

EVA. DRAKONAKI-KAZANTZAKI

**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ISSUE OF THE AESCHYLEAN OR
NON-AESCHYLEAN AUTHENTICITY IN "THE SUPPLIANTS",
282-85 (ΚΥΗΠΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ OR ΚΥΗΛΑΣΣΙΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ IN
LINE 282)***

1. Introduction; the general lines of the issue

The Suppliants by Aeschylus [1] constitutes one of the most fruitful texts for those who would like to utilise their knowledge of textual critic and palaeography, but who would also like to bring to the fore their existential affliction of the Hellene who becomes conscious of what has been lost out of all that national cultural heritage in the course of written tradition. The dramatic text of *The Suppliants* probably frustrates the efforts to restore this loss, but also delights one with the dynamism of the resisting heroines of the chorus [2]. Indeed, the Danaides are anonymous individuals, however, they function as a unified force of Grecian genealogy staking their claim to maintain their Greek identity amidst the non-Grecian environment of Egypt; the primordial acclimatization of their generation to the particular geographic location in Egypt can only mean the departure from their Greek legacy; this entails the departure from *disposition* (φύσις) and *countenance* (μορφή) as the result of a natural, racial and customary conditioning to their place of birth and upbringing.

In his play *The Suppliants*, Aeschylus is putting the case of the introduction of an age-old Greek custom in 5th century BC Athens, which safeguards genetic and racial purity [3]. He places the maidens, the Danaides, on stage appealing for the protection of the "Grecian law of descent", as this is applied in Argos; in contemporary terms, it could be said they make the

appeal in a “feminist fashion”. The daughters of Danaos, without being “*alexandres*” [4], yet in a manner projecting “power, ownership and domination” [5], travel from the South in order to prompt an institutional past of legitimacy pertaining to their Greek descent –in a dramatic course of arguments [6a]; not only do they trigger its application but also employ its use as a weapon against the obscene demand for marrying them on the part of their Egyptian cousins [6b]. At this point, Aeschylus is setting the relevant myth into motion as a mechanism striking a blow against popular sense for the preservation of the estate within the Athenian aristocracy, i.e. *οἴκου*, which was already served under attic law during the 5th century BC. In relation to this issue in the 5th and 4th centuries, one can only but closely look into the situation through defence speeches such as Lysias’ speech *Against Diogeiton*, but primarily through the complex genealogy –related– speeches by the Euboean born attic orator Isaios. The attic legislation on matters of inheritance aimed more or less at justifying the above popular causes, which depended on proof of the legal element of endogamy.

The Danaides arrive in Argos and appeal for protection and, possibly, the right of residence and incorporation [7a], recalling a law applicable outside Attic Greece; a law so old that evolves into archetypes of other epochs; the burden originating from such a law is secured in *The Suppliants* via the time scale emanating from the depths of the myth; the genealogic references of the Danaides to Argive Io immediately become the vehicle for completing this journey in time, to the era before she took shelter in Egypt –chased by Hera– in order to give birth to Eraphos; *καὶ μὲν Κάνωβον καπὶ Μέμφιν ἔκετο* [7b] is how the chorus of the Danaides describe –with remarkable geographical accuracy– the conclusion of a journey to which their ancestress Io came after she had wandered at length pursued by the gadfly.

Within the meaning of lines 279-89 in *The Suppliants*, Pelasgos, the King of Argos and son of native *Παλαίχθων*, elaborates the appearance of the Egyptian Danaides via use of comparative examples; he has already described it along general lines earlier

on –in lines 234-37– i.e. as non-Argive and entirely non-Greek: ποδαπὸν ὄμιλον τόνδ' ἀνελληνόστολον [8] / πέπλοισι βαρβάροισι κάμπυκάμασι / χλόντα προσφωνοῦμεν; οὐ γὰρ Ἀργολίς / ἐσθῆς γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος τόπων. The emphasis of the inquiring nature of Pelasgos' speech lies with the garments and “masks” –i.e. the face and head disposition–, but also with the brave character of the Danaides who confuse him by means of: a) their liberal and unusual to the Greeks appearance (lines 238-40) [9]; b) the darkness of their complexion which is stressed repeatedly within the play –although not through Pelasgos' vocabulary [10]; and lastly, c) the non-Greek language which the spectators already know they speak [11a]; the king thus urges them to solve the ethnic enigma of their non-nativeness. The latter is certainly relevant to *disposition* (φύσις) and *countenance* (μορφή), though in the manner in which these elements are mainly expressed by the appearance as well as the moral and courageous address of the Danaides. Possessing the pace and motion of a self-assured confidence, they are depicted as autonomous counsels of a law-abiding trial [11b]; they do not need to be announced by a herald to the Grecian King, to whom they appeal for protection; the sacred suppliant symbols as a means of petition to the sovereign and as guided by their father, Danaos (lines 186-203), in detail on how to act, will suffice. As a result, the fugitives perform an act which prepares the audience for the granting of their appeal as suppliants, as long as this guarantees insight and respect for the Grecian traditions on their part (μόνον τόδ' Ἑλλάς χθὼν συνοίσεται, line 243). Nevertheless, their independence from their suitors is attributed to a moral need because the chorus of the Danaides admits its weakness in lines 748-49, when reference is made to physical prowess later on: μόνη δὲ μὴ πρόλιπε, λίσσομαι, πάτερ / γυνὴ μωνωθείσ' οὐδέν οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἄρης.

The Danaides –as intended by aeschylean plot– will tread adopting the tactics of a conclusive analysis of their genealogy so as to enlighten the King; upon convincing him of the inviolability of their petitioning, it becomes mandatory for them to secure their right of addressing themselves in this particularly Grecian city,

the city of Argos. Thus, they must first and foremost prove their Argive origins: *Ἀργεῖαι γένος / ἐξενχόμεσθα, σπέρματ' εὐτέκνου βοός* (lines 274-75). Through the history of their personage they will be defending their non-Grecian attire or way of "wearing their hair and covering their head" as well as the tone of their assertiveness: they may be of Greek origin, but they have adopted the attire and a certain "aggressiveness" of their place of birth. This comprises a national "θύλαξ" of their Greek descent which has been adjusted "φύσει καὶ μορφῇ, νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει" within the barbaric geographic environment of Nilean Egypt. As the new home of the ancestress Io, where she gives birth to Epaphos, Egypt also becomes the home of her descendants. This is where newly acquired features take shape to be inherited by the Danaides in order that they will relate to their place of birth and upbringing. Although such a connection with Egypt –from the point of view of their racial descent and colour of their skin– is taken for granted many numerous times in the text –e.g., lines 6, 38, 224, 387-89, 474, 933, 983-84 [12]–, it is not, however, touched upon in the utterances of King Pelasgos, a Greek sovereign who hospitably embraces the alien suppliants. Pelasgos limits himself to eloquently complimenting the exterior and interior aspects of the suppliants towards the Argive and Greek customs.

Therefore, before the explication of their genealogy by the suppliant Danaides, King Pelasgos considers the topology of their attire in lines 279-81 and 286-89 and defines, both to the north and the south, a life that is rather matriarchical and a female role that is unusual for the 5th century BC Greek customs; this is a role of activity, hunting, flexibility and autonomy and does not really echo an agricultural and technology driven lifestyle, which would enforce different pursuits and female attire, dictated by the obligations of a patriarchal and institutionally advanced society [13]. The main characteristic, with which Aeschylus places King Pelasgos denoting the independent and efficient role of women in the life of their tribe in the above lines, becomes their way and exterior appearance which inspire practicality and stand in accordance with the

pretense of their dress. This would in any other case of Greek ethics –in the dramatic epoch staging of the play in question– depict a society where the man plays the exclusive role of the bearer of necessities, the plowman, the craftsman, the artist, i.e. the defender of his family rights.

2. The crucial passage; the geographical and historical points

In lines 279-89, which contain the crucial passage (lines 282-85) in *The Suppliants*, the dominant and pre-emptive role of the virgins vis-à-vis to a marriage with fatal consequences is – amongst other things– stressed out by Pelasgos' comparing the Danaides to other female figures. Irrespective of whether they are wedded or single, these are, in fact, representative of specific tribes whereby the female role is reputed amongst the Greeks for its fighting spirit in terms of survival of certain traits of their generation. Those other female figures include the Libyan women, the Egyptian women, the *ἄνανδροι Ἀμαζόνες* and – more probably through their non-aeschylean addition to the text– the *Ἰνδαὶ νομάδες*. The behaviour of the aforementioned women – who belong to different races and are by far different both in terms of geography and of racial “couples”–, compared to the nature of the request made by the Danaides, implies the purity of their parentage; it emphasizes the female substance as the regulating factor, given the choice of marital consummation, as this is deemed necessary for the imposition of their group racially. Besides, other leads reinforcing the very same conclusion are as follows: the role of Danaos, their father, seems to be compliant and supportive of his fifty daughters' initiative in their refusal of marriage to his Egyptian nephews. What is more, the male characters of Pelasgos and the Herald in the play are equally secondary to the leading role of the Danaides and therefore supportive in terms of fulfilling the suppliant women' s request [14].

So far, Aeschylus has been calling upon the mythological kinship between Argos and Egypt through *The Suppliants*, for

reasons of historical expediency, which is imposed by a certain need to draw the Grecian Dorian world closer to its Grecian origins in Egypt. Consequently, the dramatist is well excused when comparing the Danaides to those alien tribes which may reveal the special traits of the Dorian disciplined and collective mode of life in military schemes. He is in fact well excused in terms of his special link to the female world, the female attire and disposition (*κόσμον*); also, let us not forget that Aeschylus himself follows personal examples: he has experienced the fame of fighting and brave Artemisia of Halicarnassus up close during the Persian Wars.

Thus, aiming in that direction, to make a comparison of the Danaides with other tribes, the geographical associations made by this mid-5th century dramatist –Murray places *The Suppliants* in 468 BC, whereas Pfeiffer at the beginning of the 5th century– appear to be sufficient for him. Here Aeschylus summarises the racial traits and customs of his contemporary geographic grasp and refers to both the North and the South (in lines 279-81 and 286-89); these two regions were connected with the wider commercial and strategic securities of the Athenian democracy in respect of its national colonial territory and the dependence of its people and allies feeding on the granaries of South Russia and the imports from Egypt. Therefore, the dramatist on the one hand is employing the geographical position of the Amazons to delimit the Scythian north and determine the boundaries of the Euxine Sea; on the other hand he is defining the position of the people of Libya and Upper Egypt to form a distinct picture of the geographical stretch of north and northeast Africa with these last two categorisations. That is to say, there is an explicit connection between north Africa and Greece, to which bears proof the Greek settlement of Naukratis, which was established on the Canopic branch of the Nile in the 7th century BC; as far as northeast Africa is concerned, which was once known as Italian Somalia bordering the Indian Ocean, information was communicated to the Mediterranean world by word of mouth and via the Nile waterway trade routes.

Furthermore, a clear distinction is made from Libya (Λιβυστικάῖς ἐμφερέστεραι γυναιξίν, lines 279-80) on the one hand, and Egypt on the other, the latter bordering on the land of the Ethiopians in the South (παρ' Αἰθίοψιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας, line 286). All ancient Greek authors are particularly sensitive when treating the subject of Ethiopian people because through them they identified the most ultimate southern frontier of the known ancient world. With the admission of the Indians in the aeschylean text, the Ethiopians appear to be stretching –in a broader sense because of the common features between Ethiopians and Indians and of sheer ignorance in older times– as far as the Indian peninsula; however, the dramatist himself is confined to describing –obviously– the Eastern Ethiopians, whose land bordered that of the people of Upper Egypt. Eastern Ethiopians are already known by this distinction of theirs from the *Ethiopians by the setting sun* (πρὸς ἑσπέραν Αἰθίοπες) through Homer [15], while Herodotus distinguishes the woolly-haired Ethiopians (most likely the Negroes) from the straight-haired Ethiopians (i.e. the primitive Indians) [16]. In fact, Greeks appear to have been visiting the land of the Ethiopians since 665 BC [17], but Ethiopia becomes a lot more better-known to the Mediterranean world mainly after the explorations achieved by the Ptolemies in east Africa up to Cape Guardafui.

