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AFRICAN CHARIOTEERS: A NOTE ON SOPHOCLES, *ELECTRA* 701–2

The nameless old servant, labelled 'Paedagogus' in the scholia, who accompanies Orestes and Pylades in Sophocles' *Electra,*[1] displays an enviable narrative talent in fulfilling the instruction to describe Orestes' fatal accident in a chariot race at the Pythian games.[2] This magnificent fiction offers an unappreciated example of Sophocles' use of matter derived from Herodotus. Third and fourth in the catalogue of ten entrants, singled out for their expertise, are two Libyans (*El.* 701–2):

> εἷς ἦν ᾿Αχαιός, εἷς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης, δύο
> Λίβυες ζυγωτῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπιστάται.

When they crash, the provenance of one team is localized more precisely with Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις (727).

These two overseas entrants should not be regarded, as they commonly are, as precursors of the Greeks who settled at Cyrene and in due course added to the city's lustre by success at the Pythian games, as celebrated in Pindar's *Pythians* 4, 5 and 9. Λίβυες are natives of Libya.[3] Herodotus is unambiguous; Libyes belong to the indigenous population of North Africa, to be distinguished from the negroid Ethiopians[4] (4.197.2): τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων, τὰ δὲ δύο οὔ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω, οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

This distinction corresponds to the usage of Λίβυς and Λίβυσσα up to the end of the fifth century, at least: Libyans are not Greeks.[5] At first sight the phrase which Sophocles later uses to refer to one of the Libyan competitors, Βαρκαίοις

[1] References to the following commentaries on this play are by author's name alone: F.H.M. Blaydes (London, 1873); L. Campbell (Oxford, 1881); R.C. Jebb (Cambridge, 1894[3]); G. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1896); E. Bruhn (rev. of Schneidewin–Nauck, Berlin, 1912); J.H. Kells (Cambridge, 1973); J.C. Kamerbeek (Leiden, 1974); J. March (Warminster, 2001); P.J. Finglass (Cambridge, 2007). On Herodotus the following commentaries on Book 4 are cited: R.W. Macan (London and New York, 1895), H. Stein (Berlin, 1896[4]), W.W. How and J. Wells (Oxford, 1912); D. Asheri, A. Lloyd and A. Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*, ed. O. Murray and A. Moreno (Oxford, 2007) (to which I am particularly indebted).

[2] The objection found in the scholia (on 49 and 682) that the Pythian games did not start until long after Orestes' time has been satisfactorily dealt with by Pat Easterling, 'Anachronism in Greek tragedy', *JHS* 105 (1985), 1–10 (7). No such unease is likely to have troubled Sophocles' audience. I cannot believe that Orestes told his servant to add an oath to his narrative (47): see *Supplementary note* below.

[3] Λίβυες represents Egyptian *Rbw*, the name of a people on Egypt's western border attested from Dynasty XIX; Λιβύη is then coined as the name of their country, and is extended to cover the whole continent of Africa, apart from Egypt.

[4] The Ethiopian negro stereotype was well established; cf. Xenophanes 21F16 DK, line 2.

[5] Later usage is looser; thus Pausanias (6.19.10) gives the term a geographical sense in referring to the treasury Λιβύων τῶν ἐν Κυρήνηι.

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ὄχοις (727), might be taken to indicate that he is after all thinking of Greek colonials. Herodotus records the foundation of Barca from Cyrene by the brothers of Arcesilas II (4.160.1 ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλέεται. But note τότε καὶ νῦν: the phrase rather suggests that he believed a settlement deemed worth naming existed there already.[6]

