

An Emendation in Aeschylus, *Supplices* 1071*

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<https://doi.org/10.1515/phil-2023-0110>

Keywords: Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, textual criticism

Because of physical damage to the only authoritative manuscript, Aeschylus' *Supplices* presents numerous textual difficulties. Therefore, many passages remain corrupt and require conjectural emendation. Of these corruptions, this paper focuses on †δίκαι δίκας† in 1071 and proposes an emendation. The stanza in question (Aesch. *Supp.* 1068–1073) is as follows:

καὶ κράτος νέμοι γυναί-
ξιν. τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ
καὶ τὸ δῖμοιρον αἰνῶ, 1070
καὶ †δίκαι δίκας† ἔπεσ-
θαι ξὺν εὐχαῖς ἑμαῖς, λυτηρίοις
μηχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα.

1070 καί τε M: corr. Robortello, Turnebus, cf. Σ 1071 δίκαι δίκας Heath: δίκαι δίκαν Haupt: δίκαι τύχας Burges: δίκαι δίκας ἐπέσθω Paley 1073 μηχαναῖς Dindorf: μηχ- M

[...] and may he grant women victory! Evil's better part I can be content with, and with two parts out of three, and for justice to follow justice, as is now my prayer, in release devised by god.

I quote the text from the Teubner edition¹ with the English translation by Collard,² who follows West's text except for the corrupted †δίκαι δίκας†, for which he read Haupt's δίκαι δίκαν. West marks the transmitted δίκαι δίκας with obeli in his Teubner edition and does not discuss the passage in his *Studies*. Before proceeding to a detailed discussion, we briefly revisit the texts and interpretations of the editors.

^[p.298]Of the emendations recorded in the apparatus by West, Haupt's δίκαι (dative with iota adscript)

* [*Philologus* 166(2) pp. 297-300, 2022]

¹ Aeschylus, *Tragoediae*, ed. M. L. West, Stuttgart²1998. I reproduced also the critical apparatus with some modifications.

² Aeschylus, *Persians and Other Plays*, English translation by C. Collard, Oxford 2008.

δικαν has been approved by recent scholarship. Friis Johansen and Whittle (hereafter FJW) accept Haupt's conjecture and print δίκαι Δίκαν.³ Giving the English translation "that Justice should side with justice" in the commentary, they interpret the passage as a prayer to Dike for siding with the Danaids, who have the just cause. Miralles et al. also accept Haupt's δίκαι δίκαν and translate it as "giustizia tenga dietro a giustizia".⁴ Furthermore, Bowen accepts Haupt's emendation and prints δίκαι δίκαν ἔπεσθαι ("for justice to attend upon justice"), although he admits that explaining the corruption is difficult.⁵ Finally, in the latest commentary, Sommerstein, who adopted the interpretation of FJW in the Loeb edition⁶ and rendered the passage "the judgement should go with justice", obelizes only the second δίκας and suggests the possibility of τύχας in the commentary.⁷

δίκη is evidently one of the most essential concepts in *Supplikes*: In the dialogue with Pelasgus, the Danaids refer not only to Δίκη⁸ but also to the wrath of Zeus Suppliant who guards miserable mortals requiring lawful justice.⁹ Identifying themselves with Io, they believe that Zeus finally sides with them because he formerly released Inachus' daughter from suffering and gave birth to Epaphus through his touch.¹⁰ It is natural that δίκη appears in the final passage of the exodus, and its meaning should be 'justice' not 'lawsuit' etc.¹¹ Therefore, we can suppose that at least one of the corrupted words is δίκη.

To further analyse the corruption, let us revisit the context, particularly the meaning of τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ and τὸ δίμοιρον. Although the wording is puzzling, the general direction has been provided by the scholiast.¹² Whether the phrase ^{p.299}originates from the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 24.527–528) or from other proverbial expressions, its point is to reflect the ambivalent situation of the Danaids, who are in a crucial condition yet not entirely desperate. In addition, as stated by Sommerstein,¹³ αἰνῶ takes both the accusatives (τὸ βέλτερον ... τὸ δίμοιρον) and the following infinitive (ἔπεσθαι), or, more correctly, the following (accusative-)infinitive provides a concrete explanation of the preceding accusatives. Thus, the corrupted words must complement τὸ δίμοιρον: the phrase will mean the coexistence of good and evil. The latter is present, the former, justice (δίκη), which the Danaids –who are now in a miserable situation –desire, will arrive in the future.

