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἔσχε Νηρέως κόρην. | Κλ. θεοῦ διδόντος ἥ βίᾳ θεῶν λαβών, where the tense of the participle changes interestingly with the meaning.

Cf. Kannicht ad Hel. l.c. - "die Wirkung des διδόναι nach wie vor feststellbar ist".

Verbs of giving birth will obviously be amenable to this explanation: S. *OT* 437 τίς δέ μ' ἐκφύει βροτῶν; E. *Ba.* 2f. Διόνυσος ὃν τίκτει ποθ' ἡ Κάδμου κόρη | Σεμέλη

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[1]though Fick's κακὸν with ῥεκτῆρα as *nom. act.* is not impossible. As W. says, more often a man is identified with his effect on others - γέλως, ὄνειδος etc.

λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί.

The same is found in Latin - for example Verg. *Aen.* IX 266 (dabo) cratera antiquum, *quem dat Sidonia Dido*" (see further Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* II, 314f).

Other examples in Schwyzer II 272, other bibl. in Mastronarde ad *Pho.* 13.

271: ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ

Scenes from this incident were indeed popular in Euripides' day and earlier. We do not have many examples of - what Ion's words might literally suggest - Athena in the act of surrendering up the child to the care of the sisters. Most relevant is a cup from the Iphigeneion at Brauron (*LIMC* I s.v. Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos: Kron, *Phylenheroen*, 72 252 E 254, cf. L. Kahlil, *Antike Kunst* I (1967), taf. 7 1), which seems to show Athena standing peacably with one of the Aglaurides and the child in a casket (date c. 480). However the presence of the maidens at the actual birth is well attested. The standard configuration is Ge rising from the earth holding Erichthonius and presenting him to Athena (ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν) with the Aglaurides, all or some, in the background looking on. Cf. LIMC o.c. no. 6 - the earliest example - a Leipzig *pelike* (Universität T 654) c. 470-60: no. 7, a red-figure plate (Berlin, West F 2537) c. 440-30. See too LIMC l.c. 8-13: addenda to vol. IV ("Erichthonius / Erechtheus") A.

It has been suggested that the three were shown as present at the birth of Erichthonius on the N. frieze of the Erechtheum (so Pallet *AJA* XVI (1912), 194f.) but there is little certain evidence: see the cautious remarks of H.N. Fowler in G.P. Stevens - J.M. Paton, *The Erechtheum* (1927), 239f. It is no more certain that they figured in the sculptures of the Hephaesteion, the construction of which was roughly contemporary with *Ion* (but see S. Karusu, *AMDI* lxix-lxx (1954-5), 79f, *LIMC* I, l.c. 10).

Ge *sola* presenting the child to Athena is also common: *LIMC* IV s.v. Ge, p. 173f. nos. 13-21.

The "Bestrafung" of the over-curious sisters is also a common device (*LIMC* I l.c. 14-22, IV addenda l.c. 29-31). The disunity as to whether Athena, the serpent in the *cistus*, or both are responsible for the self-immolation of the sisters is well documented. An example that is both typical and striking is afforded by a Basel *lekythos* (Antikenmusaion BS 404) c. 430 (*LIMC* I 19 with illustration). On the right Athena in full military garb stands by the cistos (central) from which the serpent is rearing its head: on the left a panic-stricken Aglaurid flies before Athena's outstretched arm; θανοῦσαι σκόπελον ἥμαξαν πέτρας.

There is a useful discussion of the iconographic implications of these lines by J. Bousquet (*BCH* LXXV (1964), 662f.).

272: Κέκροπός γε σῴζειν παισὶν σὺχ ὁρώμενον•

The syntax of ὁρώμενον is of some interest. It should probably be explained as an example of what is sometimes called the "permissive passive", where in the passive (less probably middle - see below) does not merely state a fact, but takes on the modal element

of "being *allowed* to be...". It emphasizes here, not only that the Cecropidae physically could not see Erichthonius at the moment Athena gave them the *cistos*, but that seeing him was forbidden - an implication which makes better sense altogether in context.

The same explanation works better with the interpretation of Ar. *Nu.* 494f. Σω. φέρ' ἴδω τί δρᾷς, ἤν τίς σε τύπτῃ; Στ. τύπτομαι | ἔπειτ' ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον ἐπιμαρτύρομαι. The proof lies in τί δρᾷς;. Blaydes and Starkie, to avoid the oddity of translating "what *course of action do you take?* - I *am* cudgelled (fact)", attempt to take δρᾷς as effectively equivalent to πάσχεις. But it is not δρᾶν but ποιεῖν that is used in this sense, as they admit. And they meet shipwreck on ἐπισχὼν... ἐπιμαρτύρομαι. Problems are much alleviated if we take τύπτομαι as 'I *allow* myself to be cudgelled (and then go to court)'. Lycurgus *in Leocr.* 40 must be read through the modal adverb attached; he complains that women are mourning in public ἀναξίως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πολέως ὁρωμένας. Various attempts at emendation have been made at emending ὁρωμένας into something that fits ἀναξίως, interpreted as a pure passive: none convince. It means "being *allowed* to be seen abroad". Isocr. XIX 47 ἂν δ' ὑπὸ ταύτης πεισθέντες ἐξαπατηθῆτε... seems best translated "you permitted yourself to be deceived".

Here the passive approaches close to the sense of the middle, which occasionally has the same connotation: *Od.* III 214 εἰπέ μοι ἠὲ ἑκὼν ὑποδάμνασαι (letting themselves be defeated), *Il.* IX 116 ἀασάμην οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι (I permitted myself to be blinded).

This usage of the passive becomes more common in later Greek - cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *GNTS* para. 314 and nn. I, 2 ("das Passiv im Sinn von "sich...lassen").

See in general Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, 167, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* I, 143 and my note on 379.

275: τί δαὶ τόδ'; ἆρ' ἀληθές, ἢ μάτην λόγος;

Elmsley, followed by Wilamowitz, alters δαί to δή,[1] on the ground that δαί is a colloquial particle, alien to tragic diction. The point is difficult, and the MSS. differ: on Euripidean MSS see Page ad *Med.* 339.[2] There is only one unanimous example in Aeschylus - *Cho.* 900 (δή: Auratus). V.ll. occur at *PV* 933, where τί δ' ἄν, the reading of every other MS than M, is an obvious mistake; West is the first editor to observe the emphasis δαί lends to the sentence for some time (see *Studies*, 314). Cf. S. *Ant.* 318.

There are three disputed examples in Homer (see Denniston, *GP*, 262f.: the dispute

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[1]δ' αὖ Porson.

[2]Kannicht ad *Hel.* 1246, Lloyd-Jones - Wilson, *Sophoclea* on *Ant.* 318.

goes back to Alexandria). It is not found in formal prose, though Plato admits of the conversational τί δαὶ δή, and is primarily attested in comedy.

The best judgement is that of Jebb (appendix, on *Ant.* l.c.). He concurs with the majority of commentators in rejecting it for Sophocles and Aeschylus, but goes on to say that the case of Euripides is different - "each passage in which the MSS. ascribe δαί to him should be tested by our sense of the degree in which, there, he meant to reproduce the language of every-day life".

Our passage is I think just such an example. Ion is exuding frank and lively curiosity. ἆρ' ἀληθὲς ἢ μάτην λόγος: Cf. 1537 ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἤ μάτην μαντεύεται; S. *Ph.* 345 λέγοντες, εἴτ' ἀληθὲς εἴτ' ἄρ' σὸν μάτην; is not quite the same as ἀληθὲς is really governed by preceding λέγοντες (see Jebb ad loc.); μάτην as often = *falso* - S. *El.* 63 τοὺς σοφοὺς | λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας,[1] *Cho.* 846 etc.

276: τί χρῆμ' ἐρωτᾷς; καὶ γὰρ οὐ κάμνω σχολῇ.

The tone of this has occasioned doubt. Owen suggests "I do not fail in respect of leisure". Likewise Parmentier, "car je suis de loisir". On this reading Creusa is inviting Ion to proceed with his questions as long as he likes. But Verrall was the only one to perceive that this is wholly inappropriate to Creusa's frame of mind here: he translated with exactly the opposite sense - "my time does not hang heavy".[2]

To justify his rendering Owen curiously remarks "what has she to do until Xuthus arrives?". The answer is, of coùrse, to pursue the course of action that Ion later dissuades her

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[1]If Odysseus is the subject alluded to, the deletion of these lines by Morstadt (see Dawe *ad loc.*) may be ignored.

[2]For the impatient tone of the combination of particles cf. S. *Tr.* 416 ("you are hardly wanting in talkativeness" (Lichas to the herald)) - Denniston, *GP*, 108 (2).

from, namely to consult the oracle on behalf of her "friend", unbeknownst to Xuthus. Quite apart from this O. misses the subtle tone of this exchange. Creusa is deeply preoccupied with her own troubles: the last thing she wishes to do is forget them in favour of a dispassionate account of her family antiquities, and her answers to Ion are historically sparse and *turn the fact that Ion innocently requests into a reference to herself and her suffering*. Cf. 264, 268, 295, 288. That she should eventually manifest impatience with Ion's unintended instrusiveness is hardly surprising. It is only when the conversation moves, albeit in disguise, to her own plight, that she unbends towards him and becomes more effusive. A palmary emendation in 286 (see *ad loc.*) secures a similar tone of dismissive impatience there.

277f. Ἰω. πατὴρ Ἐρεχθεὺς σὰς ἔθυσε συγγόνους;

Κρ. ἔτλη πρὸ γαίας σφάγια παρθένους κτανεῖν.

Ἰω. σὺ δ' ἐξεσώθης πῶς κασιγνήτων μόνη;

Κρ. βρέφος νεογνὸν μητρὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγκάλαις.

In 280 Nauck wished to continue syntactic subordination with οὖσα for ἦν. This is what we do *not* require. Though there has been syntactical continuity earlier, all Creusa's answers to Ion from this point are direct, indicating, possibly, a tone of impatience. In l. 302 we might consider θέλει for θέλων.[1]

The myth is told in full in Euripides' fragmentary *Erechtheus*: the fragments new and old are assembled by Austin (frr. 39-65). It is probable that this preceded the *Ion* (423 "vel paulo ante" is the date favoured for the *Erechtheus* by Austin - relying on the reference in

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[1]The objection to ἦν is of course that of ἦ versus ἦν in the fifth century. Cf. Barrett ad *Hipp.* 700, who notes that this Euripidean example and *HF* 1416 are "*prima facie* beyond suspicion". See Jackson, *CQ* XXXV (1941), 170f.

Plut. *Nic.* 9: Webster, *Tragedies,* 127-30 argues for 422. For metrical statistics see now Collard *Supplices,* I note 42. (For the later date cf. W.M. Calder III, *GRBS* X (1969), 147f.). 421-10 is favoured by Cropp and Fick, *Resolutions*, 70.

This is the only version known in which Creusa is the solitary survivor of her sisters. Whether Creusa appeared at all in the *Erechtheus* is unknown, as are the names which Euripides chose for the ζεῦγος τριπάρθενον (fr. 357 N. = 47 Austin) - see below. P. Sorb. 2328[1] (Austin fr. 65) contains part of the closing speech from the *deus ex machina*, Athena: col. VI 64 f.

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοὶ σημανῶ παι[δὸς] πέρι
ἣν τῆσδε χώρας σὸς προθύεται [πόσι]ς·
θάψον νιν οὗπερ ἐξέπνευσ' ο[ἰκτ]ρὸν βίον
καὶ τάσδ' ἀδελφὰς ἐν τάφῳ τ[αὐτ]ῷ χθονός
γενναιότητος σὕνεχ', αἴτιν[ες φί]λης
ὅρκους ἀδελφῆς σὐκ ἐτόλμησα[ν λι]πεῖν.

For recent work on the play see too: Carrara "Euripide *Erecteo*" *Papyr. Florent* III (1977) 112 f., H.-J. Mette *Lustrum* XXIII-IV (1981-2), p. 117f.[2]

See Escher loc. cit. Hiller v. Gaertringen *RE* III 2523, Böhme on Ovid *Metamorphosen* VI-VII p. 181-2, E. Simon *LIMC* vol. III 1 *s.v.* Chthonia.

The tradition concerning the war is no less tangled. For Euripides, Erechtheus' foe in the Eleusinian war was Eumolpus the son of Poseidon.

Cf. Erechtheus fr. 65 Austin l. 100 Εὔμολπος γὰρ Εὐμόλπου γεγὼ[ς]|τοῦ κατθ[ανόντος, *Pho.* 854f. (Teiresias) κάκεῖ γάρ ἦν τις πόλεμος Εὐμόλπου δορός | οὗ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ. This agrees with the great majority of the literary testimony - Thuc. II 239, Isocrates IV 68, XII 19, Demosthenes LX 8, Pl. *Menexenus* 239B, Apollodorus III 15, Lucian *Anacharsis* 34, Hyginus *fab.* 46. Later sources in Kern *RE* VI 1117. Erechtheus, of course, slays his opponent. However, genealogical variants exist, and a case can be made in both cases for respectable antiquity.

Some sources record that it was really Phorbas, son of Poseidon and King of the Kouretes, who was killed by Erechtheus - Andron of Halicarnassus *FGrHist* 10 F 1, Hellanicus *ibid.* 4 F 40, Hyperides fr. 145 Jensen (all these quoted by Harpocration *s.v.* Φορβαντεῖον), Agallis *ap.* schol. *Il.* XVIII 483, *schol.* E. *Pho.* 854 mentions him among others. Of these Hellanicus and Andron connect this Phorbas with the *heroon* called the Φορβάντειον in Athens (cf. Andoc. I 62 with MacDowell *ad loc.*). No source concerning this monument *contradicts* the identification, but it is a surprising one, as an Attic Phorbas also exists who was a companion of Theseus - E. *Su.* 680 ἰδὼν δὲ Φόρβας ὃς μοναμπύκων ἄναξ | ἦν τοῖς Ἐρεχθείδαισι, Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 152, Hesychius *s.v.* Phorbas, etc. One might have expected *prima facie* the cult to be in his honour, not that of a vanquished Kourete. However, as MacDowell (supra) notes, we should be cautious about disregarding Hellanicus on a matter of genealogical antiquities, and, if the Phorbas legend goes with the shrine, it is possible the tradition was known and ignored by Euripides. Both exact

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[1]See Austin, *Récherches de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne* (IV, 1967) with photographs.

[2]Cf. id. *Lustrum* XII (1967), 112, nos. 448-476.

whereabouts and age of the shrine are unknown. Cf. Judeich, *Top. Ath.*[2], 353, Schmidt RE XX 1 530 (4) - (5). Kron, *Phylenheroen,* index s.v. nom.

A third tradition rests largely on a peculiar notice of Pausanias (I 27 4). P., interpreting two large bronze figures in single combat near the Polias temple, remarks that these are popularly identified as Erechtheus fighting Eumolpus; however, Athenians ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασι know that it was really Immaradus the son of Eumolpus who opposed Erechtheus. Apollodorus recognizes one Ismarus as Eumolpus' son, but nonetheless attributes the battle to his father. Whence Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 41f. (cf. Frazer, *Paus.* II, 500) identifies the two sons and argues that Pausanias preserves the oldest tradition.

Thus Euripides may have had some latitude for choice in this section of the play.

The purpose of the sacrifice has also been variously interpreted. In the oldest tradition, that of Euripides, there is no doubt that the παρθένος sacrificed is a victory offering, like her counterpart in *Hcld.* Thus too Apollodorus *l.c.* supra et al. Hyginus 46, however, makes the oracle a consequence of the death of Eumolpus: Poseidon made this requirement "ne filii sui morte Erechtheus laetaretur".[1]

281-2: Ἴων. πατέρα δ' ἀληθῶς χάσμα σὸν κρύπτει χθονός;

Κρ. πληγαὶ τριαίνης ποντίου σφ' ἀπώλεσεν.

The grave of Erechtheus. No ancient source indicates where this χάσμα χθονός was supposed to be, or what sort of cult significance it had. Owen draws attention to a hole in the ground between the grottos of Apollo and Pan (see on l. 11). See Kabbadias, *Ephemeris Archaeologica* (1897), 25f. for another view - the latter would place it before the Acropolis by the Agrauleion, where he shared an altar with Poseidon (Pausanias I 26 5). Other sources refer more vaguely to a "sanctuary of Erechtheus" (Hdt. VIII 55 νηός, *Od.* VII 81 Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον (D.H. *ant. rom. excerpta* XIV II. (σηκός), Hesych. s.v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν (ἱερόν). Cf. Austin *NFE* p. 39 n. *ad loc.*)

This is not a strictly accurate description of the Erechtheum, which was shared by several deities.

[1]Cf. Frazer *Pausanias* II, p. 330, Farnell, *GHC,* index II s.v. nom., Kron, *Phylenheroen,* catalogue and index. On the cults in the Erechtheum see Stevens - Paton (quoted in the iconographic end-note).

In myth he was the opponent of Poseidon, but cult titulature reveals a probable identity

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[1]Cf. H. Versnel in *Fondation Hardt* ("Sacrifice"), vol. XXVII (1981), 142, 172.

of the two - possibly both Erechtheus and Erichthonius were originally epithets of the sea-god. On Ποσειδῶν Ἐρεχθεύς cf. IG I^2 310, 60, Apollodorus III xv 1 with Frazer ad loc., Plutarch *Mor.* 843 B, Hesychius s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς: Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις; the circumstances of his death are slightly differently recorded: for Euripides, he was entombed by Poseidon, presumably in retribution for the death of Eumolpus both here and at Erechtheus fr. 65 Austin col. V 55f. (Athena) αὐδῶ τρίαιναν τῆσδ' ἀποστρέφειν χθονός, | πόντιε Ποσεῖδον, μηδὲ γῆν ἀναστατοῦν | πόλιν τ' ἐρείπειν, 59 f. οὐχ εἷς ἅδην σ' ἔπλησεν; οὐ κατὰ χθονὸς | κρύψας Ἐρεχθέα τῆς ἐμῆς ἧψω φρενός. Apollodorus l.c. follows him. Hyginus *fab.* 46 varies: "ipse Erechtheus ab Iove Neptuni rogatu fulmine est ictus". Whereas Pausanias I 38 3 ascribes to him a natural death fighting against the Eleusinians.

283-286: Ἰω. Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρος ἔστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένος;[1]

Κρ. τί δ' ἱστορεῖς τόδ'; ὡς μ' ἀνέμνησάς τινος.

Ἰω. τιμᾷ σφε Πύθιος ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι.

Κρ. † τιμᾷ τιμᾷ ὡς † μήποτ' ὤφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν.

283: On the Μακραί see on 11, cf. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 71.

The allusion in these lines has caused difficulty, and the irony might appear to be somewhat forced. Why should Ion ask explicitly about a relatively minor cult-place of Apollo in Attica which of course has such unhappy associations for *Creusa*?

284: ὡς μ' ἀνεμνησάς τινος, cf. 250 μνήμην παλαιὰν ἀνεμετρησάμην τινά.

285: What sense should we attach to ἀστραπαὶ Πύθιαι? Most editors have seen a reference to the custom described in Strabo IX 404 whereby for three nights and three days over a period of three months the Pythaistae keep watch by the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, which is by the city wall between the temple of Pythian Apollo and the Olympieion, and gaze

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[1] I restore the accent, which the sense requires (see on 13). On the distinction see Eust. *Il.* 880 22 ad *Il.* XI 711 (despite Barrett *Hippolytos,* app. II, 425f.) Cf. 294. The sense is "does there *exist* a place there which is *called* 'the Μακραί' ?."

towards the village of Harma on Mt. Parnes; when lightning was seen on the mountain, this was taken as the sign to send an embassy to sacrifice at Delphi. Cf. Dittenberger *SIG* 611 n. 3, Deubner *AF*^{2} 203, *RE* II 1797 s.v. Astrapaios.

Both temples are to the S.E. of the acropolis on the right bank of the Ilissus close to the stream of Callirhoe/Enneacrounos (cf. Paus. I 19 1, Frazer, *Pausanias* II, 189). This is nowhere near the Makrai, and no other evidence connects the ceremony of lightning-watching with the latter.

We may conjecture that in Euripides' day the vantage point was indeed the Acropolis: Mt. Parnes is visible from both points. However, the temple of Pythian Apollo dates from the age of Peisistratus (Ar. *Pol.* 1313 B. 23), and the Olympieion was reputedly the oldest temple in Athens (Frazer l.c.), so that one might have thought that cultic arrangements in connection with them would be fixed by this time. More importantly, the whole point of the ἀστραπαί (the *aition* for the proverb ὀπόταν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ, Strabo l.c.: cf. Eustathius *Il.* 786 ad *Il.* X 5) *is* the physical connection with the cult of Zeus Astrapaios, the lightning god *par excellence,* at whose altar the vigil took place.

It is possible, but unattractive, that Euripides, Ion or both have mangled topography in the interests of a contrived dramatic irony.

The possibility remains that ἀστραπαὶ Πύθιαι could have nothing to do with the festival of the Pythaistae. It is, in any event, a strange way to describe lightning sent by *another* god. Apollo is not commonly associated with lightning as such, though a cult of Ἀπόλλων καταιβάσιος in Thessaly was possibly well known to Euripides and his audience as the backdrop to the Θεσσαλὸν σόφισμα anecdote (E. *Pho.* 1408, cf. schol. ad loc., Zenobius IV 29, Eustathius 331 18 ad *Il.* II 732). And ἀστραπή was one of the horses of Helios' chariot (schol. *Pho.* 3) - though the rising sun cannot be intended (the Makrai face north).

Bright gleaming light, however, is a feature of the epiphany of deities, as Telemachus learns (*Od.* XIX 36f.). If ἀστραπαί is taken in this general sense the two terms in 285 will largely coalesce ("the Pythian and his bright aura"). Cf. E. *Or.* 480 (Orestes) στίλβει νοσώδεις ἀστραπάς, anon. poet. ἅπαν κατέσχον ἀστραπαῖς πέδον <˘ ->, Eust. *Il.* 471 40 ad *Il.* IV 274). *Pho.* 110f. κατάχαλκον ἅπαν πεδίον ἀστράπτει. This may be the

inaccurate reference of the verse quoted in Eust. l.c. in the form κατέσχον ἅπαν πεδίον ἀστραπαῖς. *Hyps.* fr. I ii 32f. Bond ἀστράπτει χαλκέοισιν ὅπλοις Ἀργεῖον πεδίον πᾶν. Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 566.[1] Context quite uncertain - possibly not tragic.

τιμᾷ σφε Πύθιος: Doubt has been expressed as to the scansion of Πύθιος. It has been suspected as a Doppelgänger of Πύθιαι or as a gloss: thus Kayser wrote σφέ γ' ὁ θεός, Wilamowitz and, independently, Blaydes Ἀπόλλων etc. Diggle ingeniously suggests τιμᾷ κεραυνός σφ' explaining the corruption as a marginal gloss to indicate to the reader that the last word of the line is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both nouns.

However no change is required. Πύθιος is a straightforward example of synizesis by "consonantalization",[2] common - especially with proper names, where ι or υ precede another vowel. Cf. A. *Pers.* 1007 διαπρέπον,[3] A. *Septem* 122 γενύων, S. *OC* 1563 νεκύων (in Dale's opinion from *Metrical Analyses*); νεκρῶν appears to be Triclinian). A. *Pers.* 559 κυανώπιδες may be an example, as Lloyd-Jones and Wilson note (*Sophoclea,* 94), though this depends on Schutz' emendation λινόπτεροι for the unwelcome and unmetrical *paradosis.* On the difficulties with the synizesis of δυοῖν at *OT* 640, see *Sophoclea* ad loc. (it would appear that Dindorf's radical conjecture is along the right lines). Further Aeschylean examples are: *Pers.* 1038 δίαινε δίανε, *Septem.* 289 καρδίας. In Euripides we seem to be confined to the one word Ἐρινύων (*IT* 931, 970, 1456), but our evidence is not sufficient to justify dogmatism.

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[1]ἀστραπαί of a λαμπάς: Aesch. fr. 386, Radt *TFG* II F 14 a (of Atalanta): ᾇσσουσα δ' ἐξέλαμπεν ἀστραπῆς δίκην. On the equation of brightness and awesomeness cf. Wilamowitz on *HF* 130, 883.

[2]Not to be scanned πύθ|ιος ἀστ- (an anapaest of proper names) - *contra* Wilamowitz *ad HF.* 220. This license does not include parts of neighbouring words.

[3]ζαπρέπον Dindorf.

From other dialects cf. *h. Hom. Dem.* 266 παῖδες Ἐλευσινίων, Archilochus 29 2 West Ἀρθμιαδέω[1], Tyrtaeus 23 6 West Μεσσηνίων, *Il.* IX 382 Αἰγυπτίας, cf. *Od.* IV 83, *Il.* II 537 Ἰστιαίαν (cf. Peek *GVI* 708 8 Ἑστιαῖος 2018 9 Ἑστιαῖον).

Cf. Radermacher *SBWA* 170 (9) (1913) IIf., 21f., Tucker *Septem*, appendix A (p. 209f.), K.-B. I. 229f., West, *GM*, 14 para 4 n. 21.

286: †τιμᾷ τιμᾷ ὡς † μήποτ' ὤφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν.

The text is obviously corrupt and Diggle should perhaps have positioned the obelus one place later.

σφ' (Scaliger) for σ' is obviously correct.

The least successful emendations are those which attempt to keep the ὡς (Nauck τιμᾷ γ' ἄτιμα, Kayser τιμᾷ στυγητά etc.) It serves no purpose and is metrically anomalous in that a word and sense break after the second foot occurs only six times in E. (*Cycl.* 552, *Hel.* 592, 824, *Ba.* 818, 828), four of which are in plays deemed on metrical and other grounds to be considerably later than *Ion*. Moreover it is an obvious scribal stop-gap for one who appreciated that the line before him was one syllable short and therefore completed it up to twelve without appreciating the innappropriate second foot thereby produced.

Omitting the offending particle Hermann wrote τιμᾷ; τί τιμᾷ; Wecklein, τιμάς γ' ἀτίμους, Schaefer ἄτιμα τιμᾷ (other attempts are catalogued in Prinz-Wecklein and best left there).[2]

But by far the best is Denniston's τιμᾷ γ' ἃ τιμᾷ (*CR* L, (1936), 116). I hope it will

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[1]See Frazer, *Lexicon of Personal Names* I, 58.

[2]Jackson (*CQ.* XXX(1941) 39) profers τιμᾷ <μάτην δ'>. The sense is wrong and the δέ too abrupt.

not offend against modesty to admit that I thought of it myself independently. The sense that almost all the above mentioned conjectures assign to Creusa is surely far too explicit. The offhand dismissal of Ion's unintentionally tactless requests for information by a common equivocation (close to "let him honour what he will"), followed by covert but personal exclamation in μήποτ' ὤφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν, is precisely what C.'s present mood would lead us to expect. See on 276.

287: τί δέ; στυγεῖς σὺ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ φίλτατα;

τὰ φίλτατα: Not to be understood with ἄντρα (288). The neuter plural is here used vaguely as a substantive, and the usage is particularly appropriate to a word denoting affection. Cf. παιδικά: Xen. *Hier.* 7 3, ἀφροδισίοις, Dem. XVIII 246 χάριτες. See Schwyzer II 43 b) *Zusatz.*

289: πόσις δὲ τίς σ' ἔγημ' Ἀθηναίων, γύναι;

The interrogative τίς is repeated in 291, as it is in 318 and 320 by Creusa. In both cases the MSS accent seems to be right. Ion assumes naturally that Creusa will have married an Athenian, and is moderately surprised to learn otherwise. On the connotations of this cf. on 63 (note οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὤν with 293). Alteration to the enclitic form of τις in 289 is quite unnecessary.

290: οὐκ ἀστός, ἀλλ' ἐπακτὸς ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός.

ἐπακτός: Cf. S. *Aj.* 1295 f. αὐτὸς δὲ μητρὸς ἐξέφυς Κρήσσης, ἐφ' ᾗ | λαβὼν ἐπακτὸν ἄνδρ' ὁ φετύσας πατήρ | ἐφῆκεν ἐλλοῖς ἰχθύσιν διαφθοράν, *Ion* 592 πατρός τ' ἐπακτοῦ καὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενής, E. fr. 502 5 N. πλοῦτος δ' ἐπακτὸς ἐκ γυναικείων

γάμων.

292: On the lineage of Xuthus according to Euripides see on 63.

293: καὶ πῶς ξένος σ' ὢν ἔσχεν, οὖσαν ἐγγενῆ;

See on 289 above. ἔχειν is the standard expression in prose and verse for matrimony (English "have to wife" and Latin "habere in matrimonio"). Thus the "instantaneous" aorist[1] comes to be used of obtaining a wife's hand in marriage. Cf. *IA* 701 ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἔσχε Νηρέως κόρην, Hdt. III 31 (ἔγημε..) μετὰ... οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε.. ἄλλην, E. *Hel.* 30 (Πάρις) | Σπάρτην ἀφίκεθ' ὡς ἐμὸν σχήσων λέχος, S. *Tr.* 360 τὴν παῖδα δοῦναι, κρύφιον ὡς ἔχοι λέχος.

294: Εὔβοι' Ἀθήναις ἔστι[2] τις γείτων πόλις. (*not* Murray's aposiopesis)

πόλις for a whole island is unusual but can be paralleled in verse. Strabo VIII 356 singles the usage out for especial attention, quoting this line and fr. 658 N (from the Rhadamanthys) οἳ γῆν ἔχουσ' Εὐβοΐδα πρόσχωρον πόλιν, *Ion* 1583 Κυκλάδας... νησαίας πόλεις, E. fr. 730 N ἅπασα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις (Temenidae). Cf. A. *Eum.* 77. Metaphorically Ar. *Pax* 251 (Σικελία) οἵα πόλις... διακναισθήσεται with Hesychius (no doubt a gloss on this passage of Ar. s.v. πόλις: τὴν Σικελίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ "νῆσον").

296: On the war in question cf. on 59. The exciting archaeological discoveries in the last

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[1]Inverted commas justified; see Stevens on *Andr.* 785.

[2]On accent cf. on 283 n. p. 157.

decade, which substantially increase our understanding of Bronze Age Euboea (published in successive volumes of *Lefkandi* by Popham, Sackett and Boardman) make it all the more likely that, though this war is not known to us from mythological sources, Euripides might here enshrine a quasi-historical memory of conflict with Athens: we need not assume with Owen that this is an anachronistic celebration of the Athenian victories of 446.

297: κἆτα σὸν γαμεῖ λέχος;

For this periphrasis (= "he married you") cf. *Hel.* 30 (ἐμὸν σχήσων λέχος) quoted on 293), *Hipp.* 154 κρυπτᾷ κοίτᾳ λεχέων σῶν ("you as wife") etc.

299 - 300: Ἰω. σὺν ἀνδρὶ δ' ἥκεις ἡ μόνη χρηστήρια;

Κρ. σὺν ἀνδρί † σηκοῖς δ' ἐνστρέφει Τροφωνίου †.

In 300 L has the nonsensical † σηκοὺς δ' εὖ στρέφει which P further corrupts by omitting the ρ. One of the rare marginalia in L (see Endnote) has ἐνστρέφεται τῷ τοῦ Τροφωνίου σηκῷ, which led Scaliger to write ἐνστρέφει with the dative σηκο<ῖ>ς. It has not been fully appreciated that the independent tradition of the paroemiographers explaining the proverb σηκοῖς ἐνστρέφῃ Τροφωνίου (Apostolius *cent.* XV 43a Schneidewin - Leutsch) has the ἐν- at an earlier stage in the transmission: this piece of evidence, in conjunction with both the wording and the suggested meaning given by the gloss, render it all but certain that Scaliger's conjecture is in fact the true text. The gloss is in the script of the scribe of L. That he was content to include it along with the nonsensical text to which it refers is evidence not only of the lethargy of his mind at this point but also of the priority of the gloss - he will have adopted it unthinkingly from an earlier exemplum.