Blaydes saw no difficulty about non-Greek competitors: 'Not only Greeks but foreigners assisted at and took part in the great national games of Greece'. But since Jebb it seems to have been generally accepted that, despite the serious anachronism, the entrants from Africa are Cyrenaeans; thus Jebb's note on 702 runs 'Λίβυες, in a geographical sense only: none but Hellenes could compete. These men are from the Greek Libya – Κυρηναία or Κυρηναική'.[7] However, the evidence for the restriction to which Jebb refers relates to the Olympic games in the late sixth (or conceivably early fifth) century, as reported by Herodotus in connection with Alexander of Macedon (5. 22), with some slight support from the Pindar scholia (on *Ol.* 3.21a): Ἑλλανοδίκαι καλοῦνται οἱ προτεταγμένοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἐπεὶ μόνοις Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται. We may speculate as to whether Sophocles' audience would in general have been aware of Hellenic nationality as an indispensable qualification for competitors at the contemporary Olympic games; it cannot often have been an issue.[8] There appears to be no evidence for any such restriction at other crown games.[9]

Libyan familiarity with chariots is a recurrent motif in Herodotus' North African ethnography. Thus (4.170) the Asbystae, located southward of Cyrene, τεθριπποβάται[10] … οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων. Their skill in chariot driving is thus contrasted with the effects of hellenization. The Ausees (4.180.3) parade a beautiful girl on a chariot in an annual procession in honour of a goddess whom Herodotus identifies with Athena. The Garamantes, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς (4.183.1),[11]

[6] See further E. Fabbricotti, 'Tolemaide: una testimonianza arcaica' *QAL* 11 (1980), 5–9. She argues that ἔκτισαν refers to the establishment of a Greek settlement at a pre-existing native centre (which very likely would have fallen short of Greek ideas of a *polis*). Its ruler in the time of Arcesilas III bore the non-Greek name Alazeir (Hdt. 4.164.4), cf. Aladdeir *SGDI* 4859. The dietary tabu observed by the women of Barca (Hdt. 4.186.2) suggests relatively strong native influence.

[7] Similarly Campbell, Kaibel, Bruhn, Mazon (Budé, 1955, translation), Kells, Kamerbeek, Marsh, Finglass; see also H. Lloyd-Jones and N.G. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford, 1990), 57 (on 723–4); F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953), 36 n. 4; K. Zimmermann, *Libyen. Das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen* (Munich, 1999), 158 n. 646; *BNP* 7 (2005), 515.

[8] 'The plain fact is that neither the judges nor anyone else, including the spectators, showed any reluctance to shut their eyes to the requirement of Greekness (unlike the rule excluding slaves) when prudent opportunism suggested it' (M.I. Finley and H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years* [London, 1976], 62).

[9] As is noted by J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity. Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago, 2002), 154.

[10] The word occurs only here. Stein's note, 'vgl. Soph. El. 702', seems to imply that he took Sophocles' Λίβυες to be Africans, though he goes on to refer to Cyrene's fame for its horses.

[11] Probably a confederation; excavation has shown that they were already settled in the Fezzan in the ninth century B.C.; see further C.M. Daniels, *The Garamantes of Southern Libya* (London, 1970); 'Excavation and fieldwork among the Garamantes' *LibStud* 20 (1989), 45–61; E.M. Ruprechtsberger, *Die Garamanten. Geschichte u. Kultur eines libyschen Volkes in der Sahara* (Mainz, 1997). Herodotus also appears to use the name Garamantes for a shy and peaceable group located to the south, in the region infested with wild animals (θηριώδης) (4.175). Pliny (*HN* 5.45) and Pomponius Mela (1.47) similarly locate and characterize the Gamphasantes; it

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generally now regarded as distant ancestors of the Tuareg, τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι: a disturbing image of racial persecution.[12] He believes that the Greeks have learnt from the Libyans how to harness four horses to their chariots (189.3): καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. Among the Zaueces the women drive chariots to war (4.193). Not surprisingly, the Libyans are said to contribute chariots to Xerxes' invasion force (7.86.2; 184.4).