3. The syntax of the critical passage in relation to its authenticity

The key in the phrase παρ' Αἰθίοψιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας, line 286, lies mainly with the syntax. In the undoubtedly authentic aeschylean text of *The Suppliants*, the object (τοιοῦτον) φυτὸν (line 281) fed by the river Nile, is specified by the reference made “κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον” figure of speech in line 286: (παρ' Αἰθίοψιν) ἀστυγειτονουμένας. In other words, the neighbouring to the Ethiopians Egyptian people are settlers of the most ultimate southern frontier of Nilean Egypt (or Libya, since ancient Greeks used the term “Libya” to designate either the whole or part of the African continent known to them). The subject of the participle ἀστυγειτονουμένας is the “Αἰγυπτίᾱς” and therefore

the *τοιούτον φυτὸν* “τοῦ Νείλου”, while the prepositional dative *παρ’ Αἰθίοψιν* enhances the close geographical continuity of the two populations (cf. the homeric syntax of *παρὰ* and dative of persons, *LSJ*, s.v., B II, 1); it is explained as an addition to the compound word *ἄστνγειτονυμένας* which is semantic of adjacency and thus referring regularly to a dative or a dative like construction. The compound verb *ἄστνγειτονέομαι* –an *harapx legomenon*–, stemming from the adjective *ἄστνγείτων*, seems to be containing a subtle insinuation that the Egyptian neighbours differ from Ethiopians in terms of their administrative organisation which resembles the model of the Greek polis (*ἄστυ*). The morpheme of the participle is used in the plural, just as the adjective *ἄστνγείτων* is, which Aeschylus is the first to insert into Greek drama (*Agamemnon*, line 309: *εἴτ’ ἀφίκετο / Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἄστνγείτονας σκοπᾶς*), and Herodotus in prose (6, 99, 2: *ἐπὶ πόλιας ἄστνγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι*) –also in the plural– as well as Aristotle in his *Politics* (1330a18: *καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἄστνγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον*) and *Rhetoric* (1358b36: *ὥς δ’ [οὐκ] ἄδικον τοὺς ἄστνγείτονας καταδουλοῦσθαι*). The content of lines 279-81 and 286-89 was sufficient for Aeschylus as a geographical annotation to his point and in order to achieve communication with his audience.

However, this is the point where a falsifier of the aeschylean text –hereafter referred to as “the author”– decides to customize it in a period of time, when Ptolemaic Egypt was already familiar with the coastal shores along the north-east end of Somalia. At that time, “the author’s” epoch, the Roman Empire had also extended the knowledge of the Mediterranean world by exploring eastern Africa and had travelled through the waterways leading to the Indian peninsula on account of trading with the distant East. Eastern Ethiopians settled there, whereupon traders always arrived either from Arabia or sailing from the northwest and southwest Indian peninsula keeping the knowledge of navigation to the Red Sea, the Arabic and Indian peninsulas secret from the Mediterranean world. This secret is revealed to the Graeco-Romans, when Hippalos, an ancient

Greek mariner –known as a mere name–, who represents the western Graeco-Roman world at the beginning of the 1st century AD, paves the way for the West towards the Indian peninsula, by using the annual frequency of the NE and SW monsoon winds to cross the Indian Ocean [18a]. Additionally, according to accounts by the Latin authors Mela and Plinius –mainly in the *Historia Naturalis* of the latter– as well as Strabo, reference is made to Eudoxos, a seafarer from Kyzikos [18b], who signified the use of monsoon winds by the Greeks in order to sail to India and back for the first time around 116 BC. Indian traders –as well as Arabic, Egyptian, Roman and Greek traders likewise– were forced to settle down, due to the annual circular variance of navigational demands, at trade and transport centres of the Red Sea, the south coastal shores of the Arabic Sea and the north-eastern shores of the African continent, which are washed by the waters of the Indian Ocean. Those traders were then supposed to socially adapt to the hospitable environment of these places; they cohabited with the local people and brought in their own customs, narrations and descriptions of their countries traditions. These customs, narrations and traditions were in turn carried over to the eastern and western part of the Mediterranean world through Egypt and Libya.

The falsifier of the aeschylean text (lines 282-85), thus, aims at steadily broadening the definition of the four points of the ancient world's horizon and inserts the element of the Indian women, who are therefore located at the eastern antipod to the north-western Africa –in whichever way this is defined through the *Libyan women* (Λιβυστικαὶ γυναῖκες) by Aeschylus; this is further acquiring the form of the western boundary of the ancient world. "The author" then had to obviously customize the intervening lines –in the most convincing way possible– in accordance to the aeschylean spirit and style, but this process of incorporation in the aeschylean play resulted in the creation of a most mythical ordeal in the text.

4. The fabrication of the falsifier

What is, though, the reason or reasons compelling “the author” to resort to this kind of fabrication? In all possibility, his contemporary discovery of navigation routes and methods beyond the southeastern end of the Mediterranean –i.e. the conquests of Rome and the opening of trade routes to the Indian peninsula by the Romans– determines the need to make this event known through the art of writing in terms of space and time; of course, this contribution is made through a thematically related drama such as *The Suppliants* by Aeschylus, a dramatist who takes a liking in embellishing his plays with information of geographical nature such as Pelasgos’ description of his realm (lines 254-59).

Yet, the vocabulary used and the pictures evoked in lines 282-83 are elements, which directly refer to the domain of plastic arts, and their being pointed out by an unknown author cannot simply constitute a literary transfer of images. The possibility of reference being made here to a work of plastic art may well have provided proof of the interpretation of the aeschylean phrase *κύπριος χαρακτήρ* (line 282) by archaeological researchers, something which we should not bypass without prior critical consideration [19]. The emphasis placed on the subject *χαρακτήρ* and the particular attribution to it by the phrase (*ἐν*) *γυναιχείοις τύποις* are casting doubts over a rather unusual, for the ancient Greek world, work of plastic art; this work is worthy of becoming the topic of poetic description, “expression”, “ecphrasis”; but at the same time, it offers itself either as a useful link to the Danaides and their connection with the Nilean Egypt or as an opportunity to present the independent actions of women from those of men as a comical absurdity. Not to mention that the clothing and particular hairstyle become the main elements with which the appearance of the women is distinctly differentiated from that of the men; and it is these two elements that King Pelasgos first makes reference to in lines 234-35. Therefore, the element Aeschylus could be said to have captured and accordingly the falsifier of his text could be said to

have observed in lines 281-286, is the attire of the Danaides, which is appropriate for its purpose from three different points of view: *a)* from the point of view of the climate and traditions of the regions in Nilean Egypt in respect of lines 281-83 and 286; *b)* from the point of view of the nomadic lifestyle led by Indian women in respect of lines 284-85; and, *c)* from the point of view of the hunting and independent lifestyle of the unwedded and carnivorous Amazons in respect of lines 287-89 [20].

Thus, any treatment of the issue in lines 282-85 concerns the detailed analysis of the efforts for the –as early as Roman times– falsified written tradition to rescue the inclusion of references to the geographical location of India. As a result, in a suspicious uniformity regarding aeschylean preferences and epoch, the other two points of the horizon are secured: the West from the borders of Libya as well as north western Africa, and the East from the border of the Indian peninsula.

5. An examination of the vocabulary and the manuscript tradition

The use of the verb *ἀκούω* in line 284 is quite allusive to the historical reference made to the discovery of new navigation and communication routes leading to the Indian peninsula. Employing a syntax that makes use of a that-infinitive, similar to the meaning of the verb *οἶδα*, constitutes an effort to pinpoint the way in which information regarding the Indian women's customs reaches the Mediterranean. The participle *ἀκούων* –a grammatical form submitted by written tradition against the corrected version offered by Robortollo as *ἀκούω*– accounts for the nominative *ἐγὼ* whom it refers to as its subject, meaning *ἐγὼ ὁ Πελασγός*. The participle is causative and it outlines the reason why Pelasgos compares the Danaides (*ἄν ἦκασα / ὑμᾶς*, lines 288-89) not only to Amazons –as Aeschylus intended– but also to Indian nomads, when addressing them. The accusative *Ἰνδὰς νομάδας* becomes the subject of an

infinitive, after it has been corrected to Ἰνδᾶς instead of reading out as Ἰνδοῦς (codex M) and its following insertion in the text by the publishers (after Bothe, also Page and Murray). The infinitive concerned seems to be that of *ιέναι*, which could replace the ambiguous *εἶναι* (“etiam *εἶναι* suspectum”, Page) – after it is erroneously transposed, i.e. anagrammatized in spelling of *ιε-ναι* to *ει-ναι*–, and bears the meaning of “to get along, proceed, arrive”; it should be noted that line 285 is arranged in *crucis* in the version offered by Page, but not in Murray’s version. However, after using one reading such as the *ιέναι* is, there remains the danger of a non-aeschylean metric uniformity at the beginning of the line due to the use of an “opening” anapaest, in a similar way to the metric issue of the script *κύπριος* in line 282. The verbal meaning of *ιέναι* is complemented by the phrase (*καμήλοις*) *ἀστραβιζούσαις χθόνα* (codex Mac; otherwise *ἀστραβιζούσας* edited by Page and Murray), while the end of the movement in the phrase *ιέναι ἀστραβιζούσαις χθόνα* is defined by the prepositional phrase *παρ’ (Αἰθίοψιν) ἀστυγειτονουμένας*. Here the subject of the participle is signified by the accusative “Αἰγυπτίᾶς”, i.e. the *φιντὸν* of the Nile (referred to in line 281); in this case the *παρὰ*-prepositional accusative more frequently of persons in Homer and in prose literature (cf. *LSJ*, s.v., C I, 1) denotes “the coming, going to the side of” a person who represents the end of a motion, the target of the whole motivation for a movement. Thus, the dative *Αἰθίοψιν* functions as an addition to the compound *ἀστυγειτονουμένας* in a very similar syntax to that of the following herodotean passage (2, 104, 3): *καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοις* (sc. *Συγρίοις*) *ἀστυγείτονες ἐόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι*, while the meaning of the so formed by “the author” aeschylean phrase *παρ’ Αἰθίοψιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας* is as follows: “to the side of those Egyptians living in the neighbourhood of Ethiopians’ land”.

A further point which should be elaborated concerning the really meant subject of the that-infinitive *ιέναι* is this: according to the receptive logic of those times the Indian men were intended to be traders arriving with their merchandise in

areas, where the Egyptians were neighbouring to the Ethiopians; this way they would be able to communicate the information relating to the traditional practices of their native women. That is considered to be the safest way to bridge the gap in meaning created by the written tradition when using the script *Ἰνδοῦς* (M) –as opposed to the correction *Ἰνδὰς* (line 284) which is introduced by Bothe and accepted by the publishers. A further conjecture could also be that what arrives in the Upper Egypt, which is neighbouring to the Ethiopian land, is “the fame” about the Indian female nomads; the course of king Pelasgos to the Mediterranean world follows –in a most accurate geographical and communicative description– the natural running of “the fame and cultural routes” along with the trade routes via Nile-riverbed and Mediterranean-sea navigation to Argos. Nevertheless, another significant attempt of “the author” to remake the aeschylean tactfulness of Pelasgos is the following: he does not straightforwardly parallel the Danaides to the Indian female nomads; he does it through the relation of the latter ones to the Egyptians living in the Upper Nile district, wherein the Indians seem –or their fame seems– either to arrive or to settle down. This leads to another historical and anthropological reality: the colonisation of this part of eastern Africa bordering the Indian ocean by Indians as early within the early classic period as Herodotus (cf. 7, 70) and as early into the late classic era as Roman times; it also testifies the elaborated insertion into the aeschylean text of the newly acquired information relating to the closer connections between east Egypt and the Indian peninsula.

Returning to our text, the use of the instrumental dative, *καμήλοις*, serves a twofold purpose: firstly, to depict the similarity in the use of the camel following the riding technique used on horses (*ἵπποβάμοσιν*), but also to depict the detailed evolving of that technique in terms of the use of “the saddle”. This leads to the effort to specify it by the derived verbal form of *ἀστραβιζούσαις*; the participle thus defines the camels and should be used in the feminine dative, according to the initial readout of the written tradition (Mac), as opposed to the published (Page, Murray) accusative *ἀστραβιζούσας* –after M

was self-corrected by its copyist— which defined τὰς Ἰνδάς. The periphrasis ἀστραβιζούσαις χθόνα is an obvious mechanism employed by “the author” in order to create a fictitious “grandiose Aeschylean volume”, parallel to the assumed technical information offered. The result, however, reveals a sharp dullness by putting forward the word ἀστραβίζειν, which is much too reinforced to be considered eloquent or elegant and poetic, despite its combination with the almost exclusively used in poetry word χθόνα. The lexicological and stylistic predispositions of “the author” remind more those of a prose-writer rather than a poet, who creates an *hapax legomenon* via the use of the prose noun ἀστράβη [21]; the latter directly relates to the poetic adjective of ἀστραβῆς (“uright, firm, steady”) and it designates the equipment of the saddle with the help of which one can travel safely and comfortably when using animal transportation [22].