³ ^{p.298}H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *The Suppliants*, Copenhagen 1980, 3, 344–345.

⁴ C. Miralles, V. Citti and L. Lomiento, *Eschilo: Supplici*, Rome 2019, 131.

⁵ See A. J. Bowen, *Aeschylus: Suppliant Women*, Oxford 2013, 360: "Haupt's emendation to δίκαν is simple, but the corruption is hard to account for".

⁶ A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus*, Cambridge, Mass. 2008, 1, 430–431.

⁷ A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus: Suppliants*, Cambridge 2019, 381.

⁸ Aesch. *Supp.* 343, 395.

⁹ Aesch. *Supp.* 381–384.

¹⁰ Ζεὺς <ς> ἄναξ ἀποστεροίη γάμον δυσάνορα / δάϊον, ὅσπερ Ἴώ / πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' εὖ / χειρὶ παιωνία / κατασχεθῶν, εὐμενὴ βίαν κτίσας (Aesch. *Supp.* 1062–1067). But the identification is, as Miralles et al. (n. 4) 461–463 indicated, incorrect, because the situation differs between the Danaids and Io, who accepts Zeus's love.

¹¹ FJW rightly argued that δίκη as a legal term does not fit in the context. See Friis Johansen and Whittle (n. 3) 3, 344–345.

¹² ἠδέως ἔχω τὸ δίμοιρον τῶν κακῶν σὺν ἐνὶ ἀγαθῶι, ὃ ἐστι τῆι ἀπαλλαγῆι τοῦ γάμου. (ed. Smith ad 1070). After this, the scholiast quotes Pind. *Pyth.* 3.81.

¹³ ^{p.299}Sommerstein (n. 7) 381.

Therefore, we expect not something that obeys justice but something that comes with it. In other words, ἔπεσθαι does not mean the relationship between master and servant (“to follow, obey”) but an accompaniment (“to follow as attendants, come with”).¹⁴ Since justice (δίκη) is the wish of the Danaids, the context requires something correspondent with their current miseries, and the most potentially suitable word is δύαις. In *Sept.* 228, the chorus refers to the power of god that saves the helpless man in trouble “even from painful difficulties” (κακ χαλεπᾶς δύας). Here, the poet uses δύη to refer to “misery” or “calamity” that befalls mortals: cf. *Pers.* 1039 αἰᾶ αἰᾶ δύα δύα, *Eum.* 561–562 ἀμηχάνοις / δύαις.¹⁵ Thus, I offer the following:

καὶ Δίκαν δύαις ἔπεσ-
θαι ...

and (I can be content) *that these miseries are accompanied by Justice, [...]*

The long flight from Aegyptus’ sons and the upcoming war against them are the current inevitable sufferings (two third κακόν); however, if it should be followed by the victory of the women’s side, justice would be fulfilled. With this correction, a suitable correspondence between the strophe and the antistrophe (Ζεὺς ... ὅσπερ Ἰὼ **πιμονᾶς ἐλύσατ’** εὔ ...) is achieved.

Finally, I include a brief palaeographical consideration. While the paradosis lets us expect a polyptoton at first glance, the corrupted text must have resulted from a mere visual error (a kind of dittography) rather than from an interpretative ‘emendation’ made by a scribe who was familiar with Aeschylean style. Replacements ^{p.300} of letters such as α for αν and α for αι are attested; FJW’s Appendix provides us with many examples.¹⁶ In addition, the confusion of δίκη and δύη can occur: Leiden manuscript O, as Dawe records, had δίκης for δύης in *PV* 746 (“δύης δίκης ut vid. O^{ac} corr. O2”).¹⁷

Acknowledgements: I would like to express my thanks to the journal’s anonymous referees for their helpful comments.

¹⁴ See LSJ s.v. ἔπω (B) I 2.

¹⁵ It is also to be noted that the goddess Dike is venerated in the *Eumenides* passage, though the context differs. Here the chorus warns that a man who has heaped up unjust wealth and pays no heed to “irremediable calamity” will wreck breaking against the reef of Justice (ἔρματι προσβαλὼν Δίκας, *A. Eum.* 564).

¹⁶ ^{p.300} Friis Johansen and Whittle (n. 3) 3, 366–367: especially B 2 (a), 3 (a).

¹⁷ R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, Cambridge 1964, 231.