Though not everything that Herodotus says here should be taken without a pinch of salt, the extensive use of chariots is documented in the widespread rock art of the Sahara, in the Fezzan, the Garamantes' heartland, and the Ahaggar and Tibesti mountains. Saharan rock art was first reported by travellers in the latter part of the nineteenth century,[13] but depictions of chariots were not discovered until the 1930s.[14] Bigae can now be counted in their hundreds; representations of quadrigae are few (perhaps one per cent of what have been recorded) but undeniable. The steadily accumulating evidence for the widespread use of such vehicles in a region where the wheel had been supposed to be unknown and horses were virtually absent has provided spectacular confirmation of Herodotus. The comment of Henri Lhote, a Tuareg specialist, is heartwarming: 'On pouvait douter des textes que cet écrivain a laissés, mais le plus extraordinaire est de pouvoir constater la véracité de ces écrits, car peu de savants auraient admis, avant la découverte des peintures et des gravures représentant des chars de guerre, que de pareils véhicules aient circulé au Sahara, cinq siècles avant J.-C.'[15]

This type of art is extraordinarily hard to date; *c*. 600–300 B.C. may be regarded as the likely span for the chariot depictions, but this is no more than a guess, to which Herodotus' testimony contributes significantly. Compared with the remarkably naturalistic depictions of animals (including elephants and giraffes) the representation of chariots is a sad disappointment. It is well characterized by Graziosi: 'Queste figure di carri sono, del punto di vista artistico, scadenti, grossolane, infantili. Con un ingenuo espediente si è cercato di superare le difficoltà prospettiche che offriva la complessa rappresentazione di un carro con cavalli ed auriga: il carro infatti è figurato in proiezione orizzontale, come visto dall' alto: le ruote invece e i cavalli

would not be surprising if scribal carelessness had led to the substitution of the name of the much better known, more warlike, people.

[12] Macan (ad loc.) sees this man-hunting as serving the slave trade, 'still [in 1895] the principal source of wealth in Fezzan'.

[13] Thus How and Wells refer to representations of 'oxen with strangely projecting horns' in connection with Herodotus' ὀπισθονόμοι βόες (4.183.2), likewise associated with the Garamantes. These improbable beasts are well discussed by G. Camps, 'Pour une lecture naïve d'Hérodote. Les récits libyens (iv.168–199)', *SStor* 7 (1985), 38–59, at 44–6; he explains why such backward grazing is impossible and illustrates how rock paintings might have suggested this hypothesis. For an up-to-date survey see A. Muzzolini, 'Saharan Africa', in D.S. Whitley (ed.), *Handbook of Rock Art Research* (Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford, 2001), 605–36.

[14] Pre-war discoveries from Libya were splendidly surveyed by P. Graziosi, *L'arte rupestre della Libia* (Naples, 1942); on chariots see 1.91–9. The photo of a quadriga in this style, reproduced in A. Azzaroli, *An Early History of Horsemanship* (Leiden, 1985), 60, well exemplifies this anticipation of Picasso. Camps (n.13), 49 Fig. 3 shows three quadrigae, with various methods of harnessing.

[15] *Les Touaregs du Hoggar* (Paris, 1944), 64. Similarly K.H. Striedter, 'Bronzezeitliche Wagen in der Sahara?', in M. Fansa and S. Burmeister (edd.), *Rad u. Wagen. Der Ursprung einer Innovation. Wagen im Vorderen Orient u. Europa* (Mainz, 2004), 156–66, at 160: 'Gäbe es nicht die zahlreichen Felsbilddarstellungen, wäre wahrscheinlich niemand auf die Idee gekommen, dass in der Sahara jemals Wagen in Gebrauch waren.'