Thus, the pompous pseudo-dithyrambic expression ἀστραβίζειν χθόνα [23], which refers to the camels, indirectly describes the practicality of using the latter as a means of transportation: the use of the camel as a pack animal by the Indian women nomads. They ride the particular animal by right granted to them traditionally, on the initiative and fighting capabilities dictated by their need for survival and the survival of their community. The morpheme of the compound adjective ἵποβάμοσιν (line 284, upon correction of the original script ἵποβάμοισιν M) refers to the dative καμήλοις (in the following line), in order to describe a riding technique similar to that employed for riding a horse. This is brought into parallel only with the sophoclean use of this adjective in the tragedian’s play *Trachiniae* (line 1095): στρατὸς ἵποβάμων, in a phrase which renders the embodied riding trait of the anthropomorphous Centaurs. Otherwise, one can critically examine the spirited or aggressive and, thus, efficient use of camels by the riding Indian women nomads in the fashion men do —a fashion which categorises the Indian women with the Amazons and in comparison with the Danaides; but, this is exactly what entails a manlike activity, appearance and ethos, qualities exposed through the other

remaining genuine aeschylean use of the adjective *ἵπποβάμων*; yet, the latter clearly refers to men and not to animal-carriers qualities and is found in a context, which stresses out a male activity and appearance –such as that illustrated in pottery of the 4th century BC: the spirited and fighting –that is to say– behaviour of the mythical hyperborean Arimasian people (*Prometheus*, line 805: *στρατὸν Ἀριμασπὸν ἵπποβάμονα*).

7. Κύπριος χαρακτήρ: an easy restoration, though a complicated justification; various aspects

The phrase *Κύπριος χαρακτήρ* (line 282), as preserved by written tradition and as published, for example, by the publishers OCT in the latest two impressions of the aeschylean text of *The Suppliants* [24], has justifiably roused interest and concern –among other researchers– in Cypriot defenders of the Greek character of their island. The spirited and comprehensive articles written by Kyriakos Hatzioannou [25], Stelios Hatzistyllis [26], and mainly K. E. Hatzistefanou [27], are quite famous for this kind of contribution. Having substantiated the argument for their patriotic and vigorous sensitivity, the above researchers strive to restore the damaged Greek character of the third biggest island in the Mediterranean Sea, which has after all been proved by archaeological discoveries, epigraphy, language use, customs and history. This Greek character of Cyprus has not been damaged by the aeschylean style of writing, but by the writing style of Sir George Hill [28a] and Maurizio Borda [28b]. This cry, which Hatzistefanou [29] raises beyond the introductory passages of his treatise, when he delivers the phrase *Κύπριος χαρακτήρ* from its link with the island of Cyprus and everything pertaining to the Cypriot women bronze-coloured skin [30], is joined by my own cry. This is naturally so, to the extent that I am entitled to react in such a way – possessing the privilege of being a Cretan myself– since I have not personally experienced any threat to the Greek traits of the character of my homeland.

Hatzioannou innovatively releases the adjective *κύπριος* from its topographical and ethnological meaning –we will agree with him in this respect– and renders it a common adjective through which the colour of the skin of the Danaides is paralleled to the bronze colour of the coins. With the appropriate argumentation, he interprets the phrase *κύπριος χαρακτήρ* as follows: “stamp on copper coin”, “Aeschylus alluded to their (chorus) dark complexion”, “copper coin stamp to denote dark colour of face” [31]. Towards the end of his article Hatzioannou indicates the allegory which he foresees as a proverbial phrase uttered in the constructions *ἐν γυναικεῖσις τύποις, τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων*, lines 282-83 [32]. This last interpretation cannot be excluded, although it is believed by us that the allusion refers to an “antifeministic” reminder of these lines by “the author” – whoever this may be.

On the other hand, Hatzistyllis insists on linking the adjective *Κύπριος* with the island of Cyprus and offers an interpretation of the topographical distinction made by Pelasgos but not the ethnological one. He has his reservations as to whether lines 282-83 should be considered authentic or obelized in the way Johansen-Whittle do so (in their article “Textual Notes on Aeschylus: *Supplices* 1-503”, *Symbolae Osloenses* 50, 1975, pp. 20-25), by considering lines 282-83 as a spurious mark at the margin which was entered into the text. He finally concludes the following: “Therefore, if lines 282 and 283 are to be kept in the text, I believe that the usage and the context demand that *Κύπριος* should be taken to refer to the island of Cyprus, and not *κύπρος* (cuprum *χαλκός*)”. Prior to these words of his, Hatzistyllis verifies that “the distinction drawn by Pelasgos was a topographical and not an ethnological one. This distinction refers mainly to the complexion of the women of the chorus” [33]. With this last statement by Hatzistyllis we can only but conclude that the complexion, the skin and the skin colour of a person is a characteristic separated from its dominant topographical cradle and anthropological identity. Nevertheless, active –on a large scale– intermarriages carried out in the fashion of the ensuing historical times are excluded if we take

into account the following two elements of space and time: *a)* the regions, specified by written tradition for the whole of the text of the aeschylean *Suppliants* in lines 282-85 and which are believed to have been inhabited by Scythians, Ethiopians, Libyans and Indians; and, *b)* the epoch in which the social biography of these people is placed. Even more so, an assumption such as the following must be an unorthodox one: that intermarriages between different locations of that time could be of such a catalytic degree towards the "perseverance" of their tribal differences, that the skin of a race would not be dictated –according to its natural and communicative needs– by its distinct geographical location and the environment in which it survived and which prescribed specific attire, diet, mode of life, and customs! To summarise, topographical cradle and anthropological identity used to coincide at those epochs.

In this direction, we assume that the study of ethnographical and anthropological perceptions of the North and the South – Europe and Asia– in those times would be most useful. These would be utilised as they appear in the form of codified knowledge dating back to the 5th century BC and from a medical point of view in the treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places* of the Hippocratic corpus. Also, chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 are quite enlightening on the difference between *φύσις καὶ μορφὴ* among people, in proportion to the life of the inhabitants in cold or hot weather conditions. Furthermore, chapters 12-15 and 16-18 are quite insightful of the difference between *φύσις καὶ μορφὴ, ἥθη καὶ νόμοι*, between Europe and Asia, and especially chapter 14, where a most interesting observation is made that acquired features can still be inherited [34]. But even more conspicuous is the fact that in chapters 17-22 on the Scythian tribes a brief comparison is made between the Scythians and the Egyptians (especially in chapters 18 and 19), the exact two races which really encompass the aeschylean known world in *The Suppliants*.

In time to return to the point at hand, Hatzistefanou [35] – exceeding in persuasiveness all previous researchers– evaluates

the “scandalous” script *Κύπριος* as spurious and substantiates its replacement by the cluster *καὶ πρὸς* meaning “furthermore, in addition, besides” [36]. The translation rendered by this scholar in the entirety of the three lines 281-83 [37] is as follows: “κι ὁ Νεῖλος θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ θρέψει μιὰ τέτοια γενιὰ (στὸ χρῶμα) / κι ἀκόμη, καὶ τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ στὶς γυναῖκες μορφές σας / ὅμοια (μ’ αὐτὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) ἔχουν ἀποτυπωθεῖ ἀπὸ τεχνίτες ἄντρες (ποὺ τὰ μαστορέψαν)”. Hatzistefanou himself enhances his correction by means of a comma after the word *φυτὸν* in line 281 and obelizes the particle *τε* (τ’) correctly deducing that the next two lines 282-83 are complementary to line 281.

The interpretation by Hatzistefanou maintains the notion that the above concerns the skin colour of the Danaides and the Egyptian women, but with the added feature of their racial traits. The advantages of his correction are detailed by the researcher in advance [38]; he has listed the difficulties of correcting the text in lines 282-83 with a practical clarity [39] and after he has already analysed the argumentation of his views in a scholarly fashion, he epitomises the pros of his intervention upon interpreting the passage [40a]. The rather plausible correction *καὶ πρὸς* which was carried out by Hatzistefanou to replace *Κύπριος*, resolves metric and syntactical issues –except for the national ones– in the three text lines 281-83. Of course, he does that, irrespective of the fact that he is simplifying the possibility of another solution revealing a more striking and complex corruption of the phrase *κύπριος χαρακτήρ*, which has recourse to sources of factual, geographical and artistic interest.

8. Our aspect in general

Despite this self-evident rightness –as exposed previously– of the close relationship between topography and ethnology throughout the course of culture formation in the geographic locations mentioned here, the issue in the relevant text, lines 279-81 and 286-89, does not come down to an observation made

by the tragedian or an extension of the aeschylean thought by “the author” of lines 282-85 in relation to anthropology. Neither does the issue here concern the skin colour of the suppliant women’s race, whom the Argive King scholastically compares the Danaides with; the issue here rather concerns the determination of their alien attire and the general appearance of the group-chorus of the Danaides, which is linked to the stately ethos of their courage. This is purposely done by Aeschylus, since his intention is to insinuate that Pelasgos’ behaviour towards the suppliants was both moral and discreet. The king avoids hinting at the wholly differing skin colour of the Egyptians. The overall “manlike” appearance of the suppliant women is extrapolated through his words, meaning that they are not of Greek or Argive origins, which would imply a social condition that limits women’s role –that is to say– to their household activities. Moreover, the garments of the Danaides are not at all semblable to that of suppliants, a stance which would be claimed by the image of the suppliant as *μονόστολος* or *μονοχίτων* with a degree of innocent humility; in that direction, it will suffice to recall the advice given by Danaos – lines 191-204– to his daughters, in terms of a humble and suppliant facial expression as well as address [40b].

Finally, what we should be looking out for in the corruption of the phrase *κύπριος χαράκτηρ* –as part of a passage interpolated in Aeschylus’ text– is the foreign element of a female attire, which could be originating from Nilean Egypt, the Indian peninsula or even the near East to the Aegean Sea. On the basis of the above introductory and arduous discussions, we may now proceed with our centrepiece, contained in lines 282-83 but also contained in the entirety of lines 282-85.

9. Our analysis

As already noted by connoisseurs of the aeschylean style and vocabulary, lines 282-85 are of a dubious nature [41]. Johansen and Whittle, the eminent publishers of *The Suppliants*, have



obelized lines 282-83 [42] assuming that they make a reference to the margin of the manuscript, which was interpolated in Aeschylus' s text. On the contrary, M. Griffith –in his review of the edition of *The Suppliants* by Johansen and Whittle [43] – dismisses the idea of the elimination of these two lines 282-83 as false, stating: “*it is hard to believe that such a strange pair of lines was interpolated*”. The point of view put forward by Griffith –a most perceptive and tentative searcher of the distinctive character of this aeschylean drama– confirms the authenticity of these lines defended by Hatzistefanou and the corrections made by him. Nevertheless, it is our view that this may be an addition of some sort which was made during Roman times and aimed at professing the widening of a universality extending beyond the boundaries of the Mediterranean –such as that commercial stretching achieved by Rome beyond the straits of the Red Sea and the Arab Gulf. This addition is subject to corruption in the course of written tradition for the very reason of its false nature and amongst other things in the first very crucial word *κύπριος* in line 282. In all certainty, written tradition makes persistent use of the first syllable *κύ-*, while the ending of the word *-ις* has been the object of conciliation with a morpheme of a nation-specific or other adjective. After all, the original text of the earlier manuscript M (Mac) refers to *κύπρις*, and after the intervention of the corrector (M), it refers to *κύπριος*. Any corruption of the language used is found after the first syllable –with a certain respect for the ending *-ις* coming into sight on the part of tradition– and between those two syllables, where metric rules apply as to whether the first syllable should be long or short: whether the cluster of the labial *π* with the liquid *ρ* as *-ρπ-* could render the previous syllable long in position or let it remain as short, either by means of a *correptio epica* as *-πρ-* or with some other syllable such as *-παρ-* or *-ρπα-*.