The two most popular emendations have been that of Reiske, keeping the accusative

σηκόυς ἐκστρέφει, and Badham's ὑστερεῖ with a locative dative. The first is out of the question: the intended meaning was "he has made a detour to..." which conflicts both with the gloss and with usage. ἐκστρέφειν means "to turn upside down" (Hom. *Il.* XVII 58 of a tree βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε (ἄνεμος), Ar. *Plut.* 721 etc.). With this reading Xuthus would be ransacking the shrine of Trophonius, like a temple robber.

The second is not impossible. ὑστερεῖν may mean simply "to come after", with no sense of "be later for, too late" (e.g. Isocr. *Paneg.* 164 A (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν): ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὑστερήσαντες τῶν βαρβάρων... ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς πρστέροις διαβᾶσιν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον... χειρώσασθαι). The main difficulty though is with the dative which is forced *with a verb of this meaning* ("he's following on - *in* the shrine of T."). The further change of σηκῷ <'ν> would be required at least - which is sorry Greek. ἐνστρέφει should be preferred. No exact parallel exists for this usage of the active of the compound verb in a middle-passive sense (cf. *Il.* V 306 for the usual formation). However στρέφω is used this way, usually with an object understood or readily suppliable, e.g. Il. XVIII 546 τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν' ὄγμους.[1] It seems legitimate to allow it here.

As we have seen, the scholiast must have had the right text. This is a rare exception in these scholia (see Endnote). The correct text, which may have offered this note and from which L was miscopied, must have been written in late minuscule, an interesting implication (noted by Zuntz, *Transmission*, 90).

The proverbial application of this tag from Euripides with the person of the verb altered is of some interest. The sense will doubtless be that of the similar εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται (Apostolius VI 82): ἐπὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ ἀγελάστων. For the point of

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[1]Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 957 (though its being accompanied by several transitive verbs makes a difference). With *Il* l.c. understand γυῖα.

this cf. Pausanias IX 39 (discussed below).

The shrine of Trophonius was consulted as a preparation (and an extra mantic precaution) before Apollo himself. Our accounts of the procedure for consulting the oracle, which retained a remarkable popularity into later antiquity, post-date Euripides by a long way. The most detailed is that of Pausanias l.c. A man who wished to consult the oracle would firstly lodge for an appointed number of days in a house sacred to Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων and Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη (both probably post-classical accretions): here he is ritually purified, abstains from ordinary baths and makes sacrifices which are subject to extispicy. Then two boys called Hermae conduct him to the River Heryna and anoint him. He drinks from the nearby fountain of *Lethe* (to forget what is in his mind) and *Mnemosyne* (to remember what he sees in the shrine). Having adopted a special garb he is then lowered into the hole which leads to the underground chasm. Pausanias does not specify how long the stay was: Plutarch *de gen. Soc.* 590 A f. records the visit of the philosopher Timarchus, which lasted two nights and a day, and gives us a wholly fantastic account of proceedings while he was there - the Suda s.v. Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια and Philostratus *vit. Ap.* VIII 19 f. also envisage a number of days. Pausanias' complete silence on what he saw on the visit he made himself will be an example of his customary religious discretion. When the session is over, the inquirer suddenly shoots out of the hole as if he had been thrown, in a great state of fright. For some time afterwards he is unable to smile or laugh: he is looked after by relatives at the shrine, and the priests require him to tell them all that he has seen or heard, which is duly recorded.

Shorter accounts, adding little to the above are: Strabo IX 414, Lucian *dial. mort.* 3, id. *Men.* 22, Maximus Tyrius VIII 2.

We learn from Athenaeus XIII 594 E f. and XVI 641 E that there was a work of Dicaearchus entitled περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβασέως which seems to have been sarcastic in tone.[1] The catalogue of Plutarch's works by Lamprias also attributes a work of this title to P. (no. 181): nothing is known of it. See in general Deubner *de incubatione* (1900) and Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination* III, 331f. G. Radke *RE* II VIII a. and works cited in next note.

[1]The lemma in the *Suda* may well be an alternative title for this work, if this estimate is right (i.e. "the ridiculous performance beneath the earth"). The tone might also be deduced from the four fragmentary comedies on the subject known to us by Cratinus, Alexis, Cephisodorus and Menander. On these cf. J.P.D. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (1962), 204.

301 πότερα θεατὴς ἢ χάριν *μαντευμάτων*;

Ion enquires whether Xuthus has come to the sanctuary for the sake of an oracle or merely to inspect the place like a tourist. Tourism of sacred sites was as common in the ancient world as it is in the modern: for details see Bischoff 'Perieget' *RE* XIX 725-42; L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (1974), passim; Christian Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Greece* (1985), esp. chs. 1, 5 and 6.

The line is quoted by Ammonius (*de adf. voc. diff.* p. 69 Valckenaer, no. 226 Nickau) with πότερον for πότερα which seems an obvious simplification. Ammonius goes on to expatiate on the distinction between θεωρός and θεατής and in so doing comes to yet further grief: he suggests that in this passage θεατής is being used for θεωρός, blindly ignoring the context. Nor is such a transfer of meaning otherwise attested, though the converse - θεωρός for θεατής - is: see Ar. fr. 289 K.-A. βοᾶς τοιοῦδε πράγματος θεωρὸς ὤν;, A. *PV* 117 f. τερμόνιον ἵκετ' ἐπὶ πάγον | πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, *Cho.* 246 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, θεωρὸς τῶνδε πραγμάτων γενοῦ. It is worth considering whether - as Ammonius was presumably thinking - Ion's question would be 'is he here as a member of a formal θεωρία (cf. *Ba.* 1047) or in search of an oracle as a private individual?' But nowhere does E. use θεατής in this technical sense (cf. *Ba.* 829, *Su.* 652), nor are the terms an exact contrast.

302: κείνου τε Φοίβου θ' ἓν θέλων *μαθεῖν* ἔπος.

The consultation of more than one oracle on the same matter may seem quaintly over-cautious to us (like going from a general practitioner to a consultant perhaps, in this case). Mys does the same on behalf of Croesus (Hdt. I.46).

On the actual relationship of the cults of Apollo and the oracle of Trophonius, see R. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (1982), 232f., *AJPhil* CV, (1984), 258f., A. Schachter commenting

on *IG* VII 4136 ('A Consultation of Trophonius'). Other works cited in Burkert *GR* II 8 3 n. 56.

I suggest θέλει for θέλων (see note on 280).

303-4: Ἰω. καρποῦ δ' ὕπερ γῆς ἥκετ' ἢ παίδων πέρι;

Κρ. ἄπαιδές ἐσμεν χρόνι' ἔχοντ' εὐνήματα.

Diggle has proposed ποίων for παίδων in 304 ('cum praecox sit de liberis interrogatio') and notes that if the MS reading is preserved we require ἄπαιδέ γ' ἐσμεν for ἄπαιδές both to aid the sense and to eliminate the licence of a plural verb and adjective followed by a dual participle.

No inquiry of an oracle in the ancient world could be commoner than one about offspring, so Ion's conjecture is not 'praecox' (nor need we trouble to explain, with Owen, that Ion infers the nature of their business from the fact that both husband and wife were at Delphi). It would be sufficient to refer to the case of Aegeus in the *Medea*, whom the heroine encounters on his way back from Delphi, having made just such an inquiry. Owing to the method whereby oracles were dispensed at Delphi, we cannot resort to real epigraphic evidence from Euripides' day: from legend cf. too Laius, and Erginus, king of Orchomenus (ἑρομένῳ περὶ παίδων χρᾷ τάδε ἡ Πυθία "ὀψὲ ἦλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος... κτλ.", Paus. IX 37 4 = Parke-Wormell, *DO* II no. 111).

But the oracular question-tablets recovered from the excavation of Dodona enable us to shed even more light on the background to this line. Here are some examples of what to Euripides' audience would have been the most natural question:

(a) Ἔρμων, τίνα |κα θεὸν ποτθέμ|ενος γενεά F|οι γένοιτο ἐκ Κ|ρεταίας ὀνά|σιμος ποτ τᾶ ἐ|άσσαι (Πρακτικά (1931) p. 89 no. 1, early fifth century).

(b) Ἡρακλ[ε]ίδας αἰτεῖ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Διώνην | τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπερωταῖ | περὶ γεινεῆς ἣ ἔστα[ι] ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς | Α[ἴ]γλης τῆς νῦν ἔχει (*SIG*³ 1160).

(c) Καλλικράτης ἐπερωταῖ τὸν θε|ὸν ἦ ἔσται *μοι* γενεὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Νίκης | τῆς γυναικὸς ἧς ἐχει συμμένο|ντι καὶ τίνι [θ]εῶν εὐχομένῳ (*SEG* XIX (1963) 149 no. 426).

(d) θεός· τύχα ἀγαθά· Ἀνάξιππος τὸν Δία τ|ὸν Νάον καὶ τὰν Διώναν ἐπερωταῖ περὶ ἐρ|σεντέρας γενεᾶς ἀπὸ Φιλίστας τᾶς γυναι|κὸς τίνει κα θεῶν εὐχόμενος πράξαιμι | λῶιστα καὶ ἄριστα (Πρακτικά (1956) publ. 1961, 155).

Had we a similar horde of *Realien* from Delphi, we should have many more examples. Cf. Parke *The Oracles of Zeus* (1967), Appendix 1.

That the dual should here be combined with a plural verb should occasion no surprise, for the obvious reason that *there is no first person of the dual in the finite verb.* Exact parallels are furnished by: Ar. *Av.* 4 ἀπολούμεθ' ἄλλως τὴν ὁδὸν προφορουμένω,[1] ibid. 43-5 κανοῦν δ' ἔχοντε καὶ χύτραν... πλανώμεθα, 664 νὼ... θεασώμεσθα, *Plut.* 441 ἀλλ' ἄνδρε δύο γυναῖκα φεύγομεν *μίαν*, *Il.* V 275 τὼ δὲ τάχ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθον ἐλαύνοντ' ὠκέας ἵππους, S. *Ant.* 56f. αὐτοκτονοῦντε... *μόρον* κοινὸν κατειργάσαντ(ο).[2]

See K.-G. II 1 para. 368 2, Schwyzer II 609 (ε), Jebb on *OC* 343.

The phrase resembles *Pho.* 13f. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαις | ἦν χρόνια λέκτρα τἄμ' ἔχων and *Ion* 64 χρόνια δὲ σπείρας λέχη | ἄτεκνός ἐστι. See note there on the usage of χρόνιος.

εὑνήματα: apparently a Euripidean invention, and a *hapax legomenon.* Schirlitz (*De*

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[1]Cf. Callias fr 5 K.-A., Dunbar on *Av.* 4 and for τὴν ὁδὸν (scil. τήνδ') cf. ἡ ὁδὸς quasi-demonstratively Hdt. I 15, Schwyzer GG II 20f; "nôtre route" correctly Van Daele (Budé).

[2]χεροῖν and *μόρον* transp. Wunder.

sermonis tragici per Euripidem incrementis (diss. Halle 1865), pp. 15-16) counts 250 -μα words in E., 80 of which are first found in his work, and of the latter 40 are only known from him. See too Breitenbach, 28 para. (9). εὐνάματα was suggested by Nauck. This is quite possible as E. uses εὐνατήριον. One might add the suggestive papyrus evidence of S. *Ant.* 95. Indeed this seems to be the correct spelling in tragedy for these derivatives - attested at A. *Pers.* 157 (εὐνατείρα) 160 (εὐνατήριον). At S. *Tr.* 918 and E. *Or.* 590 the MSS have the late form εὐναστήριον, which has been emended accordingly. Nauch restores εὐνάτριαν at S. *Tr.* 922 as (-άτωρ) at *HF* 27 and 97. Cf. Björck, *Das Alpha Impurum*, 139

303: οὐδ' ἔτεκες οὐδὲν πώποτ', ἀλλ' ἄτεκνος εἶ;

For the repetition cf. 1463 ἄπαιδες οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν οὐδ' ἄτεκνοι - see Owen for other parallels. οὐδὲν πώποτε is an obvious error, οὐδεπώποτε cf. S. *Ph.* 250 and Ellendt-Genthe *ad verbum* on the indivisibility of these words ("ne umquam quidem").

306: ὁ Φοῖβος οἶδε τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπαιδίαν.

Conscious irony.

307: ὦ τλῆμον, ὡς τἄλλ' εὐτυχοῦσ' οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς.

εὐτυχεῖς here means '*truly* happy' - in fact it approaches the sense of εὐδαιμονεῖν. Rhetorical effect will be the governing reason here, but the conflation is not uncommon elsewhere. Cf. *Tro.* 509-10 τῶν δ' εὐδαιμόνων | μηδένα νομίζετ' εὐτυχεῖν πρὶν ἂν θάνῃ, *Andr.* 420 ἥσσον μὲν ἀλγεῖ, δυστυχῶν δ' εὐδαιμονεῖ (with Stevens ad loc.). *Med.* 1229f. ὄλβου δ' ἐπιρρυέντος· εὐτυχέστερος | ἄλλου γένοιτ' ἂν ἄλλος, εὐδαίμων δ' ἂν οὔ and S. *OC* 1554 do however preserve the distinction. See Wilamowitz ad *HF* 1 440.

308: σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; ὥς σου τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὤλβισα.

The text is ambiguous, as the genitive σου could either be an objective genitive after τὴν τεκοῦσαν or a genitive of 'sphere within which' depending on ὀλβίζω. For this reason Blaydes eliminated the problem by means of σέ for σου.

For the former interpretation one might compare *Alc.* 167 αὐτῶν ἡ τεκοῦσα (of Alcestis' children), A. *Pers.* 245 ἰόντων τοῖς τεκοῦσι (melius κιόντων (Wecklein) ut vidit Page). E. *El.* 335 is just such a crux as Blaydes envisaged here - κάρα τ' ἐμὸν ξυρῆκες ὅ τ' ἐκεῖνον τεκών, where L is the only MS to read ἐκεῖνον as against ἐκείνου, miscopied from the exemplar or a copy thereof. For the latter cf. Pl. *Symp.* 194E τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐδαιμονίζειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, *Crit.* 43B σε ηὐδαιμόνισα τοῦ τρόπου, Ar. *Vesp.* 429 μακαριεῖν σὲ τοῦ δέρματος, ibid. 518. The sentiment is similar in E. *Hyps.* fr. 1 i 5 Bond ὦ μακαρία σφῶν ἡ τεκο[ῦσ' ἥ]τις ποτ' ἦν (likewise the parody in Petronius *Sat.* 94.1 'o felicem, inquit, matrem, quae te talem peperit'). A similar ambiguity occurs with οἱ προσήκοντες ('relations'): with genitive, Thuc. I 128 etc., but with dative Hdt. VI 128, Xen. *Hell.* 1 7 21.

With a less 'established' relationship term than these (γεννάω, φύω), a dependent genitive would be unthinkable; as Dale remarks (*Alc.* loc. cit.) a term such as ἡ τεκοῦσα 'occasionally assumes sufficient substantival force' to do so (though at Hdt. I 116 the MSS are unanimous for ἡ τεκοῦσα αὐτόν).

The examples I have assembled are in the main straightforward. The ambiguity here is most unattractive. Blaydes' conjecture should be given the most serious consideration.

309: τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος, εἰμί τ', ὦ γύναι.

For the conjunction of terms cf. A. *Pers.* 655f. θεομήστωρ δ' ἐκικλήσκετο Πέρσαις,

θεομήστωρ δ' ἔσκεν.

The question C. is asking is whether Ion was 'devoted' to the shrine as an offering in time of plague, war, etc. (like Manto: see schol. A.R. I 308, D.S. IV 66 5, Apollodorus III 7 4, Pausanias VII 3 1), or whether he is a common slave. Ion's reply would fit either outcome: he is deliberately side-stepping the point and we learn later (669f.) of his fears concerning his family background.

311: οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἔν· Λοξίου κεκλήμεθα.

"Loxias' boy" is Owen's translation. He was ὁ παῖς ὅδ' ἀμφὶ ναοὺς σέθεν τρόφιμος (683 f.). In this sense he is claiming parenthood, not in any other. (Owen's observation that a slave had no official name in fifth-century Athenian law is to be over-literal). Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* III 67 ἤ τινα Λατοΐδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος, Ar. *Vesp.* 151 πατρὸς νυνὶ Καπνίου κεκλήσομαι, Hdt. VI 88 Νικόδρομος Κνοίθευ καλεόμενος.

See Owen for parallels for the first four words: add Ar. *Pax* 228 (where there is a strong element of paratragedy) cf. *Hipp.* 599, *Su.* 933, *HF* 1143, *El.* 627.

312: ἡμεῖς σ' ἄρ' αὖθις, ὦ ξέν', ἀντοικτίρομεν.

L offers αὖτις (corrector incertus) as at 1513: the same mistake occurs in some codices of S. *OC* 234, 1438 and in many other places. That form is apparently confined to Ionic and it is an obvious 'Homerism' on the part of a scribe more accustomed to copying Homer than any other author.

ἀντοικτίρομεν is a *hapax legomenon*, as is ἀντοικτίζω in Thuc. III 40.

313: ὡς μὴ εἰδόθ' ἥτις μ' ἔτεκεν ἐξ ὅτου τ' ἔφυν.

'Yes as one who...' The stuttering, elided rhythm is noteworthy in this emotional remark. Cf.

361.

314: ναοῖσι δ' οἰκεῖς τοισίδ' ἢ κατὰ στέγας;

The point of the plurals is 'do you live *somewhere* about the temple or in *some sort of* private accommodation', κατὰ στέγας being general in application. Obviously ναοί *is* often poetic plural, equally obviously, Creusa is not asking Ion if he sleeps in the actual temple. 1253 ἐκ γὰρ οἴκων προὔλαβον *μόγις* πόδα cited by Owen is irrelevant.

See K.-G. 1 p. 442 para. 426. on the locative dative - also Moorhouse, *Syntax*, 87.

315: ἄπαν θεοῦ *μοι* δῶμ', ἵν' ἂν λάβῃ *μ'* ὕπνος.

The syntax of this line has been impugned by Musgrave, who suggested ἀπανταχοῦ, by Badham, and (cautiously) by Diggle, who supported Musgrave's conjecture with *Phaethon* l. 163 fr. 777 N. ὡς πανταχοῦ γε πατρὶς ἡ βόσκουσα γῆ. ἵν' ἂν λάβῃ *μ'* ὕπνος (indefinite) appears to be safeguarded by Ar. *Plut.* 1151 πατρὶς γάρ ἐστι πᾶσ' ἵν' ἂν πράττῃ τις εὖ. More difficult examples are *OC* 404 τούτου χάριν τοίνυν σε προσθέσθαι πέλας | χώρας θέλουσι, *μη*δ' ἵν' ἂν σαυτοῦ κρατῇς (κρατοῖς Brunck) and id. 188ff. ἄγε νυν σύ *με*, παῖς, | ἵν' ἂν εὐσεβίας ἐπιβαίνοντες | τὸ *μὲν* εἴπο*μεν*, τὸ δ' ἀκούσαι*μεν*, | καὶ *μὴ* χρείᾳ πολε*μῶμεν*, where the two subjunctives εἴπω*μεν* and ἀκούσω*μεν* depend on a variant reported in L and unanimous testimony of the Roman family. It should be said that the change to the subjunctive - in both cases - would be a natural scribal simplification of the construction. At Xen. *Cyr.* VII 5 25 σὐδ' ἂν *μέλλειν* δέος,ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος,ἀλλ' ἰέναι ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύους,ὡς *μάλιστα* ἂν λάβωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας, most editors have deleted the modal particle found in some MSS on the prior assumption that we have a final clause where

ἵνα with ἄν would be unacceptable. It could however be taken as indefinite: 'to set out for some unspecified place *where we might come upon them quite unprepared*', where the ἵνα (ἄν) clause is adjectival and stand in apposition to the main action of the sentence.

Furthermore, with an *associative* word such as δῶμα, πατρίς, we do not need another 'local' word such as the ἀπανταχοῦ which Musgrave sought to introduce. Compare the following: E. fr. 1047 N. l. 2 ἅπασα δὲ χθὼν ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πατρίς, *TGF* II F 392 l. 2 ἅπας μοι πύργος Ἑλλήνων πατρίς, ibid. 318 τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς, Lys. XXXI 6 γνώμῃ δὲ χρῶνται ὡς πᾶσα γῆ πατρὶς αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἐν ᾗ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχωσιν, *Od.* IX 366 Οὖτις ἔμοιγ' ὄνομα· Οὖτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσι κτλ. (the ἐστ' of 366 is not present in the Venetus and the Mon. Aug. and a considerable number of other MSS and may owe its existence to scholarly conjecture; it was reintroduced by Naber). Allen records 6 MSS with that reading (ἔστ'/ἐστίν with the usual scribal affection for *scriptio plena*). Cf. von der Mühll ad loc. (who does not adopt ἐστί). It is not impossible that Allen is in error. *Contra* Agar, *Homerica* (1908) 150. Further examples of this kind of ethic dative with *no* verb expressed are collected in Schwyzer II 143 para. 2 n. and K.-G. 1 p. 417 para. 423. Construe ἅπαν θεοῦ δῶμά μοι δῶμα ἵν' ἂν λάβῃ μ' ὕπνος ('ist δῶμα doppelt zu verstehen', Wilamowitz, rightly). There seems to be no call to emend. Translate 'all parts of the god's home are home to me as well - wheresoever I should be taken by sleep'.

317: βρέφος λέγουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι.

I do not know why Owen interprets the plural as a vague reference to the Pythia. It is a moving touch - all the inhabitants of the shrine who *seem* to know. Perhaps he had heard different versions.

318: ἐξέθρεψε as commonly in verse: cf. E. *Danae* fr. 317 ll. 5 f. N. καὶ γὰρ ἐκτροφαὶ καλαὶ | καὶ συννεάζων ἡδὺ παῖς νέῳ πατρί and *Su.* 1222, S. *OT* 827, *El.* 13, A. *Cho.* 750.

319: See on 321.

320: τίς, ὦ ταλαίπωρ'; ὡς νοσοῦσ' ηὗρον νόσους.

The rhetorical repetition intentionally refers back to Ion's l. 307 (ὡς τἄλλ' εὐτυχοῦσ' οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς). See too *Ion* 620 οὐ γὰρ ἀξία | πατέρων ἀπ' ἐσθλῶν οὖσ' ἀπαιδίᾳ νοσεῖν - *if genuine*: see ad loc. For the play on words cf. (νόσον νοσεῖν) Hdt. III 33, S. *Ph.* 173, Pl. *Lg.* 853D. (νόσῳ νοσεῖν) A. *PV* 384, S. *Tr.* 544. For other examples of the *figura etymologica* in E. see Breitenbach, 229 para. 6.

The change of mood in Creusa is brilliantly depicted in this part of the dialogue.

321: Φοίβου προφῆτις, *μητέρ'* ὡς νομίζομεν.

Thus L. The problem goes closely with 319, where the text has ἥδ' ἔθρεψέ *με* emended by Musgrave to ἡ δ' and generally accepted. However Reiske kept the MS reading in 319 ('this woman brought me up', assuming that Ion here makes a deictic gesture towards the temple), and made the conjecture in 321 Φοίβου προφῆτιν, to make it an independent sentence. If Musgrave's *Deutung* of the text (it is no more than that) is preferred, Owen's explanation is obviously the right one: 'the antecedent is in the case of the relative. Ion is answering the question of Creusa in the same case.' Parallels are hardly needed for the continuity of construction by a character in stichomythia and what clinches the matter in favour of Musgrave is that Creusa has interrupted Ion before and that this suits the urgent tone of this dialogue. Cf. 266, 272, 276.

How then to punctuate 321? Most editors place a comma after Φοίβου προφῆτις. What is really needed is (anachronistic) brackets around this phrase. Biehl's raised stop seems quite unnecessary. But, in point of fact, I would favour Reiske's conjecture. It is a matter of some astonishment that if the text *were* as we have it, corruption did not take place in an age when punctuation was little known. What is decisive is the sonorous dignity of the unified sentiment, lost if we even introduce a dash and impart a staccato tone to the sentence. We have seen that Ion is given to a certain almost proprietary dignity when he speaks of the god in whose service he is. Thus Ion's syntax is not continued on exactly from his preceding sentence.

μητέρ' ὡς νομίζομεν: cf. Pl. *Lg.* 879C τὸν προέχοντα... ἔτεσι... νομίζων ὡς πατέρα.

322: ἐς δ' ἄνδρ' ἀφίκου τίνα τροφὴν κεκτημένος;

For ἀφικνέομαι of reaching a certain stage of life cf. Ar. *Av.* 606 πῶς δ' ἐς γῆράς ποτ' ἀφίξονται;, Hdt. III 99 τὸν ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον, Pl. *Charm.* 157D εἰς ὅσον ἡλικίας ἥκει, *Rp.* 329B ὅσοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον ἡλικίας, etc. (note *OT* 1492 ἀλλ' ἡνίκ' ἂν δὴ πρὸς γάμων ἥκητ' ἀκμάς and Dale ad *Alc.* 291).

κεκτημένος is here used in a very weak sense ('*with* what τροφή' would be the natural sense in English), as sometimes in verse. Cf. A. *PV* 795 (κοινὸν ὄμμα), *Ag.* 1051 (φωνὴν βάρβαρον), often with κάλλος, etc.

324: L offers τάλαινά σ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἥτις ποτ' ἦν ἄρα, which is obviously unmetrical. Hitherto the most popular medicine has been Jodrell's τάλαινά σ' ἡ τεκοῦσα· τίς ποτ' ἦν ἄρα; But it will not do. As Diggle (*Studies*, 99) points out, Creusa has already asked the

question Jodrell gives her at 308 and Ion professed his ignorance at 313. So either her memory is less operative than we have already seen it to be, or the question is addressed rhetorically to herself: neither consequence seems desirable.

The choice must rest between Dobree's τάλαιν' ἄρ' ἡ τεκοῦσά σ' ἥτις ἦν ποτε and Porson's τάλαινά σ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἄρ' ἥτις ἦν ποτε. ἥτις ἦν ποτε is safeguarded by the following parallels: *Hyps.* I 1 5 ὦ μακαρία σφῶν ἡ τεκο[ῦσ' ἥ]τις ποτ' ἦν, *Ion* 564 νῦν ποθῶ σε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὶν ἥτις εἶ ποτ' εἰσιδεῖν, *IT* 482[1] τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρει κἀπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι νῷν | κακοῖσι λυπεῖς, ἥτις εἶ ποτ' ὦ γύναι,[2] Menander *Epitr.* l. 310 Sandbach τῆς μητρὸς ἥτις ἦν ποτε.

Porson's conjecture should be preferred: it is the easier of the two, and Wackernagel's Law is relevant to the σε placed early in its clause which Dobree sought to avoid. See *Ion* 671 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' εἴη γυνή, *El.* 264 μήτηρ δέ σ' ἡ τεκοῦσα ταῦτ' ἠνέσχετο, S. *Phil.* 1242 τίς ἔσται μ' οὐπικωλύσων τάδε;, *OC* 893 τίς <σ'> ὁ πημήνας (recte A. de Jongh, also Nauck, for MS δ'); Ar. *Av.* 95 τίνες εἰσί μ' οἱ ζητοῦντες;, *Lys.* 753 ἵνα μ' εἰ καταλάβοι | ὁ τόκος ἔτ' ἐν πόλει, Hom. *Il.* XXI 347 χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθείρῃ, Pl. *Gorg.* 506C καί με ἐὰν ἐξελέγχῃς, οὐκ ἀχθήσομαι.

For ἄρα in late position cf. *Ion* 791, *IT* 886, fr. 377 l. 1 N., Denniston, *GP*, 41-2.

(The idiom exemplified by *Hipp.* 503 †καὶ† μή σε πρὸς θεῶν... πέρα προβῇς τῶνδε, ibid. 311f. καί σε πρὸς θεῶν | τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς αὖθις λίσσομαι σιγᾶν πέρι is discussed by Barrett pp. 251f.: 'an enclitic's tendency to second place is so strong that sometimes when a subordinate or parenthetic clause with an enclitic... comes immediately after the beginning of the main sentence the enclitic will push to the front of its own clause in order to come

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[1] 482 seems to necessitate the MSS text, as given, not Kvičala's μέλουσι.

[2] κακοῖς σε Housman.

second in the main sentence'.) See Barrett ad loc. and note below on 361. See in general Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* (1953), 1 f., Diggle *CQ* XXVII (1977), p. 236, id. *Studies,* 99.

Another admirable reason for conservatism here is argued by Kraus *WS.* l.c., 41 - the apparently interchanged topics in these lines agree with the general purpose of the dialogue. He writes: "Dieser ganze Dialog hat ja doch sein Leben darin, dass beide Partner sich und einander mit den Personen identifizieren, von denen die Rede ist: Kreusa Ion mit ihrem verschollenen Kind und sich mit seinem Mutter, Ion im folgenden sich mit dem Kind, von dem Kreusa erzählt".

324-5: Κρ. τάλαινά σ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἄρ', ἥτις ἦν ποτε.

Ἰω. ἀδίκημά του γυναικὸς ἐγενόμην ἴσως.

These lines have been the object of needless transposition. Herwerden removed them to after 329 and (worse) Wecklein after 327. The repeated ἔχεις, ἔχω (326, 329) might conceivably have misled a scribe, but the whole scene has been characterised by echoed or repeated language, as we have already seen. Logic would indeed benefit slightly by at least the first of the two transpositions, but the dramatic effect would not. Creusa tentatively approaches the subject of Ion's parentage as a prelude to her own 'inquiry': her αἰδώς (336) causes her to shrink from that point too, until Ion encourages her (see note there). It is therefore quite in character that she should approach the subject in stages, interposing remarks on a different topic in between extracting the full story from Ion. Wilamowitz should have thought of how his beloved Ibsen would have dealt with it!

325: ἀδίκημά του γυναικὸς ἐγενόμην ἴσως.

Badham claims that Attic writers, to avoid ambiguity, do not use του in the feminine gender:

this conviction leads him as far as suggesting τοῦ φύσαντος for του γυναικός, with no possible palaeographical justification. As γυναικός immediately follows, this is *prima facie* unnecessary; and the objective genitive is adequately paralleled by Plut. *Mor.* 766C σὔτε γὰρ ξένων καὶ ἱκετῶν ἀδικίας ὁ Ξένιος... οὕτω διώκει καὶ *μέτεισι* ταχέως ὡς ἐρασταῖς ἀγνωμονηθεῖσιν ὁ Ἔρως ὀξὺς ὑπακούει. For the feminine του cf. S. *OT* 1107 εἴθ' ὁ Βακχεῖος θεὸς ναίων ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων <σ'> εὕρημα δέξατ' ἔκ του Νυμφᾶν ἑλικωπίδων. Cf. also E. *IT* 1064 καλόν τοι γλῶσσ' ὅτῳ πιστὴ παρῇ (where, though in gnomes, I. is advising the ladies of the chorus (see too 1071 if genuine, del. Dindorf)). In both cases - as here - the context makes it perfectly obvious what gender the indefinite pronoun is supposed to refer to.

A treatment of factitive nouns in *-μα* is offered by Long, *Language and Thought in Sophocles* (1968), 19 nn. 35f. and see Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1938), 181. 'Das Ergebnis des ἀδικεῖν' (Wilamowitz) comparing παιδεύματα *Hipp.* 11 et al.

326: ἔχεις δὲ βίοτον· εὖ γὰρ ἤσκησαι πέπλοις.

βίοτος: i.e. 'means of living, wealth'. Homer uses βίοτος only not βίος in this sense, but both βίοτος and βίος appear in this sense later: *Il.* V 544 ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο etc., cf. Ebeling *LH* (2)). Cf. E. *Su.* 861 ᾧ βίος *μὲν* ἦν πολύς, ibid. 450 κτᾶσθαι δὲ πλοῦτον καὶ βίον τί δεῖ τέκνοις;, A. fr. 196 R. l. 4 f. αὐτόσποροι | γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον βροτοῖς, Hes. *OD* 31 ᾧ τινι *μὴ* βίος ἔνδον ἐπητανὸς κατάκειται (and 42, 232), Ar. *Av.* 717 f. τρέπεσθε... πρὸς βιότου κτῆσιν, *Eccl.* 610 βιός ἐκ κοινοῦ.