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di profilo: i conducenti in piena frontalità e secondo la direzione e il prolungamento dell' asse della figura.'[16] A remarkably large and naturalistic exception, depicting a quadriga, was recently discovered at Ekat-n-Ouchère, but though the rearing horses are clear, little can be inferred about the construction of the chariot (apart from a six-spoked wheel) or the method of harnessing.[17] Depictions of quadrigae are rare; the method of harnessing, in so far as it can be reconstructed, is not uniform, but Greek practice was evidently very different. No remains of chariots, whether bigae or quadrigae, have been found. Though it has been demonstrated that the two-wheeled vehicle could have been constructed before the appearance of metal in the Central Sahara, a wooden wheel would have rapidly deteriorated without any metal casing. On the rough terrain they would not have been much use for hunting or war, and it seems most likely that they were principally prestige vehicles, with ritual or symbolic uses. The occasional presence of a woman beside the driver should probably be interpreted by reference to a social role rather than related to the military purpose which Herodotus associates with the Zaueces.[18] Their unsuitability for war makes rather questionable their inclusion in Herodotus' catalogue of the forces assembled for Xerxes' invasion of Greece, a country offering little scope for chariot tactics.[19] Certainly, nothing is said about their use in the actual campaign. The frequency with which bigae are depicted strongly suggests some symbolic significance. Questions obviously suggest themselves as to the route, period and influences to which the Garamantes and other North Africans owed their chariot technology but do not admit of a definite answer, and are almost certainly irrelevant to Sophocles and Herodotus.

Herodotus' assertion that the Greeks had learnt the use of *quadrigae* from the Libyans implies that the native use of these vehicles must in his day have been widespread and more conspicuous than might have been expected from the relative rarity with which such vehicles are depicted compared with the two-horse chariot.

[16] Graziosi (n.14), 92–3.

[17] See further J. Kunz, 'Contribution à l'étude des chars rupestres du Tassili-n-Ajjer occidental', in G. Camps and M. Gast (edd.), *Les chars préhistoriques du Sahara. Archéologie et techniques d'attelage* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 81–97 (esp. 90–1, 94); he suspects that the artist was influenced by foreign models.

[18] See further J. Spruytte, 'Figurations rupestres sahariennes de chars à chevaux. Recherches expérimentales sur les véhicules à timons multiples', *AntAfr* 22 (1986), 29–55; H. Hayen, 'Die Sahara – eine vergangene Wagenprovinz', in W. Treue (ed.), *Achse, Rad und Wagen. Funftausend Jahre Kultur- u. Technikgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1986), 80–4; G. Camps, 'Les chars sahariens. Image d'une société aristocratique', *AntAfr* 25 (1989), 11–40; Camps and Gast (n. 17), *passim*; Striedter (n.15).

[19] The list of Xerxes' forces as they assembled at Doriscus after the crossing of the Hellespont (7.61–99) is a key passage for our evaluation of Herodotus' sources of information about the Persian Empire. Abundant ethnographic detail illustrates the theme that Xerxes brought all the forces of his realm to bear against Greece (7.21.2 *τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης;* cf. 4.87.1 (Darius) *ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε*). But the organization of such a truly multi-ethnic force would have enormously complicated the campaign. The primitive fire-hardened spears of the Libyan and Mysian contingents (7.71; 74.1) and the lassos of the nomad Sagartii (7.85) are among many details suggesting that this catalogue is based on considerations other than military logic. The consistent emphasis on visual detail makes almost irresistible the old suggestion that Herodotus drew extensively on the picture which the Samian engineer Mandrocles dedicated at the Heraeum (4.88), portraying Darius reviewing the Empire's forces, a painting which belongs rather to the history of Persian art than of Greek (see further T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. u. 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [Würzburg, 1973], 35–7). Artistic licence would have made it appropriate to celebrate the Empire's ethnic and cultural diversity without restriction to what might be observable on any single occasion.