Lines 282-83 in *The Suppliants* bear a profoundly technical register of words and an allusive meaning irrespective of the following facts: *a)* whether we link it to coinage [44] or plastic art: *τύποις, πέπληκται, τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων*; *b)* whether we

interpret it in its metaphorical sexually induced sense, as viewed by Hatzioannou [45]; c) whether we regard this as a "dramatical lexical irony", a device for exclusively dramatic purposes [46], by which Aeschylus enforces Pelasgos' surmise that present Danaos is probably the father of the Danaides; and finally, d) whether we understand it in an "antifeministic" spirit. The fact is, though, that we can only guess the period of time such a portraying piece of art may have belonged to, which motivates the role of the falsifier of the aeschylean text. Archaeologists who have expressed any interest in this passage, have exhausted all their possibilities of guessing; they have made every considerable effort to trace a Cypriot work of art, relying on the phrase *κύριος χαρακτήρ*.

On the other hand, the emphasis placed on the male creators of plastic art, *τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων* (line 283), in terms of their differentiation from the women (*ἐν γυναικείοις τύποις* (line 282), can only be combined with examples of manlike role-models out of female riders in the Indian and Scythian tribes. Thus, we cannot ignore the comical note attributed by "the author" on the grounds of the comparison between the racial community which those tribes represent and the normality of the stable patriarchal structure possessed by the Grecian society in the 5th century BC. We can also recognise a somewhat derogatory towards women reference to the exclusivity of the world of plastic art maintained by male craftsmen. Such reference is a reminder of the exclusively male role in sculpting works of plastic art and its social differentiation from the domestic role of Athenian -and Argive- women during the period of the cultural creation of *The Suppliants*. The image of the advanced society mentioned above is somehow ill-compared and comically juxtaposed to the lifestyle of the Libyan, Scythian and Indian women, the attire of the Egyptian women that stand before Danaos, and the "collective stance" of the Danaides. And, if this "antifeministic" view sounds quite daring, it is still consistent with the interpretations of other scholars as to the prominence of the predominant biological origins of the ancestral father, and not the mother, for the bequeathing of their

genetic legacy to their descendants. This last point, aside from its dramatic expediency which may serve tragic necessity in relation to the genealogical descent of the Danaides, outlines the rise into prominence of the matriarchal origins of Grecian Io, the ancestral mother, in her descendants, as they evolve *φύσει καὶ μορφῇ* during their intermarriage with Egyptians.

9. The crucial factor of the Danaides' attire; the traits of an "expression", "ecphrasis"

The attire of women, whose origins can be traced back to the tribes leading a nomadic life, still hunting or inhabiting regions under extreme weather conditions which necessitate special protective clothing, indicates evidence of the craftsman's flexible movement and, accordingly, of his functionally dressed body parts, when he fulfills the role of the breadwinner for his family. The fact that even Danaos himself comments on his clothing further down in the text, in lines 496-98, by referring to it as *μορφὴν* and *οὐχ ὁμόστολον φύσιν* is rather characteristic. The phrase *μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις* (in line 496) is assessed by Hatzistefanou as meaningful, whereas Johansen and Whittle condemn it as empty [47]. The Cypriot researcher detects the following brief expression: *μορφῆς δὲ φύσις οὐχ ὁμόστολος*, or *ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένη*, valuing it as an echo of the words of Pelasgos in lines 281-83 and it is his belief that the phrase pertains to both racial characteristics and the skin colour of the Egyptians and the Danaides [48].

However, which other additions could we make to the text? Danaos names here his paternal descent, confirming his parental relation to the Danaides –which they have already revealed in lines 291f., and especially in lines 319-23– when he endeavours to convince the ruler of Argos to grant himself and his daughters guards until the safe arrival of all within the city. What may evoke fear to Argive citizens as per the hesitant opinion of Pelasgos (*φύλαξαι*), is possibly the foreign element in the uniform attire of the group whose entrance in the city without

the city garrison to escort them could automatically acquire a warlike character (*θράσος*) and cause fear to spread among the citizens (*μὴ τέκη φόβον*); they will probably defend themselves against the invaders [49]: *ἀσφάλεια δ' ἦ* (sc. *ὡς ἂν*) *δι' ἄστεως / στείχουσι μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις. / Νεῖλος γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοιον Ἰνάχῳ γένος / τρέφει. φύλαξαι μὴ θράσος τέκη φόβον.* The phrase *μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις*, sc. “*ἦν τρέφει Νεῖλος*”, is completed by the perceived use of the dative construction: “*τῇ ἐσταλμένη ἐτέρως φύσει μορφῆς, ἦν τρέφει Ἰναχός*”. The point stressed by Danaos here implies the collective bold and spirited character of the Danaides as a group, i.e. the dissimilar nature of the Danaides as opposed to local women, and their harmonious poise as a group; the latter is superbly reinforced as threatening in the identical “manlike” or “armourlike” clothing of its members. In fact, there is a resemblance in the attire of the daughters as well as the father. All of them are dressed in the same type of garment; Danaos, however, wears it in the way of the men, whereas the Danaides in more of a feminine way.

The work of art, which “the author” probably had in mind, must have been professing a foreign manlike robe attire which both men and women could easily dress in. This suggestion becomes gallantly obvious through the differentiation noted in the phrase (*ἐν*) *γυναικείοις τύποις* of line 282. In adapting lines 282-83 “the author” was provided with elements of clothing extracted from the aeschylean text itself in order to process those lines; it was sufficient for him not to ignore the relevant vocabulary of lines 234-35: *ἀνελληνόστολον* (or *ἀνέλληνα στόλον*), *πέπλοισι, βαρβάροισι, ἀμπυκώμασι*. When Aeschylus determines the characteristic elements in the attire of the Danaides with his phrase *πέπλοι βάρβαροι*, he is obviously contemplating something analogous to the Persian “*ποδήρης χιτῶν*” as a robe on a male body but certainly not the fine material of the veil Athenian women wore; the point is additionally indicated to that effect by the hairstyle of the Danaides through the use of the dative *ἀμπυκώμασι* (meaning *βαρβάροισι*, line 235).

The meaning of ἀμπυκάζω (“to bridle, fasten, tame, restrain, reprove”) is generated from those noun morphemes, which either denote “the reins of a horse” as ἀμπυκτῆρ in Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes*, line 461) and ἀμπυκτῆριον in Sophocles (*Oedipus at Colonus*, line 1069), or “the female crown or headband” as τὸ ἀμπύκωμα –in fact in the plural– in Sophocles (fr. 1002 Nauck² ή Radt, vol. 4) and in Aeschylus’ very text of *The Suppliants* (line 235); the word ἀμπύκωμα is used in the same sense as that of the noun, from which all the above morphemes are derived, in Homer (*Iliad* 22, 469) and Aeschylus (*The Suppliants*, lines 431-32, in a lyrical part of the play: ἵππαδὸν ἀμπύκων, / πολυμίτων πέπλων τ’ ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν) in the masculine gender, ὁ ἄμπυξ, but also ἡ ἄμπυξ in Euripides (*Hecuba*, line 465) as well as in Theocritus (*Idyl* 1, 33); besides, the feminine gender form of the latter noun is utilised to denote a rim in Sophocles (*Philoctetes*, line 680, in a lyrical part of the play). All the above morphemes appear non-Greek when using the root ἀμπυκ– and indicate amongst other things a somewhat barbaric technique for banding the hair with fabric material, in the fashion of a “turban”, judging from the way it was wrapped around the heads of women and men, even today by people who live in hot climates. The way in which the clothing of the Danaides functions, is the way of the “wild”, “less formal”, and improper for the Greek ethos plain and loose mood of dressing the body and the hair; this non-classical appearance of the heroines is further enhanced by their collective character as it is stressed out repeatedly in the play (cf. lines 2, 28, 223, 234), but more characteristically by the meaning of the verbal form used in the descriptive questioning (“διαπόρησις”) of Pelasgos: ὄμιλον τόνδε, χλίοντα (lines 234, 236). The verb χλίω is solely used by Aeschylus [50a] and according to the translation provided from *LSJ* (s.v.) it bears the meaning of “to run a voluptuous or delicate life” -in our case- in as much as this is expressed by the neglected (“ἄκοσμος”) and casual (“μὴ ἐπίσημος”) mood of dress and hairstyle and the stride of the fifty Danaide virgins. Such a “Lydian style” of disposition and dress has already been characterised by the same tragedian in his *Persae* 41-42 through the mouth of chorus: ἀβροδιαίτων δ’

ἔπεται Λυδῶν / ὄχλος. There is always another meaning which may point out the surprise of Pelasgos and the differences in the appearance of the aliens from the simplicity and civilised air, i.e. modesty, demanded by the image of a suppliant, who seeks sanctuary in Greek temples.

Such a chiton-peplos as that of the Danaides reveals this *χαρακτήρ*, which *ἐμπέπληκται* (line 283), i.e. has been imprinted on the particular work of art. We assume the attribute of a tunic, foreign to the Greek style or customary tradition, and available to the sculptor in such a way that inconspicuous curves of the female body are underlined (line 282: (ἐν) γυναικεῖσις τύποις). It is quite likely that this *χαρακτήρ* of female dress indicated its colour and even more likely that it showed –beyond the type of garment– the fabric used to tailor it with, from which it would acquire its foreign dress tradition and name. That this type of a garment might resemble the Lydian colourful or embroidered dress style is shown by the following phrases attested in later literature: a) *ἀβρὲ κύπασσι, τὸν Ὀμφάλη ἢ ποτε Λυδῇ* [50b] for the garment deposited in the temple of Artemis “a form of *χιτῶν χειριδωτὸς* of varied length worn by both sexes, possibly the loose-sleeved garment seen on Persian monuments” [50c]; and, b) *ἀνθεμόεντα κύπασσιν* [50d] in a dedication –to Artemis– of garments after childbirth; the explanation of *ἀνθεμοίς* either “*gaily coloured*” or “*decorated with flowers*”, i.e. embroidered, is suitable in this line, though less obviously so, in Homer [50e].

10. The Danaides' attire in relation to *κάρπασος* or *κύπασσις*; preliminary argumentation

Consequently, the starting word of the line 282 could be taken to represent the name of a raw material, a fabric processed from a raw material, even a garment not worn by the Greeks, i.e. a foreign word, which “the author” tried to render Greek-like after metagrammatising it according to a Greek spelling, proper for the usual practice in his times. Out of this effort it becomes

obvious that written tradition has saved the word ending **-ις** and the first syllable **κύ-**, as we can deduce from the script of the word **κύπρις** before **Μ** was subject to correction [51]; the shadow of doubt appears to have been cast over the rendering of the word theme and mainly the resetting of the cluster **q** and the labial consonant **π**. The syllable **κύπρ-**, which proved to be problematic as to its position in *correctio epica* [52], could become short through the process of corruption **κυπρ-**, **κυπαρ-**, **κυπαρο-**, from the theme **κυπασσ-** of the widely proclaimed foreign name for a garment; this would appear in the use of the morphemes **κύπασσις** [53] or **κύπασις** or **κυπασίς** (the word stressed in the last syllable can be traced in the lexicographic work of Hesychios as a *varia lectio*) [54a], but also in the form of the construction **κυνάττιδες** found in Alkaios (54b), and in its diminutive form **ὁ κυπασσίσκος**, which is used by Hipponax (54c).

The construction **κύπασσις** was a type of longer than the middle of the thigh garment worn by both sexes, which probably explains why the definite article pertaining to the word can be either masculine or feminine. Also, according to Harpocration: **οἱ γλωσσογράφοι χιτῶνος εἰδὸς φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν κύπασσιν, οἱ μὲν γυναικείου, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείου**, while in Polydeukes the word **κύπασσις** is explained as opposed to Lydian **βασάρα** [55]. In *Suda*, where the garment **κύπασσις** is explained as being worn by the men (**ἐνδεδυμένος κύπασσιν φοινικοῦν ποδήρη**), the adjectival attribute denotes that the chiton **κύπασσις** was not self-understood as **ποδήρης** [56]. It seems, though, that the garment **κύπασσις** was worn either by women –in a passage of a work by Aristophanes which is not saved [57]–, or exclusively by maidens as it appears in epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology*; here reference is made to a garment which used to be dedicated to Ephesia Artemis after delivery or before marriage or consummation [58]. However, in terms of the usage of the word by Alkaios it is of particular importance for the passage under discussion in *The Suppliants*, in order to denote the tunic: **πὰρ δὲ ζώματα πόλλα καὶ κυνάττιδες** [59]. Thus, the term **κύπασσις** was known to 7th or 6th century BC

Greek literature well enough to cite the word in the poetry of Alkaios and Hipponax [60], as well as the phrase *περσικὸς (-κῆ) κύπασσις*, in the works of Hekataios the Milesian [61].