ἤσκησαι; as frequently in the passive: A. *Pers.* 182 πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἠσκημένη, S. *El.* 452 καὶ ζῶμα τοὐμὸν οὐ χλιδαῖς ἠσκημένον.

327: τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κοσμούμεθ' ᾧ δουλεύομεν.

κοσμούμεθα (like ἀσκεῖσθαι above) of garments: Hdt. VII 40 κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα, Pl. *Ion* 535 d 2 κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, *h. Hom. Ven.* 65 χρυσῷ κοσμηθεῖσα.

328: οὐδ' ᾔξας εἰς ἔρευναν ἐξευρεῖν γονάς;

ἐξευρεῖν is a straightforward infinitive of purpose. ᾔξας: 'to set about an undertaking eagerly'. Cf. S. *Aj.* 31f. εὐθέως δ' ἐγὼ | κατ' ἴχνος ᾄσσω, Pl. *Lg.* 709A ταῦτα δὲ προιδών τις ᾄξειεν ἂν εἰπεῖν + acc. and inf. The whole phrase resembles S. *OT* 566f. Οι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔρευναν τοῦ θ κανόντος ἔσχετε;[1] Κρ. παρέσχομεν, πῶς δ' οὐχί;. The verb in this sense becomes common parlance in later antiquity.

γοναί here used for γένος (verse): cf. for this (and plural) S. *Aj.* 1094 ὃς μηδὲν ὢν γοναῖσιν εἶθ' ἁμαρτάνει with S. *OT* 1469 ἴθ' ὦ γονῆ γενναῖε, E. *Tro.* 1290 f. is too corrupt to serve as an example.

330: ταὔτ' is certain (Huelsemann).

331: τίς; εἰ πόνου μοι ξυλλάβοι, χαίρομεν ἄν.

For the phrase cf. *Med.* 946 συλλήψομαι δὲ τοῦδέ σοι κἀγὼ πόνου, Ar. *Vesp.* 733 f. σοὶ δὲ νὺν τις θεῶν παρὼν ἐμφανῶς | ξυλλαμβάνει τοῦ πράγματος | καὶ δῆλός ἐστίν εὖ ποιῶν, E. *IA* 160 σύλλαβε μοχθῶν, E. fr. 432 l. 2 N.

The MS has an aberrant word division (τίς εἶπον εἴ μοι ξυλλάβῃ χαίρομεν ἄν)

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[1]Herwerden's κανόντος is adopted by the *OCT* - cf. however 560. Nor does ἠκούσαμεν in 567 imply the method of a murder-hunt.

which was rectified by Yxem, a pupil of Seidler. The mistake will be the conversion of the ligature for ου to ει. Elmsley's alternative τίς, εἰπέ· κεἴ *μοι* ξυλλάβοι κτλ. is palaeographically much inferior and employs κεί in a fashion difficult to understand however interpreted - the *outcome* of this (*prima facie* distant and implausible) thought is not intended for our attention - or even scrutiny. It has been thought to be a not particularly adept use of tragic irony - why should Ion need an unknown person who has suffered the same fate as Creusa to assist him in finding his own relation? Kraus, *WS*, 44 comments however on the ambiguity of the number of χαίρομεν as being of possible significance: one might say that 1604 is the fullfillment of this.

335: λέγοις ἄν· ἡμεῖς τἄλλα προξενήσομεν.

The polite optative of request: 'perhaps you would be kind enough to tell me'. On this polite optative of request cf. K.-G. I p. 233f., Zilliacus, *Eranos* XLIV (1946), 266f., Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1049 (πείθοι' ἄν, εἰ πείθοι'. ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως).

προξενήσομεν: In this word we seem to have an only slightly veiled reference to an actual office at Delphi, that of the πρόξενος, whose duty it was to make the πρόθυμα on behalf of a visitor who was not a citizen. We are reminded of it again at 1039 (the old servant to Creusa) σὺ *μέν* νυν εἶσω προξένων *μέθες* πόδα where, at this stage in the action, the more general sense of 'protector' would be nonsense. Ion's use of the verb here is closely paralleled by that of Teucer to Helen (*Hel.* 146) concerning his proposed visit to the prophetess Theonoe: σὺ προξένησον, ὡς τύχω *μαντευμάτων*. The noun occurs in Euripides in a quite specific hieratic context at *Andr.* 1103 ἐσχάραις τ' ἐφέσταμεν | σὺν προξένοισι *μάντεσίν* τε Πυθικοῖς and at *Ion* 551 προξένων δ'† ἔν τω † κατέσχες; (of Xuthus' earlier visit to Delphi).

The Delphic πρόξενος had more specific duties than the equivalent office in any other city. The right of καταρχαί at Delphi was, as often elsewhere, confined to citizens. Likewise at Miletus: ἦν ξένος ἱεροποιῆ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, προιερᾶσθαι τῶν ἀστῶν ὃν ἂν θέλῃ ὁ ξένος (*SIG*^{3} 627 6). See too the regulations for sacrifice in the Heraion at Argos, ibid. 565 3, and Thuc. I 25 4 for those at Corcyra. At some temples the visitor could not even make the main sacrifice.

It is wrong however to say, as some commentators have, basing themselves on the literary evidence quoted above (which is our principal source on the πρόξενος) that the Delphic πρόξενος was in *general* charge of all χρηστηριαζόμενοι as against being affiliated to a particular city. The epigraphic evidence is admittedly post-Classical; but *SIG* 548, a decree granting various honorary rights to the citizens of Sardis at Delphi *c.* 211 B.C., quite clearly implies that in the normal course, a city would have its own Delphic 'attaché' from among the citizens of Delphi. The inscription ll. 9f. in fact records a slight deviation from the usual pattern: εἶμεν δὲ καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελ[φῶν] | πρόξενον τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Σαρδιανῶν... διὰ τὸ *μὴ* ὑπάρχειν πρόξενον Σαρδιανοῖς (presumably any suitable Delphian could perform the πρόθυμα).

προξενεῖν in later Greek becomes increasingly common in the sense of 'see to on someone's behalf' + acc.; and this is all we should find in *Med.* 724 πειράσομαί σου προξενεῖν δίκαιος ὤν, let alone Ar. *Thesm.* 576 γυναικομανῶ γὰρ προξενῶ θ' ὑμῶν ἀεί.

τἄλλα: ἄλλα will be an accusative of respect in this context (though for direct acc. cf. S. *Tr.* 726 and many later exx.). τἄλλα is an obvious correction for τ'ἄλλα (Brodaeus).

See Parke-Wormell, *DO* I, 32, Kannicht ad *Hel.* 146. The exact sense of the offer Ion is making is discussed by Legrand, 'Xuthus et Créuse à Delphes' *REG* XIV (1901), 46f., Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (1950), 111 n. 4; Fontenrose, *DO*, 217.

336-7: Κρ. ἄκουε δὴ τὸν μῦθον - ἀλλ' αἰδούμεθα.

Ἰω. σὺ τἄρα πράξεις οὐδέν· ἀργὸς ἡ θεός.

'In that case you will achieve nothing: the god (you allude to) is an impediment to action.'

ἀργός here approaches the sense of 'inducing inaction'. A similar idea, in more extended form, is found in E. *Danae* fr. 322 l. 1 N.: Ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφυ.[1]

In the previous line Kirchhoff wrote αἰδώς μ' ἔχει, in the thought that the identity of the deified abstraction Αἰδώς could not be recovered merely from the verb. This is wholly unnecessary: it is a most important feature of classical Greek thought that what is felt to be numinous can readily be deified (Menander fr. 223 K.-T. l. 1-3 ὦ μεγίστη τῶν θεῶν | νῦν οὖσ', 'Αναίδει', εἰ θεὸν καλεῖν σε δεῖ. | δεῖ δέ· τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ νῦν νομίζεται θεός) and Euripides is prominent among the tragedians for this form of expression. No difficulty in making the transfer would be felt at all. Cf. Hes. *OD* 763 φήμη... θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή, A. *Cho.* 60 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν | τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον, E. *Or.* 398f. Ὀρ. Λύπη... Μεν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ θεός, *Hel.* 560 ὦ θεοί· θεὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸ γιγνώσκειν φίλους, *HF* 556f. Ἡρ. κούκ ἔσχεν αἰδὼς[2] τὸν γέροντ' ἀτιμάσαι M. αἰδώς; ἀποικεῖ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω, *Pho.* 506 τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην... τυραννίδα,[3] *Pho.* 782 τῇ δ' εὐλαβείᾳ, χρησιμωτάτῃ θεῶν, *Ba.* 414 πόθος, Dicaeogenes fr. 5 οἱ γονῆς. They are frequently apostrophized: *Ba.* 370 Ὁσία πότνα θεῶν, *Or.* 213 ὦ πότνια λήθη τῶν κακῶν, ὡς εἶ

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[1]τοῖς ἀργοῖς - Pierson - is the right deduction from Stobaeus' ἔργοις. τοιούτοις - Plutarch, adopted by Nauck - is inferior.

[2]Pearson's nominative (αἰδῶ L) suits the aorist far better, as well as giving a better introduction to the next sentence.

[3]*incert. fab. fr.* 1018 ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός - a famous line as the *Nachleben* indicates though it may not be as solemnly intended as it was taken by the later philosophers; it might be "'tis with our conscience as our watches..."

σοφὴ | καὶ τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσιν εὐκταία θεός. This is the point of the joke against Euripides in *Frogs* 893f. where he is represented as praying to a private goddess. Alexander's sacrifice to φόβος before the battle of Gaugamela is no mere *façon de parler*, in our sense (Plut. *Alex.* 31 4). S. fr. 605 Radt ἦλθεν δὲ Δαὶς θάλεια, πρεσβίστη θεῶν, should not be adduced as an example as Δαίς is presumably an attempt to etymologize Δηώ.

Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, 364-75, Wilamowitz ad *HF* l. 557, Nilsson, *GGR* I², 775 813-15, Farnell, *Cults* V, p. 444. A.C. Pearson, *Verbal Scholarship and the Growth of Some Abstract Terms*, (Inaugural Lecture, Cambridge 1922), and *id.* on Sophocles fr. 605 (*Fragments* II, p. 248), Dodds, *GI*, 66, id. on *Ba.* 370-2, Kannicht on *Hel.* 559-60, W. Ritchie, *Dionysiaca*, 196.

The usage here is made even more comprehensible by the very importance of the concept of αἰδώς, and by the fact that she had an independent mythology and a cult: Hes. *OD* 197f. has Αἰδώς with Νέμεσις leaving mortals in the age of Iron. Cf. S. *OC* 1267f. ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων | Αἰδὼς ἐπ' ἐργοῖς πᾶσι. We hear specifically from Hesychius s.v. Αἰδοῦς βωμός· Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας εἰσὶ βωμοὶ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ: cf. Σ ad A. *PV* 12. Cf. Paus. I 17 1 on the Athenian cult and III 20 10f. on that in Laconia - of uncertain date, of course. However, the idea may lie behind the references to her as a goddess that we have already reviewed from poetry, and also the following: E. *IA* 821 ὦ πότνι' αἰδώς, cf. fr. 43b, *Hipp.* 78 Αἰδὼς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις, A. *Septem* 409 μάλ' εὐγενῆ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον τιμῶντα (echoed in Dioscorides. AP VII 450, l. 4 Αἰσχύνην οὐ νομίσασα θεόν, cf. the Hesychius reference to the βωμός: 'Αἰσχύνη here stands very close to Αἰδώς', Hutchinson *Septem* ad loc.), Xen. *Symp.* VIII 35 θεὰν γὰρ οὐ τὴν Ἀναίδειαν ἀλλὰ τὴν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι. Later sources add to her genealogy, making her the mother of Sophrosyne or coupling her with Athena.

For further detail see Deubner in Roscher III 2128, Wernicke *RE* I, 942, Sinclair, *CR*, XXXIX (1925), 147f., *in primis* C.F. Freiherr von Erffa, Αἰδώς (*Philologus* su. XXX 2 1937).

The idea that Ion is here calling upon, that αἰδώς can have an unprofitable side, one that actually prevents one from doing what one should as well as restraining one from what one should not, is one very familiar in Classical literature: the last word on the matter is spoken by Plutarch in his fascinating moral essay περὶ Δυσωπίας. We meet it first either in Homer or Hesiod, depending on who first wrote

αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν,

αἰδὼς ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησι.

αἰδὼς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίῃ, θάρσος δὲ πρὸς ὄλβῳ. (*OD* 317-19),

the first two lines of which are (nearly) identical with *Od.* XVII 347 and the middle with *Il.* XXIV 45. It is an impossible word to translate: 'English has nothing to cover the whole and such poetical equivalents as there are distort, both by particularising and - often - by adding what does not belong'. Barrett on *Hipp.* 78.

On the idea cf. E. (Erechtheus) fr. 365 N. αἰδοῦς δὲ καὐτὸς δυσκρίτως ἔχω πέρι· | καὶ δεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς κἄστιν αὖ κακὸν μέγα. Phaedra in *Hipp.* 385-6 is perhaps the most celebrated examples: δισσαὶ δ' εἰσίν· ἡ μὲν οὐ κακή | ἡ δ' ἄχθος οἴκων· εἰ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦν σαφής,| οὐκ ἂν δύ' ἦστην ταὔτ' ἔχοντε γράμματα, in which her subsequent abuse of the philosophy of αἰδώς in the play gives the popular proverb a sinister twist.

See further A.C. McKay, *AJP* LXXXIV (1963), 17 f. ("Ambiguous *Aidos* in Hesiod") who makes an interesting connection with Rhianus (Powell *CA* p. 9 fr. 1), Dover, *GPM* 236f., West on *OD* loc. cit.

338: Κρ. Φοίβῳ μιγῆναι φησί τις φίλων ἐμῶν.

//Ιω. Φοίβῳ, γύνη γεγῶσα; μὴ λεγ', ὦ ξένη.

For Φοίβῳ μιγῆναι cf. Pind. *Pyth.* III 14 πρόσθεν ἀκερσεκόμᾳ μιχθεῖσα Φοίβῳ. 'Phoebus! A mortal woman! Say it not' (Verrall) gets the point. What horrifies Ion - as ἀνδρός in 341 further indicates, is that it was not a goddess in question. Φοίβῳ is governed by μιγῆναι in the previous line: γυνὴ γεγῶσα = "born a woman".

341: οὐκ ἔστιν.

'Impossible.' Owen rightly compares *Alc.* 538f. Ἡρ. ξένων πρὸς ἄλλων ἑστίαν πορεύσομαι Ἀδ. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦναξ.

342: ὃ φησιν αὐτὴ· καὶ πέπονθεν ἀθλία. If ὅ is kept it must anticipate the content of 344: this entails Creusa completely ignoring Ion's objection and continuing with her narrative. This seems very curious in *stichomythia* and no convincing parallel has been produced; moreover, anticipatory clauses of this kind, though to be expected in Demosthenes, hardly suit the rapid interchange of a dramatic dialogue. The substitution of οὗ for ὅ, made independently by Hermann and Dobree, has been accepted by many editors, and probably rightly; then Creusa answers Ion's preceding remark directly and Ion's reply τί χρῆμα δράσασ' εἰ θεῷ συνεξύγη, which *admits* the possibility of Creusa being right in the claim he has previously rejected in horror, makes better sense, because he will already have heard from Creusa a good reason to believe that she *is* speaking the truth. But the decisive point in favour of accepting this conjecture is Creusa's αὐτή. If she is merely carrying on the account of her 'friend's' misfortunes, oblivious of what Ion has just said, there seems little point in reintroducing the subject of her narrative in such an emphatic way. But if she is answering Ion back, it does make sense: 'she denies the untruth *herself*', pointing the moral

that the wronged lady is in an especially good position to vouch for what has happened.

It is a nice point whether we should also accept Hermann's change of accent from ἀθλία to ἄθλια, which gives πέπονθεν an accusative object. In Attic law πάσχειν without object means 'the man who pays the penalty' (Lys. XX 30 etc., cf. LSJ III 6). The context there makes the technical term immediately comprehensible, and one can supply the suppressed accusative. So one can in e.g. S. *OT* 403 παθὼν ἔγνως ἂν οἷά περ φρονεῖς, Hes. *OD* 218. παθὼν ἔγνω (almost a proverb, like πάθει μάθος), all these are 'absolute' uses in a somewhat Pickwickian sense. Here with the indicative it is less obvious what to supply - 'grief', 'humiliation', the 'act of having been assaulted' itself - all are available. Accents in MSS of the date of L have little to no authority and this change also should be made, as Diggle does.

343: The MS has τί χρῆμα δράσασ', εἰ θεῷ συνεζύγη;

Owen says that τί χρῆμα δράσασα must here mean 'what crime did she (go on to) commit?' because 'if she had won the god's favour, Ion implies that any suffering must have come as a result of her own conduct'. This is fundamentally mistaken.[1] It is an axiom of Greek thought that mortal unions with the divine tend to disastrous consequence. This is pointed out explicitly by Anchises (*h. Hom. Ven.* 188) when he discovers the nature of his visitor: μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς | ναίειν ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ', ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ | γίγνεται ὅς τε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτῃσι. Calypso makes a related point at *Od.* V 118 on the deaths at the hands of Artemis and Zeus of Orion and Iasion, the mortal lovers

[1]A. P. Burnett ("Human Resistance and Divine Persuasion in Euripides' *Ion*", *CP* LVII (1962) p. 90) uses this mistranslation to aid an argument ("Ion... wonders how harm could come to a woman thus favoured").

of Eos and Demeter respectively. Half-children of deities fare little better - Achilles, Heracles, Theseus, Asclepius. The chorus echo Ion's thought at 506f.: οὔτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγοις | φάτιν ἄιον εὐτυχίας μετέχειν | θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς. For interesting anthropological parallels for the fear of wedlock with the divine see Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Mythology,* 139, Allen-Halliday's note on *h. Hom. Ven.* loc. cit., Rose, *CQ* XVIII (1924), 11 f.

Ion means 'what misfortune did she suffer as a result of sleeping with a god?'. Few parallels are required for the use of δρᾶν =πάσχω and for the phrase cf. *Hipp.* 909 τί χρῆμα πάσχει; τῷ τρόπῳ διόλλυται; Ar. *Nu.* 816 τί χρῆμα πάσχεις; Likewise at A. *Cho.* 885 τί δ' ἐστι χρῆμα;,[1] χρῆμα means "misfortune". Wilamowitz rightly compares *HF* 540f. Με. τεθνᾶσ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατὴρ οὐμὸς γέρων. Ἡρ. πῶς φῄς; τί δράσας ἢ μόρου ποίου τυχών;.

εἰ taking the place of a causal particle is common with verbs expressing wonder or delight, but is also found with no such verb preceding: e.g. Hdt. V. 97 πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐχ οἷος τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων τοῦτο ἐποίησε ('considering that'). Cf. LSJ V ad fin.[2]

347: εἰ δ' οὐκέτ' ἔστι, τίνι τρόπῳ διεφθάρη;

One might have expected μηκέτι for οὐκέτι in a conditional. The reason for οὐκέτ' ἔστι is that it stands for one single verbal unit, i.e. εἰ τέθνηκε. μηκέτι would have placed unnecessary emphasis on the verb as independent. Likewise *Ion* 388 ὡς εἰ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἔστιν,

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[1]Page deletes the δέ, probably rightly - cf. West, *GM*, p. 15.

[2]Thus W.-M., *Ion* p. 100, rightly. Cf. id. note on *HF* loc. cit.

ὀγκωθῇ τάφῳ. Cf. S. fr. l. 2 144 Radt εἴ τις οὐ πάρετσιν ὃς ξυνώμοσεν (= κωλύεις), E. fr. 83 N. εἰ τοῦ τεκόντος οὐδὲν ἐντρέπῃ πατρός (=ἀμελεῖς), *Med.* 88 εἰ τούσδε γ' εὐνῆς οὕνεκ' οὐ στέργει πατήρ (=μισεῖ), Hom. *Od.* XIX 85 εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὣς ἀπόλωλε καὶ οὐκέτι νόστιμός ἐστι, XII 382, etc., *Il.* XXIV 296 εἰ δέ τοι οὐ δώσει ἐὸν ἄγγελον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς. The same applies to adverbs and adjective groups that in the context readily imply their opposite: S. *Aj.* 7 ὅπως ἴδῃς | εἴτ' ἔνδον εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον, Lysias XIII 62 εἰ μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ ἦσαν, καθ' ἕκαστον ἂν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκούετε, etc. See K.-G. 2 189-92 with Anmerk. ii; Schwyzer II 593, Bruhn, *Anhang* 87 ('die Annahme richtig ist, dass er nicht mehr lebt', K.-G. l.c. on our passage).

348: ἐλπίζει is here employed, as frequently, of evil rather than good outcomes: S. *Tr.* 111 δύστανον ἐλπίζουσαν αἶσαν, *Aj.* 798f. τήνδε δ' ἔξοδον | <τὴν> ὀλεθρίαν Αἴαντος ἐλπίζει φέρειν (of Teucer), Hdt. VIII 12 ἐλπίζουσι πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι.

349: ἔγνω[ς] (Brodaeus) needs no further canvassing, and is clearly right.

351: σταλαγμός: cf. *Hec.* 241 φόνου σταλαγμοί, *Ion* 1003 σταλαγμοὺς αἵματος Γοργοῦς ἄπο: poetic, Ionic and later prose.

352: οὔ φησι, as ten lines earlier, confirming further Hermann's οὐ there (see ad loc.).

353: χρόνος δὲ τίς τῷ παιδὶ διαπεπραγμένῳ;

An ethic dative after an expression of length of time. Cf. S. *OT* 735 καὶ τίς χρόνος τοῖσδ' ἔστιν οὐξεληλυθώς; *Ph.* 354 ἦν δ' ἦμαρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλέοντί μοι, *Il.* II 295 ἡμῖν δ'

εἰνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτὸς | ἐνθάδε *μιμνόντεσσιν*, Xen. *Hell.* II 1 27 ἦν δ' ἡμέρα *πέμπτη* ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Hdt. I 84 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη *ἡμέρη*... πολιορκεο*μένῳ* Κροίσῳ, Thuc. III 29, etc. Cf. K.-G. 1 p. 424, with further references.

διαπεπραγ*μένῳ*: In the perfect passive in the poets (and apparently only thus) the verb bears the sense 'finished, perished'. Cf. A. *Pers.* 260, *Cho.* 880, S. *Tr.* 784, E. *Hel.* 858.

The whole line should be translated not quite as "how long ago was the infant killed?", which would require not τίς but πόσος, rather "what age would the dead infant now have reached (χρόνος as in χρόνος ἤβης, βίου etc.; this also makes Creusa's reply more apposite.

354: σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἤβης, εἴπερ' ἦν, εἶχ' ἂν *μέτρον*.

The above is the reading of L. The text has been much disputed for a variety of reasons, *in primis* as a test case for "Elmsley's Law" (on which see e.g. K.-B. I p. 235, Jebb on S. *El.* 914, E. Harrison *Camb. Univ. Reporter*, 1933), to the effect that Attic poets do not elide the final epsilon of the third person singular of a past tense before ἄν (propounded ad *Medea* 416 (426)). The point is further complicated by the question of whether there is good MS testimony to the contrary, and if so whether it should be believed to represent Attic practice.

However, a lesser problem must be dealt with first. Some editors, starting with Hermann, have been concerned that Creusa, while ostensibly still searching for the child of her 'friend', uses in εἴπερ ἦν the syntax of an unfulfilled condition. Thus Murray adopts Hermann's σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἤβης, εἴπερ, εἶχεν ἂν *μέτρον*, supposing a suppressed ἔστι vel sim.

This is a grave mistake. The verse examples quoted in its favour are as follows: *Andr.* 552f.

ἀλλ' ἀνηβητηρίαν | ῥώμην *μ'* ἐπαινῶ λαμβάνειν, εἴπερ ποτέ (here the infinitive

immediately preceding makes all clear),[1] *Tr.* 702f. καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν | Τροίᾳ *μέγιστον* ὠφέλημ', ἵν' - εἴ ποτε - | ἐκ σοῦ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν | κατοικίσειαν.[2] That the verb shortly *is* expressed destroys this parallel altogether. (It is not impossible that the construction changes in mid-line, with εἴ ποτε like εἴθε introducing a direct wish, and this would suit the wrought and excited character of the language in this scene.) At S. *Aj.* 885 εἴ ποθι... λεύσσων and at id. *Phil.* 1204 εἴ ποθεν are attracted into the indefinite clause ('alicubi' and 'sicunde' respectively) to which they belong. In Ar. *Eq.* 591 f. δεῖ | γὰρ τοῖς ἄνδρασι τοῖσδε πά|σῃ τέχνῃ πορίσαι σε νί|κην εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν the infinitive suggests itself as the verb. The same is true of the alleged prose examples of this usage with one important exception: Thuc. IV 20 1 ἡμῖν δὲ καλῶς, εἴπερ ποτε, ἔχει... ἡ ξυναλλαγή, Xen. *An.* VI 4 12 ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς *μαχουμένους* εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε, etc. Where it does occur is *as a philosophical technical term*, a kind of shorthand for resuming an argument that has already been enunciated: Plat. *Parm.* 150B Ἐν *μὲν* ὅλῳ ἄρα ἐνὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη *σμικρότης*, ἀλλ', εἴπερ, ἐν *μέρει* ('*if* there is'), Ar. *EN* 1101a12 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο πάλιν εὐδαίμων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, ἐν πολλῷ τινὶ καὶ τελείῳ (= 'but should he do so'). It is distinctive, and does not belong to the more elevated passages of exegesis even here: not surprisingly the totals counted by Denniston (*GP* 489) are three for Plato and twelve for Aristotle.

The case is clinched by an interesting Aristophanic passage (*Nu.* 226f.) which at first seems to shake my argument: Strepsiades to Socrates, ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς

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[1]Thus codd. Diggle adopts Platt's *με* καὶ νῦν making both infinitives dependent on ἔργον. The difficulty is that (a) the ἔργον is presumably what is going on before Peleus, which does not work with the λαμβάνειν clause (b) phrases such as οὐ σχολῆς ἀκμή etc, generally appear alone rather than governing a construction.

[2]Diggle adopts the Aldine's οἵ ποτέ which seems an over-emphatic position in the line for the enclitic.

ὑπερφρονεῖς | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, εἴπερ = 'Why not do so on the ground, if at all?' (cf. Starkie ad loc.). The point is, of course that, in company with the high-flown ὑπερφρονεῖς and the context, Aristophanes is *poking fun at 'standard' philosopher's language* (περιφρονεῖς (V) makes the point better as *Nu.* 225 and 1503 surely prove, *pace* Dover ad loc., and at ibid. 189: the whole point of the long syllable before φ|ρ metrically *is* mock-seriousness, *Rau* o.c. subter 119, 126). This is correctly seen by J.D. Denniston, *CQ* XXI, (1927), 119f. - see Dover ad loc. for similar parodies; also P. Rau, *Paratragodia* (Munich 1967), 189. The joke that Dover mentions - i.e. that in 225 περιφρονεῖς means 'think *about*' whereas 'treat with disregard' is how it is understood - is if anything improved by V's reading.

Even if this were not the case εἴπερ would still be difficult, for the verb to supply does not immediately suggest itself.

The point of the syntax is a poignant one: Creusa accepts Ion's suggestion that the child was διαπεπραγμένος as revealing her *own* fears, and in her despondency speaks of him *as if he were already dead.*

Turning to the next problem: can the elided εἶχ' ἄν stand? Firstly, let us consider what the MSS actually do. This is an unambiguous example. Two other examples are certainly attested: at Ar. *Ran.* 946 the Ravenna codex has εἶπ' ἄν (corrected by Blaydes to ἂν εἶπον) and at *Plut.* 1012 most MSS have ᾔτησ' ἄν, the second hand in the Ravennas writes ᾔτει σ' ἄν and Triclinius expands to ᾔτησεν ἄν. It has recently been claimed by Daitz in the *apparatus criticus* of his 1973 Teubner *Hecuba* at l. 1113, that at that point six MSS have παρέσχ' ἄν: K.Matthiessen at the request of Dr. Diggle, inspected them and confirmed the latter's suspicion that παρέσχεν or παρέσχεν ἄν was the true reading (as reported in *Studies,* p. 100: see too Diggle's review of Daitz's edition in *JHS* XCV (1975),

198).

So examples exist, even if they are infrequent. A factor that may help to explain this infrequency is scribal *scriptio plena* resulting in the faulty introduction of ν-ἐφελκυστικόν. See E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (*BICS* Supplement XLVII (1987) as revised by P.J. Parsons in the second edition), p. 8. Both *scriptio plena* of the final nu *and* elision are frequently found in the same text: see illustrations nos. 26, 28, 30, 1, 32, 33, 39, 40, 42, 75. The habits of L in this respect are discussed by R. Kannicht, *Helena* vol. I, Introduction pp. 106f. ('Gelegentlich hat alte *scriptio plena*, schon früh zur Beseitigung des Scheinhiats durch hybrides ν-ἐφελκυστικόν... geführt.'). At *Hel.* 308 the MS has καὶ μὴν σαφῶς γ' ἔλεξεν ὀλωλέναι πόσιν where ἔλεξ' is obviously required; at 1581 ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἄλις μοι· δεξιᾷ δ' ἐλὼν ξίφος κτλ. needs εἶφ'. (See too Collard *Supplices* I 43f., contra Zuntz, *Transmission* 49, 129 n. 5. On Triclinius and *scriptio plena* cf. Zuntz 197.

Elmsley and various accomplices, guided by their apprehension of the MSS, set about emending those examples that do exist. Others were simultaneously engaged in inserting the particles at the places where the MSS do *not* offer them and where they appear necessary for the sense. We will consider their success in turn.

Elmsley's attentions to our passage are in the highest degree undesirable: he wrote σοὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἤβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἶχεν μέτρα which is surely invalidated by the plural. At *Ran.* 946 Blaydes' ἂν εἶπεν is not impossible. The same cannot be said for the Elmsleian ἤτησεν for ἤτησ' ἄν at *Plut.* l.c. (or ἤτει σ' ἀν: the former is the reading of the second hand in R). To show this I must quote the passage:

- Καὶ νὴ Δί', εἰ λυπουμένην γ' αἴσθοιτό με
  νηττάριον ὑπεκορίζετ' ἂν καὶ φάττιον.
- Ἔπειτ' ἴσως ἤτησ' ἂν εἰς ὑποδήματα.

The rhetorical omission of ἄν in verse is indeed known (see below), but is unsatisfactory here for three reasons: (a) because we are in stichomythia and there is no other means than the ἄν to indicate that this is not a statement of fact; (b) the apostrophized σ' is otiose in the middle of a dialogue that has been going on for some time already; (c) we require ἤτησ' ἄν to balance the ὑπεκορίζετ' ἄν of the γραῦς. We should follow Holzinger, *Kommentar zu Aristophanes Plutus* (Leipzig 1940) ad loc. in preferring the majority MS reading.[1]

May we go further and point to instances where the MSS offer the 'rhetorical' indicative and ἄν seems to impose itself? Diggle (*PCPS* XX (1974), 16 n. 5) assembles a number of such conjectures, oddly without discussing whether they are palmary.

The point of the rhetorical omission of the particle is surely that the hypothetical apodosis is envisaged by the speaker as so close to reality that the hypothetical particle could be omitted. See Paley on *Ba.* 1311 f. οὐδεὶς ὑβρίζειν ἤθελ' εἰσορῶν τὸ σὸν | κάρα· δίκην γὰρ ἀξίαν ἐλάμβανεν 'the actual result of a former experience' with Pearson ad *Hel.* 1658 (ἐλάμβαν' ἄν is read by Heath and many others; Hermann's ἐλάμβανες is unnecessary as δίκην λαμβάνειν can mean 'suffer justice' - see Dodds ad loc., Dittenberger *SIG*[3] I 165 37).