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But dating Homer some 400 years before his own time (2.53.1), and thus about two centuries before the colonization of Cyrene, he ought to have been struck by a difficulty in reconciling Libyan influence with the two Homeric references to racing teams of four, first in Nestor's reminiscences (*Il.* 11.699, where a precursor of the Olympic games seems to be implied), and secondly in a simile (*Od.* 13.81–3, describing the smooth, swift passage of the Phaeacian ship conveying Odysseus home).[20] Herodotus is very ready to trace to foreigners a Greek debt for cultural innovations: outstandingly to Egypt, above all in religious matters (2.4.2, 43, 49, 50, 52, 54–5, 57, 58, 171), but also for geometry (2.109.3), for one of Solon's laws (2.177.2) and for shield and helmet (4.180. 4). To the Carians they owed improvements in military equipment (1.171.4), to the Lydians coinage and various games (1.94.1, 2), to the Babylonians the sundial and the division of the day into twelve parts (2.109.3), and to the Phoenicians their writing system and other techniques (5.58). He detected another debt to Libya in the Greek cult of Poseidon (2.50.2–3); this extraordinary idea was perhaps suggested by admiration for Libyan horsemanship, a native divinity being identified with Poseidon Hippios.[21]

In the heroic age the inclusion at the Pythian games, *τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος*, of competitors native to a region long favoured by Apollo should cause no disquiet. Devotion to the god of Delphi brings competitors from the ends of the earth[22] (and makes the more impressive the victory of the Athenian entrant). The Libyans are listed with a compliment, 'masters of yoked cars', but without fuss.

Sophocles' indebtedness to Herodotus[23] is generally acknowledged regarding Antigone's use of the argument for preferring a brother to husband or son (*Ant.* 904–20) and Oedipus' indictment of his sons' un-Hellenic neglect contrasted with his daughters' concern (*OC* 337–41). For the first we compare the episode of Intaphernes' wife (Hdt. 3.119), and for the second the elaboration of the theme of the contrast between Egyptian customs and those of the rest of the world (Hdt. 2.35–6). In both instances strikingly similar material is used to very different effect; neither passage sits quite easily in its Sophoclean context.[24] In the *Electra* we should probably see an allusion to Book 4 at 62–4:

> *ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς*
> *λόγωι μάτην θνήισκοντας· εἶθ', ὅταν δόμους*
> *ἔλθωσιν αὖθις, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον.*

[20] We should disregard *Il.* 8.185, with good reason athetized by Aristarchus, since Hector's address to four horses conflicts with the duals in 186 and 191; it must be a later addition, and the text known to Herodotus might have been free from it.

[21] Cf. Hesych. s.v. *Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις· Λιβυκοῖς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐσπούδαζον περὶ ἱπποτροφίαν. φασὶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρώτους ἅρμα ζεῦξαι διδαχθέντας ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἡνιοχεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς, ὡς Μνασέας ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λιβύης* (F 40 M.).

[22] In Homer Libya is mentioned only in Menelaus' account of his *nostos* (*Od.* 4.85–9, where the emphasis on the fertility of its flocks must reflect the early stages of Greek settlement) and in Odysseus' lying tale to Eumaeus (14.295). Herodotus saw no difficulty in presenting the people of Thera as perplexed about Libya's whereabouts when instructed by the Delphic oracle to found a city there (4.150.4 *οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη*).

[23] On reflections of Herodotus' work in Sophocles see K.-A. Riemann, *Das herodoteische Geschichtswerk in der Antike* (Munich, 1967), 2–6.

[24] See further S. West, 'Sophocles' *Antigone* and Herodotus Book Three', in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited. Essays presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford, 1999), 109–36.

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Aristeas of Proconnesus and Salmoxis (4.13–15, 95), at any rate as their careers are related by Herodotus, belong to this group.[25] In the detail of the Libyan victims of the chariot crash the debt is small, and some may doubt whether Herodotus is really to be recognized as the creditor.[26] Yet the relative prominence of chariots in Herodotus' Libyan ethnography, a reassuringly civilized element among bizarre details of hairstyles and diet, is striking in itself, and though we should not exclude the possibility that for this, as for much else, he drew on Hecataeus' *Periodos Gês*,[27] there is no reason to suppose that that work engaged Sophocles' attention. For the tragedian's friendship with Herodotus we have evidence not lightly to be dismissed in the opening of an epigram, evidently composed *c*. 445–440, quoted by Plutarch (*An seni* 3, *Mor.* 785B) *ὠιδὴν Ἡροδότωι τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὧν πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα*.[28] Though the identification of the addressee with the historian is not certain, the name Herodotus is rare at Athens, and in outlook they had much in common.