Nevertheless, the fact that the garment *κύπασσις* [62] was worn by both sexes justifies the distinction made by "the author" in *The Suppliants*: (*ἐν*) *γυναικείοις τύποις*, the translation presently offered for this phrase –i.e. in the construction as appeared in published works– is as follows: "in the lines of the female body or as in the female figure". One would expect to read the phrase (*ἐν*) *γυναικῶν τύποις* –assuming that "the author" has the particular work of art in mind– instead of the abovementioned syntactic structure. It should be noted here that the difference between the two related lexicalisations of (*ἐν*) *γυναικείοις τύποις* and (*ἐν*) *γυναικῶν τύποις* lies with the generalised meaning of the first equivalent, and it would be rendered as follows: "in the manner –generally– of the female attire", obviously in contrast with the male attire. The second equivalent is more specific as to the existence of visible female figures, and this is believed to be proper for the passage from *The Suppliants*, meaning the phrase "in the particular attire of these well-known female figures as portrayed in the piece of art".

The word *χαρακτήρ* in line 282 may refer to the process of carving (see the form *ἐμπέπληκται*) on hard materials, as shown in a characteristic passage by Plutarch, which refers to the carving of letters on marble or copper and in which Plutarch combines the use of the noun *τύπος* with the noun *χαρακτήρ* as to the phrase *ὁ τύπος τῶν χαρακτήρων* [63]. The word *χαρακτήρ* may subsequently –as a metaphor– refer to the overall outer appearance, which is combined better with the thinking hidden behind our interpretation. It is also combined better with the suppleness of physical appearance, as this is outlined by the "*κυπάσσινος*" chiton worn by the female figures in the work of art to which the attire of the Danaides is paralleled. The later example of the phrase *εὐειδέσταται τῷ χαρακτήρι*, meaning "aussergewöhnlich schön an Gestalt" according to Bauer's *Lexicon* [64], is quite relevant to the previous sentence, while the

plural of the noun *οἱ χαρακτηρισ* has come to refer to facial attributes at a later stage [65].

It is also worth noting that “the author” has tried to retain the archaic intransitive syntax of the compound verb *ἐμπλήσσω* using a passive construction and therefore fiddled with the preposition *ἐν* in separation from the verb (*πέπληκται*) and in conjunction with the neighbouring dative of *γυναικῶν τύποις* which maintains the definition of reference to the construction *κύπασσις χαρακτήρ*. This separation of *ἐν* from the compound verb *ἐμπέπληκται* must be secured through the censure after the *ἐν* in recitation of this line, so that the phrase *γυναικῶν τύποις* were pronounced in a separate colometry. Nevertheless, because of the metric patterns of accentuation, the construction “*κύπασσις*” is required as per the construction *κύπασις* which is evidenced by lexicographical findings. Examples of constructions employed by Euripides are deemed relevant to the abovementioned syntax of *ἐν*-compound verb with a dative syntax: *ἀνδρῶν οὐδεὶς χαρακτήρ ἐμπέφνκε σώματι*, lines 518-19 in *Medea*; *δεινὸς χαρακτήρ κάπσιμος ἐν βροτοῖς ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι*, lines 379-80 in *Hecuba* (cf. Scholia). The simple verb *πλήσσω* is assigned the meaning of “cutting, printing, stamping a coin” in *LSJ* (s.v. *πλήσσω*, I, 3), but the specific passage contained in *The Suppliants* constitutes the only available example cited in terms of this sort of metaphoric sense of the simple verb. The action of the verb *ἐμπλήσσω* manages to express here –with the help of the quasi-participle *εἰκῶς*– the aesthetic result in its general outline and sketched aphairesis and completeness, i.e. “as if wrought in relief, descriptively”, whereas, on the other hand, the practical result is described in later antiquity by the phrases *ἐν τύπῳ* and *ἐπὶ τύπου* [66].

The original meaning of the noun *τύπος* is “the visible impression of the stroke or printing”; the second meaning pertains to “the form, appearance”, already dating back to Aeschylus and Plato. Consequently, however, it acquires the meaning of “the model, example” found in the work of Diodoros of Sicily [67]. Aeschylus uses the word *τύπος* to denote “the

figure, the impressive bearing of the man", line 488 in the *Seven against Thebes*: Ἰππομέδοντος μέγας τύπος. This also applies to line 49 in the *Eumenides*: οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις; in this context (see also line 48), the Pythian Priestess makes the following statement: "I say that they are not women but Gorgons", meaning that "they resemble more Gorgons than women". The example extracted from the *Eumenides* is much closer to the substance of the phrase (ἐν) γυναικῶν τύποις in *The Suppliants*, as long as the construction of εἰκῶς (line 283) is meant in the sense of "similar to or identical with" and with a dative syntax.

11. The course to corrupted Κύπριος from an already falsified script κάρπασος-κύπασσις

The drastic intervention that has taken place in the text of *The Suppliants* was facilitated by utilising the verbal adjective φυτὸν as a noun construction in the aeschylean fashion, as well as the duality of its meaning (line 281). The metaphorical sense of the word φυτὸν refers to "the natives of the land by the river Nile, the Egyptian men and women", but it literally carries the sense of "the vegetation" surrounding the river. Through this word, "the author" was able to determine the raw material used to make the "κυπάσσινά φορέματα", i.e. cypassos dresses of the Danaides, by taking advantage of the close link of the said φυτὸν with the river Nile. Nevertheless, the most suitable material to weave with, which is particularly produced in the Nile, is none other than cotton, which was considered to be a product of Egypt, and in distinction to the Indian cotton. Furthermore, the Sanskrit equivalent for cotton is *kārpāsa* [68], a name which seems to have reached the Ancient Greek literature as κάρπασος –following its soft metagrammatisation in the Greek language– and with the heteroclitic plural τὰ κάρπασα; this is equivalent to the Latin form *carbasus*, whereby the letter *a* in the second syllable is short, and its plural *carbasa*.

As already shown, if “the author” once used the phrase *κάρπασος χαράκτηρ* in order to denote a garment made of cotton, then the corruption towards the existing morpheme *κάρπις* is possible and the process leading to the creation of the form *κύπρις* is simplified. The degenerated form of *κάρπασος* might have resulted from the transcribal amendments thought out by the copyist of an indecipherable, unknown or alien to him or corrupted form; and similar cases have already been noted in the manuscript text of *The Suppliants* by Johansen and Whittle [69]. The process leading to the alienation of the word *κάρπασος* –from the Sanskrit *kārpāsa* meaning “cotton or cotton garment”– as *κύπρις* could be a corruption of the original *κά-* to *κυ-*, as Hatzistefanou [70] similarly hypothesises towards the process leading to his correction *καὶ πρὸς* from *και-* to *κυ-*; he also argues in the same fashion as other scholars that the original text, from which codices M and E are copied, had already been corrupted [71]. Thus, a combination of the thinking process to a noun alien and unknown to the copyist of the work, such as *κάρπασος* or even *κάρπις*, could lead to the Cypriot polis of *Karpasia*, and then the name of the island itself, *Cyprus*, i.e. “to the name of the container of a thing instead of the name of the content in it”. In a similar fashion, the adjectives *καρπάσινος* or *Καρπάσινος* or *Κ(κ)αρπάσιος* (*-ία*, *-ιον*), which do exist [72], lead to the creation of the collective ethnonymic adjective *Κύπριος*, or to *κύπριος*, i.e. “made of cuprum”, as a mineral abundant on and characteristic of this island.

Another Greek metagrammatism of the noun *κάρπασος* may have been adopted in connection with other Asian morphemes of the Sanskrit *kārpāsa* meaning “cotton”, such as the Arabic *kirbās*, the Persian *kirpās* or the Armenian *kerpas* [73a]. This metagrammatism may have reached the Greek language in the form of *κύπασσις*, in the following order: *κάρπασος* – *κούπασσος*, *κούπασσις* – *κύπασσις*, *κούπασσις* – *κύπασσις*. The possibility of corruption as to the form “*κύπρασσις-κύπρις*” should not be excluded and, therefore, the subsequent correction

to κύριος is the ultimate effort to harmonise syntax and grammar with a meaning, which is uncritical in a sense.

However, the second explanation of the process in the creation of the form κύρις in manuscript M seems more plausible – prior to the intervention of the corrector (Mac); in this case, the process of metallaxis concerns the Asian equivalents for “cotton”, which originated from the Sanskrit *kārpāsa*, i.e. the Arabic *kirbās* –but the Babylonian *kibsu*, *kibasu* [73b]– and the Persian *kirpās*. The equivalent Greek phoneme of “κίρπας” spelt with **-ι-** could be altered to *κάρπις* and “κύρπις” and then to *κύρις*; but, the additional form of “κίρπας” spelt with **-υ-** as “κύρπας” [74a] seems to be closer to Greek in the form “κύρπαις”; via “κύρπαις” and “κύπαρις” it could reach the Ancient Greek literature and lexicographers as *κύπασσις* and *κύπαις* –or as *κυπαῖς* by stressing the last syllable–, even as *κύπαις* [74b].

From a semasiological point of view, the word *κύπασσις* –in its etymological interaction with the Sanskrit *kārpāsa*, or as “Hethitisches Lehnwort” pace A. von Blumenthal, *Hesychstudien* 27-30–, has come to denote the end-product processed from cotton, i.e. the “garment made of *κύπασσις*”, irrespective of the original meaning referring to cotton as raw material. The link between the word *κύπασσις* and the word *κάρπασος* is enforced by their actual usage, such as that of *κάρπασος* meaning *λίνον* “flax” or “cotton” as seems to be already found in Strabo (7, 2, 3. C. 294): *καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας*, in respect of the using a garment made of *κάρπασος*. Besides, the passage, which is offered in the translated version of the Septuagint: *ἐν αὐλῇ κεκοσμημένη βυσσίνοις καὶ καρπασίνοις* (*Esther* 1, 6), does not exclude the possibility of once using the word *βύσσινος* (from *βύσσος*) in line 282 of *The Suppliants*; this adjective would easily be rendered into *κύσσινος*, since the misreading of *κ* for *β* because of their similarities in the minuscule script constitutes one of the usual mistakes in codex M [75]; otherwise, *βύσσινος* denotes the Indian cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*) and cotton garment, as in the case of the lexicographers [76] and Philostratos [77].

Nevertheless, ἡ κάρπασος [78], with its heteroclitic plural τὰ κάρπασα, provides an opportunity for a semasiological interplay in Antiphilos [79] between the “sails of the ship” and the “garments”; the meaning of the word as “linen, flax”, which for the first time denotes a processing material used in Spain (*Linum usitassimum* or *Linum angustifolium*), is met in the work of Dionysios of Halikarnassos [80], while in the “Anonymous” Greek author’s work *The Periplus on the Red Sea* 41 (insightfully edited by J. Frisk): καὶ καρπάσου καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰνδικῶν ὀθονίων τῶν χυδαίων, the word κάρπασος refers to the Indian cotton [81].

Given the chance of the reference to Philostratos, we preliminarily stress the following possibility: the possible connection between the falsifier of Aeschylus and Philostratos and his chronology refers to the tactic of “ecphraseis” for works of art; our suspicions are that “the author” of the interpolated lines in *The Suppliants* is not only a connoisseur of the aeschylean work but also a well-informed expert of the technological discoveries of his time and one of the operators of the “ecphraseis” technique, that is to say the literary narration of works of art.

12. The argumentation as to the script κύπασσις χαρακτήρ

Returning to our play, we have to state –as to the semasiological point– the following consideration: the fact that the observation made by Pelasgos refers to the clothing of the Danaides and not the complexion of their skin –a contested part of the body, which can signify the skin colour of a person’s race–, implies the deliberate omission on the part of the King of their facial attributes and the colour of their skin complexion. Obviously, in his capacity as a Greek hegemon who offers his hospitality to suppliants, Pelasgos avoids commenting on the sharp contrast stemming from the bronze skin colour of the suppliant aliens –if not their dark skin colour, as Tucker implies in his commentary on lines 258-60 [82]– with a polished and venerable tactfulness.