Each case must be judged on its own merits:

S. *El.* 914 οὔτε δρῶσ' ἐλάνθανεν (L). Meineke's ἔληθεν ἄν is worth considering. Heath (and Elmsley at an earlier point in his career) contemplated ἐλάνθαν' ἄν.

Tro. 397 εἰ δ' ἦσαν οἶκοι χρηστὸς ὢν ἐλάνθανεν. | Πάρις δ' ἔγημε τὴν Διός·

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[1] cf. 982 f.

γήμας δὲ μὴ | σιγώμενον τὸ κῆδος εἶχεν ἐν δόμοις. ἐλάνθανεν is the reading of PQ and the *Christus Patiens* (1658). Cassandra is emphasizing the crystal clarity with which she envisages the lost prospect: a prophetess can look both forwards and backwards. The variant ἔλαθεν ἄν occurs followed by γεγώς in V and Σ. (ἐλάνθαν' ἄν Burges, Schaefer). The bizarre *varia lectio* however is both adequate Greek and by no means an obvious or even explicable conjecture: it looks therefore like a genuine alternative reading preserved in Σ and therefore the value of this example is so much the less. The first of these arguments applies also to the Burges/Seidler εἶχ' ἄν for codd. εἶχεν at 399.

Hel. 1658f. πάλαι δ' ἀδελφὴν καὶ πρὶν ἐξεσώσαμεν - κἄν Heath, adopted by Pearson. Kannicht leaves a crux. Both ignore the possibility that a god might regard his activities as so likely to be successful that the indicative is appropriate. (However, here Triclinius' work has obscured the issue: see Zuntz,*Transmission*, 49.)

Hec. 1111 εἰ δὲ *μὴ* Φρυγῶν | πύργους πεσόντας ἦσμεν Ἑλλήνων δορὶ, | φόβον πάρεσχεν οὐ *μέσως* ὅδε κτύπος. The apodosis is only so in form: the point is 'die Furcht ist wirklich' (K.-G. II 1 para. 393). Goodwin, *GMT*, 159 para. 432 gives a less satisfactory explanation. Cf. *Hel.* 1105 εἰ δ' ἦσθα *μετρία*, τἄλλά γ' ἠδίστη θεῶν | πέφυκας ἀνθρώποισι (Helen of Aphrodite). Here we seem to have anacoluthon, as τἄλλά γε indicates: the 'apodosis' is really a new phrase in its own right and does not follow directly from the thought in the protasis which has been forgotten. Very similar indeed is Dem. LV 25 ὥστ' εἰ συνεχώρουν αὐτοῖς ἁπάντων αἴτιος εἶναι τῶν συ*μβε*βηκότων, τά γε βρεχθέντα ταῦτ' ἦν (the apodosis is the salient fact). εἰ is close to 'when'.

HF 537 καὶ τἄ*μ*' ἔθνησκε τέκν', ἀπωλλύ*μ*ην δ' ἐγώ. Here one feels strongly that the imperfect is being used on its own merits to mean' were in imminent danger of' - another reason why this idiom is readily excusable.

Hcld. 1004 τοιαῦτα δρῶντι τἄ*μ*' ἐγίγνετ' ἀσφαλῆ (certainty emphasized).[1] *Ba.* 612 τίς *μοι* φύλαξ ἦν, εἰ σὺ συ*μφορᾶς* τύχοις; is best explained via sequence (see Dodds ad loc.). *Alc.* 1211 ff. *μόνα* δ' ἂν..., ἦλθεν [codd.]. Monk conjectured ἦλθ' ἂν which *may* be right as the verb will still be under the influence of the first ἄν, driven to the start by Wackernagel's Law. This would also apply to Lenting's ἔσχ' ἂν for ἔσχον at *Alc.* 362, though there the preceding ἄν is in the line before and the question depends more on whether singular or plural is felt to be more appropriate of Cerberus and Charon. (Lenting also conjectured ἔσχεν.)

Or. 502 τὸ σῶφρόν τ' ἔλαβεν ἀντὶ συ*μφορᾶς*,| καὶ τοῦ νό*μου* τ' ἂν εἶχετ' εὐσεβής τ' ἂν ἦν.

The MSS vary: ἔλαβεν ἀντί or ἂν τῆς. Cf. Diggle, *Orestes*, 95 n. 5. Bergk conjectured ἔλαβ'ἄν. Willink rightly notes that ἄν can with difficulty be understood from the next sentence and Willink's arguments for ἂν τῆς - *Addendis addenda* ed. II- are answered by Diggle l.c. One might add that in *Med.* 534 τῆς ἐ*μ*ῆς σωτηρίας is probably under the influence of the preceding *μεῖζω* and comes to meaning "(the price due to you) for

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[1]Possibly this is inceptive, in which case it is irrelevant: "my affairs were approaching safety (through my intrigues, and would have become wholly so had I not failed to kill Heracles)". Diggle proposes δρῶντος <ἐ*μοῦ* understood>, the gen. governed by τά*μά* comparing e.g. *OC* 344 τά*μὰ* δυστήνου κακά. Regretfully, I must agree with both of Wilkins' counter-arguments ad loc., in particular that "my affairs of mine", where τά*μά* is indivisibly bound up with the person speaking, is difficult with the genitive of the same person, as it is not with an external entity such as τροφή.

my safety".

See in addition Pearson *CQ* XI (1917), 68; Wyse's note on Isaeus I 44.

To conclude a long discussion, the examples of the indicative without ἄν in the apodosis convince me that ἄν *is* required here. We are not in the realm of vivid possibility (which is the criterion: I do not know why A.D. Fitton-Brown (*CQ* n.s. VII (1956), 39) regards Clytaemestra's *wishes* (S. *El.* 914) quoted on previous page as confirming Meineke; quite the reverse: see earlier on εἴπερ ἦν. And there is MS evidence that Elmsley's Law is occasionally contravened, for what it is worth.

As Jebb (ad *El.* 914) points out, the problem that Elmsley was addressing only arises with the sigmatic aorist - namely that if the third person singular was elided before ἄν it would become orthographically identical with the third person plural. (Even then, how do we know that some distinction was made in pronunciation: absolute elision is hardly probable.)

The correct reading is offered by L: σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἦβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἂν *μέτρον*.

The order of the lines in this region has caused difficulty: see Diggle *PCPS* XX (1974), 16f. The less serious problem is that 356 οὔκουν γ' ἔτ' ἄλλον ὕστερον τίκτει γόνον interrupts the discussion of the lost child's fate. More serious is νιν which, if kept, must refer to the child, not the mother, which scarcely seems appropriate.[1] Hermann's transposition of 356 and 355 with change of speaker requires νιν in the (now) juxtaposed 355 and 357 to refer to different people (with the change of ἡ to οὐ so that 355 is a unity referring to the mother). Nauck adopted the transposition without the emendation and placed both lines before 344 τὸν παῖδ' ὃν ἔτεκεν ἐξέθηκε δωμάτων, which is no real improvement on Hermann's attempt and encounters the objection made in n. 1. Holzner inverted the line

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[1]and makes nonsense of ἡ τεκοῦσα δ' ἀθλία.

attributions and placed them after 341, thereby depriving both clauses of sense. Finally Herwerden, though content not to move the lines from their position in L, placed a lacuna before and after 355-6: obviously the double correction does not recommend itself. Diggle is no less Draconian: without altering the speakers, he adopts Page's νυν for νιν (to which I return shortly) and moves 355-6 to follow 358. With this change, the connection of thought between 356 οὔκουν ἔτ' ἄλλον <γ'> ὕστερον τίκτει γόνον and 359 οἴμοι· προσῳδὸς ἡ τύχη τώμῷ πάθει becomes, in their forcible juxtaposition, far from clear. And 357 must follow 356 to give it any point: it has none after σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἤβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἂν μέτρον.

The only correction required is Page's νυν for νιν: ἀδικεῖ νυν ὁ θεός· ἡ τεκοῦσα δ' ἀθλία - a very simple corruption: υ > ι. (The two appear as v. ll. at *Med.* 1365, *Tro.* 59 et al.) For ancient accounts of the idiom cf. Chandler, *GA* para 826. The νυν will, as often, mean 'you say', 'so at this point in the argument', and the like. Cf. S. *Aj.* 1161 Με. ἄπειμι· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρόν, εἰ πύθοιτό τις | λόγοις κολάζειν, ᾧ βιάζεσθαι παρῇ | Τευ. ἄφερπέ νυν· κἀμοὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον κλύειν | ἀνδρὸς *ματαίου* φλαῦρ' ἔπη *μυθουμένου* ('fac abeas igitur', Ellendt-Genthe p. 477, a useful discussion),[1] E. *Med.* 1364f. Μη. ὦ παῖδες, ὡς ὤλεσθε πατρῷα νόσῳ |Ἰα. σὔτοι νυν *ἠμὴ* δεξία σφ'[2] ἀπώλεσεν ('but at least you admit...': B and A^c have νιν, *IA* 653f. Ἀγ. συνετὰ λέγουσα *μᾶλλον* εἰς οἰκτόν *μ'* ἄγεις (Ἀφ.) ἀσύνετά νυν ἐροῦ*μεν*, εἰ σέ γ' εὐφρανῶ ('well then, I will speak disjointedly, if it will please you'), S. *Aj.* 85f. ('Αθ.) 85 ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα... 87 σίγα νυν ἐστὼς καὶ *μέν'* ὡς κυρεῖς ἔχων ('so in that case stay where you are'), *Ant.* 648f. *μή*

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[1] an κλυεῖν?

[2] Here Hermann followed by Diggle wrote γε for σφε as some MSS have νυν for νιν. σφε and νιν obviously cannot both be right - it is, I think, the latter possibility we should adopt. νυν is inferential: γε seems to lack point after δεξιά.

νύν ποτ', ὦ παῖ, τὰς φρένας γ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς | γυναικὸς οὕνεκ' ἐκβάλῃς 'so, to conclude this dicussion, do not...' (at the end of Creon's argument to Haemon about the interests of the city). Cf. *Hec.* 996 σῴσόν νυν αὐτόν 'well continue protecting him then', since you say you have.

The thought will be as follows:

'How old was the child when he perished?'

'Were he alive, he would have been the same age as you.'

'So (it transpires from what you have said) the god is acting unjustly - and I pity the lady.'

'Rightly so (οὔκουν.. <γ'> see below), for she never bore another child.'

'Supposing Phoebus took care of the one she did give birth to in secret?'

'In that case he acts unjustly in enjoying on his own what belongs to both.'

'Alas! your story chimes in with my own experience.'

'Yes, for in your case too, it is your mother, I imagine, whom you miss'.[1]

Page's νυν has been unwisely disputed by Kraus o.c. - on the grounds that Ion's main concern is the similarity of his *own* plight to that of the "friend's" child - and by K. H. Lee *Hermes* CIX (1991),469f., who finds Page's emendation 'banal' and thinks that Apollo could be thought of as responsible for ἀδικία to the child if ἀδικεῖ is taken as a present, subsuming into itself both past and present action. This argument, though true whenever we require ἀδικεῖ, does not seem to alleviate the original problem.

356: οὔκουν ἔτ' ἄλλον <γ'> ὕστερον τίκτει γόνον.

Badham's <γε> is certainly required, as this usage of οὔκουν dictates: see 746, also A. *PV* 518, S. *OT* 565, *Ant.* 32, 993, E. *IT* 596f., *Or.* 1606, *Andr.* 444, *Hel.* 1251, *IA* 6. At *Hel.* 124

[1]See on 360.

the γε is replaced by Musgrave and the metre requires it: οὔκουν ἐν Ἄργει <γ'> οὐδ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα ῥοαῖς (approved in principle too by Denniston, *GP*, 424f.: see there for further illustrations.

358: τὰ κοινὰ χαίρων οὐ δίκαια δρᾷ μόνος.

As Diggle remarks (*PCPS* XX (1974), 17 n. 2) this line 'has been the subject of some very unhappy interpretations and emendations'. The root of the difficulty seems to have been the conviction that the line should in some way echo 254f. in sentiment and be a general censure of the god, not a reference to this particular event ('in enjoying what belongs to both *on his own* he acts wrongly').

The most popular of these attempts has been Paley's: 'though he takes a pride in doing right in his public capacity, privately he acts wrongly' - which would require, as he admits, τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια χαίρων δρῶν, μόνος οὐ δρᾷ δίκαια: the lack of a verb to accompany χαίρων is deadly. Similarly Broadhead (*Tragica: Elucidations of Passages in Greek Tragedy* (1968), 162-3) was prepared to write τὰ κοίν' ἀναιρῶν (with the additional alteration of μόνος to γόνους). Badham claims that it means 'sinning with impunity towards another, such a one is not likely to do justice by himself'; this is a very long distance from the Greek (and logically questionable).

Owen, who alone propounds the simple translation I offer above, has got it right and correctly accounts for the unusual word order: 'μόνος is joined in sense with χαίρων but is deferred for emphasis'. (The effect is: 'since he does so alone'.)

For the so-called *schema Oropicum* whereby χαίρειν can govern an accusative directly, see on 245 with references. τὰ κοινά is quite the word for 'offspring'. *OT* 261 (Oedipus of Laius) κοινῶν τε παίδων κοίν' ἂν... ἦν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα etc. exemplifies the

use of the neuter to mean 'offspring'. As Jebb notes, the genitive is one of consistency - the scholium ἀδελφὰ τοῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν is not the point. The 'parallel' with *Andr.* 1161f. has probably misled the critics: τοιαῦθ' ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι θεσπίζων ἄναξ, | ὁ τῶν δικαίων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κριτὴς, | δίκας διδόντα παῖδ' ἔδρασ' 'Αχιλλέως κτλ. See for further Phoebic ἄδικα *Ion* 952 (ὁ κακός), *Or.* 162f., 417, and *in primis* 595f., Aeschylus fr. 350 R. (the 'Thetis lament').

360: καὶ σ', ὦ ξέν', οἶμαι *μητέρ'* ἀθλίαν ποθεῖν.

The point of the ambiguity is not sloppy workmanship, but is a device exploiting the unfamiliar construction in precisely the manner of A. *Cho.* 886, a better known example. Ion, as 359 and his answer in 361 show, takes Creusa to refer in 360 to *his* desire to see his mother cf. 565 ποθεῖν... *μᾶλλον* ἢ πρίν. This is of course the reason for his anguished reply. Creusa, with her mind on her own sufferings, intends σε as object, not subject of the verb - which accords better logically with the similarity noted by Ion. But she speaks in riddles, which she intends and the audience are meant to detect. Cf. on 364.

361: καὶ *μή* γ' ἐπ' οἰκτόν *μ'* ἔξαγ' οὗ λελήσ*μεθα*.

Thus L. However, this text will not stand. Dobree's 'λελήσ*μεθα* introducing a pluperfect is an obvious gain.[1]

καί cannot stand: it is obvious nonsense for Ion in an empassioned outburst to begin with a connective, and that is the only function that can be ascribed to καί here. Nor in any

[1]Not however for Kraus (o.c., 46), who deems the perfect "logischer", comparing 325 and 329 for tone. However, if Ion had in reality *not* forgotten the matter, may he not be permitted to say that he has?

event is καί connecting an indicative and an imperative desirable. Furthermore γε with μή is most unattractive (Denniston, *GP*, 125f.; S. *OC* 1409 is limitative, that is, it goes with the verb ἀτιμάσητε).

What is required in first position is an exclamatory word, and Nauck's ἆ is probable: cf. *Alc.* 526 ἆ· μὴ πρόκλαι' ἄκοιτιν, *Med.* 1056 S. *OT* 1147, *Rhes.* 687, Ar. *Plut.* 127, 1052, Plato *Hipp. Ma.* 295A. Exactly the same problem arises in MSS of *Hipp.* 503 καὶ μή γε πρὸς θεῶν· εὖ λέγεις γάρ, αἰσχρὰ δέ where '"and" is absurd, adverbial καί out of the question' (Barrett ad loc.) (ἆ Nauck). The use of the compendium for καί will be the cause. The γε here was altered to με by Boissonade and the other με deleted: σε for γε in *Hipp.* by Porson, followed by Nauck. For position cf. on 324. ναί for καί (suggested by Professor Lloyd-Jones) is also possible and palaeographically attractive (first place with asyndeton; cf. *Persae* 738 etc.)

363: οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ κάμνει τοῦ λόγου μάλιστά σοι;

'The weak point in your argument.' Cf. *IA* 965 εἰ πρὸς Ἴλιον | ἐν τῷδ' ἔκαμνε νόστος ('the real problem with your return journey'); E. *Su.* 708 οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικῶν τοῦτ' ἐκέρδαινεν μόνον | ἀλλ' ᾤχετ' εἰς τὸ κάμνον οἰκείου στρατοῦ, E. *Hec.* 306 ἐν τῷδε γὰρ κάμνουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ πόλεις, Pl. *Lg.* 921 E. ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν οὔποτε καμεῖται: note metaphor, as in A. *Eum.* 907 καρπόν τε γαίας... μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ. *HF* 101 κάμνουσι γάρ τοι καὶ βροτῶν αἱ συμφοραί is usually adduced but may well not be relevant - in 102 καὶ πνεύματ' ἀνέμων σὺκ ἀεὶ ῥώμην ἔχει, the point is surely that of *OC* 607f. See too Med. 768 ᾗ μαλιστ' ἐκάμνομεν "the weak point in my plan". κάμνει is used quasi-impersonally - τοῦ λόγου is a genitive of sphere within which.

364: νοσεῖ is here used with the same metaphorical liberty as κάμνει - cf. *IT* 1018 τῇδε γὰρ νοσεῖ | νόστος. Owen ingeniously suggests that ἐκείνῃ intentionally averts the suggestion latent in Ion's σοι (363) that the subject is Creusa herself.

365: πῶς ὁ θεὸς ὃ λαθεῖν βούλεται *μαντεύσεται*;

Both dactyl and tribrach. For resolution of this type in one metron (at the start of the line) see *Tro.* 960 Δηίφοβος ἄλοχον εἶχεν ἀκόντων Φρυγῶν (if genuine: *del.* with 958 Wilamowitz), ibid. 1186 γραῦς ἄπολις ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρόν, *Hel.* 711 ὦ θύγατερ, ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἔφυ τι ποικίλον, *Pho.* 747 ἀμφότερον· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον,[1] *Or.* 1614 - σὲ σφάγιον ἐκόμισ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν - εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἦν, Diggle adopts Willink's σφάγιον ἐκόμισα σ'. I print Canter's correction of the codd. σοι) *IA* 433 'Αρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνιδα, ibid. 1114 'Αρτέμιδι *μέλανος* αἵματος φυσήματα where Diggle's φυσήματι is very probable; (*del.* England: contra H.C. Günther). It seems to have appealed to Euripides' ear, particularly during the *stilus liberrimus* of the later period. See too *Su.* 507, *Andr.* 333, *Med.* 1322, *Hipp.* 1223, *Rhes.* 286 for examples in other feet. That is occurs in plays of such varied date should give us due cause for doubting the *complete* efficacy of the Zielinski doctrine on Euripides' metrical chronology. A very useful supplement in general to Zielinski's discussion is M. Cropp and G. Fick, *Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides*: see especially ch. 4 'Qualitative Analysis'.

366f. Κρ. εἴπερ καθίζει τρίποδα κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος.

Ἰω. αἰσχύνεται τὸ πρᾶγμα· *μὴ* 'ξέλεγχέ νιν.

Κρ. ἀλγύνεται δὲ χἡ παθοῦσα τῇ τύχῃ.

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[1] ἀμφότερ'· ἓν... θατέρου Diggle, Wecklein.

368: δέ γ' L. coni. χή Blomfield.

εἴπερ = '<he should indeed> since...'. On καθίζω with direct accusative see on l. 5.

The two verbs constitute an assonance, doubtless for rhetorical effect. Remarkably close is *Heraclidae* 541-2: οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι | τοῖς σοῖς λόγοισι, τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἀλγύνομαι. Assonance is an important feature of later Greek - mainly Christian - verse; in Classical times it is an occasional special effect, like rhyme in general. It can either be used rhetorically, as here, or to conjure up the idea of an incantation where, as in Latin, the coincidence of word sound seems to have intrigued the superstitious mind. For an account of the function of assonance in Greek verse, see Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlung en zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* II (Berlin 1905), 98f., with the 'Akathistos' hymn there edited, entirely composed of assonantic rhymes; also Hofmann-Szantyr *LSS*, 688f.

χή (Blomfield) is worthy of consideration as the δέ γε of repartee might seem better suited to comedy. Cf. Denniston, *GP*, 153, 155 ii - "weak adversative". However he is prepared to accept the transmitted reading here and to his account should be added the rather more exact explanation of Paley ad loc. "*Aye, and if* he will persist in silence through shame, she will persist in her enquiry through grief".

369: οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις σοι προφητεύσει τάδε.

προφητεύειν is (as here) reserved for the interpreters of oracles: thus Ion at 413f. Ξο. ἔσται τάδ'· ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ; Ἰω. ἡμεῖς τά γ' ἔξω, τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις *μέλει*, Pindar fr. 150 S.-M. *μαντεύεο* Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ. The Pythia is conventionally referred to as προφῆτις (Hdt. VIII 36 etc.) and the name can even be given to the interpreters of an oracular statement at the third remove: A. *Ag.* 409 δόμων προφῆται, Pind. fr. 202 S.-M. λευκίππων Μυκηναίων προφᾶται (see Fraenkel *Ag.* ad loc.). This shows up the force of

Eum. 19 Διὸς προφήτης of Apollo ('Verkündiger, nichts mehr' Blass ad loc.) where the term is actually used of the god in relation to Zeus. See E. Fascher, Προφήτης (Giessen 1927).

371f. Φοῖβος δικαίως τὸν θεμιστεύοντά σοι | δράσειεν ἄν τι πῆμ';

By contrast with προφητεύειν, θεμιστεύειν is the word one would more naturally associate with the god: *h. Hom. Ap.* 252f. τοῖσιν δέ τ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν | πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ (= 293f.); cf. Himerius XVIII 1 of Apollo at Delphi θεμιστεύειν ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. The root meaning is shown by *Od.* IX 114 (the Cyclopes): θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος | παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων, ibid. XI 569 (Minos). In this context the sense is '*dire le droit*', rendre un oracle' (Chantraine, *DE* s.v.). For parallels for the application to the servants of the god cf. Plut. *Alex.* XIV ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν, id. *de def. orac.* 437A, Oraculum ap. Ael. *VH* III 43.

Harpocration s.v. explains the word as derived from the occupation of the Delphic oracle by Themis at an early point. θέμιστες do indeed have the sense of numinous utterances (*Od.* XVI 403, Pind. *Pyth.* IV 96 etc.), and the problem of etymology must go in parallel with that of θέμις. A noun of passive meaning derived from τίθημι (H. Frisk, *Eranos* XLVIII (1950) 1f.) is perhaps the best explanation: θεμιστεύω will mean 'to lay down, establish, an ordinance'. The lines have been taken by Parke *CQ* XXXIV (1940),85f. and Whittaker LVIII, *HTh.* (1965),26, 31, as evidence for a male priest delivering the Pythia's response by proxy. But Ion probably uses both words of any priestly activity: so Fontenrose, *DO* 216f.

See Hirzel, *Themis, und Verwandtes* (1907), 18f., Lloyd-Jones, *JZ*, 5 n. 23.

θεμιστεύοντα: θεμιστεύσοντα is an easy emendation improving the connection with l. 370

and the logic.

373: τάναντία: ἐναντίος is more usual of physical, as against intellectual opposition. However, cf. S. *Ph.* 642 ἀλλὰ κἀκείνοισι ταῦτ' ἐναντία (as hindrance), E. *Med.* 1351 μακρὰν ἂν ἐξέτεινα τοῖσδ' ἐναντίον | λόγοισιν, where ἢ μάκρ' ἄν and ἐναντία LP are closer to our passage.

It is now necessary to discuss the problems posed by 374-7:

ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἁμαθίας ἔλθομεν ἄν,
εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας ἐκπονήσομεν
φράζειν ἃ μὴ θέλουσιν, ἢ προβωμίοις
σφαγαῖσι μήλων ἢ δι' οἰωνῶν πτεροῖς.

L. 375 ἐκόντας codd., ἄκοντας Brodaeus

L. 377 πτεροῖς L: πτερά Wecklein πτεροῖν Heath; πτερόν Badham

Omnes versus deleverunt multi, auctoribus Holthoefer, Bayfield.

These lines have been so generally condemned as the work of another hand than Euripides - the first so to do was Bayfield - that the onus of proof virtually rests with the editor who wishes to preserve them. I shall attempt to do so. Let us take the objections in order.

(a) ἐς τοσοῦτον has no object of reference, the thought being that τάναντί' οὐ μαντευτέον is exactly the *content* of what follows, rather than an opening gambit which requires further explanation (whence ἐς τοὔσχατον γάρ (Badham) etc.). However τάναντί' οὐ μαντευτέον is in fact a more general expression making the specific point that the gods should not φράζειν ἃ μὴ θέλουσι which is then given as an example. And τοσοῦτον is easily understandable as summing up the previous line: 'for that *is* what we would be effectively doing if...', *and* furthermore it is ἁμαθία". A different interpretation in Kovacs p. ... (on 51) 113 p.

For the form of the expression cf. *Andr.* 170

εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἦκεις ἀμαθίας, δύστηνε σύ,

ἢ παιδὶ πατρός, ὃς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν,

τολμᾷς ξυνεύδειν κτλ.

ἀμαθία is the right word for ignorant and irreligious behaviour by and towards the gods: see *Pho.* 872f. ἃ συγκαλύψαι παῖδες Οἰδίπου χρόνῳ | χρήζοντες, ὡς δὴ θεοὺς ὑπεκδραμούμενοι, | ἥμαρτον ἀμαθῶς (of an oracle), *Hipp.* 951 θεοῖσι προσθεὶς ἀμαθίαν, *HF* 347 ἀμαθής τις εἶ θεὸς, ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφυς, *Ion* 916 (Creusa's outburst to Apollo) ὁ δ' ἐμὸς γενέτας καὶ σός <γ'>, ἀμαθής,[1] *Tro.* 981 μὴ ἀμαθεῖς ποίει θεὰς | τὸ σὸν κακὸν κοσμοῦσα, *Or.* 417 ἀμαθέστερός γ' ὢν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης. It is the opposite of pious conduct: cf. Thuc. VI 39 2 ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, ibid. III 82 7 ῥᾷον οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται, ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, cf. Dem. XL 49, (cf. E. fr. 163 N. l. 1), *El.* 294 ἔνεστι δ' οἶκτος ἀμαθίᾳ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, | σοφοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν. On the ἀμαθής - ἀγαθός contrast in sophistic thought cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 951, Bond on *HF* 347, Wilamowitz, ibid. Note especially Gorgias (*Helen*) 86 B 11 1 D.-K. ἴση γὰρ ἁμαρτία καὶ ἀμαθία μέμφεσθαί τε τὰ ἐπαινετὰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖν τὰ μωμητά. Plato distinguishes it from ἄγνοια, interestingly: *Soph.* 229C and Aristotle, implicitly, from φρόνιμα, of animal deliberately aggressive (θυμώδη καὶ ἐνστατικὰ καὶ ἀμαθῆ) *HA* 488 f. 15.

For ἔρχομαι used figuratively of states of mind etc. see on 248. Both phrase and idea are protected almost beyond doubt by the best parallel of all: *Tro.* 971f. ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἥραν

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[1]A corrector of L seems to have written the "anstössiges γε" which Wilamowitz deplores, preferring Kirchoff's ἀπευθής (Jackson altered the subject with δμαθείς but this reduces the dramatic effect). Diggle obelizes. As Owen says, the γε adds pathos - for once "bien invenu" as a line filler, if such it is.

παρθένον τε Παλλάδα | οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας ἐλθεῖν δοκῶ κτλ. (the consequences of the judgement of Paris are recounted).

(b) ἐκπονεῖν with the accusative and infinitive ('force to...') is not otherwise paralleled. Howver, ἐξειργάζομαι in exactly this sense and construction occurs: Plut. *Cat. Ma.* III 7 ἐξεργάσατο πεμφθῆναι δημάρχους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄξοντας εἰς Ῥώμην. Instances of the use of ἐκπονεῖν as a factitive verb, from which the route to an accusative and infinitive construction is a short one, are not difficult to assemble: E. fr. 729 N. εἰκὸς δὲ παντὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μηχανῇ | πατρίδος ἐρῶντας ἐκπονεῖν σωτηρίαν, *Hel.* 1514 ἄλλης ἐκπόνει μνηστεύματα | γυναικός, Xen. *Cyr.* I 2 16 ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὴν δίαιταν, VIII 2 5 τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖ σῖτα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπεπόνηται, *Hell.* IV 2 7 ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα ἐς κόσμον, Plut. *Pericl.* 12 (τὴν ὕλην)... ἐκπονοῦσαι τεχναί, E. *Andr.* 1052 τῶν γὰρ ἐκδήμων φίλων | δεῖ τοὺς κατ' οἶκον ὄντας ἐκπονεῖν τύχας. It is a popular word with Euripides, and he is prone to use favourite words in a variety of senses. Thus at *IA* 208f.[1] Ἀχιλῆα τὸν ἃ Θέτις τέκε καὶ | Χείρων ἐξεπόνασεν the verb means 'teach' (as we might say, 'mould'); at *Hipp.* 467 οὐδ' ἐκπονεῖν τοι χρὴ βίον λίαν βροτοὺς it means 'to make life into a πόνος', whereas at *Ion* 1040 it means 'to carry out'; at *Ion* 1355 τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἐκπόνει it means 'find out her identity by means of πόνος'.

See too Polyb. XXXI 33 3 ἐξειργάσατο βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευθῆναι, Lucian *Toxaris* XXXII ἐξειργάσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῷ Ἀντιφίλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ κλοιῷ δεδέσθαι.

προβωμίοις is in itself an indication of Euripidean authorship: it is a *hapax*, confined to *Hcld.* 79 Ζηνὸς ἐκ προβωμίων (where it is used as a substantitive).

(c) δι' οἰωνῶν πτεροῖς is a curious expression 'through birds by means of their

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[1]The alpha derives from L^2P; L *primitus* has eta.

wings'.

πτεροῖς first. It can of course mean 'the omens we learn from the flight of birds', and it does so here. Parallels are provided by Callimachus *Lav. Pall.* 123f. (Athena of Teiresias) γνωσεῖται δ' ὀρνίχας, ὃς αἴσιος οἵ τε πέτονται | ἤλιθα καὶ ποίων οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ πέρυγες, S. fr. 941 Radt 11 νωμᾷ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι τοὐκείνης πτερόν. (This, incidentally, may be Euripides,[1] if one considers by setting out the Plutarchean context, where ἀπὸ μιᾶς σκήνῆς following a quote from Euripides' *Danae* can have no other meaning than identity of author and possibly play, against Stobaeus, whose ascriptions, for textual reasons, are a minefield of error.) οἰωνοῖσι probably confirms the ascription to the subject, Aphrodite, of prophetic powers: Pearson (*Fragments* ad loc., vol. III, p. 108) denies it, but he was writing in the days before W. Burkert introduced us to the 'orientalizing epoch', and on this particular topic, the influence from the eighth century onwards of the ecstatic cult of Ishtar of Arbele (contra the gloomy estimation by H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (1988), 54-5). S. *OC* 97 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ πιστὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν πτερὸν | ἐξήγαγ' εἰς τόδ' ἆλσος: 'a trusty omen'; the schol. gloss πτερόν: οἰωνός (p. 11 De Marco). 'Omen' must be the root meaning whence πτερόν in the fragment of S. can mean 'inspiration', 'influence'. Aphrodite is not winged in art, and Pearson's alternative explanation via ἀναπτερόω etc. ('to excite') does not convince, though one must note that the Σ at *OC* 97 also gloss διὰ τὴν πτέρωσιν τῆς διανοίας, fancifully.[2] l. 5f. ἐν κείνῃ τὸ πᾶν | σπουδαῖον ἡσυχαῖον κτλ. and the reference to πνεύμονες (the seat of intelligence) in l. 7 lends support

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[1]Radt's arguments for Sophoclean authorship seem convincing - the ascription to Euripides requires an unduly literal understanding of Plutarch's ἀπὸ μιᾶς σκηνῆς ("from the same play"). Plutarch may as likely mean "on the Attic stage", just as Clement's επὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σκηνῆς, which he cites, joins together (pseudo-)Sophocles and Euripides.