Belief in Herodotean influence has no implications for the dates of production of Sophocles' plays; we do not need to assume that such allusions imply the availability of the completed *Histories* (and hence a date after 430, the latest event to which Herodotus refers [7.137.1–3] being dated by Thucydides [2.67.1–4] to late summer of that year). It is highly likely that Herodotus made known parts of his work before he had completed it, perhaps in the form of lectures, in the manner of the sophists, perhaps in soirées, to select groups of friends and acquaintances. The Libyan ethnography (4.168–99) strongly favours such a view of his procedure. It is not well integrated into the overall plan of the *Histories*, its inclusion being rather artificially justified by Herodotus' theory (4.167.3) that the Persian campaign to punish Barca (which, along with Cyrene, had already submitted to Cambyses [3.13.3–4]) was merely a pretext while the real objective was the subjugation of the whole of Libya. Under the umbrella of Persian expansionism Herodotus thus ensured the survival of material originally assembled for another purpose. On its own this section might seem a little slight. But the theme of the antithesis of pastoralists and cultivators, prominent in his Scythian ethnography, is highlighted here too, and comparison and contrast of human adaptation to such very different environments offer a rewarding topic for independent treatment.[29] We need not suppose that the direction of Herodotus' enquiries changed in the course of time from ethnography and geography to history; his work leaves the impression of a lively interest in too many topics to be easily accommodated under a single heading.

Herodotus and Sophocles both understood that detail makes for verisimilitude. The Paedagogus' vivid description of fictitious disaster,[30] effectively forestalling further inquiries, is nicely recalled, as was noted by Geffcken, in the opening

[25] For further candidates see Finglass ad loc.

[26] Caution is expressed by Riemann (n.23) 5: 'Vielleicht könnte in Vers El. 702, wo die Libyer *ζυγωτῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπιστάται* genannt werden, eine Erinnerung aus dem herod. Libyenexkurs vorliegen, wo diese Eigenschaft ganz besonders hervorgehoben wird (H. 4, 170 u. 189).'

[27] Of which frr. 329–57 deal with North Africa.

[28] *IEG* 2.166 F 5; D.L. Page, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Oxford, 1976), 466–7.

[29] As Hippocrates evidently saw (*Aer.* 12.7); the loss of his treatment of Libya and Egypt is extremely frustrating; see further R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* (Cambridge, 2000), 42–74. Egypt is actually a more conspicuous comparandum than Libya in Herodotus' account of Scythia (4.5.1, 28–31, 47.1, 76.1, 82); the theme could be handled in more than one way.

[30] Cf. [Dem.] 61. 29 *πολλῶν θρυλούντων ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἡδίστην θέαν παρέχεται τὰ ναναγοῦντα*.

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lines of an epigram honouring an entirely happy occasion, a Pergamene victory in the chariot race at Olympia (between 280 and 272, most probably 276, the 500th anniversary of the games' inauguration):

> [*Πο*]*λλὰ μὲν ἐγ Λ*[*ι*]*βύης ἦλθ' ἅρματα, πολλὰ δ' ἀπ' Ἄργευς,*
> [*πο*]*λλὰ δὲ π*[*ι*]*είρης ἦλθ' ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίης,*
> [*ο*]*ἷσιν ἐνηριθ*[*μ*]*εῖτο καὶ Ἀττάλου.*[31]