As Hatzistefanou points out [83], “unfortunately, we do not know how the masks of the Danaides and Danaos presented their features”; the scholar goes on to say [84] that “the actual comment made by Pelasgos does not solely refer to the bronze skin colour of the Danaides as the principal element...”; in fact, this is made particularly obvious in the comparison made to the Amazons, where no issue is made of the difference in the colour of the skin [85].

Other considerations on the questionable nature of lines 282-83 include the placement of the particle $\tau\epsilon$ (τ') in line 282 [86]. The explanatory particle $\delta\epsilon$ (δ') could have been used in its place to specify the preceding phrase $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \varphi\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ or it could have been omitted; thus, the metaphor of lines 282-83 could be freely introduced –adopting any of the above two interpretations– by means of the schema of $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$; this construction of the-not-connected-with-the-previous-sentence introduction of a notion, in order for the audience to acquaint themselves with a crucial and dogmatic point, is a poetic device already employed by Gorgias in prose. Later on it is traced among the so called “second generation” of Sophists and the literature of the “ecphrases”. On the other hand, it is more likely the interchange of the particles $\tau\epsilon$ - $\gamma\epsilon$, despite their difference in functional syntax; from a palaeographic point of view, the inter-corruption of particles $\tau\epsilon$ and $\gamma\epsilon$ owes its occurrence to the enclitic nature of these two morphemes, but mainly to the phonemes τ and γ in a minuscule copy, especially as capital letters T and Γ when still at the uncial stage. In that case, the use of $\gamma\epsilon$ in line 282 may be referring to some previously mentioned context or it may recall the thing that relates to the present meaning; this is the normal and main function of the particle $\gamma\epsilon$. In fact, the use of $\gamma\epsilon$ here could be a reminder either of $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} \pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\alpha$ in line 235 earlier on or of the raw material in the sense of material made of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$ from the word $\varphi\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$, line 281. These elements, which were present through the use of $\gamma\epsilon$, are now becoming more specific in the image of the “ $\kappa\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho$ ” in the attire worn by the Danaides.

Nevertheless, the following point is of primary and crucial interest: the use of the word *εἰκῶς* is equally troublesome in its interpretation and speculative meaning so that it drove to conjectures as to the curious phrase *εἰκοῦς πέπλασται* (i.e. *εἰκόνος*), which Blaydes characteristically employs, and to a lesser degree in terms of the amendment employed by Johansen *εἰκῶν* [87]. Indeed, the word *εἰκῶς* could easily be taken as denoting the noun *χαρακτήρ*, in the sense of *ὁμοιος*, and it requires a dative syntax just as its synonymous phrase *ἐμφερέστεραι γυναιξίν* does in lines 279-80. In our case, we would rather expect it to function as such in the dative singular “*κυπάσσει*” than in the hidden use of *ὕμιν* by the Scholiast –as a means of address in the second person uttered by King Pelasgos to the Chorus of the Danaides. The latter connection *εἰκῶς ὕμιν*, however, overturns the relevance of the inserted subject –since *εἰκῶς* refers to the dress *χαρακτήρ* of the Danaides– to the literal meaning of the “*κυπάσσινον φόρεμα*”, “cotton garment”, which has been inscribed in the work of art in order to denote the female figure. Hatzistefanou is orientated towards the hidden presence of the dative *χαρακτήρι* which refers to *εἰκῶς* [88], processing his thought via the following analysis: “*τῷ χαρακτήρι τῶν ὑπὸ Νείλου τρεφομένων φυτῶν*, i.e. *τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χαρακτήρι, τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἢ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις γυναιξίν*”, while rejecting the analysis of “*εἰκῶς τῷ χαρακτήρι ὕμῶν* (sc. *ὕμιν*)”.

On the basis of our interpretation, the word order in these two lines could have been as follows: “*κυπάσσει χαρακτήρ γ' ἐν γυναικῶν τύποις / εἰκῶς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων*”. The presence of the arctic anapaest (ssl), which proved to be troublesome for scholars in the phrase *κύπριος χαρακτήρ*, is avoided with our suggested interpretation. Scholars such as U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf [89] have already questioned the use of *κύπριος* as opposed to some other reading, for instance *κύπροι* [90], while Sommerstein [91] uses the form *Κυπρίοις*, exchanging the position of the ethnonymic with that of *εἰκῶς* (line 282 *εἰκῶς* ...; line 283 *Κυπρίοις* ...), thus simply shifting the problem of the arctic anapaest from line 282 to line 283 [92]. A

more regular syntax for the entire passage –but with added metric problems– could be secured by the use of the attributive genitive “κυπάσσεως” to define *χαρακτήρ*; otherwise, the nominative *κύπασσις* or *κυπασσις* as denoting manner in the place of an adverbial predicate to the noun subject is deemed adequate; besides, this nominative is substantially supported by the following procedure concerning the word *εἰκῶς*.

In Aeschylus, the use of the verb *ἔοικα*, bearing the meaning of “to resemble” (LSJ, s.v. *ἔοικα*, IV, 1), is only used in the form of *εἰκῶς* and with a dative syntax, just as in *Agamemnon*, line 760 (chorus), *The Choephoroi*, line 560, but also as in Euripides’ *The Cyclops*, line 376, and Aristophanes’ *The Wasps*, line 1321. In Homer, though, this quasi-participle acquires the meaning of “appropriate, suitable, proper” and follows an absolute syntax as in the following examples: *μῦθοι εἰοκότες, εἰοκότι ὀλέθρῳ, εἰοκνῖαν ἄκοιτιν* [93]. In our passage, if we take into account that the adjectival participle *εἰκῶς* could rationally –as a homeric touch– be used in the absolute sense of “appropriate, suitable, proper”, then there is no need for us to trace the dative denoted by the participle, and the morpheme *εἰκῶς* acquires a real adverbial function in close connection with the verb *ἐμπέπληκται*, replacing the meaning of “εἰκότως, πρεπόντως”; thus, its dynamic sense reinforces the perfection and completeness of the compound verb *ἐμπέπληκται* in order to determine in a more dramatic mood this plastic and proper descriptive manner, with which the female figures are actually drawn in the assumed work of art.

As a result, the phrase *εἰκῶς ἐμπέπληκται* has been constructed as a meaningful expression of passive mood, referring to the subject *χαρακτήρ*; the noun *κύπασσις* has thus acquired the position of adverbial predicate referring to the subject. This passive construction could have been adapted by “the author” on the basis of the transitive syntax of its synonymous verb *εἰκάζω τινά τι*, as in the following lines: *ἄν ἤκασα / ὑμᾶς* (lines 288-89) *τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβόρους τ’ Ἀμαζόννας* (line 287), meaning “I would parallel you to the virgin, unwedded, carnivorous

Amazons". "The author" is taking advantage of the aeschylean syntax $\tilde{\alpha}\nu \tilde{\eta}\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha \tilde{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ and adds his own predicate $\tilde{\iota}\nu\delta\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ to the joint object in the accusative, sc. $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, aiming to link the accusative $\tilde{\iota}\nu\delta\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \tau'$, $\tau' \tilde{\Lambda}\mu\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\zeta}\tilde{\omicron}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ with the schema $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\alpha\iota\text{-}\tau\epsilon$, and while $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (line 287) is used in the sense of "furthermore". However, the following restriction must be noticed: that the second $\tau\epsilon$ (τ'), as used in the version by Page, has resulted from replacing the particle $\delta\tilde{\epsilon}$ (δ') of the original script (Mac); Wellauer obelises it and Murray follows in the same fashion.

13. Conclusions and proposed textual formulation of the passage 281-85

From all the above, certain conclusions are deduced: *a*) corruptions in the metagrammatism of the foreign names in Greek are inevitable; *b*) it has been noted that any interventions in the authentic aeschylean text must have been prematurely undertaken; and, *c*) there is the possibility that the copyist of M was reading an illegible script or perhaps the specific part of the text had already been damaged, something which has been repeatedly pointed out insightfully by Johansen and Whittle in the text of *The Suppliants*.

Besides, "the author" has three true –or possibly true– elements available to assist himself in this process: *a*) the new geographic detail of the opening of the navigation routes to the Indian Ocean (which is emphasized by the use of the morpheme $\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{\omega}\nu$ and the subject $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{\omega} \tilde{\delta} \tilde{\Pi}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$, as neither the latter nor Aeschylus has travelled east); *b*) a work of plastic art, in which the features of the female figure are formed in plastic detail underneath their garment; that is the reason why the use of the form $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\kappa\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ aspires to depict the dexterity of the craftsman at offering a vivid image of the female attire; even for a mutilated " $\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varphi}\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ " stature or a disfigured relief that element of artistry could naturally secure the womanly way of the posture; and, *c*) the "antifeministic" spirit, with which "the author" stresses the male identity of the creators of this work of

plastic art; this is persistently and acoustically underlined, through the phonetic enhancement from the repeated use of the letter π , both in terms of the prepositional definition of agent $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ \textit{ἀνδρῶν}}$ as well as in terms of anadiplosis of the same phoneme in the perfect tense $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\eta\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$. Moreover, it is not irrelevant to the latter aspect that the $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$ garment appears to be dedicated to Artemis in later literature, a deity relevant to hunting, maidenhood and “manlike” autonomy – though not being insignificantly used in its diminutive structure as $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ in dedication to Hermes as early as in Hipponax [94a]. To the opposite direction, this diminutive of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$ –most likely in the feminine gender $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\eta$ – seems to function with a derogatory meaning referring to the men’s *indumentum* “in a feminine way” and in striking contrast with $\chi\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ ($\text{παχὺ καὶ χειμερινὸν ἱμάτιον}$, *Et. Magn.* 812, 22 al.); this case occurs in the already quoted passage of Hipponax which is as follows: $\delta\delta\varsigma \chi\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\nu \text{ Ἰππῶνακτι καὶ } \kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$ [or $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\eta\nu$ Fick] [94b], where the *hapax legomenon* either as $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$ or as $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\eta\nu$ – “vox Anatolica fortasse Lydia”– seems to denote: “elegans atque exotica vestis”. Three centuries later the word $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is still used with its “loose and feminine” semasiological characteristics so that it appears in Herodas Mimographus (8, 31 $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha[\sigma\sigma]\iota\varsigma$), probably referring to Bacchus, “de persona magnifice vestita” [94c].

From the point of view of syntax, “the author” resorts to that kind of sentence construction whereby he secures the syntactical structures of Aeschylean, Homeric and later texts, to determine the type of plastic art as a sculpture wrought “in relief”, “expressively”, and to explicate in clarity the general impression created by the female “anatolian” position and posture in the comprehensive sketching of the chorus of the Danaides.

As a result, we come to the final version of the text, in lines 281-83:

281 καὶ Νεῖλος ἄν θρέψει τοιοῦτον φυτόν,

- 282 κύπασσις χαρακτήρ γ' ἐν γυναικῶν τύποις
 283 εἰκῶς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων·
 in lines 284-85:
 284 Ἰνδὰς τ' ἀκούων νομάδας ἵποβάμοσιν
 285 ἰέναι καμήλοις ἀστραβιζούσαις χθόνα
 286 παρ' Αἰθίοσιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας.

The metric presentation of line 282 is formed as follows: dochmios of five syllables (sllsl), spondiac, dochmios of five syllables (sllsl), thus forming an unusual tolerance of dochmios and spondiac otherwise intolerable in aeschylean metres when calculated as genuine [95]; the censure is suitably used after the preposition ἐν.

The translation of lines 281-86 reads in modern Greek as follows:

Και ο Νείλος μπορούσε να θρέψη τα δικά σας κορμιά
 με κυπάσσινο ρούχο ντυμένα σε γραμμές γυναικῶν ὅπως
 πρέπει αυτό από ἄνδρες τεχνίτες σμιλεύθηκε.
 Κι ἴδια εἰκόνα μ' ἐκείνες, που στη χώρα τους λέει η φήμη
 πως νομάδες Ἰνδές σε καμήλες με σέλλες ιππεύοντας
 φθάνουν
 και που ζώντας σε πόλεις γειτονεύουν με γη Αιθιοπῶν.