[2]Presumably an eccentric reminiscence of the metaphor of *Phaedrus*.

to this interpretation. The Greek idiom was better understood by Hellenizing Roman poets than it has been by most editors of the *Ion*: Propertius III 10 11 (to Cynthia) 'o cara mihi, felicibus edita pennis', Ovid *Fasti* I 448 '(aves) nunc pinna veras nunc datis ore notas'. See too Sil. It. III 344, Val. Flacc. I 233.

See Pearson o.c. and Bulloch on Callimachus loc. cit. The alignment of the cases in δι' οἰωνῶν πτεροῖς is the only serious reason for doubting the authenticity of these lines: it is clumsy. No parallels will be required for the use of διά in the unjustly neglected conjecture of Wecklein δι' οἰωνῶν πτερά, whereby all becomes clear. It is a simple enough error: with a dative plural immediately above (προβωμίοις) the scribe would have allowed his eye to wander.

For the sentiment cf. *OT* 280f. Οἰ. δίκαι' ἔλεξας· ἀλλ' ἀναγκάσαι θεοὺς | ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν οὐδ' <ἂν> εἷς δύναιτ' ἀνήρ (of Apollo's silence as to the murderer of Laius), E. fr. 1076 N. πάντων ἄριστον μὴ βιάζεσθαι θεοὺς | στέργειν δὲ μοῖραν· τῶν ἀμηχάνων δ' ἔρως | πολλοὺς ἔθηκε τοῦ παρόντος ἀμπλακεῖν.

379: ἄκοντα κεκτήμεσθα τἀγάθ', ὦ γύναι.

The phrase has caused some difficulty: what are 'unwilling benefits'? The sense we require is 'benefits obtained from gods who are themselves unwilling to bestow them'. Stephanus ingeniously conjectured ἀνόνητα, which has been widely accepted including by Diggle, and Grégoire (Budé) wrote ἄκραντα.

However, they are mistaken. ἐκών and ἄκων are participial in form and, in common with normal participles, have a wider semantic field than the English adjectival equivalents. If the appellation 'unwilling' can be transferred from a person doing a deed to the deed itself, why cannot it further be applied to a good deed, a benefice, which is what τἀγαθά means

here? Cf. *in primis* S. *OT* 1229f. τὰ δ' αὐτίκ' ἐς τὸ φῶς φανεῖ κακὰ | ἑκόντα κοὐκ ἄκοντα (of the crimes of Oedipus), ibid. *OC* 977 πῶς ἂν τό γ' ἄκον πρᾶγμ' ἂν εἰκότως ψέγοις; *OC* 239f. ἔργων ἀκόντων αἴοντες αὐδάν. A. *Ag.* 803[1] has caused problems; one might compare for at least the idea Pl. *Lg.* 864A δοξάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην.

Pl. *Rep.* 413A also illustrates how readily the two senses can coexist: φαίνεταί μοι δόξα ἐξιέναι ἐκ διανοίας ἢ ἑκουσίως ἢ ἀκουσίως... τὸ μὲν τῆς ἑκουσίου, ἔφη, μανθάνω, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκουσίου δέομαι μαθεῖν.

OC 266-7 τὰ δ' ἔργα μου | πεπονθόντ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα (much maligned by Housman, *CP* I, 181) *Ion* 1002 τί χρῆμα; μέλλον γάρ τι προσφέρεις ἔπος (= μέλλεις προσφέρειν)[2], *OC* 74 ὅσ' ἂν λέγωμεν, πάνθ' ὁρῶντα λέξομεν, *OT* 1214 γάμον... τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον where the epithets, refer properly to Oedipus himself, S. *El.* 1230f. κἀπὶ συμφοραῖσί μοι | γεγηθὸς ἔρπει δάκρυον ὀμμάτων ἄπο. E. *Phaethon* fr. 781 13 N, l. 225f. Diggle 'Απόλλων δ' ἐν βροτοῖς ὀρθῶς καλῇ,| ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων, though difficult, must mean 'the latent significance' of the names of gods, which involves taking σιγῶντα quasi-passively (= ἄρρητα).

This form of transference from person to the act produced by that person is especially true of ἑκών and ἄκων. The whole passage of the *Lg.* referred to above - 860A onwards - where volition is defined provides ample commentary on this feature. Doubtless the continuing feeling that these were in origin participles, and are participial in form, helped to foster this and make the transfer more digestible. The liberty has extended to the derivative adjectival forms ἑκούσιος and ἀκούσιος.

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[1]ἑκούσιον codd.; ἐκ θυσιῶν H.L. Ahrens.

[2]These examples may suggest that Diggle's obelization is unnecessary.

It is possible that this continuing sense of participial origin assists us in understanding the notoriously odd Attic phenomenon of the redundant infinitive εἶναι with ἐκών: if ἐκών were felt to be a verbal, εἶναι could be prolative and the whole phrase would be semi-parenthetic in fossilized form, 'willing (that x should be)'.

Cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*,86, A. Debrunner,'Verschobener Partizipialgebrauch im Griechischen', *Museum Helveticum* I (1944), 33f. (on ἐκών see especially 40).

The ἄν in 378 was altered by Stephanus to ἄν: clearly this provides a better parallel to ἃ δ' ἂν δίδωσι in 380 than a conditional expression. It has however been claimed by some, including Owen, that this constitutes anacoluthon with τἀγαθά (with the definite article) following. However this is much palliated by the quasi-demonstrative sense that the definite article can still have in Attic tragedy. Cf. S. *Aj.* 312 ἔπειτ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δεῖν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη, *Ant.* 1178 τοὔπος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας. So here it will act somewhat like a relative pronoun, picking up ἃ ἄν.

380: ἃ δ' ἂν δίδωσ' ἑκόντες, ὠφελούμεθα.

Wecklein impairs the parallelism just mentioned with οἷς for ἃ cf. Xen. *Cyr.* III 2 20 πολλὰ... ὠφελεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν πονοῦντας.[1]

381-3: [πολλαί γε πολλοῖς εἰσι συμφοραὶ βροτῶν
μορφαὶ δὲ διαφέρουσιν· ἓν δ' ἂν εὐτυχὲς
μόλις ποτ' ἐξεύροι τις ἀνθρώπων βίῳ.]

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[1]Kraus (o.c. 46f.) endeavours to show that 374-7 and 378-80 are "alternative Fassungen" juxtaposed by an Alexandrian editor. Biehl (*Philol.* o.c. 16f.) offers a cogent corrective, pointing out that the former is specific (ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας...), leading to the general point to follow in 378f.

βίον L, Stobaeus: βίῳ P^2 L^{sl}

μορφαῖς Stobaeus

These lines must occasion the gravest doubt. It is nothing new that a chorus should offer a platitude that borders perilously on the banal ('many misfortunes occur to mankind, though they differ in the particular..'). However, when such a platitude is *entirely* inorganic in context, bearing no more relation to what has just been said than it would at any point in any extant Greek tragedy, suspicion naturally arises. And are we to believe that the chorus of lively young ladies, whom Euripides has so brilliantly portrayed shortly beforehand touring the precincts of the temple, are now to step so far out of character as to deliver this hoary and uninspiring saw? This is not the way they act in the rest of the play.

The first clause is comprehensible Greek, though redundant and clumsy: μορφαὶ δὲ διαφέρουσιν is already comprehended in the disjunctive πολλαί γε πολλοῖς εἰσι, and the inorganic nominative μορφαί is unattractive (if one had to improve μορφῇ suggests itself). It is uncomfortably like the well-known πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων. But there μορφαί fits rather better: 'the manifestations of the numinous take many guises' is quite normal, whereas μορφαί of the actual event, συμφοραί, is less so.[1]

Much more serious is the second phrase: ἓν δ' ἂν εὐτυχὲς | μόλις ποτ' ἐξεύροι τις ἀνθρώπων βίῳ. What can it mean? It has caused considerable trouble to editors. Stobaeus (IV 34 43a Wachsmuth) cites the verses with ἀνθρώπου (sing.) which Wilamowitz adopts, but this does not deal with the real problem, the ἕν (on the significance of the Stobaean citation and the other variants, see below). If the text is kept, 'one continuous fortunate thing' or 'one single fortunate thing' are both possible for ἕν, depending on how we rate the mood

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[1] In E. fr. 211 N. φεῦ φεῦ βροτείων πημάτων ὅσαι τύχαι, | ὅσαι δὲ μορφαί the τύχαι gives the necessary vagueness.

of the chorus, prudent pessimism or outright despair. But εὐτυχές properly applies to the person experiencing the good fortune, not to the fortune itself, and the dative after ἐξεύροι is in the highest degree inept and clumsy. Phrases such as εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ A. *Pers.* 709, εὐτυχῆ... πρᾶξιν S. *Tr.* 293 are no exception, as the noun makes the difference - 'a lot consisting in εὐτυχία'. τὸ εὐτυχές (Thuc. II 44 1) = εὐτυχία. The translation of Parmentier-Grégoire (Budé) 'et c'est bien rarement qu'on trouve le bonheur dans l'existence' adroitly avoids the ἔν and is no better than a paraphrase, though possibly a paraphrase of what whoever wrote these lines had in mind to say. 'Etwas, das man ein Glück nennen kann' (Wilamowitz) is no better.

Not surprisingly, emendation has been practised, but with little success. Heath, followed by Seyffert, maintained the βίον which is in the text of L and wrote ἕνα δ' ἂν εὐτυχῆ | μόλις ποτ' ἐξεύροι τις ἀνθρώπου βίον. ἕνα remains awkward. Wakefield (ἐς πᾶν δ' εὐτυχοῦς... ἀνθρώπου βίον) and Hartung (πάντα δ' εὐτυχῆ | μόλις ποτ'ἐξεύροις ἂν κτλ.) are both even more radical. Herwerden adopted the superscript dative and wrote ἑνα and ἄνθρωπον. Heimsoeth attempted to keep the neuter and account for the loose dative with μόλις ποτ' ἐξεύροι τις ἓν θνητῶν βίῳ.

Obviously none of these will do. The sentiment bears a general resemblance to A. *Su.* 328f. ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, αἰόλ' ἀνθρώπων κακά, | πόνου δ' ἴδοις ἂν σύδαμοῦ ταὐτὸν πτερόν, E. *Alc.* 893f. συμφορὰ δ' ἑτέρους ἑτέρα πιέζει, Bacchylides fr. 13 S.-M. θνατοῖσι δαίμων ἐπέταξε πόνους | ἄλλοισιν ἄλλους, and this is doubtless what the writer wished to enunciate. What he has written is in the transmitted form just comprehensible as that, but the clumsy and unskilful way in which it is couched betrays the hand of an interpolator who perhaps felt that the chorus had been out of action for too long.

Stobaeus o.c. quotes the couplet with the following significant variants: βροτοῖς for

βροτῶν, μορφαῖς for μορφαί (a slight improvement, see above), ἓν δ' ἄνευ τύχης (or εὐτ-) S, ἓν δ' ἂν εὐτύχαις (αις es ες factum) M^1, ἐν δ' εὐτυχίαις A, ἐξεύροιεν ἀνθρώπου βίον S, ἐξεύροι τις ἀνθρώπου βίον MA. What authority these may have is quite unknown and they help us little: Stobaean quotations are frequently inaccurate or simplified. What is of some interest is that he quotes it from the *Iphigenia*. It is not unknown for lemmata in S. to become muddled, but if he *did* know a text of the *Iphigenia* with this gnome in it (it could belong almost anywhere) it serves to underline the fact that this may well be an interpolator's moveable choric gnome, manufactured in order to break up two long *rheses*. Given that this *is* a common practice in the tragedians, the motive for doing so is perfectly comprehensible.

384-5: ὦ Φοῖβε, κἀκεῖ κἀνθάδ' οὐ δίκαιος εἶ

ἐς τὴν ἀποῦσαν, ἧς πάρεισιν οἱ λόγοι.

'Both at Delphi (as a prophet) and at Athens (in your conduct there)'. F.W. Schmidt deleted 385 as an expansion of the previous line, and in doing so removes a touch of irony. If Ion were only meant to be referring to a woman still in Athens, ἧς πάρεισιν οἱ λόγοι might indeed be a curiously strained way of saying 'whose advocate is here'; but of course the audience is meant to see the other meaning, for 'whose argument is present', that is to say what *Creusa* has just been saying, clearly implies the identity of the arguer with Creusa as τὴν ἀποῦσαν.

386: σὺ γ'οὔτ' ἔσωσας τὸν σόν, ὃν σῶσαί σ' ἐχρῆν

Here there is nothing legible in Lac before γ': σ*γ' can be gathered from Lac, though P offers σὺ δ'. Murray adopts Hermann's ὃς οὐτ' - better is Dobree's ὅς γ' if emendation is preferred. The emphatic personal pronoun however seems to suit the accusing tone better,

and I adopt it regarding P's version, as an early *Deutung* of the now illegible Lac. For the anaphoric pronoun, lending an extraordinary directness and spite to Creusa's own speech on the same subject cf. 885, 904, 905, 919, 922; the sigmatism achieved also benefits the mood here.

This phonetic feature is noteworthy. It has recently become fashionable to point out that the ancients were less sensitive by a long way to repeated sounds, syllables and words than we are, and that therefore it is merely the product of scholarly over-ingenuity to read into alliteration, particularly *polysigma*, any reference to the speaker's state of mind, this despite a discussion by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de comp.* ch. XIV, II 54 16 Usener-Radermacher) in which he says of the letter *sigma* much of what such fanciful critics might wish him to say: ἄχαρι καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ καὶ πλεόνασαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός.

Ion's line here reminds one strongly of Medea's famous line to Jason (*Med.* 476) ἔσῳσά σ' ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι. It is difficult not to see in such an accumulation of the hissing letter, there and here, anger expressing itself. And the same could reasonably be said of *Ion* 1276 in Ion's fierce denunciation of Creusa: ἀλλ' οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτ' Ἀπόλλωνος δόμος | σώσει σ'· ὁ δ' οἶκτος ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ κρείσσων πάρα,[1] also *OT* 425 (Teiresias' final retort to Creon) κακῶν | ἃ σ' ἐξισώσει σοί τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις ('Which shall make thee level with thy true self' (Jebb)). The mad conjecture ὅσ' ἐξαῖστώσει σε σὺν τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις[2] "has a chance of being right" (*Sophoclea*, 90). It does not, and misses the pont of the ἴσος riddle here. Oedipus will indeed be ἴσος with the

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[1]Or thus the text, the problems of which are not here apposite: the point is that ὁ σός = my pity for you *or* the pity *you mention* = (ambiguity). Diggle deletes 1275-8; better is Musgrave's transposition to after 1281.

[2]Bergk.

people in question. Markland's ὅς for ἅ σ' is no improvement.), E. *Hipp.* 1167 ἀραί τε τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἃς σὺ σῷ πατρὶ... παιδὸς ἠράσω πέρι (the loyal messenger addressing Theseus). The mistake made by those who deny the suggestion is twofold: firstly it is a mistake to deny that it could *never* be employed for dramatic effect, and, secondly, to ignore the possibility that conspicuous alliteration of sigma and other letters might have different functions in different contexts. τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ (*OT* 371) can scarcely be chance, and no attempt at delivering the line aloud can avoid the staccato, choking effect appropriate to the enraged and alarmed monarch. It is customary to uphold such instances as *IT* 765 τὸ σῶμα σώσας τοὺς λόγους σώσεις ἐμοί (Iphigenia to Pylades departing) and *Or.* 397 πῶς φῄς; σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφὲς οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές (Menelaus to Orestes), where *polysigma* appears in the context of reasonably restrained and sober dialogue, as in some way proving that the Greek audience would never notice: but the point in both is the rhetorical balance of the words that are iterated at either end of the phrase, which has particular point with the sophistic Menelaus with its overtones of Gorgiastic rhetorical word-play. S. *Aj.* 687f. ταὐτὰ τῇδέ μοι τάδε | τιμᾶτε κτλ. is different again: here the alliteration emphasizes the piled up pronominals (as often in Latin: 'quorum numquam quicquam quoiquam venit in mentem' Plautus *Ps.* 134, etc.).

The point is that alliteration is a fundamental feature of Indo-European verse and as such may be used without any very specific 'mood' in mind. It can rather be made part of the fabric of the verse when this is wished: we would be very wrong to deny for Greek what is so patently obvious in Sanskrit and other literatures, and for that matter in early medieval English verse. See e.g. Wackernagel in R. Schmitt, *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968) (who notes cautiously though, p. 87, 'Inder und Griechen haben bloss ganz vereinzelt und spieleisch alliteriert': more claims could be made for early European and Latin

composition; Greek has no Ennius); Cf. in general P. Valesio, *Le strutture dell'alliterazione* (Bologna 1968). It is this which vitiates O.J. Todd's interesting study 'Sense and Sound in Classical Poetry' (*CQ* XXXVI (1942), 29f.): he seeks to prove with a statistical analysis of sigmas and contexts in the tragedians that the frequency of the former is unrelated to the nature of the latter (37 n. 13). Obviously the *average* would be unnoticed, but when an abnormal frequency does occur in one line it should be seen in the light of the whole concept of alliteration.

See the *appendix* for a discussion of the ancient testimonies on the subject. (= app. II).

388: ὡς εἰ *μὲν* οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ὀγκωθῇ τάφῳ,

Cf. *Or.* 402 ἐν ᾗ τάλαιναν *μητέρ'* ἐξώγκουν τάφῳ. ὀγκόω of the setting up of tombs seems to be a genuine echo of the language of epitaphs. Cf. Peek *GVI* 1420 l. 4 ὅστεα δ' ὀγκωθεὶς... ἔδεκτο τάφος cf. l. 9, of the man setting up the tomb. Thus too Alexander of Aetolia (Powell *CA* p. 123 n. 3 l. 33f.): ὁ *μὲν* ξείνων πολλὸν ἀποτμότατος | ἡρίον ὀγκώσει τὸ *μεμορμένον*, and Euphorion ἡ κενεὴ χθὼν | ὠγκώθην Δρυόπων | διψάσιν ἐν βοτάναις (= *AP* VII 651 l. 6) of a cenotaph (Gow/Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (1963) I p. 99; id. comm. (II) p. 286), Statilius Flaccus *AP* IX 117 2 ὀγκωτοῦ... ὕπερθε τάφου.[1]

390: †ἀλλ' ἐᾶν χρὴ τάδ'† εἰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ

Two syllables are missing. Five different approaches have been adopted.

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[1]It must be admitted that these are late examples - no example of the word thus used appears in either of Hansen's admirable *CEG* editions to the end of the fourth century. However, one might perhaps plead lack of complete evidence, and more importantly the intractability of religious language.

(a) Murray follows Sander in his excision of ἔλθῃ μητρὸς εἰς ὄψιν ποτέ in 389, with the remains of which he then conjoins the defective 390 to make one verse. An effective aposiopesis is thereby produced: but there is no possible reason why 389 should have been expanded by another hand in the fashion he suggests.

(b) It is possible to supply 1½ feet at the start of the line, if we allow synizesis of ἐᾶν. Seidler effected this with <ὦ τλῆμον> and Wilamowitz' <ἄδικον μὲν> has been popular: in its favour, as he point out, is the reference to ἀδικία at the start of Creusa's speech (384f.) balanced by the conclusion of Ion's soliloquy (449) τὰς ἡδονὰς... σπεύδοντες ἀδικεῖτε, cf. 447. It would be a perfectly appropriate remark. However, the metrical licence required is a problem. Homer has various finite tenses of the verb *in synizesi*: and Attic tragedy allows it with the exclamation ἔα (*Ant.* 95; cf. Ar. *Nu.* 932); ἐῶ is so treated in Ar. *Lys.* 734. In all these cases the context would make it quite obvious what word is being used. With ἐᾶν this may not be the case. There is no parallel for this particular part of the verb.[1]

(c) The problem in (b) can be averted if we make a double supplement, placing monosyllables before and after ἐᾶν. Thus Biehl ἀλλ' <αὖτ'> ἐᾶν <με> χρὴ τάδ' (comparing *Tro.* 361 ἀλλ' <αὖτ'> ἐάσω· πέλεκυν οὐχ ὑμνήσομεν where Musgrave supplied the αὐτά for the ἀλλά τ' of the MSS[2]), Reiske ἀλλ' <οὖν> ἐᾶν <γάρ>, Wakefield ἀλλ' <οὖν> ἐᾶν <γε>, Bothe ἀλλ' <οὖν> ἐᾶν <με> (improving on Duport's μοι), Badham (1) ἀλλὰ <γὰρ> ἐᾶν <με>.

(d) The object of (c), maintaining ἐᾶν as a disyllable, can also be compassed by

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[1]Diggle (*CR* XCVIII (1984), 67 = *Euripidea*, 314) assembles a list of 13 examples of the synizesis εᾶ - none precede a circumflex accent, and almost all are either in proper names or parts of the imperative.

[2]ἄττ' Murray αἰσχρ' Grégoire cf. Biehl ad loc. ἀλλ' αὖτ' Musgrave, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν <ἄπρακτα> H. Müller.

attacking τάδε so as to make the first syllable long. Musgrave followed by Matthiae wrote τἄδικ' with a suitable single particle preceding ἐᾶν. If a reference to this topic is felt to be desirable (see under (a)), this is a better way to achieve it than Wilamowitz', despite the uneconomic double correction. Badham (2) wrote ἀλλ' <οὖν> ἐᾶν χρὴ τἄδυτ' which puts some strain on ἐᾶν.

(e) Finally, there is a course which to my knowledge has been pursued only by Paley, namely to pinpoint the corruption in ἐᾶν and assume that the required number of syllables have dropped out from the middle of a word occupying that position in the line. He wrote ἐ<ξερευν>ᾶν comparing 328 οὐδ' ἦξας εἰς ἔρευναν. The problems inherent in the courses (a)-(d) reviewed above convince me that Paley's method of approach is the best.[1] Emendations to the centre of a word are always rarer when a supplement is called for: but this is unfitting, as we are dealing with a text without word division for most of its history. And here, the fact that the defective line fortuitously yields comprehensible sense may have misled critics.

There is a difficulty with Paley's specific choice: why should Creusa declare an intention to 'seek out the matter' when this is what she has just been urged not to do, with not unconvincing arguments, by Ion? It is true that 397 οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐξειλίσσομεν (τὸν λόγον) might imply an unwavering resolution to proceed: but see note ad loc. for the interpretation of that expression. Ion's present tense *μαντεύεται* (431) should not be pressed: it could as well mean 'has in mind to'. At no point in the play does she accede to Ion's request (though it might be said that when we next see her other matters have driven her mission from her thoughts).

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[1]Badham (3) suggested ἀλλ' αἰνέσαι *με* χρὴ τάδ' (ἄλλως ἀρ' ἦν χρηστήρια Kirchhoff ἄλλως ἔδη <δὴ> χρῇ Nauck, both of which give the wrong sense).

So, if (e) is adopted, one might prefer something of the nature of ἑ<ξαφεῖν>αι. Cf. *IA* 371 βαρβάρους... καταγελῶντας ἐξανήσει. The question remains, how did this omission occur? Similarity of syllables would be the obvious explanation (which works somewhat better with my ἐξαφεῖναι than that of Paley). N. G. Wilson suggests an alternative, which does not go so far as explaining the corruption, but is extremely plausible; ἀγαπᾶν is the verb of the meaning required: this produces e.g. <ἀγαπᾶν δ'> ἀναγκὴ ταῦτα... καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: ταῦτα accusative of respect, καί emphatic. Or palaeographically yet more probably: <ἀγαπᾶν δ'> ἀνάγκη χρὴ τάδ' ἂν πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ - haplography and *saut du même au même*. (e) II: I am not aware of any version of this approach which accepts χρή as written, merely altering the accent.

<τάδ> ἀλλ' ἐὰν χρῇ,<χρὴ> τάδ', εἰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ

The opportunity for omission would be unusually generous. For this use of χρή in both clauses cf. i.e. A. *Cho.* 930, E. *Alc.* 1105. The tone here is of resignation.

394ff. τοὺς λελεγμένους λόγους

σίγα πρὸς ἄνδρα, μή τιν' αἰσχύνην λάβω

διακονοῦσα κρυπτά, καὶ προβῇ λόγος

σὺχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐξειλίσσομεν.

λόγους σίγα πρὸς ἄνδρα: cf. for the preposition Pl. *Phaedr.* 276A ἐπιστήμων δὲ λέγειν τε καὶ σιγᾶν πρὸς οὓς δεῖ and for the accusative λόγους, *Or.* 16 τὰς... ἐν μέσῳ σιγῶ τύχας, A. *PV* 106, 441, *Ag.* 36 etc.

μή τιν' αἰσχύνην λάβω; Cf. *OT* 1494: τοιαῦτ' ὀνείδη λαμβάνειν, ἃ † τοῖς ἐμοῖς

† γονεῦσιν ἔσται σφῷν θ' ὁμοῦ δηλήματα,[1] *Tr.* 254 ἐδήχθη τοῦτο τοὔνειδος λαβών, *Ion* 600 γέλωτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μωρίαν τε λήψομαι.

διακονοῦσα κρυπτά: κρυπτά can hardly be governed by διακονοῦσα as this would mean 'serving out', administering hidden things'. κρυπτά will be the common poetical neuter plural adverb *metri gratia* and διακονεῖν will be abs., as in Ar. *Av.* 1323 ὡς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς.

καὶ προβῇ λόγος | οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐξειλίσσομεν (Stobaeus IV 23 29a W. quotes 395-400, with ἐξελίσσομεν (present)). Here there appears to be a conflation of ideas, which is nonetheless quite comprehensible. προβῇ λόγος will mean 'lest the discussion (with Xuthus) should advance...': cf. *Hipp.* 342 ποῖ προβήσεται λόγος; (of the one conducting the argument) Cratinus fr. 69 K.-A. μὴ προβῇς πέρα λόγου, Hdt. I 5 3 προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου.

ἐξελίσσω however, though used like its root verb in a variety of senses, seems better suited not to a hypothetical future 'handling' of the conversation with Xuthus that Creusa has in mind, but to the actual state of the *plan* that Creusa still has in mind (despite Ion's urging: see on 390). At *Or.* 892 καλὸυς κακοὺς | λόγους ἑλίσσων means 'to weave weasel words'[2], not the sense here; closer is *Su.* 141 σὺ δ' ἐξελίσσεις πῶς θεοῦ θεσπίσματα; which seems to mean 'how did you unfold the θεσπίσματα?' in the sense of 'how did you *bring them to pass*?' (the ambiguity is present in the English as well). Adrastus 'unwrapped' the meaning of the oracle by seeing through its consequences.

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[1]As Ll.-J.-Wilson note (*Sophoclea*, 113) it is difficult to see how Pearson accepted τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ἃ τοῖσί τε was conjectured by Herwerden. I suggest ἃ τοῖσι σοῖς.

[2]καλοῖς in codd. except Ad which has Hartung's conjecture - as printed in my text. Cf. Diggle, *Orestes*, 71 and Willink with analogies. Ad is unreliable on case endings, cf. Diggle o.c., 68.

Herwerden wished to clarify with κριθῇ: if one were tempted to emend, it is perhaps λόγος that one might change to e.g. δόλος. However, there is little need, for the change in thought is understandable: Creusa moves from apprehension that the conversation with Xuthus will take an undesirable turn, if she is discovered, to the consequences of that happening, namely that her plan will be impaired.

398-400: [τὰ γὰρ γυναικῶν δυσχερῆ πρὸς ἄρσενας,
κἀν ταῖς κακαῖσιν ἀγαθαὶ *μεμειγμέναι*
μισούμεθ' - οὕτω δυστυχεῖς πεφύκαμεν.]

Difficulty has been found with the first line. Badham takes it a 'women's conduct is harshly judged by men'. δυσχερής, though it can indeed mean 'hateful to' (S. *El.* 929 ἡδὺς οὐδὲ *μητρὶ* δυσχερής) can scarcely mean this, and if it merely means 'hateful' it will duplicate the content of *μισούμεθα* which, as introduced by καί, should be an advance in the thought. Moreover, the force Badham wishes to give πρός is quite impossible. Bayfield preferred a comparison 'women have a more difficult lot to bear than men do' which is perfectly possible with the preposition (Pind. *Ol.* II 87 κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρύετον | Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον etc., cf. LSJ C III 4). This however does not lead on logically to the next point: moreover, one might have preferred τἀρσένων. There seems to be only one obvious translation: 'matters for women are difficult in dealings with men'. I do not know why Owen should find this an unacceptable hyperbaton.

The lines are in good Greek and are in all likelihood by Euripides. But they certainly do not belong here.

They make an utterly inappropriate conclusion to the scene, and to Creusa's speech. As it stands, she must make her peroration with two ideas introduced in three lines which are

completely irrelevant to what has gone before and to the play as a whole. There is firstly her observation, which in view of the previous three lines must reflect on Xuthus, that women have a difficult time with their husbands. However the idea that the marital relations of Xuthus and Creusa were anything other than happy, apart from their lack of children, has been nowhere hinted at, nor is this on Creusa's mind at present. Her feelings alter somewhat spectacularly when she 'learns' who Ion is, but that is well in the future. Moreover its incongruity as applied to Xuthus, whom we are to encounter in the very next lines, is great: he must qualify as one of the kindest and most sympathetic husbands portrayed in Greek drama. His very first words are to inquire whether he has worried Creusa by his delay, and his eventual desire to introduce Creusa slowly to what he deems Ion's relationship to him to be is a sign of tact and compassion, despite its failure. There is only one ἄρσην that Creusa is resentful of, namely Apollo, and to take the attention from that deep wound to a trite observation about her mortal husband is disruptive in the extreme.

Then she dilates upon the unfortunate fact that because there have in the past been some bad women, the rest of the sex is tainted with their reputation. In itself, this is almost a commonplace in tragedy and elsewhere (see below). *But whatever does it have to do with this play?* It is usually invoked in the context of adultery or intestine murder: but no one hitherto is suspecting Creusa of anything of the kind, let alone Xuthus. The worst she envisages is that he might be offended at her 'having secrets' from him - and to sum that up with κἀν ταῖς κακαῖσιν ἀγαθαὶ *μεμειγμέναι* | *μισούμεθα* is plainly ludicrous: what Scylla or Stheneboia from among the standard 'evil women' went on a clandestine mission to Delphi on behalf of somebody else? The theme of vicarious guilt never appears again in the play, nor would we expect it to play a part here: words that come well and appropriately from Phaedra have no part whatever in Creusa's predicament.

The final words οὕτω δυστυχεῖς πεφύκαμεν highlight what has been said. For 163 lines we have heard the dialogue between Creusa and Ion. The themes have unfolded clearly and distinctly, and behind it all from the start has been the shadow of Creusa's terrible sadness caused by Apollo, both in her listless or allusive answers to Ion's questions in the first section, in her account of her 'friend's' distress, and in her reaction to hearing about Ion's lost mother. It is surely unacceptable that her last words summing up her δυστυχία, before the scene ends and Xuthus arrives, should be concentrated purely on her relationship with *Xuthus* and saying about it, moreover, two things that are demonstrably false and out of place. It is from now on that we are invited to interest ourselves in Xuthus: up till now he has been quite deliberately kept out of the spectrum (all we hear is that he was a soldier, and a brief genealogy is offered without further elaboration by Creusa) in order to focus on the real tragedy which underlies the play.[1]

The gnome is very similar to fr. 493 N.:

ἄλγιστόν ἐστι θῆλυ μισηθὲν γένος·
αἱ γὰρ σφαλεῖσαι ταῖσιν οὐκ ἐσφαλμέναις
αἶσχος γυναιξὶ καὶ κεκοίνωνται ψόγον,
ταῖς οὐ κακαῖσιν αἱ κακαί· τὰ δ' εἰς γάμους,
οὐδὲν δοκοῦσιν ὑγιὲς ἀνδράσιν φρονεῖν.

l. 3 γάμον Stob. a.c. ψόγον: ψόγου scribendum censeo (in commune culpae detrahuntur).

