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INTRODUCTION

1. SOPHOKLES AND ATHENS

Sophokles was born *c.* 495 BCE, into a wealthy family from the Attic deme of Kolonos.[1] In addition to being the most successful tragedian of his time, he was active in public life (*hellēnotamias* in 443–2; *stratēgos* in 441–40 with Perikles, and perhaps again later in the 420s with Nikias; and *proboulos* during the emergencies of 412–11). There is also a tradition that, when the cult of Asklepios was introduced into Athens in 420, S. provided an altar and home for the god in his own house until an official public shrine could be built, thus earning himself the posthumous cult title Δεξίων ('Receiver of the god').[2] Various other sources (not necessarily reliable) report that he was a 'good-humoured' man,[3] who travelled widely, had a strong bisexual appetite, enjoyed the musical and erotic activities of the symposium, and was on good terms with such intellectual luminaries as Ion of Chios and Herodotos of Halikarnassos.

S.'s career as a playwright was long and prolific (over 120 plays), stretching from his first production in 468 until at least 409 (*Ph.*). He died in 405 (a few months after Euripides), and *OC* was produced posthumously in 401. Of the seven plays that survive entire, *Ph.* and *OC* are the only ones for which we have 'didaskalic' information fixing their dates;[4] but there are good stylistic reasons for regarding *Ajax* and *Trachiniai* as relatively early (between 468 and 435), and *Elektra* as late (between 420 and 410). *OT* is commonly placed in the 420s, though the evidence is thin.[5] *Ant.* is assigned to 442 or 441 on

[1] For full testimonia to S.'s life and career, see Radt, *TrGF* vol. IV, T1–107; also M. R. Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek poets* (London 1981) 75–87, *CHCL* I 764–5, Ehrenberg 1954, Buxton 1995: 3–5.

[2] *Et. Magn.* 256.6 *s.v.* Δεξίων = *TrGF* vol. IV, T69; cf. T67–73a. For a sceptical view of this tradition, see A. Connolly, *JHS* 118 (1998) 1–21.

[3] Aristoph. *Frogs* 82 εὔκολος.

[4] The *Didaskaliai* were lists of dates and titles of performances in the annual dramatic competitions, first compiled by Aristotle, and subsequently used by Alexandrian and later scholars.

[5] On the dating of these plays, see Lesky 1972: 187–91, Schwinge 1962, B. M. W. Knox, *AJP* 78 (1956) 133–47, W-Ingram 1980: 341–3, and Easterling's Introd. to S. *Tr.* (pp. 19–23).

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fairly solid grounds, for one of the three *hypotheseis* ('summaries', or 'introductions') contained in our MSS of the play states (*hypoth.* 1.13–14), 'They say that S. was awarded the *stratēgia* in Samos after his success with the production of *Antigone*.' The Samian expedition took place in 441–40;[6] and, whether or not S.'s election in fact owed anything to the popularity of *Ant.*, this explanation would hardly have been advanced unless the play's production was dated just a year or two earlier. Such a date in any case squares well with several structural and stylistic features of the play,[7] and with the additional statement (*hypoth.* 1.15) that *Ant.* 'is counted 32nd' (i.e., fairly early) among S.'s 120 plays.

Athens in the late 440s was a city of unprecedented prosperity, power, and innovation, both political and intellectual. The democratic system, first introduced in 508, and progressively modified during the subsequent decades, was by now firmly entrenched: sovereign authority lay with the popular Assembly and lawcourts, and public offices were rotated annually by election and/or lottery. Although aristocrats continued to dominate the political arena, with the 'best' men (i.e. the wealthy and well-born) leading armies and fleets on campaigns, proposing and arguing policies in the Assembly, and holding the key elective offices – above all, in the person of Perikles the Alkmaionid, who had begun his long period of ascendancy that was to continue until his death in 429 – none the less the prevailing ideology, as reflected in the language, attitudes, and assumptions of public debate, was by now vehemently democratic, emphasizing loyalty to the laws of the *polis* rather than selfish family ambitions, the freedom of all citizens to vote and speak their minds, and the accountability of all public officials for their actions and decisions.[8] 'Noble' families or individuals often found their own

[6] It may not have been concluded until a couple of years later: see R. G. Lewis, *GRBS* 29 (1988) 35–50 (arguing for 438 as the date of *Ant.*).