In English lines 281-86 are translated as follows:

Nile as well could feed a figure such as yours
 in this cotton attire worn like that for the bodies of women
 just as it's been properly chiselled by craftsmen.
 Likewise the looks of these women –in whose land rumour
 reaches me
 of Indian nomad females arriving on saddled camels–
 settled in cities and in neighbourhood of Ethiopians' land.

Notes:

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1. The latest detailed publication of the *Suppliants* is found in the three-volume-work of H. Friis Johansen and Edward W. Whittle: *The Suppliants*, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen 1980; hereafter referred to as Johansen and Whittle; cf. also F. A. Paley, *Aeschyli quae supersunt omnia*, Cantabrigia 1844-1847; id., *The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, London 1855, 1861, 1870; id., *Aeschyli fabulae Ἰκέτιδες, Χοηφόροι*, Cantabrigia 1883. I have consulted and taken into consideration the points stressed by Paley, 1879 [for G. Long-A. J. Maclean (eds.), *The Tragedies of Aeschylus, re-edited with an english Commentary* by F. A. Paley, 4th edition, London 1879], specif., pp. 32-33, footnotes to Ἰκέτιδες, ll. 277, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284.
2. Cf. the similar way in which M. Griffith ("A new edition of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*", *Phoenix* 40, No. 3 (1986) 323-40, specif., pg. 323; hereafter referred to as Griffith) introduces a most keen book review in the version of *The Suppliants* by Johansen and Whittle.
3. Dated after 468 BC, and according to the information offered by *Oxy. Pap.* 2256, 3 possibly in 463 BC.
4. Cf. Johansen and Whittle, vol. I (*Introduction*), pg. 30-33.
5. Cf. Griffith, pp. 325 and 334 (in relation to lines 337-39).
6. **6a)** Cf. lines 53-54: *τάδε νῦν ἐπιδείξω / πιστὰ τεκμήρια* (D. Page, *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragedias*, OCT, 1972¹, repr. 1975; the references in the present article are made in terms of this publication, hereafter referred to as Page or as Page, OCT, 1972; otherwise they are referred to as Murray or as Murray, OCT, 1955, for G. Murray, *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoediae*, OCT, 2nd edition in 1955 (reprinted in 1964); also referred to as West,

BT, 1990, for M. L. West, *Aeschyli tragoediae cum incerti poetae Prometheus*, Teubner, Stuttgart 1990); cf. also line 276: καὶ τῷδε' (ταῦτ' M) ἀληθῆ πάντα προσφύσω λόγῳ, and M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus*, Teubner (*Beitraege zur Altertumskunde*, Band 1), Stuttgart 1990 (hereafter referred to as West, *Studies*), pp. 137-38 (in relation to lines 274-76). **6b**) E. g., lines 81, 104; cf. lines 123-24: ! θεοῖς δ' ἐναγέα τέλεα, πελομένων καλῶς, / ἐπίδρομ' ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῆ!, and West, *Studies*, pp. 134-35.

7. **7a**) Cf. lines 957-63, and West, *Studies*, pp. 169-72: A note on *Aigyptioi*.; for the recent discussion on Danaidestrilogy, see *ibid.*: 169 and note 38. **7b**) Line 311; cf. West, *ibid.*: 141: "This is something the king did not know. He only knew that Io had left Argos for good".
8. ἀνελληνόστολον corr. Bothe; but better, ὄμιλον ἀνέλληνα στόλον, according to codex M; cf. also views as quoted by K. E. Χατζηστεφάνου (Ὁ φερόμενος ὡς "Κύπριος χαρακτήρ" τοῦ Αἰσχύλου καὶ ἡ διάλυση ἐνὸς μύθου: μιὰ νέα διόρθωση καὶ ἐρμηνεία τῶν Αἰσχύλου "Ἰκετίδων" 282-283 (With a Summary in English), Ἴδρυμα Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ', Λευκωσία, Κύπρος, 1989 (hereafter referred to as Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. Χαρ.*), pg. 23, note 81), who endorses the original script, maintaining that the compound adjective refers "μόνο στὴ στολὴ γιὰ τὴν ὁποία γίνεται λόγος ἀμέσως πρὶ κατω (235-37), ἐνῶ μὲ τὴ φράση ἀνέλληνα στόλον μπορεῖ νὰ ἐξυπακούονται, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴ στολή, ἡ μορφὴ τῶν Δαναίδων, τὸ χρῶμα τους καὶ ἡ παρουσία τους ὡς ὁμάδας, ποὺ δίνουν τὴ γενικὴ ἐντύπωση ὅτι πρόκειται περὶ «μὴ ἐλληνικῆς ὁμάδας»"; to begin with, one could hardly disagree with such a differentiation; cf. line 2 where the Danaides as στόλον ἡμέτερον νάιον ἀρθέντ' identify themselves as a group, and then again later on in line 324 when they legitimatise their identity by renaming themselves as Ἀργεῖον στόλον; and this they do after they have referred back to their Greek genealogy, by stating to Pelasgos the following words: πρᾶσσοις ἂν ὡς Ἀργεῖον ἀντήσας στόλον.
9. Ὅπως δὲ χώραν οὔτε κηρύκων ὕπο / ἀπρόξενοί τε νόσφιν ἡγητῶν μολεῖν / ἔτλητ' ἀτρέστως, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν πέλει, lines 238-40.

10. Cf. lines 70, 154-55, 719-20, 745; cf. also lines 746-47.
11. **11a)** Taken from line 119: *καρβᾶνα δ' αὐδάν*, i.e. "barbarian language"; cf. also line 914. **11b)** Cf. lines 343-44; cf. also West, *Studies*, pg. 143.
12. Cf. also Hatzistefanou, *Κυπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 26 and note 86.
13. Similar references are made by Hatzistefanou from the point of view of his correction, *ibid.*: 25-26 and notes 84-85.
14. Cf., e.g., Griffith, pg. 326.
15. Cf. *Od.* 1, 22-24: *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας, / Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, / οἱ μὲν δυσομένον Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.*
16. Herodotus, *specif.*, 3, 17-23 and 7, 69-70.
17. Cf., e.g., in *OCD*, s.v. *Ethiopia*, and *RE*, s.v. *Αἰθίοπες*.
18. **18a)** Cf. [Anonymous work] *Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης* 57 (ed. J. Frisk) and L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei, Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Princeton University Press 1989, pp. 12 and 87. **18b)** Cf. the clear allusion made by Strabo in 2, 12, C. 118: *καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐμπόρων στόλοις ἤδη πλεόντων διὰ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πολὺν μᾶλλον καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνωσται τοῖς νῦν ἢ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν*; cf. also *ibid.*, 18, C. 121; the other Eudoxos was from Knidos (ed. Gisinger).
19. Cf. the anthologised reference made to these by K. Hatziiioannou in his article: "On the Interpretation of the *Κύπριος χαρακτήρ* of Aeschylus", *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία, 20-25 Απριλίου 1982*, Τόμος Α': *Ἀρχαῖον Τμήμα, Εταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν, Λευκωσία 1985* (hereafter referred to as Hatziiioannou, *Πρακτικά*), pp. 509-10; cf. *ibid.*: 515, note 1; cf. also the relevant reference made by Hatzistefanou to J. Myres, E. Gjerstad and St. Casson, in *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pp. 4-6 and notes 9-16.

20. Also, as to the characteristic traits of the behaviour of the Amazons, the comments offered by Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 24-25 and note 83, are quite relevant.
21. Cf. *LSJ*, in the word referred to through the lemma *ἀστραβεύω*.
22. Cf. *LSJ*, in the word referred to through the lemma *ἀστραβεύω*.
23. Line 285; we should also remember that this line is edited in *cruces* by Page, OCT, 1972.
24. Page, OCT, 1972, line 282 (cf. also lines 282-85) and appar. crit. ad loc.: *Κύπριος* Ms: *κύπρις* M; Murray, OCT, 1955, app. crit. ad loc.: *κύπρις* M1: verba suspecta; sed fortasse sana, *si εἰκῶς similis vobis est*; West, BT, 1990, app. crit. ad loc.: *κύπρις* Mas; cf. also H. F. Johansen, *Supplices* (Copenhagen 1970), as to the contested passage, pg. 76; as to codex M, Laurentianus Mediceus 32. 9, dated in 10th - 11th cent. AD, cf. mainly Johansen and Whittle, pp. 55-67; see also Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 4 and notes 5-7.
25. Hatzioannou, *Πρακτικά*, pp. 509-13: "On the interpretation of the *Κύπριος χαρακτήρ* of Aeschylus"; the scholar underlines the weak points of K. Spyridakis' view, which is exposed by the latter in his specific study concerning the critical passage of Aeschylus: "*Κύπριος χαρακτήρ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ (Ἰκέτιδες 277 κέ.)*", *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 10 (1946) 37-43; for Hatzioannou's references to the same point in his other works, see Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 9, note 24, and pg. 10, note 25.
26. Hatzistyllis, "*Κύπριος χαρακτήρ* (A. *Supp.* 282): a discussion of a new interpretation", *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία, 20-25 Απριλίου 1982, Τόμος Α': Ἀρχαῖον Τμήμα, Εταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν, Λευκωσία 1985* (hereafter referred to as Hatzistyllis, *Πρακτικά*), pp. 515-20.
27. Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pp. 1-36.
28. **28a)** *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1940 (reprinted 1949, 1972), vol. I, pg. 93; cf. also Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 6-7, 8-9, and notes 17-18, 21-23. **28b)** "Κyprios characterer. Aspetti della scultura arcaica cipriota", *Atti della Pontificia Accademia*

Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti, 22 (1946-47) 87-154; cf. also Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 8 and notes 19-20.

29. Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 1-2, but see also *ibid.*: 10-13 and notes 28-39, where the researcher argues against the interpretation offered by A. H. Sommerstein ("Notes on Aeschylus *Suppliants*", *BICS* 24 (1977) 67-82, specif. 69-71 in relation to lines 282-83); cf. *ibid.*: 26-27, 30-34.
30. Cf. also Hatzistefanou (Κ. Ε. Χατζηστεφάνου) on the same issue: "Ἀργεῖον γένος καὶ Κύπριος χαρακτήρ στίς Ἰκέτιδες τοῦ Αἰσχύλου", *Πρακτικά τοῦ Β' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Ἀργολικῶν Σπουδῶν*, Παράρτημα 14 (Ἀθήναι 1989), pp. 97-110, specif., pp. 106-07 and 108 f.
31. Hatzioannou, *Πρακτικά*, pp. 511-12.
32. Cf. *ibid.*: 513, clearly based on the note made by the Scholiast: καὶ γυναῖκες ἂν Κύπριαι ἀνδράσι μιγεῖσαι τέκοιεν καθ' ὑμᾶς.
33. Cf. *ibid.*: 520; cf. also Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 10 and notes 26-27.
34. It is this point of the Hippocratic treatise that Hatzistefanou also refers to, *ibid.*: 27, note 88.
35. *Ibid.*: 17ff. and notes 63ff.
36. *Ibid.*: 17.
37. *Ibid.*: 18.
38. *Ibid.*: 18-20 and notes 64-69; cf. also *ibid.*: 21, 23-27 and notes 78-88.
39. *Ibid.*: 14-16 and notes 40-59.
40. **40a)** *Ibid.*: 27-30. **40b)** The words uttered by Danaos to his daughters sound superstitious; cf. also *ibid.*: 24-25 and notes 83-84.