This has also become detached from its context in the anthological tradition. Phaedra in

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[1]Unsatisfactory discussions in C. E. Hajistephanou, ΦΥΣΙΣ *and Character Drawing in Greek Tragedy* (Cyprus 1975), 116f. and D. Cairns, *Aidos* (Oxford 1993), 308. Both converge on the argument that these lines are justified as referring à clef to Creusa's real misfortune (and the conclusions her husband might draw therefrom).

Hipp. 407f. laments her feelings ofguilt thus (whereas Creusa is emphatically sinned against):

γυνή τε πρὸς τοῖσδ' οὖσ' ἐγίγνωσκον καλῶς

μίσημα πᾶσιν· ὡς ὄλοιτο παγκάκως

ἥτις πρὸς ἄνδρας ἦρξατ' αἰσχίνειν λέχη

πρώτη θυραίους.

A similar process may account for the presence of *El.* 1097-9 which Stobaeus (IV 22 122) attaches to the end of a citation from *Kressai.* 1097-9 were deleted by Hartung, and the inane choral gnome 1100-1 τύχη γυναικῶν ἐς γάμους· τὰ *μὲν* γὰρ εὖ, | τὰ δ' οὐ καλῶς πίπτοντα δέρκομαι βροτῶν deleted by Nauck. Diggle adopts both excisions. The first is certainly "loco parum apto" (Nauck), though conceivably suggested by 1090f. 1100-1 are not included in Stobaeus, though both may belong to *Kressai*, the context of which is of course unknown, and at any rate looks like a stray gnome περὶ γάμου, of no more relevance to their present context where a comparison of Electra's forced marriage to the *autourgos* with the general lottery that marriage represents is inept. (They are also syntactically strange - τύχη γυναικῶν seems unattached - and there may be further disruption in the form of a lacuna.)

The same thought inspires Terence *Hecyra* 274 f.

Edepol ne nos sumus inique aeque omnes invisae viris

propter paucas, quae omnes faciunt dignae ut videamur malo.

401f: πρῶτον μὲν <ὁ> θεὸς τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων

λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς χαιρέτω, σύ τ', ὦ γύναι.

μῶν χρόνιος ἐλθών σ' ἐξέπληξ' ὀρρωδίᾳ;

The ὁ was added by a Renaissance editor (Brubach in his Frankfurt edition of 1558/60, on whom see Turyn, *Tradition*, 377-8 n. 306).[1] The error will have arisen as a result of the Byzantine habit of syllable-counting, conscious or otherwise. On this habit of reducing iambic lines to twelve syllables and twelve syllables only, see on ll. 286, 281.

λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς χαιρέτω: On the use and connotations of ἀπάρχω and its cognates see Fraenkel on Agamemnon l. 1227 (III, 565), with references to earlier work. In its various transferred and metaphorical senses, the religious metaphor is never quite out of view. Here the point is clear. X. is referring to the solemn duty of offering ἀπαρχαί on arrival at Delphi (see on 226, 420) as if his words could fulfil it. E. *Andr.* 149f. is more difficult though it allows of a similar explanation. Hermione on her first entrance to torment Andromache refers to her garb as οὐ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως οὐδὲ Πηλέως ἄπο | δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμην | ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακαίνης Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονὸς | Μενέλαος ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ | πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις She is calling the rich clothes that she is wearing ἀπαρχαί as she is alluding to the practice of offering up the spoils of war on one's return from battle: in this case she transfers the metaphor of acquisition to marriage gifts in particular. Cf. *Rhes.* 180 θεοῖσιν... πασσάλευε πρὸς δόμοις, *Ag.* 578f. etc.). Another interesting use of ἀπαρχή is a philosophical cliché, transmitted from Plato to the general tradition. It is no less pious in tone and was first thought of, I believe, in connection with the "Offering" of the maxims

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[1]There is some uncertainty about the date of this edition and its sources: I cannot therefore state with certainty whether this is a conjecture by the editor or an earlier correction which he found in a lost apograph of L. The close similarity between Brubach and the MSS Turyn (300 f.) has shown to be copies of a printed edition, probably the Aldine (1504), imply the former alternative.

of the seven Wise Men at Delphi. Thus Pl. *Protagoras* 343b: ἀπαρχὴν τῆς σοφίας ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι (cf. *Charm.* 164d: it is copied by D.S. ix 14, Dio Chr. *or.* LXXI 2 and Plut. *Mor.* 172C).

τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων: The noun is, as usual, plural (cf. *Ag.* 903, *Cho.* 876 and twelve instances in Euripides.)

For the meaning "greeting on arrival" cf. *Rhes.* 296f. στείχων δ' ἀνακτὸς προύξερευνητὰς ὁδοῦ | ἀνιστόρησα Θρηκίοις προσφθέγμασιν | "Τίς ὁ στρατηγός;" *Or.* 75. It is more commonly used in Classical Greek of the salutation on leave taking, as is the cognate verb (cf. *Hipp.* 1097, *El.* 1333, *Tro.* 1184, *Hec.* 413 - the interpolator chose wisely at *IA* 1625 as the Greek for "dying words" is ὕστατα προσφθέγματα)[1]. ὀρρωδίᾳ: cf. fr. 908 6, τήκω τάλαιναν καρδίαν ὀρρωδίᾳ N. Common to verse and prose.

Prayers and invocations made on arrival are a standard element in all of Attic drama. Both *Cho.* and *Eum.* begin thus, and the similarity of the latter to P. Oxy. xx 2253 (= 451 k (a) Radt, cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Supplement*, II, 582f.)

]εν εὐχαῖς πρῶτα πρεσβεύων σεβ[ω

⏑ – ἱ]κνοῦμαι φέγγ[ος] ἡλίου τὸ νῦν

⏑ – ἀμ]εῖψαι ξὺ[ν] τύχαις εὐημέρ[οις.

prompts one to think that this too was the beginning of a prologue to this unknown play.[2]

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[1]Either in *OC* 121 or 122 or conceivably both, we encounter προσθέγγου of the inhabitants of Colonus calling to Oedipus, the intruder on the sacred precinct. (The deduction that there may have been anaphora is drawn from the evidence of the *a* group.) There is no point in attempts to keep the over emphatic λεύσοττε introduced by many groups of MSS in 121; the variants in *a* and *zt* with double sigma indicate that some form of λεύσσω was present, and obviously as a gloss on προσδέρκου in the same line; no credit accrues to those scholars who have attempted to bring into the text various tenses of λεύσσω. An unduly complex explanation of this common corruption in *Sophoclea*, 219.

[2] *Myrmidones*, perhaps (L1.-J. l.c.).

They are common in the mouth of a returning traveller, sometimes, but not always, to his homeland. Thus *Ag.* 508f. (νῦν χαῖρε *μὲν* χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,| ὕπατός τε χώρας Ζεύς etc.): the beginning of S. *El.* is a variant on the motif. The papyrus fragment of Euripides' *Telephus* published by Calderini *Aegyptus*, (1935), 239, cf. Page, *GLP*, 130, and securely identified by the partial citation in D.H. *de comp. verb.* XXVI = p. 139 21 Usener-Radermacher, is not allocated to any part of the play by either source (so it is misleading to entitle it as 'the prologue' as Page does), but nonetheless belongs to the same family:

ὦ γα[ῖα πατρὶς] ἣν Πέλοψ ὁρίζεται

χαῖρ', ὅς τε πέτραν Ἀρκάδων δυσχείμερον

Πὰν ἐμβατεύεις κτλ.

Like to the last, as Fraenkel points out (*Ag.* l.c. supra), are some examples from Roman comedy. *Stichus* 649f. (Sangarinus *servus*): "Salvete Athenae, quae nutrices Graeciae/ <o> terra erilis patria, te video lubens" ("So überschwengliche und ehrerbietige Begrüssung hier in den Mund eines fremdländischen Sklaven legt" (Petersmann *ad loc.*). In fact it seem to be deliberate paratragedy (see Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*^{2}, 134). *Bacchides* 170f. contains a similar invocation, combined with the standard prayer on arrival to "vicine Apollo" which in the Greek original must have stood as Ἀπόλλων ἀγυιεύς. In connection with Xuthus here we may remember the ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι pointed out by the Chorus in 186-7 which we may perhaps imagine to be present on the stage, and the object of Xuthus' attentions here. (However this is difficult: on ἀγυιεῖς and the meaning see *ad loc.*)

404: οὐδέν γ' ἀφίκου δ' ἐς *μέριμναν*.

The meaning of this phrase must occasion the gravest concern. Owen regards the "most natural meaning" as "you came when I was anxious" i.e. "you happened upon my

anxiety".[1] However, in all cases where ἥκω *et al.* is used in company with words indicating misfortune, the misfortune is viewed from the point of view of the person reaching that state. Thus *HF* 533 τίν' ἐς ταραγμὸν ἥκομεν. πάτερ (Amphitryon is included by Heracles with himself in the question): *Ion* 583 ἐς φροντίδας τ' ἀπῆλθες (Xuthus to Ion): *IA* 453 εἰς τὰς μεγίστας ξυμφορὰς ἀφιγμένος, fr. 537 N.

εἰς ἀνδροβρῶτας ἡδονὰς ἀφίξεται

κάρηνα πυρσαῖς γένυσι Μελανίππου σπάσας.

("he will reach the appalling degradation of...")

None of these refer to the feelings of the person before whom the speaker arrives. What Owen's version requires is not ἀφίκου but εὑρίσκεις (cf. *HF* 1177, *Ion* 320 etc.)

Following that line of thought, could we translate as "No, not at all: *but you have become anxious*". However, this is an extremely odd thing for Creusa to say, and in any case appears to be ruled out by μέριμνα: it does not mean "worry" but "thought, consideration" in a more neutral sense (On its use in E. see below).

A third option which has found support was suggested by Wilamowitz: "Du kamst *zu meinem Denken*', zu der Zeit, die ich mir für deine Ankunft gedacht hatte, also ὡς προσεδόκων". However here Wilamowitz' noted penchant for glossing the Greek he is commenting on with other Greek seems to have lead him astray, as ὡς προσεδόκων is *not* contained within μέριμνα any more than "anxiety" is. See last paragraph. εἰς and πρός can indeed be used with phrases indicating deliberate thought or direction. Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 353d τίθεμεν οὖν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ("according to the same *argument*"),

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[1] Rejecting Badham's "interpretation", rightly (for the latter's drastic and in all probability right manoeuvre, *vide subter*). It is to be regretted that Kraus (o.c., 50) was content to serve it up in a yet more brazen form: ("Nein, gar nicht, du bist aber in Sorge geraten (ich könnte mich um dich ängstisen, und nicht ohne Grund, denn du liessest mich warten)").

Thuc. I 6 μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο ("the standards that are nowadays accepted") cf. Ar. *Nu.* 593 ες τἀρχαῖον (cf. Luc. *Saturn.* IX) Ar. *Av.* 804f. (Πισθέταιρος): οἶσθ' ᾧ μάλιστ' ἔοικας ἐπτερωμένος; εἰς εὐτέλειαν χηνὶ συγγεγραμμένῳ[1] which presumably means "a goose painted with a view to cheapness" ("une oie peint a bon prix"[2] Dael, (Budé 1977): cf. Thuc. VIII 4 ξυστελλόμενοι ες εὐτέλειαν which also shows Meineke's σύ γε in 806 to be a mistaken deference to the scholiast's γεγραμμένῳ). Thuc. VI 63 2 πρὸς... τὴν προσδοκίαν... οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο means exactly what Wilamowitz intended here and also clinches the point as προσδοκία is obviously a "loaded" word.

Usages such as Dem. XXXVI 32 πρὸς μέρος Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 10 2 πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα and even E. *Hipp.* 701 πρὸς τὰς τύχας γὰρ τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα are not strictly applicable as they all imply an understood canon of an impersonal nature according to which the action in question is performed.

μέριμνα cannot take a "that.." clause after it. It is a favourite word with Euripides occurring twelve times in the extant plays. The sense is illustrated by: *Hipp.* 1428 f. (of the future cult of Hippolytus): αἰεὶ δὲ μουσοποιὸς ἐς σὲ παρθένων | ἔσται μέριμνα. It will be their "care". *Andr.* 987 f. νυμφευμάτων... πατὴρ ἐμὸς | μέριμναν ἕξει He will "look after" the matter. μεριμνητὰς λόγων in *Med.* 1226 is a Euripidean coinage, and does not recur elsewhere: it will mean "those who give their mind to...".[3]

It is almost certainly to be preferred, and in the same sense, in *Phaethon* fr. 773 43

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[1]Cf. K.-G. 1 p. 471: LSJ s.v. εἰς IV 3.

[2]συγγράφω of contracting for paintings to be done: cf. Andocides IV xvii or perhaps "a goose sold cheaply", the technical marketing sense of συγγραφαί. ἐς τἀρχαῖα: *Eq.* 1387.

[3]*Ag.* 499: μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τι μοι | μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές derives its sense from the context. The tradition has μου; Karsten's μοι fits the word μέριμνα better.

N. = l. 87 Diggle. In the *hymenaios* for Phaethon the MS and the papyrus differ at this point:

P: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἑτέροισι μεριμνα { πέλει (incertum) | κοσμεῖν
{ μέλει

Papyrus: τὰ μ[ὲ]ν οὖν ἑτέρων ἑτέ[ροισι μέλει] | κοσμεῖν

(supplement: Rubensohn)

There is no place for μέριμνα in the papyrus. Rubensohn's supplement may well be the right one, but is hardly the right meaning. In this context, we do not require an antithesis consisting of three parties ("to some people the matters of *other people* are a concern, but for us..."), but of two, that of "other people" and the chorus, whose particular duty is celebrating the wedding of Phaethon. (Hartung's emendation of the MS, i.e. κόσμον δ' ὑμεναίων for κοσμεῖν ὑμεναίων δέ rids us of the need to interpret κοσμεῖν as somehow meaning "attend to" and provides an apt description of what the chorus are actually doing at this point).

Diggle has taken the bold and surely correct step of adopting Badham's ἀφίγμην for ἀφίκου (*Philologus*, (1852), 277). However he solves only half the problem, for his interpretation of Creusa's reply to Xuthus' inquiry as to whether she had been frightened by his protracted absence is "No, not *frightened*, but I had become *anxious*". μέριμνα here still bears an unwarranted sense, as I have argued.

The text with Badham's conjecture should be read in the light of 244: Ιων. τί ποτε μερίμνης ἐς τόδ' ἦλθες, ὦ γύναι The repetition of μέριμνα and the idiom with ἔρχομαι (cf. too 584) move one to call 404 a deliberate verbal echo of Ion's words to Creusa at the beginning of the scene. Translate:

"Not at all: I was thinking over something"

Xuthus will of course imagine the content of her μέριμνα to be their forthcoming visit to the oracle. The audience by this time know otherwise, and the ambiguity of Creusa's reply

entirely accords with her veiled references to her personal tragedy in the conversation with Ion just completed.[1]

405: τί θέσπισμ' ἐκ Τροφωνίου φέρεις,

θέσπισμα is unusual in the singular: it reappears in 728f.: εἴ τι Λοξίας ἄναξ | θέσπισμα παίδων ἐς γονὰς ἐφθέγξατο. Plural in *Hel.* 328, 873 *Pho.* 903, 971 *Or.* 1666, 1681, *Su.* 141 - likewise S. *OT* 971, A.fr. 86 Radt l. 2.

406: παίδων ὅπως νῷν σπέρμα συγκραθήσεται;

Here Owen follows Wilamowitz in the assumption that Creusa is using the language of an ancient physiological theory concerning genetics which she has learnt from Hippocrates. Such technical references must be treated with the greatest circumspection.

There is no parallel to this usage of the verb in poetry. Most of its appearances are ultimately derived from the Homeric μισγέμεναι κακότητι (*Od.* XX 203): S. *Ant.* 1311 δειλαίᾳ δὲ συγκέκραμαι δύᾳ *Aj.* 895 οἴκτῳ Ar. *Plut.* 853 (in an obvious passage of paratragedy) πολυφόρῳ συγκέκραμαι δαίμονι[2] (An interesting blend of thought and phraseology: the individual is regarded as a compound consisting of his own personality and the misfortunes that beset him from without). A. *Cho.* 744 τὰ παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα ἄλγη

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[1]No explanation of this corruption can hope to give total satisfaction. Palaeography will furnish us with no argument for this, and scribal psychology must be invoked. Diggle offers a very likely account "the change was the work, conscious or accidental, of someone to whom Xuthus' "arrival" in 403 suggested that he must be the subject of a verb meaning "arrive" in the following line."

[2]πολυφόρος naturally means 'abundant' - possibly παραφόρῳ. The obvious tragic allusion in that case is *Eum.* 330. However it is quite possible that the text is right inasmuch as the δαίμων is considered to *be* Plutus ὁ πολυφόρος himself. This would not exclude the possibility of a pun on the adjective we expect.

should probably be taken in the sense we understand from "a cup" of suffering to be drained, cognate with the metaphor from ἀντλεῖν.

There are some examples of a more general sense which may be of some help here from Herodotus where συγκεράννυμι is used in connection with how a friendship, a mutually harmonious and happy state of affairs, is "brought about".

IV 152 ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου... φιλίαι μέγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν, VII 151 (middle) τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξεα φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο.

If we were to understand παίδων σπέρμα as approaching the meaning "the birth of children" i.e. offspring, we may have a parallel case with children perhaps to be regarded as a happy outcome and an event which fosters the unity of mother and father by their common concern in τὰ κοινά (see on 358 for the latter idea, and for σπέρμα and the periphrasis that this would represent Breitenbach 194, 201 (g)).

However it is possible that here we should after all be somewhat less stringent in excluding a medical technical term from the pages of Greek tragedy. Perhaps a guiding formula to follow in such cases should be something of this nature: *if a term has clear technical applications and connotations, but can be shown to have passed into the common pool of language, such that in every day usage it would not be thought of as unusual or strikingly specialised, then we are entitled to recognize and comment on these terms when they appear in the poets.*

The technical application and the underlying "theory" are clearly illustrated by three passages from the Hippocratic corpus:

περὶ γονῆς ch. xii (Littré vii p. 486) ἢν ἡ γονὴ μείνῃ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι τῆς γυναικός, πρῶτον μὲν μίσγεται ὁμοῦ... καὶ ἀθροίζεται καὶ παχύνεται θερμαινομένη.

Morb. Fem. III (*De Sterilitate*) ch. 222 (Littré VIII p. 428) διὰ δὴ τοῦτο ἡ γονὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅταν μίσγηται οὐχ ἅπτεται τῆς μήτρης ἵνα δεῖ πήγνυσθαι τὴν γονὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

De Victu 33 (Littré VI 510) αἱ δὴ ἡλικίαι αὗται πρὸς ἑωυτὰς ὧδε ἔχουσι· παῖς μὲν οὖν κέκρηται ὑγροῖσι καὶ θερμοῖσι διότι ἐκ τούτων ξυνέστηκε καὶ ἐν τούτοισιν ηὔξήθη.

The latter passage is almost certainly an implicit reference to the theory in question: though the subject matter of the chapter is concerned with the varying proportions of heat and cold in the constitution at different times of life, the two verbs ξυνέστηκε and ηὔξήθη (tense) are decisive and in the following chapter the author goes on to explain that men are predominantly "hot" and women the reverse. The dates of the two more technical works earlier quoted is uncertain, but this reference in what appears to be an early work in the corpus, perhaps even fifth century, is encouraging evidence that we are not violating chronology in drawing the parallel.

However that it *was* in common usage too is shown by, e.g., Xen. *Cyneg.* III 1 (of the two distinct types of dogs) πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις. A manly nature is the product of mixing (Plat. *Rep.* 501B ἐμποιεῖν ξυμμιγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες... τὸ ἀνδρεῖκελον.Cf *Lg.* 631 C.

It has in fact a very wide usage as a "popular science" or "popular philosophy" word, as we learn from Plato who makes frequent use of it to describe the constitution of the body, regarded as an equilibrium, the intermingling of the Forms, the just blend of opposing principles that goes into making up the best state, and so forth. See *Lg.* 889C, *Timaeus* 35A, 37A, 68D, 69D, *Crat.* 424D-E, *Phaedo* 59A, *Philebus* 50A, *Rep.* 397D, 618D.

"Conceive a child" in English is not a word redolent of doctor's jargon, though it is also part of it: it is a formal expression, perfectly comprehensible in all genres of speech or writing. We should, I think, conclude that the aura of συγκραθήσεται here is much the same.

407: οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοῦ θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν | μαντεύμαθ''

προλαμβάνειν with accusative of person and genitive of that in respect of which the subject "gets ahead" of the indirect object.

For the accusative with this verb in verse cf. *Hel.* 338 μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων | προλάμβαν', ὦ φίλα, γόους. It is common in later Greek (see Stephanus-Dindorf for examples). For the genitive cf. Dem. XLIV 6 προλαβών δὲ μου ὥστε πρότερος λέγειν

Euripides combines both constructions, in a quite comprehensible fashion. For the 'double' consultation and the relationship of the oracles of Trophonius and Apollo, see notes and bibliography on ll. 300 and 302.

408-9: Wilamowitz notes that Trophonius' pronouncement is subsequently entirely forgotten. Euripides might indeed have chosen, at the point when Creusa is under the impression that Ion is in fact Xuthus' illegitimate son and not her own, to make some play with the potential ambiguity in the oracle: "you will not return home without a child" or "you will not return home barren". ("Unbeknownst to me, the oracle spoke all too truly" might be the gist of the 'additional dialogue' here).

However the whole dramatic point of the visit to Trophonius, which may or may not have been a customary preliminary to consulting Apollo (see on 300-302), was to engineer a prolonged meeting between Ion and Creusa in the absence of Xuthus.

410-412: ὦ πότνια Φοίβου μῆτερ, εἰ γὰρ αἰσίως

ἔλθοιμεν, ἃ τε νῷν συμβόλαια πρόσθεν ἦν

ἐς παῖδα τὸν σὸν μεταπέσοι βελτίονα.

Creusa appeals to Leto: it is perhaps not over-fanciful to think that she does so because she cannot bring herself to address directly the god who has wronged her. When she finally does so in the great lyric monologue of 859f., it is in very different terms from this. αἰσίως: A term associated in general with augury: thus literally at 421 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇδ' - ἀισία γὰρ κτλ. (i.e. not a ἀποφρὰς ἡμέρα but one sanctioned as auspicious for the consultation of the oracle by the initial sacrifice at the common altar). Cf. Pind. *Nem.* IX 18 ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιᾶν οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν, *OT* 52 ὄρνιθι... τὴν τότ' αἰσίῳ τύχην | παρέσχες ἡμῖν Cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube* I, 358. At *OC* 34 Oedipus hails the first inhabitant of Colonus that he meets as an αἴσιος σκοπός, an auspicious beginning to his sojourn. The technical application appears in prose as well: Xen. *Cyr.* II 4 19 ἀετός. The adverb, used in the same sense as here, reappeared in the *Temenos* (fr. 747 N. = Hes. s.v. αἰσίως: καλῶς, δεξιῶς).

συμβόλαια: The word is spoken with bitter sarcasm, in addition to the ironic ambiguity that we have already noticed as a characteristic of Creusa.[1]

It is a legal expression with a variety of applications: in all of these though the idea of *reciprocity* is present and it is that which gives it its bitter appropriateness here.

Its most common usage is precisely that of the contract or covenant made in acknowledgement of a loan: cf. Dem. XXXII 1 τῶν Αθήναζε καὶ Αθήνηθεν συμβόλαια ibid. 7, 34 3, Isoc. XII 243, Andoc. I 88, Isaeus V 33 and elsewhere in the orators: Pl. *Rep.* 425c συμβολαίων τε πέρι κατ' ἀγορὰν ἃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβάλλουσι

[1]A sarcasm in which the late Gk. euphemism (Plut. *Alex.* 30, *Ant.* 25 etc.) has no part.

Ar. *Pol.* 1300b 12 τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβόλαια - more generally Theophrastus (Wimmel fr. 97 2) on the laws governing buying and selling παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κτημάτων ἐστι καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐστι μαθεῖν, εἰ ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀνέπαφα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πωλεῖ <τις addidi> δικαίως It appears, in this particular sense, frequently in inscriptions - cf. Dittenberger *SIG* 112 15 συμβόλαια καὶ ἐγκλήματα 344 20, 742 50.

It is no doubt relevant that it can also be used of the dowry paid for the bride and the agreement for its payment: see *in primis* Dem. XLI 5 (cf. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* I, 51 n. 3, 303).

But it is a more general expression for "above board" dealings: cf. Dem. XVIII 210 (in contrast to αἱ κοιναὶ προαιρέσεις)[1]: (κρίνειν) τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας.[2]

Isaeus IV 12 αἱ τῶν κλήρων εἰσαγωγαί (τὰ ἄλλα συμβόλαια (see Wyse ad loc.)

The simple verb can mean "borrow" (Isocrates xxi 13) or simply "deal fairly" (Pl. *Alc.* I 125d. (just citizens) συμβαλλόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους) (On its use in Ar. *Eccl.* 446, see below)

Cf. O. Schulthus, *Vormundschaft nach Attischem Recht*, 104: Harrison o.c. 150 n. 4

Precisely the same legal metaphor seems to be invoked by a fragment of Euripides *Melanippe Desmotis* (Page *GLP* fr. 13(a) 1f.).

μάτην ἄρ' εἰς γυναῖκας ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ψόγος·
ψάλλει κενὸν τόξευμα καὶ †λέγει κακῶς[3].

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[1]On which see Wankel ad loc.

[2]See on 406 for a suggested formulation for treating "technical" terms in tragedy.

[3]λέγει κακῶς is not an appropriate companion of κενὸν τόξευμα - it merely duplicates ψόγος. I suggest λήγει κενῶς (λέγω occurs at the end of l. 3). The arrow *twangs* disreputably at the departure into flight and *ends* its flight. Cf. Pl. *Phaedr.* 245 C λήγει

αἳ δ' εἶσ' ἀμείνους ἀρσένων· δείξω δ' ἐγώ.

ταῖς *μὲν* γὰρ ἑστ]ι †ξυμβόλαια *μάρτυρα* (ἀμάρτυρα Page + supplement)

(οὐκ ἀρνούμεναι and ἀλλήλας πόνους in the following two lines, also αἰσχύνην ἔχει.)

That Page's supplement to l. 4 is essentially correct is shown by an interesting parallel in Ar. *Eccl.* 446f.

(Χρέμης:) ἔπειτα συμβάλλειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔφη

ἱμάτια χρυσί' ἀργύριον ἐκπώματα

μόνας μόναις, οὐ *μαρτύρων* ἐναντίον,

καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποφέρειν πάντα κοὐκ ἀποστερεῖν,

ἡμῶν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦτο δρᾶν.

(Βλέπυρος) - νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ *μαρτύρων* γ' ἐναντίον.

What is horrifically odd about the women's conduct, as reported here, is that while *nobody* would require surety for the loan of the small items first and second in the list, ἀργύριον loans would normally be performed in the presence of a witness (cf. *Nu.* 1152, D. XXXV 27, Thphr. *Char.* XIV 8). Thus they fly in the face of the cautious distrust maintained between men who do business. Cf. Rogers, and Ussher (1973) *ad loc.*

Melanippe too is praising the natural mutual faith that exists between women. Our passage of the Ion should be added to the list of parallels, for Creusa is contrasting her own innocence with the actions of Apollo and also negating the *sense* in which this legal term is used in so doing: a privative adjective, as it were, should mentally be added before συμβόλαια as we read it. It is an effective touch.

μεταπέσοι: Owen complains that this word has the effect of mixing the metaphor

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κινούμενον.

discussed in the last note as μεταπέσοι conjures up the range of metaphorical language associated with games of dice. However a greater degree of discretion is called for in deciding when and when not to invoke this line of thought. Language *is* dead metaphor.

There is no doubt that this metaphor with πίπτειν is the stuff of Attic poetry, and in connection with the gods. A group of passages seem to derive colour from a common proverb: cf. S. fr. 895 Radt ἀεὶ τρὶς ἓξ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι[1] (I give the correct reading as preserved in the Suda and the paroemiographers (see Graux *Rev. Phil.* (1878), 223), not γὰρ εὖ, the *simplicior lectio* of the vulgar tradition which Radt places in the text):[2] E. *Rhes.* 183 ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος (cf. A. *Septem.* 414); *HF* 1228 τά γ' ἐκ θεῶν πτώματα (Headlam's text is best cf. Bond ad loc.) Plat. *Rep.* 604C ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ πράγματα. Likewise *Hipp.* 718 ὄνασθαι πρὸς τὰ νῦν πεπτωκότα) Alexis fr. 35 K.-A.

No less literal is A. *Ag.* 33, a famous example: τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι (see Fraenkel ad loc. for the evidence for τίθεσθαι of adjusting one's chances in gambling): S. fr. 947 Radt στέργειν δὲ τἀκπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει | σοφὸν κυβευτήν (cf. Thuc. I 25 θέσθαι τὸ παρόν) and probably E. *El.* 639 τοὐνθένδε πρὸς τὸ πῖπτον αὐτὸς ἐννόει E. fr. 175 1 N. ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὸ πῖπτον εὐλόγως φέρει (εὐλόγως with the codd.: εὐλόφως (Abresch) misses the point, which is that intellect is required).

However even with the simple verb, which might be held even more than its compounds to direct the reader's mind to the gaming table, there are many cases where the metaphor is latent if not wholly absent. No one will look for it in e.g. Hdt. VII 163

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[1]On which see Deubner, *Die Antike* VI (1930), 171.

[2]The proverbs were in fact inextricably confused - witness the section of *Ag.* 32 that Eustathius offers (ad *Od.* 1414 ad I 234).

καρηδοκήσαντα τὴν *μάχην* τῇ πεσέεται Pind. *Ol.* vii 69 τελεύταθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαὶ | ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πετοῖσαι and, at E. fr. 572 2 N. φέρειν τὰ *συμπίπτοντα μὴ* παλιγκότως the compound has a weakening effect; and, though the phrase in form reminds one of the metaphor expressed in S. fr. 947R and Plato, the participle is really equivalent to *συμβαίνοντα*. E. *El.* 1100f. τὰ *μὲν* γὰρ εὖ,| τὰ δ' οὐ καλῶς πίπτοντα δέρκομαι βροτῶν is weak.[1] Likewise, the instances where it is explicitly used of a turn for the worst with no sporting connotations (usually for the worse: cf. Willink on *Or.* 1141) - *Eum* 336f. θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι | ξυ*μπέσωσιν μάταιοι*,[2] *Med.* 54-5. Our passage constitutes an exception as does *IT* 730 ὅταν τε πρὸς τὸ θάρσος ἐκ φόβου πέσῃ, *Hel.* 1082 τὸ δ' ἄθλιον κεῖν' εὐτυχὲς τάχ' ἂν πέσοι (see Kannicht ad loc.) *Or.* 1140f. ὁ *μητροφόντης* σὺ καλῇ ταύτην κτανὼν,| ἀλλ' ἀπολιπὼν τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον πεσῇ.

With *μεταπίπτειν* the dicing metaphor is wholly absent, as the prefix *μετα* - completely disrupts it. *Alc.* 913 πῶς δ' οἰκήσω *μεταπίπτοντος* δαίμονος (the verb means no more than *μεταβάλλειν*) *IA* 501f. τὸν ὀμόθεν πεφυκότα στέργων *μετέπεσον* Ar. *Av.* 627 ὦ φίλτατ' ἐμοὶ... ἐξ ἐχθίστου *μεταπίπτων* Pl. *Grg.* 493a τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι εἶσι... οἷον ἀναπείθεσθαι καὶ *μεταβάλλειν* ἄνω κάτω (the doubtful text here does not affect the argument): Menander *Georgus* fr. 1 K.-T. l. 5, Lycurg. 60, Thuc. viii 68 2 (a revolution), Lys. xx 14 and so on. All of these are wholly general in force and so Owen's accusation of a mixed metaphor seems quite without grounds.