For the anaphora *πολλὰ … πολλά* compare Sophocles' *εἷς … εἷς*. *Ἐκ Λιβύης* reminds us of Sophocles' two Libyans, but has very different connotations, the sense being purely geographic. These third-century competitors may come from Cyrenaica (or even Alexandria), but they must be understood to be Greek.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

There are three objections to the transmitted text in 47, *ἄγγελλε δ' ὅρκωι προστιθείς*. (1) *ὅρκωι* involves a harsh ellipse of *ὅρκον* or an awkward inversion: see Jebb or Finglass ad loc.; for this Reiske's *ὅρκον* would provide a simple remedy (though the present participle *προστιθείς* instead of the aorist is a little surprising). (2) The Paedagogus does not swear (or offer to swear) to his account. Of course, in real life a mismatch between instructions and their precise fulfilment is unremarkable, but such loose ends are out of place in drama; if in Act 1 attention is drawn to the danger of leaving a revolver and ammunition in an unlocked drawer, we may be sure that there will have been a fatal shooting before the curtain finally falls. This inconcinnity is not satisfactorily dealt with by Finglass's comparison of Deianira's use of *διώμνυτο* (*Trach*. 378) with reference to her interrogation of Lichas at 314–19, when Lichas did not take an oath. Deianira's words express her confidence that Lichas was speaking frankly. In any case, she uses the imperfect, not the aorist. If she slightly misrepresents the situation, her words reflect her understanding of their conversation; she saw absolutely no reason to doubt his words. (3) Orestes treats with remarkable unconcern the exposure to divine wrath (including the expectation of post-mortem punishment, cf. *Il*. 3.279–80; 19.259–60; Ar. *Ran*. 150) incurred by one who has deceitfully invoked higher powers to uphold the truth of his declaration. He does not offer to take the punishment upon himself (contrast Ar. *Lys*. 914–15; Plut. *Arist*. 25.1) and his emissary could not evade the consequences with the plea that he was only obeying orders. It would have been rash to trust in the argument advanced in the scholia that Apollo's instruction to use guile would have covered the case (*μὴ σμικρολόγως τις ἐπιλάβηται ὡς κελεύοντος ἐπιορκεῖν τοῦ ποιητοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πείθεσθαι τῶι θεῶι τὸ πᾶν δόλωι πράσσειν παρακελευομένωι ὥστε ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ἐπιορκῶν δυσσεβεῖν διὰ τούτων εὐσεβεῖ πειθόμενος τῶι θεῶι*).

[31] See J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme* (Heidelberg, 1916) no. 177, pp. 70–1; J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen u. hippischen Agonen* (Berlin, 1972), no. 51, pp. 176–81; *APF* 28 (1982), 13; P. Von der Mühll, 'Die Gedichte des Philosophen Arkesilaos', *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Basel, 1976), 276–85 (esp. 277–80) (= *Studi in onore di U.E. Paoli* [Florence, 1955], 717–24); R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* 1 (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 06/02/21, pp. 601–2. I have not included dots under uncertain letters.

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The reasoning thus supposedly representing Orestes' thought processes is not so obvious that it could safely be left to the audience to supply it, and seems rather questionable. While Apollo's instruction to use guile should defend Orestes against any imputation of a generally insufficient regard for truth (61, which out of context might suggest otherwise, is well explained by Finglass), the gratuitous invocation of divine sanction for a fiction suggests an abuse of Apollo's support and a religious offence. For a palmary statement of the significance of oaths in Greek society see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), 186–8; there is much of interest in A.H. Sommerstein and J. Fletcher (edd.), *Horkos. The Oath in Greek Society* (Bristol, 2007), though this passage is not discussed. Musgrave's *ὄγκον* (adopted by Kells) is very attractive and better suits *προστιθείς*; adding flesh to the bare bones of Orestes' summary is a continuous process throughout the speech. Sophocles thus prepares us for a feature which has been thought to call for some critical justification; for Fraenkel's comments, see Finglass 554–5.

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