41. Cf. the reservations expressed by Page, OCT, 1972, appar. crit. ad loc.: "parum eleganter scripti, dubio procul corrupti".
42. Johansen and Whittle, vol. II, pp. 223-26, specif., pg. 225.
43. Griffith in his previously mentioned book review, specif., pg. 333.
44. Cf. also Hatzioannou, *Πρακτικά*, pp. 511-12.
45. Cf. *ibid*: 513.
46. As to this point and the reference made to the fathers through the phrases ἄρσενες τέκτονες and πέπληκται, cf. Hatzistefanou, *Κύρ. χαρ.*, pp. 26-27 and note 87, pp. 19 (ε)-20 and note 69, respectively.
47. Johansen and Whittle, vol. II, pg. 388 (in relation to line 496).
48. Hatzistefanou, *Κύρ. χαρ.*, pg. 27 and note 88.
49. Lines 495-98.
50. **50a)** Again as a participle, but only in one different instance, in *The Choephoroi*, line 137. **50b)** Diotimos in *AP* 6, 358 [7 G.-P.], lf. **50c)** According to the commentary of A. S. F. Gow in *CR* n.s. 5 (1955) 238f. and Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.*, vol II, Cambridge 1965, pg. 277: VII, 1. **50d)** Perses in *AP* 6, 272 [2 G.-P.], 1. **50e)** Pace Gow-Page, *ibid.*, pg 448: II, 1.
51. Cf. *κύρις* M and *κύριος* Ms, cf. Page, OCT, 1972, appar. crit. ad loc.
52. Cf. Hatzistyllis, *Πρακτικά*, pg. 515 and notes 2-5.
53. See Aloisius Leurini, *Ionis Chii Testimonia et Fragmenta*, A. M. Hakkert (*Classical and Byzantine Monographs*, ed. G. Giangrande and H. White, vol. XXIII), Amsterdam 1992, pg. 99, fr. 73 [Ion tragicus, *TrGF* 19 F 59] : βραχὴν λίνου κύπασσιν ἐς μηρὸν μέσον / ἐσταλμένος; cf. *ibid.*, appar. crit. ad loc.: prob. Snell ratus Ionem non Omphalae tunicam descripsisse "sed Herculis qui statura procerior est quam puellae"; cf. also *ibid.*,

testim., Poll. 7, 60 B.: ὁ δὲ κύπασσις λίνου ἐπεποιήτο, σμικρὸς χιτωνίσκος ἄχρι μέσου μηροῦ ὡς Ἴων φησί· “βραχὺν λίνου κύπασσιν ...”; cf. also I. G. Baiterus et H. Sauppius, *Oratores Attici*, Zuerich 1850 (Nachdr. G. Olms, Hildesheim 1967), Lys. fr. XXVII, 1 (Lys. 58, H. Sauppe, “Hipponax”, *Philologus* 30, 1870, 234f.): κύπασσις Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Βακχίου καὶ Πυθαγόρου, εἰ γνήσιος.

54. **54a)** Cf. *κύπασσις* (the first syllable spelt with a short *υ*) in Hesychius κ 4640 (Latte): *κύπασσις* (*κύπασσις* cod.: corr. Sop.): *περίζωμα, καὶ χιτῶνος εἶδος*. **54b)** 140, 13 V.; *κύπάσσιδες* pro *κυπατιτιδες*; *κύπασσιδες* Casaubon) are enumerated among other “bellica instrumenta”. **54c)** H. Degani, *Hipponactis testimonia et Fragmenta*, Teubner, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae 1991, pg. 162, fr. 186, as attested by Harpocr. (p. 187, 1-6 Dind.): *κύπασσις ... οἱ γλωσσογράφοι χιτῶνος εἶδος φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν κύπασσιν, οἱ μὲν γυναικείου οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείου, μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Ἰππῶνᾶς τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος ἐν περιόδῳ Εὐρώπης* (1 F 284 J.), *λέγων “Κίσιοι δὲ ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι κυπάσσεις Περσικοῦς (Περσικάς B, περισσάς C)”*, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς *Ταγηνισταῖς* (fr. 519 K.).
55. 7, 60 B.: *Λυδῶν δὲ χιτῶν τις βασάρα Διονυσιακὸς ποδήρης. ὁ δὲ κύπασσις ...*.
56. Suda κ 2733 (Adl.): *κύπασσις κόσμος γυναικεῖος “ἐνδεδυμένος ...”*; cf. also in Photios (*Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, vol. II, ed. Chr. Theodoridis, W. de Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1998) 189, 1: *κύπασσις (κύπάσσεις codex): ἔνδυμα γυναικεῖον*; in a sibyllic prophecy the diminutive *κυπάσσιον* appears to be read (5, 581 Struvius): *ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ Βάρκη τὸ κυπάσσιον ἀμφιβάλληται*.
57. Fr. 519 K., as already noted above, from a lost comedy bearing the title *Ταγηνισταί*.
58. AP 6, 202 [1 G.-P.] , 1f. (Leon. Tar.): *εὐθύσανον ζώνην τοι ὁμοῦ καὶ τόνδε κύπασσιν Ἀτθὶς παρθενίων θῆκεν ὑπερθε θυρῶν*, where *κύπασσις* is dedicated to Artemis by the *νεοτόκος (puerpera)* in a gesture which is hinting to *κύπασσις* worn only by the maidens; this concept is also stressed in connection with the story of Omphale and Hercules in AP 6, 358 (7 G.-P.), 1f.

(Diotim.): χαῖρέ μοι, ἄβρὲ κύπασσι, τὸν Ὀμφάλη ἢ ποτε Λυδὴ / λ(ο)υσαμένη φιλότῃτ' ἦλθεν ἐς Ἡρακλέους.

59. Cf. also D. Page's comment in his edition *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford Clarendon Press 1955 (repr. 1979), pp. 221-22, in Alcaeus Z34, line 7 (or Alc. 357, 7 L.-P.); this passage is attested through Athenaeus' evidence 15, 627b.
60. According to Harpocration's evidence, as cited above and as saved by Tzetzis, *Ad Lycophr.* 855, cf. Degani, *Hipp.* 42b, 1: δὸς χλαῖναν Ἰπώνακτι καὶ κυπασσίσκον.
61. In Hecataios (1 F 284 J.) through Harpocration's evidence: ἐν περιόδῳ Ἀσίας λέγων: Κίσσιοι ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι κυπάσσεις Περσικούς (and v. l. in the feminine gender, Περσικάς).
62. Cf. *LSJ* and *Suppl.*, s.v. κύπασσις, for all previous references, and Stephanus, *TLG*, s.v. κύπασσις.
63. Plutarch, *De genio Socratis* 577f7; cf. id., *Alex.* 17 (673e); οἱ τύποι τῶν γραμμάτων, in Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 52 (*LSJ*, s.v. τύπος, II, 3 and VI, 1); Diodorus Siculus 3, 67, 1.
64. In W. Bauer, *Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin-New York 1971, s.v. χαρακτήρ, 3: Hs 9, 9, 5.
65. Josephus, *Antiqu. Jud.* 13, 12, 1.
66. Cf. Pausanias 2, 19, 7: πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ, and id. 9, 11, 3: ἐνταῦθά εἰσιν ἐπὶ τύπον γυναικῶν εἰκόνες, cf. also *LSJ*, s.v. τύπος IV; and VIII, 2 for the use of the aprothetic dative plural in the meaning "outline, sketch, general idea" as by Plato (*Leg.* 816c): ἐξηγεῖσθαι τύποις.
67. Diodorus Siculus 14, 41, 4.
68. Cf. *RE*, III, 2, s.v. carbasus, Spp. 1572-74.
69. Johansen-Whittle, vol. I (*Introduction*), pp. 55-57.
70. Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pp. 29-30 and notes 90-94.

71. Let us note en route that Griffith (pp. 326-28, esp. pg. 328) perseveres the possibility of the manuscript E being a copy of an apographon of M (as held, e.g., by Hermann) "than of a gemellus"; see West, *Studies*, generally, Part III: *Manuscripts and Critics*, especially, pp. 319, 356, 358, 364.
72. In Pausanias, 1, 26, 7: *λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλίς*, the phrase *λίνον Καρπάσιον* refers to "asbestos" (from Carpasia in Cyprus), i.e. "a heat-resistant, fibrous mineral"; the evidence through the papyri and literature for *καρπάσιον* (*κάρπασος*: flax), as in CPR 61, 13 (iii A. D.), or *καρπάσινος* (made of *κάρπασος*), as in LXX, *Esther* 1, 6, in Strabo 7, 2, 3. C. 294: *ἔθος δέ τι τῶν Κίμβρων διηγούνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συστρατευσάσαις παρηκολούθουν προμάντις ἰέρειαι πολιοῦτοιχες, λειχεῖμονες, καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας ἐπιτεπορημέναι, ζῶσμα χαλκοῦν ἔχουσai, γυμνόποδες* (what those *ξιφήρεις* women were supposed to do was a rather barbaric custom!), in Dionysius Halic., *Antiqu. Rom.* 2, 68, is adequate during the last BC and the first AC centuries.
73. **73a)** Cf. RE, III, 2, s.v. *carbasus*, Sp. 1572. **73b)** "Kleidungsstueck" is what O. Szemer'enyi (*Gnomon* 43, 1971, 675) assumes; cf. Degani, *Hipponax*, fr. 186, appar. crit. ad loc.
74. **74a)** Cf. the palaeographic observations offered by Hatzistefanou, in support of his correction *καὶ πρὸς* instead of *κύπρις* (Mac) and *κύπριος* (M), in *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 28. **74b)** As v. l in Harpocration (Dind.), tom. I, p. 187, 1-6, appar. crit. ad loc., and tom. II, p. 814, annot. inter. in refer. to p. 187, 3.
75. Cf., e.g., Griffith, pg. 328.
76. Pollux (Polydeuces) 7, 60 B.: *ὁ δὲ κύπασσις λίνου πεποίητο*.
77. *Vita Apoll.* 2, 20.
78. And probably erroneously *τὸ κάρπασον* in Orphica, *Argon.* 922.
79. *AP* 9, 415, 6.
80. *Antiqu. Rom.* 2, 68, 5, and Scholia Aristoph. *Lys.* 735.

81. For the sap τὸ κάρπασον, the white ἐλλέβορον, cf. *LSJ*, s.v. κάρπασος, II (with the short α in the second syllable); for the use of the word κάρπασος or *carbasus* by Greek and –mainly– by Latin authors, cf. *RE*, III, 2, Spp. 1572-74, s.v. *carbasus*, 1; as for the herb *carpasum*, see *ibid.*: Sp. 1574.
82. For Tucker's *"The Supplices of Aeschylus"* (London 1899), see as quoted by Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 14, note 40, and pg. 23, note 80.
83. Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 22, note 77.
84. *ibid.*: 23 and notes 78-81.
85. Cf. *ibid.*: 24 and note 83.
86. Cf. also *ibid.*: 16 and notes 58-59; 20 (στ', ζ'); 21-22 and notes 70-77, regarding τε and its link to καὶ πρὸς, but also the palaeographic interpretation of the phrase ἔτ' ἐν in manuscript E and the possible use of the adverb ἔτι by Aeschylus –for reasons of dramatic staging– as intensive to the phrase καὶ πρὸς; cf. also West, *Studies*, pg. 169, when speaking about the examples of the aeschylean syntax in the postponements of τε to follow adjective and noun, he quotes as an example Κύπριος χαρακτήρ τ', line 282 (as well as ἀμπύκων πολυμίτων πέπλων τ', line 432), whereas he is referring for the rest to Johansen-Whittle ad loc.
87. Cf. Hatzistyllis, *Πρακτικά*, pg. 516 and note 7.
88. Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pg. 19 (ε).
89. *Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Berolini 1914), pg. 345: "incredibilia et correptio et anapaestus", in his critical annotation in line 282.
90. Cf. also Hatzistefanou, *Κύπρ. χαρ.*, pp. 15-16 and notes 56-57.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Cf. other restorations of the contested passage: Κύπρος Hartung; Κύπριος (χαρακτήρ) Schuetz (but with regards to the Libyan island Κύπρος): Κυταῖος (of Κύτα, a city in Kolchis) Pauwius

(from Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 30, note 95): κυπριοχάρακτος τ' ... εἰκὼν (or εἰκὼ) Johansen (from Hatzistefanou, *ibid.*: 16, note 60); see also West, *Studies*: Appendix 4, pp. 385-86: lines 282-83 del. Johansen(5) Κύπρις ... εἰκὼν Murray(1): Κυπριοχάρακτος ... εἰκὼν Johansen(1) 52-54: εἰκὼς χαρακτήρ ... Κυπρίοις Sommerstein(2) 69-71.

93. Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἔοικα, IV, 2.

94. **94a)** Degani, *Hipp.*, 42b, 1, with comm. ad loc. **94b)** *Ibid.*, appar. crit. ad loc.: κυπασίσκον codd.: corr. Gaisf. *Heph.* 274: κυπασσίσκην Fick. **94c)** Cf. *ibid.*, and fr. 186, with appar. crit. and comm. ad locc.

95. Cf. N. H. Konomis, *Οἱ Δόχμιοι παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ*, Διατρ. ἐπὶ ἰδακτ., Ἀθῆναι 1961, pp. 12, 14, 17, 28, 35, 38-39, specif., 41-47, et al.; cf. also several metrical attempts concerning *The Suppliants* made by West, *Studies*, pp. 126-69, *passim*.