[7] In particular, the technique of 3-actor dialogue (376–581), more integrated and 'advanced' than that of *Aj.* or *Tr.*, but less so than *OT* 512–648, 1110–85, and *El.*, *Ph.* 865–1080, and *OC* (Schwinge 1962: 73–5, 79–93, K. Listmann, *Die Technik des Dreigesprächs in der gr. Tragödie*, diss. Giessen 1910); also the absence of astrophic choral lyric (found only in S.'s late plays), and the absence of *antilabē* (splitting of ia. trimeters between two speakers, common in S.'s later plays, less so in *Aj.* and *Tr.*). See n. 5 above, n. 48 below.

[8] Sinclair 1988, Hansen 1991, Ober 1989: 293–339; cf. 162–210, 639–80, 1326–53nn.

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interests, alliances, and foreign connections running counter to the policies of the democratic state; and popular attitudes towards them tended to combine admiration with resentment, gratitude with suspicion.[9] In the midst of this continuing struggle between the different segments and interests within the population, the possibility of *stasis*, in the form of an oligarchic counter-revolution, or even of a tyrant's coup, was never far from people's minds or politicians' tongues.[10] The same political leader who was hailed one week as defender of the people and saviour of the city, might the next be hounded into disgrace or exile as a would-be tyrant or traitor (cf. 370 ὑψίπολις, ἄπολις, 1155–71). Thus the gulf that is unfailingly maintained on the tragic stage, between the noble families whose disastrous story is being enacted, and the sundry messengers, guards, attendants, and choruses who observe and respond to them, reflects, not only the imaginary and long-superseded conditions of heroic bronze-age myth, but also (in exaggerated and distorted form) the social realities of contemporary Athens.[11]

Tensions of other kinds too permeated Athenian culture, in this period of rapid change and unprecedented diversity. Within one and the same community could be found, on the one hand, a small but prominent number of well-educated – and often sceptical and unconventional – teachers, performers, artists, and writers (ethnographers, scientists, historians, sophists, playwrights) who were raising questions about the gods, the cosmos, the origins of civilization and morality, and the nature and purpose of myth and fiction;[12] on the other, thousands (esp. the rural poor, who still probably comprised a majority of the Athenian population) who adhered staunchly to traditional religious belief and cult practice, continued to take Homer, Hesiod and the old myths pretty much at face value, and

[9] Sinclair 1988: 14–23, 188–96, Ober 1989: 192–247, 279–92, Maitland 1992, G. Herman, *Ritualized friendship and the Greek city* (Cambridge 1987).

[10] Cf. 295–303, 670–1nn., Knox 1957: 53–106. The Athenian campaign against Samos on which S. served as *stratēgos* was in fact an operation designed to restore democratic, pro-Athenian rule in that island, after an attempted secession by oligarchs on the island.

[11] See further Vernant & Vidal-Naquet 1981: 29–48, 237–47, Rohdich 1980, Easterling 1984, Seaford 1994, Griffith 1995; and below, pp. 54–8.

[12] Knox 1957: 107–58, Long 1968: 7–9, Guthrie 1971: 14–26, 55–134, G. B. Kerferd, *The sophistic movement* (Cambridge 1981), Goldhill 1986: 222–43, Rose 1992: 266–78.

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viewed with intense suspicion or contempt those new-fangled intellectual currents.