See Wilamowitz ad *HF* 1338, Fraenkel o.c. supra, LSJ V 2 s.v. πίπτω.

413: ἔσται τάδ" ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;

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[1] And may be displaced, corrupt or both; cf. supra 398-400 n.

[2] though there τοὶ σὺν αὐτουργίαις (Meineke, Weil) has much to recommend it.

Xuthus has so far treated Ion as if he were not there, and his question now is not addressed to him, contrary to usual tragic practice with characters present on stage, though usual with slaves. We should no doubt imagine Ion, in his enthusiasm to display knowledge of Delphi and to answer the stanger's question, as breaking in to the discussion between husband and wife, a fact which may have something to do with the tone of mild abruptness with which Xuthus replies to the answer (see next note), not surprising as addressed to one whom he will imagine to be a mere temple slave, and a humble one at that.

ἔσται τάδ': However one seeks to justify this, these words remain a singularly strange reaction to Creusa's prayer to Leto. One can either assume that Xuthus is so fortified by Trophonius' somewhat evasive response to his preliminary enquiry that he regards the fulfilment of Creusa's prayer as a certainty, or that Creusa has spoken her prayer for the audience's hearing but not to Xuthus, in which case ἔσται τάδε will be a comment by Xuthus, more or less on his own remarks in 407f. The latter alternative is obviously unattractive: the ambiguity of Creusa's language in 410f. (see last note) is obviously designed to be addressed *to* Xuthus so that he will *not* understand the purport. The former is simply strange - why should Xuthus have such confidence, when Trophonius has specifically refused to tell him what Apollo will actually say, and when the Delphic oracle is notorious for dark utterances?

What is required by all the conventions of the genre is a *confirmation* of what Creusa has just said, and Murray's ἔστω (palaeographically simple) provides precisely that. Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* (1962), 78 n. 1) objects on grounds of tone to ἔστω here "denn es würde ein blosses - oft resigniertes - Zugeständnis ausdrücken ("mag das denn sein", "mag es denn so sein")". Among his examples, Pl. *Grg.* 510a. ἔστω σοι τοῦτο, Σώκρατες, οὕτως, ἵνα διαπεράνῃς... seems to show particularly well that this *is* the tone we want here.

Xuthus is a practical man and wants results: his wife's abstract considerations take second place.[1]

Owen seeks to defend the transmitted text with an argument which has no place in a work of scholarship: because he has counted "eleven instances" of ἔσται τάδε in Euripides, the text here is beyond reproach. It is indeed a common formula and in fact there are sixteen examples, as follows: *El.* 650, *Hec.* 898, *Hel.* 744, 1294, *Hcld.* 567, *HF* 332, *IA* 149, 1033 (by a certain conjecture), *IT* 1206, *Med.* 731, *Or.* 1041, 1598, *Pho.* 748, *Su.* 1182, *Tro.* 87, *Ion* 425. Variations of the expression occur at *Alc.* 1152, *Hel.* 1075, 1262.

In every one of these, the phrase functions exactly as it does in *Ion* 425 below, namely as a response to a direct request by one speaker for some action on the part of the other (in 425 it is Creusa's reply to Xuthus' instructions to pray at the altar while he consults the oracle - another indication incidentally, through εὐτέκνους εὔχου θεοῖς χρησμούς μ' ἐνεγκεῖν that the first suggested line of defence for the paradosis is flawed.) "Certainly" would be a natural English translation. Here it is quite out of place, and Murray's conjecture seems inevitable.

ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;: For the genitive, normal after the noun, cf. Hdt. VII 111 Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ: in Luc. *VH.* II 33 the genitive is governed by προειστήκει.

414-6: ἡμεῖς τά γ ἔξω, τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις μέλει,
οἳ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος, ὦ ξένε,
Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

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[1]There is a similar case for the same emendation at *Med.* 89 ἴτ', εὖ γὰρ ἔσται, δωμάτων ἔσω, τέκνα. The nurse has just given us very good reason for not being thus sanguine about Medea.

414 cannot exactly be described as anacoluthon: the change of case can be conveyed in English by e.g. "I do, as far as matters outside the temple are concerned, but proceedings inside are the concern of others". προφητεύειν here has a somewhat attentuated sense, as Ion's words seem to imply that it includes the sort of duties we have seen him engaged in outside the sacred enclosure. However, even these otherwise humble tasks could well be seen as "representing" the god, and his opening monody, especially 130f., leves us in no doubt that this is his opinion. A good discussion of this in Fontenrose, *DO*, 216f.

There has been much discussion about what set or sets of people Ion is referring to in the next two lines. It seems best to give a brief account of what is known of those who would be present at a mantic consultation. Much remains uncertain.

There were two types of high priest at Delphi, five hereditary officers known as ὅσιοι, and at any one time two ἱερεῖς (thus they are always named in the inscriptions) of whom one acted as προφήτης at a consultation. Owen mistakenly conflates the two groups in his note.

Our entire knowledge of the ὅσιοι derives from Plutarch and they are named on a number of inscriptions. From *QG* 292D we learn their number, and the tradition that their five families were descended from Deucalion (πέντε δ' εἰσὶν 'ὅσιοι' διὰ βίου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ *μετὰ* τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι καὶ συνιερεργοῦσιν ἅτε γεγονέναι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος).

They were responsible for a special sacrifice in the temple, for which the victim was termed a ὁσιωτήρ (*QG* l.c.)[1], they assisted at the propitiatory sprinkling of the goat before sacrifice, to ensure its consent (*Mor.* 437a), where Plutarch clearly distinguishes them from the ἱερεῖς (οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσιοι (ὅσοι codd.)) and they had the additional duty of sacrificing in secret to Dionysus Liknites, on the occasion of the awakening of that god by the Thyiades

[1]on the occasions where a new member of their college was 'elected' (ἀποδειχθῇ).

(*Mor.* 365a). The link between Dionysus and Apollo at Delphi apparently went as far as sharing a priestly college.

They were undoubtedly a different group from the ἱερεῖς. Apart from the Plutarch passage mentioned above, we may adduce Mor. 438A where the uncanny incident when the Pythia lost her wits after the goat had been induced to "consent" by unscrupulous means is narrated: such was the alarm caused ὥστε φυγεῖν μὴ μόνους τοὺς θεοπρόπους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὁσίων. In one inscription (*BCH* XXII (1898), 76), the manumission of a slave is witnessed by two ἱερεῖς and four ὅσιοι (c. fin. 1st cent. BC). Moreover, the honorary inscription for Theonoe (*BCH,* XLIX (1925) 83) records that she was daughter of the ὅσιος Timaeus and grandaughter of the ἱερεύς Hippocles and the Pythia Theonice (c. AD 200). Obviously, we are not dealing with mere literary *variatio.*

The ἱερεῖς were two in number and their two names appear at the head of the numerous Delphic manumission inscriptions which start from the second century BC onwards: a selection is edited in Collitz, *SGDI* 1684-2342 - see *in primis* Daux, *Delphes au IIe et Ier siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étoile jusqu'à la paix Romaine, 191-31 avant J.C.* (1936), passim: note especially 187-209. Also id., *Chronologie Delphique*, F. de D. III *Su.*, 49 f. - they are the foundation of our knowledge of that subject for the period that they cover.

It could be deduced that the ὅσιος and the προφήτης did not coincide from *Mor.* 438a, already quoted, the description of the flight from the temple. That the ἱερεῖς provided the one προφήτης on each occasion seems to be rendered certain by Plutarch, who in two places, while dealing with the "goat incident", refers to Nicandrus as, firstly, ὁ ἱερεύς (386C) and, secondly, προφήτης (438b). Inscriptions dealing with Nicandrus record him as one of the two ἱερεῖς.

Inscriptions never give them the title προφήτης and quite possibly their title, when not performing the specific duty of relating the oracles of the gods, was ἱερεὺς τοῦ Φοίβου. The matter is somewhat confused by the fact that *literary* sources do refer to the Delphic priest as προφήτης (Hdt. VIII 36, *Ion* here, Aelian *NA* XI 26, Plutarch as quoted and a Berlin papyrus (no. 11517 p. 50) edited by Schubart (*Hermes* LV (1920), 188f.).

We do not know on what principle either set of people was appointed: the ὅσιοι were obviously a limited hereditary group, who held office for life. ἱερεύς too was a permanent appointment. It is possible that lot was used to indicate the wishes of the god, but Ion's οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος should not be taken as a guarantee of this, as it could mean two other things as well - that the attendance of certain of the five ὅσιοι at any particular mantic session was determined by lot, or that the choice between the two ἱερεῖς as to who was to be προφήτης was made in this way. On the significance of the lot in either type of choice see J.W. Headlam, *Election by Lot at Athens* (Cambridge 1933). Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, 213 (Eng. 183) with n. 13. Plato *Lg.* 759 B τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦν οὕτω τῇ θείᾳ τύχῃ ἀποδίδοντα.

In the light of all this, who are οἳ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος? Fontenrose (*DO*, p. 219) offers the guess that, of the college of seven (two ἱερεῖς, five ὅσιοι), perhaps one ἱερεύς acting as προφήτης and three ὅσιοι would be sufficient for the mantic ritual. This is a reasonable estimate, though it does not explain the first Plutarch pasage quoted, in which the θεοπρόποι are mentioned as a third party. No doubt the ritual went through changes after the Hellenistic period (the Delphic records show Nicander as ἱερεύς of AD 65/6): perhaps, however, the θεοπρόποι would have included persons of Ion's status.

Cf. Parke, "A Note on the Delphic Priesthood" *CQ* n.s. IV, (1940), 85f.: id., *The Delphic Oracle* I, 31f.: Halliday, *Plutarch's Quaestiones Graecae,* p. 56f, 210f.: Fontenrose,

DO 216f.

Scaliger was obliged to add the <ὦ> ξένε as a result of the tendency we have already noticed of this scribe to count the syllables rather than scan the line: if he found twelve present, his work was done. Dindorf's ἀριστῆς (ἀριστεῖς L) is an orthographic improvement, as the older Attic form.

417-8: καλῶς· ἔχω δὴ πάνθ' ὅσων ἐχρῄζομεν,

στείχομ' ἂν εἴσω·

The tone of Xuthus reply is undeniably somewhat abrupt. Three brief remarks follow in asyndeton (an effect which Badham sought to mar with ἔχων: see below).

The use of an adverb such καλῶς alone appears to be a feature of more colloquial Attic, as far as that can be gauged, which Euripides sometimes made use of. Here it will convey the tone I suggest. μάλιστα is also used in this way. καλῶς occurs in the same fashion at *HF* 599 and *Or.* 1216. At *Cycl.* 583

ἅλις· Γανυμήδη τόνδ' ἔχων ἀναπάυσομαι·

κάλλιστα νὴ τὰς Χάριτας.

Seaford was mistaken to adopt Wecklein's κάλλιον ἢ τὰς Χάριτας, forgetting that we are dealing with a satyr play.[1]

In comedy note: Ar. *Vesp.* 784f. Φιλ...ἐκεῖν' οὔ πω λέγεις | τὸν μισθὸν ὁπόθεν λήψομαι Bδ: παρ' ἐμοῦ. Φιλ. καλῶς, *Nu.* 848, Men. *Epitrepontes* l. 293f. Sandbach.

(Συ.) εἴρηκεν;

(Σμ.) οὐκ ἤκουσας: εἴρηκεν·

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[1]That the Cyclops takes the Satyrs to *be* the Graces in 581 is not an objection but the point of the joke - he pronounces this common oath in an incongruous setting.

(Συ.) καλῶς·

ibid. 354 Sandbach (Σμ.) τοῦτο γιγνώσκω· (Δα.) καλῶς·

The tone here is precisely the same as Xuthus here: not the resentful English "All *right*" from Syriscus the slave to Smicrines, a citizen and the arbitrant, but rather a distant "Thank you" - which could only be conveyed in English by intonation - as Syriscus hears the details of the trial. It may also - with the same 'tone of distance' be deprecatory - Euripides thus declines the mystery ritual at *Ran.* 888 (Σ ad loc. ἀποστρεφόμενος δὲ καὶ παραιτούμενος ὁ Εὐριπίδης λέγει τὸ καλῶς).[1]

On this word see: Stevens,"Colloquial Expressions in Euripides" *CQ* XXXI (1937), 187-8 (= *WF* (89) 104-123): J.H. Quincey,"Greek Expressions of Thanks", *JHS* LXXXVI (1966), 139 on the *Epitrepontes* passage, whose interpretation I adopt.

ἔχω: Another touch, apparently borrowed from common parlance, not unlike the Latin *teneo* or *habeo* used of understanding something said (colloquial English "I have *got* it"). It is common as a closing formula at the end of a messenger speech (A. *Ag.* 582 πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον: cf. P. Oxy. 2161 col. i xxi (fr. 47a R. l. 21) most probably ascribed to the *Diktyoulkoi* and concluding a speech]εὖ σ' ἔλεξα· πάντ' ἔχει [ς] λόγον (see Fraenkel ad *Ag.* l.c.)). Cf. *Alc.* 51 ἔχω λόγον δὴ καὶ προθυμίαν σέθεν ("*now* I see your meaning...(Dale))., S. *Ph.* 789 ἔχετε τὸ πρᾶγμα (a short and peremptory expression). S. *Tr.* 318 (Deianeira to the herald) οὐδ' ὄνομα πρός του τῶν ξυνεμπόρων ἔχεις; (didn't you even *catch* her name...).

It occurs in prose: Pl. *Symp.* 175d (Agathon to Socrates on his arrival at length at the party) δῆλον ὅτι ηὗρες αὐτὸ καὶ ἔχεις (Socrates' absorbing thought on the way there): *Lys.* 214 D. ἔχομεν ἄρα ἤδη τίνες εἰσιν οἱ φίλοι.

An interesting metaphor may lie behind some of these, exemplified by Ar. *Nu.* 732f.

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[1]Though there the phrase almost certainly means "no, thank you".

(Σω.) οὗτος καθεύδεις; (Στ.) *μὰ* τὸν ᾽Απόλλω᾽ γὼ *μὲν* οὔ.Σω. ἔχεις τι; . The scholiast's note is worth quoting in full ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρευόντων ἤτοι ὄρνιν ἢ ἰχθῦν εἶπε τὸ 'ἔχεις τι'; ἀντὶ τοῦ 'συνείληφάς τι'; ἀναρτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα χαριέντως τὸ 'ἔχεις τι', τῇ τῶν ἀγρευτῶν λέξει χρώ*μενος*

The metaphor from hunting which the scholiast explains probably recurs at S. *Aj.* 875f. (the hemichori, hunting Ajax) Ἡ*μ.* β; ἔχεις σύν; Ἡ*μ.* ά; πόνου γε πλῆθος: possibly *Cycl.* 683 Χο. ἔχεις; Κυ. κακόν γε πρὸς κακῷ, S. *Ant.* 9 ἔχεις τε κεἰσήκουσας;κτλ.

So it is clearly taken from ordinary speech and serves to enhance the tone of Xuthus' speech here. Cf. Starkie on *Nu.* loc. cit., Blaydes ibid. for discussion of the metaphor.

ἐχρήζο*μεν*: Xuthus modulates from the singular ἔχω to the plural. It would be over-literal (and perhaps insensitive) to explain this as including Creusa in the latter but not the singular. There are a number of examples of this type of modulation, and such an explanation is not applicable to them, though the tone is extremely difficult to judge.

It is almost unknown in Classical prose, even animated Platonic dialogue, which should put us on our guard against attributing to its frequent occurrence in verse any special psychological connotations, such as an increased grandeur of tone. There are examples in Homer, and Euripides was especially prone to the irregularity. It would require an outstanding attempt at special pleading to find any distinction between the plural and the singular used by the same speaker in the following:

Ba. 669: φράσω τὰ κεῖθεν ἢ λόγον στειλώ*μεθα*;

IA 985f. οἰκτρὰ *μὲν* πεπόνθα*μεν*, | ἢ πρῶτα *μέν* σε γα*μβρὸν* οἰηθεῖσ' ἔχειν | κενὴν κατέσχον ἐλπίδ' κτλ.

In these cases the statement made in both numbers seems to be identical both in tone and content. It is conceivable that in *Ion* 391 κωλυό*μεσθα μὴ μα*θεῖν ἃ βούλο*μαι*, and *HF* 858

Ἥλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα δρῶσ' ἃ δρᾶν οὐ βούλομαι there is a note of injured dignity in the plural verb that is turned more individual, and direct in the singular verb of volition: in *Tro.* 904 ὡς οὐ δικαίως, ἤν θάνω, θανούμεθα the singular might represent the grim hypothesis considered by the individual and the plural the brave and dignified public decision to accept it. A small degree of support for these speculations may be gathered from documentary papyri (letters). The change in the same sentence is frequently to be met with. Mayser (*GPP* II 1, 40f.) observes "Oft findet sich jedoch ohne ersichtlichen psychologischen Grund in der Alltagsrede ein Wechsel zwischen den Numeri, ja nicht selten anakoluthische Konfundierung beider in einem Ausdruck statt". But in fact, as his evidence reveals, it is to some extent more common in public letters on business matters, where a tone of formality might be expected than in those concerning private affairs. And the *pluralis maiestatis*, often impugned, appears too many times in royal documents to be dismissed from our vocabulary: note too Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf *NTG* para 280 for examples. ἔχω here as we have seen is a colloquialism. In ἐχρήζομεν possibly Xuthus returns to the more distant, but nonetheless haughty, manner of his whole address to Ion.

Cf. K.-G. 1 p. 84 (and on the special usage of the singular participle with a plural verb ibid. p. 87 Anm. 1 - exemplified by A. *Eum.* 141):[1] Schwyzer II, 243: Wackernagel *Vorlesungen* I, 98f.

στείχομ' ἂν εἴσω: "Well, lets be going in". Badham's unfortuante ἔχων in the previous line was already sufficiently refuted by Murray's observation in the *apparatus criticus:* "amat haec persona abrupte loqui". The death blow to the conjecture - adopted by

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[1]Which is frequent in E.: cf. *Ion* 1250, *HF* 858, *IT* 349 (if not an interpolation, it has the attributes of one and μηκέτι is certainly suspicious: del. Nauck). Cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 669 - a cautious note in general on interpretation should be voiced.

Wilamowitz - was delivered by Diggle (*Studies*, 101f.) who notes that στείχομ' ἄν "customarily... is not appended to a preceding clause but itself opens the abrupt announcement of an intention to depart". The examples are: *Ion* 668, *El.* 669, *Ba.* 515, 845, *Rhes.* 201: S. *Ant.* 1108 ὦδ' ὡς ἔχω στείχομ' ἄν· ἴτ' ἴτ' ὀπάονες κτλ. hardly deserves to be called a counter example, as the abruptness of manner remains.

Murray's observation about Xuthus' manner of speech is in fact quite correct: asyndeton suits him. Thus he cuts off Creusa in 413 with ἔστω τάδε (see above for the reading): in the recognition scene with Ion at 517f. his replies to Ion, when not actually interrupted by *antilabe*, are brief, self-contained syntactically, and blunt: cf. 530, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 547-9, 554-9. At 666f. he makes his one remark to the chorus in the play which is neither fulsome nor courteous, quite in contrast to Creusa's manner with them: ὑμῖν δὲ σιγᾶν, δμωΐδες, λέγω τάδε, | ἢ θάνατον εἰπούσαισι πρὸς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν.

One might expect a lacuna somewhere in this region, but not with Xuthus - the elliptical change of construction is perfectly acceptable. And if anyone regards "characterization by style" as an anachronism, let him compare the language of the Guard in *Antigone* with that of any of the other characters. Recent work on Homer, in particular that of Adam Parry, has encouraged us to look for this.

418-20: καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω,
χρηστήριον πέπτωκε τοῖς ἐπήλυσι
κοινὸν πρὸ ναοῦ·

χρηστήριον πέπτωκε has been interpreted in two different ways: (a) "the propitiatory victim has fallen" (in sacrifice) (b) "the right to seek an oracle has accrued (by lot) to visitors".

Heath favoured the second sense. It requires πίπτω to mean what we more normally associate with συμπίπτω i.e. "fall out (by luck), accrue" cf. supra 412 n. However there are two fatal objections to this view. Firstly χρηστήριον is nowhere else attested in this general sense.[1] The ancient lexicographers assist us on this point: we hear from schol. S. *Aj.* 220, schol. A. *Septem.* 230 and Ammonius *de diff. verb.* no. 519 Nickau that it has three senses and three only: χρησμός, ἱερεῖον and μαντεῖον. All of these are well-attested. Heath's meaning could only be attained by positing an extension of the first meaning: but in point of fact that is hardly ever found other than in the plural number (cf. *Ion* 532, S. *OC* 604, A. *Septem* 230[2] etc.).

S. *Aj.* 220 κείνου χρηστήρια τἀνδρός (of Ajax' slaughtered cattle) should not be adduced: the text is almost certainly corrupt, and oracular overtones are not in the offing to lend metaphorical colour to this strange turn of phrase.

Secondly πρὸ ναοῦ goes very strangely with this interpretation. How could *the right* to make the enquiry, which is made inside the temple, be said to have "chanced" outside the temple? The prepositional phrase has no meaning whatever. And (see below), a more meaningful sense could be assigned to κοινὸν if we adopt the first explanation.

A. *Su.* 450 provides a decisive analogy for πέπτωκε here referring to the sacrificial victim offered "before the temple": δεῖ κάρτα θύειν καὶ πεσεῖν χρηστήρια | θεοῖσι πολλοῖς πολλά.

Moreover χρηστήριον κοινόν probably alludes to the sacrifice of the goat on the main altar πρὸ ναοῦ at the start of the day after the sprinkling ceremony. This could justly

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[1]nor is κλῆρος where κλήρωσις has this function.

[2]An exception is e.g. Pind. *Ol.* VI 70 Ζηνὸς ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ βωμῷ τότ' αὖ χρηστήριον θέσθαι κέλευσεν.

be described as κοινόν in contrast to the offering of the πελανός (cf. 226f n) and the sacrifice of the sheep and goats on the inner ἑστία, both of which were conducted by the individual inquirer before the final ceremony. We have heard (l. 89f) that this has taken place: for details cf. Plut. *Mor.* 435 B f. and note on 89, 228.

τοῖς ἐπήλυσι: This will not refer to a special sacrifice for foreigners at Delphi (see above) but will merely mean "those who have arrived" (ethic dative). Cf. for this more general sense S. *Ph.* 1190 ὦ ξένοι, ἔλθετ' ἐπήλυδες αὖθις (Philoctetes to the chorus: a demand simply to approach). For the formation cf. too Pl. *Lg.* 879 D ξένου... εἴτε πάλαι ἐνοικοῦντος εἴτε νεήλυδος ἀφιγμένου· ὄμηλυς (Nonnus XIV 25) merely means 'a companion'. Cf. κάτηλυς (Nonn. XXXVIII 24), μέτηλυς (Tryphiodorus 352, Nonnus X 241). The common root is the defective verb ἤλυθον, not ἐλαύνω.

420: βούλομαι δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
τῆδ' - αἰσία γὰρ - θεοῦ λαβεῖν μαντεύματα.

It is idle to speculate on whether Xuthus has been accorded the right of προμαντεία, though this is known from Herodotus (I 54) onwards and is so prominent among formal Delphic honours in the Hellenistic inscriptions. Cf. Parke, *DO* I, n. 59, Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes,* 113-4. The plot would not be assisted by lengthy bureaucratic delay. The normal mode of selection was by lot: cf. A. *Eum.* 31f. κεἰ παρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές,| ἴτων πάλῳ λαχόντες ὡς νομίζεται. We learn the formula uttered by hopeful entrants from Simplicius (*in Phys.* II p. 75 333 Diels) ἐν Δελφοῖς δε καὶ προκατῆρχεν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτήσεσιν "ὦ Τύχη καὶ Λοξία, τῷδέ τινι θεμιστεύεις" [sic *codd.* - οις malim, an προκατῆρκται legendum?]

αἰσία γάρ: as against ἀποφράς: cf on 410 and Plut. *Alex.* XIV 4.

θεοῦ λαβεῖν *μαντεύματα*: For the plain genitive cf. *OT* 1004 καὶ *μὴν* χάριν γ' ἂν ἀξίαν λάβοις ἐμοῦ OT 580 ἂν ᾖ θέλουσα πάντ' ἐμοῦ κομίζεται.

It is a somewhat rough expression. λαμβάνειν in this sense is idiomatically associated with receiving an account, oath, or guarantee from someone in a business transaction. This is illustrated by *inter alia* Ar. *Rhet.* 1377a f. (ὅρκων... ἢ γὰρ δίδωσι καὶ λαμβάνει "accept"), cf. on this usage Cope, *Introduction to Artistotle's Rhetoric*, 202). Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* I 4 3 καὶ διδόναι λόγον ὧν ἐποίει καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἄλλων id. *Anab.* III 2 5 πιστὰ λαμβάνειν *etc.* Xuthus regards consulting the god as a straightforward and uncomplicated transaction liable to work according to plan with no spiritual or personal underpinning.

422-424: σὺ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμούς, ὦ γύναι, δαφνηφόρους
λαβοῦσα κλῶνας, εὐτέκνους εὔχου θεοῖς
χρησμούς μ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δόμων.

Some doubt has been felt as to which noun in the accusative plural δαφνηφόρους is felt to agree with: κλῶνας or βωμούς. However this is unnecessary. δαφνηφόρους seems at first sight curious with its true partner κλῶνας in that the κλών does not *bear* sprigs of bay but is itself a sprig, a δάφνη. Thus Owen wished it to go with βωμούς which is mildly bizarre: an altar might be said to be δάφναις στεφθείς - adorned with κλῶνες, but hardly δαφνηφόρος which would imply that bay trees were literally growing out of it, the usual meaning of all φόρος coupounds with names of inanimate objects and plants before it. Verrall tells us that the two parts of the compound must be taken separately: "branch of a bay - carried" i.e. such that Creusa becomes a human δαφνηφόρος by virtue of her κλῶνες. It

is complex and implausible.[1]

-φόρος compounds do not have to be treated with this degree of literality *Pho.* 651 (of Dionysus) κισσὸς ὃν περιστεφὴς | ἕλικος εὐθὺς ἔτι βρέφος | χλοηφόροισιν ἔρνεσιν | κατασκίοισιν ὀλβίσας ἐνώτισεν.

Obviously the ἔρνη are green as well: what they *carry* is foliage. A very precise parallel is afforded by a later source, Herodian (I xii 2) τὸ χωρίον... μεγίστοις κατάσκιον δαφνηφόροις ἄλσεσιν (the ἄλση *were* bay trees). At *HF* 396 χρύσεον πετάλων ἄπο μηλοφόρων we see another variation: there, the foliage is that *borne* by an apple tree. At A. *Su.* 706 δαφνηφόροι τιμαί means 'honours paid by carrying the δάφνη' which suggests a further reason for connecting δαφνηφόρους with κλῶνας; an Athenian audience would instantly think in this context of the Δαφνηφορικά in honour of Apollo in which such κλῶνες were indeed borne (Burkert, *GR*, 100 and n. 12 with references)[2] and those so doing were known as δαφνηφόροι. For once, we might adduce ambiguity to explain this phrase.[3]

κλῶνας: as commonly of supplication - *OC* 483 etc.

εὐτέκνους: "oracles favourable to the birth of children"

425: ἔσται τάδ', ἔσται as *Alc.* 328. Cf. on 413.

425-428: Λοξίας δ', ἐὰν θέλῃ
νῦν ἀλλὰ τὰς πρὶν ἀναλαβεῖν ἁμαρτίας,

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[1]What might be termed "amphisbaena" compounds do exist, albeit rarely - here however the adjective is so well established that it would not be easy.

[2]in primis Proclus in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 321 Bekker. It was a famous Theban ritual.

[3]And a possible allusion to a cult title of Apollo - cf. Paus. IX 10.4 etc.

ἅπας μὲν οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς ἡμᾶς φίλος,

ὅσον δὲ χρῄζει - θεὸς γάρ ἐστι - δέξομαι.

νῦν and ἀλλά in 426 should probably be taken separately with the "apodotic" ἀλλά qualifying τὰς πρίν. Cf. Denniston, *GP*, 11f. The contrast which it produces between protasis and apodosis is best conveyed by Denniston's "even though... still", whence it comes that in post-Homeric Greek the usage is mostly found with a negative protasis, in cases where the apodosis gives a more or less inadequate substitute for what is left unfulfilled in the protasis ("with a notion of a *pis aller*" (Denniston)). It is a rare usage in prose and in verse it is most commonly used in the two combinations ἀλλὰ νῦν "even now" and ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ "even at this late stage". Cf. S. *Ant.* 552 τί δῆτ' ἂν ἀλλὰ νῦν σ' ἔτ' ὠφελοῖμ' ἐγώ; *El.* 1013 αὐτὴ δὲ νοῦν σχὲς ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ Ar. *Av.* 1598, Dem. III 33, Lys. X 15, *Med.* 912 etc. The usages given above show how the apodotic ἀλλά can qualify a verb without an expressed protasis (we supply "if not..."). A further but quite comprehensible step is its application to a single word-unit in the sentence, which is what we have here. Cf. *IA* 1239 ἵν' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατθανοῦσ' ἔχω σέθεν | μνημεῖον S. *El.* 415 λέγ' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ("tell me at least this much") *HF* 331 ὡς ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' ἀπολάχωσ' οἴκων πατρός (Megara of her last request concerning the children's clothes for their execution) *Or.* 1561f. λέγω | ὠθεῖν πύλας τάσδ' ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ παῖδ' ἐμὴν | ῥυσώμεθα "at least let me save my own daughter (if nothing else)", *OC* 1276, Ar. *Thesm.* 424 (plausibly changed by Rogers to οὐκ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀλλ' ὑποῖξαι τὴν θύραν, "simply a matter of..." (μὲν οὖν is misused and ἀλλὰ with the infinitive clause seems unlikely)). These are the most certain examples of the ellipse with a single word: others are open to debate - see Jebb on S. *Ant.* 779, *OC* 1405, E. *Hec.* 391 ὑμεῖς δέ μ' ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ συμφονεύσατε probably means "the least you could do to assist me in my misery".

Taken thus it well expresses Creusa's undying hatred for the god: "Apollo, if he should wish to undo the evils *now* (emphatic) that he has done me - at least those he committed in the past...". Creusa regards her subsequent humiliation which is *still* with her as the "present" ἁμαρτία which can never be undone: that is the point of the next line. The original sin could to some degree be palliated by granting Xuthus and her their own offspring.[1]

ἀναλαβεῖν: Cf. S. *Ph.* 1248f. τὴν ἁμαρτίαν | αἰσχρὰν ἁμαρτὼν ἀναλαβεῖν πειράσομαι, ibid. 1224 λύσων ὅσ' ἐξήμαρτον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ, Hdt. VIII 109 ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα cf. V 121, VII 231. One can also "recover" the good element: Xen. *Mem.* III 5 14: τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετήν.

427 is yet another counter example to offer those who cite Aristotle *MM* 1208 f. 30 f. to the effect that affection is not part of the Greek attitude to the gods.[2] Nonetheless Creusa's personal manner of abusing Apollo is unparalleled in Greek tragedy; she will only partially forget her grievance against the god (as in φῖλε Ζεῦ: not quite the Aristotelian, extreme, sense). The "mixed apodosis" in which she changes from the potential optative to the future tense is noteworthy, and has point. Creusa changes her mind after the protasis. We expect a clause in the future tense saying something like "all will be well" or "he will be forgiven". But instead she pauses and in the potential, optative of a personal speculation about the future says the opposite ("I doubt if I could ever forgive him") and then completes the apodosis with a moment of definite if resigned decision ("but I *will* accept what comes") which is not what the protasis lead us to suppose she was going to say. εἰς ἐμέ on this

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[1]It is with this interpretation that I disagree with Denniston l.c., who regards this as an odd inverted example of the ἀλλὰ νῦν formula.

[2]Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ*, 36 n. 84.

interpretationequals ἐμοί.

429f.: At this point Creusa departs to supplicate at the altar of Apollo before the temple and Xuthus goes into the interior of the temple to make the preliminary sacrifices. Ion is left alone on the stage and muses over the curious dialogue that has preceded. He has of course no idea that Creusa has been giving him a disguised autobiography but he has detected that Creusa's oblique attacks on the god mean more than they say. He dismisses from his mind his speculations (433) but then almost immediately returns to the subject, upbraiding Apollo for his actions in remarkably human terms and with touching naïveté. This alone should safeguard the various surprising and unusual turns of speech in this part of the speech which have occasioned doubt in the past.

429-432: τί ποτε λόγοισιν ἡ ξένη πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
κρυπτοῖσιν αἰεὶ λοιδοροῦσ' αἰνίσσεται;
ἤτοι φιλοῦσά γ' ἧς ὕπερ *μαντεύεται*,
ἢ καί τι σιγῶσ' ὧν σιωπᾶσθαι χρεών;

κρυπτοῖσιν αἰεὶ: "all in riddles". Delayed for emphasis. τί ποτε is really a phrase in itself, equivalent to "*what* (is she doing) with her riddling abuse". λοιδοροῦσα is a strikingly strong word and stands in effective contrast with αἰνίσσεται.

γ' ἧς ὕπερ etc.: The correct word division for the nonsensical MS γῆς was restored by Victorius.[1] For ἤτοι γ'... ἤ cf. *Rhes.* 817 ἤτοι *μάραγνά* γ' ἢ καρανιστὴς *μόρος* | *μένει* σε Cf. Denniston, *GP*, 553f. The distinction between the particles in the first and second clauses is difficult to determine. It is noteworthy that in Thuc. ἤτοι occurs only in speeches:

[1]A psychological error? 303 will have been on the scribal mind.

it is also common in Aristotle, and perhaps there we may detect shades of the lecture room. Possibly in some cases, as here, the first clause represents the lively and impetuous "first impression" conveyed by the deictic ἥτοι and the second the more sober afterthought.

σιγᾶσθαι... σιωπῶσ': For the *variatio* between the two verbs cf. *Su.* 297f. σωπῶσ'... *μέμψομαι* | τὴν νῦν σιωπὴν ὡς ἐσιγήθη κακῶς with Collard ad loc.: S. fr. 81 R. ὦ παῖ, σιώπα· πολλ' ἔχει σιγὴ καλά.[1] σιωπᾶν is not infrequent in the passive, like σιγᾶσθαι cf. Antiphon I 13, Isoc. I 22, Dem XIX 42.

433-4: ἀτὰρ θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἐρεχθέως τί *μοι*

μέλει; † προσήκει τοὐδας†.

Ion breaks off from his cogitations with ἀτάρ in asyndeton. The orators and Thuc. avoid this usage: there are five examples in Pindar and three apiece in A. and S. However as one would expect, it is quite common in E. and Aristophanes, and is used in particular for an abrupt change of topic as here (cf. *Su.* 750, where philosophical discourse is halted in order to turn to something more particular: ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτα; κεῖνο βούλομαι *μαθεῖν* πῶς ἐξεσώθης). Also to indicate a change of person addressed in mid-flow; or spoken of, cf. *OT* 1052.[2]

The following words in L are transmitted as προσήκει τοὐδας. The great majority of editors have felt that this curious locution concealed an expression meaning "it is no concern of mine" and this can be simply compassed. Ll. 433-51 are quoted by ps.-Justin *de mon.* 5 who offers the variant προσῆκέ *μ'* οὐθέν from which προσήκει γ' (Reiske) can

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[1]Only Plutarch offers the right reading σιγή - the unwieldy synizesis σωπή is offered by Stobaeus, Apostolius etc.

[2]Cf. Ellendt-Genthe p. 99 col. 1: Denniston, *GP*, 52.

easily be constructed.[1] Likewise Bayfield-Kvičala with δ' (inferior). Other attempts have aimed at avoiding the asyndeton hereby produced. Musgrave suggested προσήκοντ' οὐδέν (an apposition presumably to be defended by E. *Su.* 472 ἀναιρεῖσθαι νεκροὺς | βίᾳ, προσήκοντ' οὐδὲν Ἀργείων πόλει). Wakefield preferred an accusative absolute προσῆκον οὐδέν which may well be the correct reading in *Su.* l.c. but perhaps not here. Biehl, feeling that the corruption was no accident, suggested that originally an anacoluthon stood here, e.g. προσήκων γ' οὐδέν, "quod vereor ne apud librarios non fuerit perspicuum". Anacoluthon with *μέλει* is indeed known (e.g. perhaps *Cycl.* 330f.): but why introduce it deliberately, where it assists the explanation of the corruption not at all?

Verrall stands alone in his defence of the *textus receptus* but the result is close to farce ("why should I be thinking about a daughter of Erechtheus - now (cleaning) the floor becomes my concern").

There is however one avenue that has not been explored, which has the virtue of altering only two letters. It is not impossible that what Ion said was † προσήκει τ' † οἶκος and that in doing so he was alluding to, or possibly quoting from, a complex of proverbial utterances which enjoined confining one's attentions to one's own domestic affairs and not becoming involved in the affairs of others - which is the advice Ion is giving himself.

The two proverbs οἶκοι γενοίμην and οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος are cited in *app. prov.* (I, 14, 15 L.-S.)[2] and other paroemiographers. The celebrity of these proverbs is attested by a number of earlier sources. A fragment of Cercidas, excerpted by Stobaeus (*flor.* lviii 10), is also known from papyrus (Powell *CA* p. 202 fr. 2)

τὸ] τᾶς ῥ[ικνᾶς χελώνας
μναμόν] ευ'· οἶκος [γὰρ ἄριστος ἀλαθέως

[1]'Justin' may very well have emended just to obtain a text that made sense.

[2]with 15 compare Suda s.v. εἰς λατομίας.

καὶ φίλο[ς.
(P. Oxy. VIII p. 41 fr. 7). It is alluded to in Plut. *Mor.* 142D (cf. 381E), and for the real background to the "Aphrodite and tortoise" statue at Elis cf. Paus. VI 25 I. Similar references occur in a fragment of Babrius (p. 226 Crusius fr. 28) and Plut. *vit. Flam.* xvii. Aesop (*fab.* 108 Hausrath, 154 Halm) is based around the same story. In Latin cf. allusions in Cic. *ad Att.* XV 16 a, IV 8 and Livy xxxvi 32.

Praise of staying at home and minding one's own business is known from Hesiod *OD* 565 οἶκοι βέλτερον εἶναι ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν[1](recurring in *h. Hom. Herm.* 36, indicative of the well-worn character of this gnome). Pind. *Nem.* III 30 οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίων ἔρωτες ἀνδρὶ φέρειν κρέσσονες· | οἴκοθεν μάτευε has a proverbial ring. It is paraphrased by Sophocles (fr. 934 i.e. K.-I. Radt) οἶκοι μένειν δεῖ τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα and was well enough known in that form to attract parody: Menander 132 K.-T. (see Kock III fr. 42 nn. for other references). Needless to say the younger Cratinus contributed πίνειν μένοντα τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα (fr. 4 K.-A. and notes). Similarly Euripides (fr. 793 l. 1 N.) μακάριος ὅστις εὐτυχῶν οἴκοι μένει.

Hdt. VIII 35 3 is evident using a colloquialism when he describes Xerxes as knowing of the famous ἀναθήματα at Delphi ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσιν οἰκίοισι ("better than his own back-yard" as we might say). The latter passes into Latin in the form "sua domus nota" (Cic. *ad Q.* fr. I. 1. 45) and is versified by Juvenal (I 7) "nota magis nulli domus est sua". Cf. Otto *Sprichwörter*, 120.

The famous γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον expresses the very same thought (Theocr. xvi 18 A. *EN* 1168 ♭ 8 etc., Zenobius *cent.* III 2, Diogenianus III 78, Apostolius V 59). The Latin equivalent (cf. Plautus *Trin.* 1154) is "tunica propior pallio est".

See on the whole series Otto l.c. and p. 263: Pearson on S. fr. 934 Radt: West on *OD* 365: Allen-Halliday on *h. Hom. Herm.* 36.

If such a suggestion was thought worthy of consideration, the τε must be accounted for or emended. The generalised Homeric τε might seem to fit a gnome, but is not at home in Greek tragedy, not to say dialogue (cf. Denniston *GP*, 523 f.). I suggest we read instead the gnomic aorist προσῆκεν.

Of the more conservative emendations mentioned above, those that eliminate asyndeton are of course more elegant but not necessarily more appropriate to the way Ion is speaking here. He is pulling himself together briskly ("enough of those thoughts - not my

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[1]West ad loc. may well be right to argue that this has the word 'possessions' as its subject, contrary to popular belief. But it took on a life of its own and the context of its use in *h. Hom. Herm.* 36 indicates that the misinterpretation and the syntactical "detachment" occurred early.

concern - back to work".)[1]

434-436: ἀλλὰ χρυσέαις

πρόχοισιν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀπορραντήρια

δρόσον καθήσω·

Ion departs to fill the lustral stoups, as good a reason as any for procuring his temporary absence.

ἀπορραντήρια: The word is not otherwise attested in Greek literature, though inscriptions indicate that it was a technical term - *IG* I³ 256, 262. The usual prose word is περιρραντήριον (Hdt. I 51 etc.): see, from Delphi, *SIG* 253 II 5 and 10 (iv BC) - δοκιμ[εῖ]ον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιραντηρίου (see Dittenberger *ad loc.*) Cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1092 (III, 495), Schwyzer, *GG* I 470 7

δρόσον καθήσω: καθίημι of liquids - cf. *Ion* 1034 (of the Gorgon's poison) τόδε | καθὲς βαλὼν εἰς πῶμα τῷ νεανίᾳ, *IA* 59f. δι' ἐμπύρων | σπονδὰς καθεῖναι.

The whole phrase resembles the high flown invocation of Socrates to the clouds εἴτ' ἄρα Νείλου προχοαῖς ὑδάτων χρυσέαις ἀρύτεσθε πρόχοισιν (*Nu.* 272)

436-7: νουθετητέος δέ μοι (δ' ἐμοὶ?) Φοῖβος· τί πάσχει;

"Pourtant, je dois gronder Phoibos. Car, que fait-il?...". Parmentier's translation brings out the charming colloquialism with which Ion addresses his tutelary god - which we would convey in English with "whatever has got into him...". Brief remarks like this in asyndeton, as we have already seen, characterize Ion's somewhat confused frame of mind in this speech.

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[1]The syntax of Mr Jingle in 'Pickwick Papers' provides some analogy.

The French translator also points up the fact that the *OCT* has obscured the necessary asyndeton and the construction by placing a comma rather than a raised stop after νουθετητέος δέ μοι thereby implying that τί πάσχει is a subordinate clause governed by νουθετητέος. If it were so, it could only be explained in two ways, neither of which are satisfactory (a) As a genuine interrogative in indirect question construction. This is not attested with νουθετεῖν, not surprisingly in view of the meaning.[1] (b) τί standing for a relative ("I blame him in respect of what has got into him"). I scarcely imagine that yet another rehearsal of the evidence that, though this free use of interrogative in place of the relative pronoun is known in later and NT Greek, it is quite alien to the Classical period, will be welcome. The point was clearly established for most of the alleged cases by Jebb (*Electra*, appendix p. 208f.). The point has been called once again into question by Diggle (ad *Phaethon* 46 p. 88 = fr. 773 N.). Other explanations can be excogitated in all cases.

Previous discussions: O. Immisch, "De pronominis τίς liberiore quodam usu", *Leipziger Studien* (1887), 309f.: Kaibel on *Electra* 316 (1896): Humbert, *Syntaxe* (1954), 40: K.-G. 2 517: Schwyzer II 644: Moorhouse, *Syntax*, 266.

With the necessary raised stop τί πάσχει; obviously refers to Apollo, in the meaning suggested. Herwerden appears to have been the only scholar to perceive that there was a difficulty, both in that with the indicative one might be tempted to think of Creusa as the sufferer, giving the verb its non-colloquial sense, and in the received punctuation. He sought to solve both with τί πάσχων...προδίδωσι; etc. It is true that the idiomatic sense of πάσχω that we have here is commoner with the (aorist) participle. However it is not unknown in this form: Ar. *Av.* 1044 Ψη. οὗτος τί πάσχεις; Πι. οὐκ ἀποίσεις τοὺς νόμους; (reaction to the

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[1]Wecklein must be rejected: 'τί πάσχει (was ihm einfallt) nach νουθετητέος in dem Sinne "ich muss ihn zurechtweisen und fragen..."' νουθετεῖν cannot be a "portfolio" word in this way.

odd behaviour of another character): *Nu.* 816 Φε. ὦ δαιμόνιε, τί χρῆμα πάσχεις; (on τί χρῆμα here cf. P.T. Stevens *CQ*, n.s. XXXI, (1937), 190f. id. on *Andr.* 181: Dover on *Nu.* l. 3): *Nu* . 708 Χο. τί πάσχεις; τί κάμνεις;- (might be a genuine question). A list of Aristophanes' examples of the finite verb πάσχω in this sense is given by v. Leeuwen *Nu.* ed. ad 340. Cf. K.-G. II 2 519, Anm. 6. The asyndeton is appropriate and should not be reduced by Herwerden's conjecture. *Lys.* l. 880: αὕτη τί πάσχεις; ("what's the matter with you!") τί πάσχει; acts as an exclamation - no clause introductory is required - cf. on στέιχομ' ἄν.

νουθετητέος: A strikingly impertinent word to use of a deity. νουθετεῖν is *in primis* what one applies from a senior or authorative position to someone else under one's own jurisdiction. It can be used of belabouring someone: Ar. *Vesp.* 254 κονδύλοις νουθετήσεθ' ἡμᾶς, Pl. *Lg.* 700C ῥάβδου κοσμούσης ἡ νουθέτησις ἐγένετο cf. 879D. Electra (S. *El.* 595) suggests that her mother has lost all regard for morality such that οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετεῖν ἔξεστί σε where the οὐδὲ has point. A. *PV* 264 παραινεῖν νουθετεῖν τε τὸν κακῶς πράττοντ'.[1] It is used of normal legal penalties in the human world: Pl. *Grg.* 478E ὃς ἂν τὰ *μέγιστα* ἀδικῶν καὶ χρώμενος *μεγίστῃ* <τῇ> ἀδικίᾳ διαπράξηται ὥστε *μήτε* νουθετεῖσθαι *μήτε* κολάζεσθαι *μήτε* δίκην διδόναι. The Greek for a "monitor" in school was νουθετητής (Philo II 519) - cf. Plat. *Rep.* 399B νουθέτησις καὶ διδαχή.

The same effect is seen in fr. 340 N.: Κύπρις γὰρ οὐδὲν νουθετουμένη χαλᾷ, | ἢν δ' αὖ βίαζῃ, *μᾶλλον* ἐντείνειν φιλεῖ and compare the anonymous comedian in *P. Tebt.* I p. 4 (Powell *CA* lyr. adesp. 8 (a))

Ἔρωτα νουθετοῦντες ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι

πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον ἐλαίῳ θέλετε κ[οι]μίσαι.

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[1]With Pearson's emendation, adopted by West.

An attempt to safeguard the Diggle punctuation with such examples of indirect question as S. *OT* 74 καὶ *μ'* ἥμαρ...|λυπεῖ, τί πράσσει *Aj.* 794 ὥστε *μ'* ὠδίνειν, τί φῄς (cf. *Hcld.* 644 with εἰ) Ar. *Nu.* 1391 τῶν νεωτέρων †τὰς καρδίας | πηδᾶν ὅ τι λέξει[1]is doomed to failure: all these can fitly take this construction as they imply a sentiment on the part of the speaker, part of which is composed of the question which is then subjoined to the verb. νουθετεῖν however is not a *verba sentiendi* but an action, viewed objectively.

437-439: παρθένους βίᾳ γαμῶν

προδίδωσι; παῖδας ἐκτεκνούμενος λάθρᾳ

θνήσκοντας ἀμελεῖ; *μὴ* σύ γ'·[2]

ἐκτεκνούμενος: Very rare and unexampled in the middle: Hipp. *morb. acut.* 43 has the active. The verb next appears in Byzantine Greek (Tzetzes, *exeg. Il.* 9 5 p.). However the usage will be justified by the relative frequency of the simple verb: cf. *OC* 618, etc.

θνήσκοντας: On the accusative cf. on 245. Here the participle makes an important difference. The participle with this verb is omitted at Hdt. VII 163 ταύτην *μὲν* τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε ("solche Anomalien erklaren sich in der Regel aus dem unwillkurlichen Einflusse eines vorschwebenden synonymes Audsruckes" Stein ad loc.: περιορᾶν would be the "synonym" here). Cf. *IA* 731 χώρει πρὸς Ἄργος παρθένους τε τημέλει. etc.[3] The gen. is found at *IT* 311.

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[1]That P. Strasb. inv. no. 621 also has the plural τὰς καρδίας is no reason for keeping it in the text: idiom and good sense demand the singular.

[2]In παρθένους and παῖδας Ion expresses in his plurals for singulars a tone of contempt also found in English idiom; cf. Handley on *Dyscolus* l. 440.

[3]παρθένων Herwerden.

The influence of the participle, as with verbs of the *schema Oropicum* discussed on 245, will assist in conveying the impression of an indirect statement too. Cf. Stein on Hdt. I 59 with a list of verbs exchanged for those of cognate meaning in this way: K.-G. 1 p. 366f. with Anm. 13: Schwyzer, II 109.

μὴ σύ γε: Ion is charmingly frank with the god and this short phrase with γε is redolent of the conversational style.

The sense will be close to the colloquial English "this is not *you*". Likewise *Ion* 1334f. (the Pythia to Ion on his murderous intentions towards Creusa):³Ιω. καθαρὸς ἅπας τοι πολεμίους ὃς ἂν κτάνῃ Πρ. μὴ σύ γε˙ παρ' ἡμῶν δ' ἔκλαβ' οὓς ἔχω λόγους, *Hec.* 405f. Polyxena to Hecuba) βούλῃ πεσεῖν πρὸς οὐδας ἑλκῶσαί τε σόν | γέροντα χρῶτα πρὸς βίαν ὠθουμένη. | ἀσχημονῆσαί τ' ἐκ νέοῦ βραχίονος | σπασθεῖσ', ἃ πείσῃ˙ μὴ σύ γ' σύ γὰρ ἄξιον, *Pho.* 531 f.: τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι | φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σύ γ'˙ ἄδικος ἡ θεὸς ("it is not worthy of you"), S. *OC* 1441 Πο. εἰ χρὴ, θανοῦμαι Αν. μὴ σύ γ', ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ approaches closer to a direct negation of what has just been said.

It is demonstrably colloquial: cf. Plato *Rp.* 345 B μὴ 'μοί γε Ar. *Eq.* 18 μὴ 'μοι γε *Nu.* 84, *Vesp.* 1179 etc., Denniston, *GP,* 122.

439-40: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κρατεῖς | ἀρετὰς δίωκε.

For the expression cf. Pl. *Grg.* 480C παρέχειν (ἑαυτὸν).. τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν διώκοντα and a striking parallel from the *NT* in *ep. Rom.* ix 30 ὅτι ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην κατέλαβε δικαιοσύνην.[1] Abstracts are "pursued" in *Il.* XVII 75 (ἀκίχητα) Pl. *Phaedr.* 251A (ἡδονήν) etc.

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[1]Cf. *I Cor.* IX 24 for the racing metaphor, and Lucian *Herm.* 77 for both. Other examples in Sandley-Headlam, *Romans*, 275.

The sentiment is the very stuff of paraenetic literature on kingship which began to flourish in the century after the *Ion* was produced. Cf. in particular Isocrates II 8f., the "epistle of Aristeas" 253, Philodemus περὶ βασιλείας col. X-XI etc. Much relevant material is dealt with by O. Murray (*Hellenistic Theories of Kingship* unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford) and cf. id.,"Philodemus on the Good King",*JRS* LV (1965), 161 f.

440-3: καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἂν βροτῶν

κακὸς πεφύκῃ ζημιοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ.

πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς

γράψαντας, αὐτοὺς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν;

κακὸς πεφύκῃ: πέφυκε here has no connotations of "being... by nature" which would help the sense not at all. In tragic diction φύω can be used of a sudden contingency as well as a permanent condition: whereas S. *Ant.* 320: οἶμ' ὡς λάλημα δῆλον ἐκπεφυκὸς εἶ refers to a supposed congenital garrulity on the part of the Guard - the verbal prefix helps - *OT* 9 ἐπεὶ πρέπων ἔφυς | πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν where Oedipus addresses an unknown elder about a situation that has only just arisen, namely the supplication scene before his palace, does not, nor does *Ant.* 575 Ἅιδης ὁ παύσων τούσδε τοὺς γάμους ἔφυ where Creon is acknowledging a fact that he has but recently perceived to be true (on this usage of a past tense see on *Ion* 185, Ellendt-Genthe 777 col. 1, ἐμοί is less attractive: a failure to acknowledge this attenuated sense of φύω lead Nauck to conjecture μόνος at *Ant. l.c.*, κυρεῖ Meineke etc. (L and gemellus (l) read ἐμοί: ἔφυ in all other MSS).) *Contra, Sophoclea* p. 128. If however the ethical law in which Creon so passionately believes - and which entails Ἅιδης - has been found of late to be violated by Antigone's action, and may be regarded as an external agency operating on mortals, Creon being the exegete, then both the questions

the editors pose "why a past tense?" and "how can Creon shift responsibility from himself to Hades?" seem to be answered.

There follows a passage heavily coloured with legal metaphors. Ion is perhaps to be seen as consciously echoing the similar technical language which Creusa has used in 252f. (ἀνοίσομεν, ἀδικίαις: see *ad loc.*). Schadewaldt (*Monolog und Selbstgespräch: Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie* (Berlin 1926), 133f.) has a good discussion of the curiously objective as well as colloquial tone of this *rhesis* ("rationale Selbstäusserungen").

Thus we encounter ζημιοῦσιν ("mulct" rather than "punish" in this context:) ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν with the usual acc. of a legal charge. For νόμον γράφειν cf. LSJ γράφειν A II 6: for the rhetorical juxtaposition of ἀνομία and νόμοι cf. Dem. XXIV 152 and for the precise connotations of ἀνομία: Hdt. I 96, and E. *IA* 1095 (νόμων κρατεῖ) It reaches a crescendo in 444-7, where Ion actually envisages the gods literally paying "damages" to the mortals that they have offended - and what better source of revenue for this than the riches of their own temples (τίνοντες ἀδικίας κενώσετε)? It is a charming and inventive touch which Rabelais would have appreciated. Hartung is not to be congratulated for deleting 444-51: the connection of the technical vocabulary shows in any case that any deletion must make 440 the starting point, and I would prefer to think of Euripides as the author of this pleasant flight of fancy.

444-447: εἰ δ' - οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι -

δίκας βιαίων δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμων

σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, Ζεύς θ' ὃς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ,

ναοὺς τίνοντες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.

τῷ λόγῳ: Ion qualifies his bold suggestion with amusing pedantry: Euripides is showing off the youthful attempt at pomposity on the part of his young hero with skilful comedy. τῷ λόγῳ owes much to a standard philosophical turn of phase in which is an argument or proposition which has no basis in reality but serves merely to advance the argument a further stage, as it does here. Cf. Ar. *EN* 1144a 33 τὸ τέλος... ἔστω γὰρ λόγου χάριν τὸ τυχόν, *Pol.* 1280b 8 ὡς ἀληθῶς... μὴ λόγου χάριν

For the common expression λόγων ἕνεκα cf. Pl. *Theaet.* 191C: *Crit.* 46D: *Phaedo* 99C etc.

δίκας... βιαίων: Legal language again. (γράφή) βιαίων

was a common Doppelgänger of βία as we learn from Harpocration (s.v. βιαίων): they were concerned with assault and those speeches (some lost) of Lysias which dealt with such matters were explicitly entitled λόγοι βιαίων. Phrases such as τοῖς βιαίοις ἔνοχος Lys. xxiii 12 βιαίων... ἐγκαλεῖ Dem. XXXVII 33 etc. reflect and confirm this.

γάμων: This appears to rule out anything resembling Burges' attentions to 437 - perturbed by the apparent reference to the official ceremony he found in γαμῶν to refer to Apollo's lechery, he wrote βιάζεται | προδίδωσί... τε. In point of fact γαμεῖν could indeed have this crude *de facto* sense: cf. *Tro.* 43 for both phrases: (of Cassandra) τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τε παραλιπὼν τό τ' εὐσεβὲς | γαμεῖ βιαίως σκότιον 'Αγαμέμνων λέχος. *Od.* I 35 f. ὑπὲρ μόρον Ατρεΐδαο | γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστήν. *Hel.* 187 f. is closely similar οἷα Ναῒς... κλαγγαῖσι Πανὸς ἀναβοᾷ γάμους.

446: σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ζεύς θ' ὃς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ,

The grand Homeric echo, an ironic touch in this context, is noteworthy.

Biehl is over-precise in explaining these gods as representative of earth, sea and sky

in that order: Apollo is a "sky" god as much as an "earth" god (if we must use this terminology, reminiscent of Max Müller). Citations from myth are hardly required to explain why these three gods are particularly open to impeachment on the grounds Ion is putting forward.

447: κενώσετε: Note the tense: the vivid series of future verbs indicate the immediacy with which the thought strikes Ion, although he has stated the prospect to be remote in 444.

Cf. of money Cercidas Powell *CA*, p. 204, fr. 4, 12f. τὸν παλινεκχυμενίταν | τὸν κτεάνων ὄλεθρον, τοῦτον κενῶσαι | τᾶς συοπλουτοσύνας.

448: τὰς ἡδονὰς γὰρ τῆς προμηθίας πάρος | σπεύδοντες ἀδικεῖτ'.

L has πάρος. The line is quoted by Justin Martyr (*de mon.* 5) with πέρας. It is conceivable that Justin is making a sarcastic joke involving an oxymoron. But it is more likely that what underlies the MSS is a *v.l.* πέρα. This was suggested by Conington and has been adopted by Diggle. However this seems less meaningful than the text of L. Do we really need to know that they *exceed* the bounds of προμηθία? This usage of πάρος reappears shortly afterwards at 485 πλούτου τε πάρος | βασιλικῶν τ' εἶεν θαλάμων... τροφαί; see n. ad loc. *Or.* 345 (adverb) τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον... σέβεσθαί με χρή. S. *OC* 418 is an exact parallel for both idea and vocabulary: πάρος | τοὐμοῦ πόθου προύθεντο τὴν τυραννίδα ("they put their desire to rule before their feelings for me").[1] *Hcld.* 200 is a virtually certain example, ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνη <πάρος> | τοῦ ζῆν παρ' ἐσθλοῖς... νομίζεται. <πάρος> is indeed Reiske's addition *metri gratia* - it also seems to be what Tr^2 *intended* to

[1]Cf. *Med.* 650 θανάτῳ... πάρος δαμείην (" in preference to the fate just mentioned"), Willink on *Or.* 345.

write (in the event he offers βάρος which is nonsensical).[1] πάρος is the meaning required and it is very difficult to imagine an alternative either in form or sense (θνῃσκειν θελήσουσι implies that i.e. (τέλος) would be less appropriate).

For the phrase cf. *Hipp.* 382 ἡδονὴν προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

449-451: οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπους κακούς
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ
μιμούμεθ' ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε.

449: κακῶς L κακούς ps. - Justin. καλὰ L: κακὰ id.

The indirect tradition[2] here is of help: κακούς (ps. - Justin) is a *difficilior lectio* that could well replace L's κακῶς: though of course the risk of faulty assimilation of endings should not be forgotten.

450-1 pose an intriguing problem concerned with Christian apologetics. Assorted quantities of 436- 451 appear in Clement of Alexandria (*protr.* VII 76 6),[3] in ps. - Justin (*o.c.*), and Stobaeus (*flor.* I 3 5). There is also a Euripidean "citation" (placed by Nauck among the *dubia et spuria* fr. 1118), retailed by Lactantius *div. inst.* V 5 11 as follows: in assuring us that the man who humbles himself among his fellow men on earth is regarded as correspondingly "praeclarus et insignis" in Heaven, he goes on "neque enim falsa est illa sententia quae aput Euripidem fertur in hunc modum: *quae hic mala putantur, haec sunt in caelo bona.* The possibility of an allusion to the *Ion* was first suggested by Wilamowitz (*An.*

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[1]Which would certainly seem to suggest that dictation was among his methods - it is difficult to see why phonetic errors of this kind occur otherwise.

[2]see references in Turyn, *Tradition*, 91 f.

[3](= I p. 58 26f. Stählin)

Eur., 22), who used it to refute Stephanus' τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακά which in turn was borrowed from Justin's version which has that text.

It is obvious that, if the Lactantian citation has anything to do with our passage, he has taken it entirely out of context and adroitly reversed its real meaning. There is no evidence that Lactantius knew the text of Euripides directly and good reason to think otherwise: his only other paraphrase from E. occurs at *ibid.* I 6 8, from the prologue to the *Lamia* (see Nauck *TGF* p. 506 for discussion; following Elmsley he is sceptical) and that he seems to have had from Varro. Cf. R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (1978), 20.

It is a free paraphrase, to say the least, and it could as easily be reference to another of Euripides' observations about the distinction between human and divine morality in favour of the former, such as the Hippolytus - though that of course was not the point Lactantius thought he was making. In favour of its being some allusion to our passage is its obvious prominence among Christian apologists as a "tag". It it is, he will have copied it from Clement or 'Justin', in that order of probability. *If* Justin's MSS convey a corruption, that would show it to be early - suspiciously so, as it could only arise from minuscule script which in Lactantius' day was in its infancy as a formal style for *codices,* and that particularly is true of divine writings. (3rd century, exact dates uncertain).

Stobaeus and Clement would have used a distant ancestor of L as we know of it. ps. - Justin in the *de monarchia* used a version very different from theirs or an unknown secondary source. (On Stobaeus' sources see H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich 1978) I, 159.)

Both variants have advantages. In the case of καλά the subtlety and conciseness of the phrase is attractive. On the other hand the rhetorical force of τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακά is noteworthy: the effect would be "why should we call men evil, if we are only imitating the

evils of the gods...".

I have a certain preference for the latter, which is mildly fortified by the evident excellence of 'Justin's' exemplar.[1] We have already seen that κακούς in 449 (rightly adopted by Diggle) is an improvement on L: furthermore the aorist participle διδάξαντας in the following line (451) is logically more precise as the iniquity follows upon the divine tuition. 'Justin', followed by Stephanus, is to be followed here too.

The general idea recurs in Terence *Eun.* l. 584-91: Chremes gives an account of Zeus and Danae, concluding "At quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit!" (cf. especially 446). It is another interesting sign of the adoption of tragic motifs by the New Comedy, whence Terence may well have had it.

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[1]The *de monarchia* cannot be by Justin and its authority has been questioned since Petavius in the seventeenth century. It is a tissue of quotations. It is however possibly significant that 'Justin' quotes a longer segment (beginning at ἀτὰρ θυγατρός... while Clement begins with πῶς οὖν δίκαιον) *and introduces it in a totally different context.* - he uses it to abuse directly the pagan gods, whereas Clement uses it to point out that in his view some of the Greek poets had had intimations of Christianity in as much as they reprehended their own gods ἐκκυκλεῖ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοὺς θεούς - he, as it were "shows the gods on the ἐκκύκλημα before his audience warts and all". There is some doubt however as to the true text of Justin: if it resembled that offered by the Paris edition owned by Oriel College (1742) at an earlier stage of the MSS' existence it would be almost worthless. See art. "Justin Martyr", *ODCC* s.v.