This was the context, then, in which the annual dramatic competitions took place in the Theatre of Dionysos. The festival of which they formed a part lasted several days,[13] and was attended by hundreds of non-Athenian visitors in addition to thousands of residents of Attika itself. They were treated to spectacular processions and displays of Athenian wealth and power, as well as to the numerous dithyrambs, tragedies, satyr-plays, and comedies. The expenses of each production were borne by an individual *chorēgos* (one of the wealthier citizens, to whom the city assigned such *liturgies* as a kind of taxation).[14] Both playwright and *chorēgos* stood to win considerable prestige from a victory in the dramatic competition, which represented the cultural pinnacle of the Athenian year.

The plays were thus both public ceremonies organized by the city for the benefit of the population at large, and performances designed by members of the city's elite to win themselves individual distinction through the demonstration of liberality, taste and skill. Given such a range of purposes and festival spirits, we may imagine that S. could count on his audience's coming to the political, moral, and religious issues that are raised in his play from a wide range of prior assumptions, beliefs, and expectations.

2. THE STORY OF *ANTIGONE*

The Theban saga of the Labdakids, of Laios and Iokaste, Oidipous and his sons, the Seven against Thebes, and the Sons of the Seven (*Epigonoi*), was one of the best known and most frequently handled of all in Greek literary and iconographic tradition.[15] Although, like any

[13] For a full account of the proceedings see Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 57–101, Goldhill 1990, Csapo & Slater 1995: 103–21, 139–65.

[14] By the fourth century, the three actors were paid by the city; but it is possible that in the mid-fifth century the *chorēgos* paid them; see Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 87–90, 93–6.

[15] E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig 1891), Robert 1915, A. L. Edmunds, *HSCP* 85 (1981) 221–38, H. Petersmann, *WS* 12 (1978) 67–96, Mastronarde 1994: 17–30, *LIMC s.vv.* 'Eteokles', 'Ismene', 'Kapaneus', 'Oedipus', 'Septem', Zimmermann 1993.

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myth, it was known in countless different, often contradictory, versions, it is possible to sketch at least the broad outlines of the story presupposed by S. as being already familiar to his Athenian audience.

Oidipous unknowingly kills his father, Laios (son of Labdakos), and marries his mother, Iokaste (daughter of Menoikeus and sister of Kreon).[16] Upon discovery of the truth, Iokaste commits suicide;[17] Oidipous blinds himself, and eventually dies too, after either wandering in exile, or moping around Thebes for several years.[18] At some point, Oidipous curses his two sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, who end up quarrelling over the kingdom. Their attempt at a compromise is soon violated by one or both of them:[19] Pol., who has married Argeia, daughter of the Argive king Adrastos, then leads an Argive army against Thebes, to claim the throne for himself. In a battle at the seven gates, Eteokles' Thebans defeat Pol. and his six Argive champions (including the impious Kapaneus, cf. 110–16, 127–33nn.); and the two brothers kill each other, in accordance with their father's curse. A young son of Kreon also dies before or during the battle, as a kind of sacrificial victim guaranteeing safety to Thebes.[20] In the next phase (the point at which S.'s *Antigone* begins), with Laios'

[16] In epic, Oidipous' mother's name is given as Epikaste, or Euryganeia, or Euryanassa. In *Ant.* she is not named; cf. 53–4, 911.

[17] Not so in E. *Pho.*, perhaps a Euripidean innovation: see Mastronarde 1994: 25–6 (and cf. 53–4n.).

[18] From *Ant.* 49–54, 900–3, we get the impression that he died in Thebes (cf. 53–4n.). The motif of Oidipous' self-blinding (*Ant.* 51–2) is first found at A. *Th.* 782–5 (though the reading is disputed); but it was probably older (Mastronarde 1994: 22–3).

[19] In E. *Pho.*, the arrangement was that the brothers would alternate as ruler of Thebes; but in an earlier version Eteokles was to rule while Pol. took most of the ancestral possessions (including the necklace of Harmonia, cf. 130n.) and went to live in Argos (cf. Mastronarde 1994: 26–8). Blame for the breakdown of the agreement is variously assigned: in *Ant.*, Kreon blames Pol. for attacking Thebes (198–202, 280–9, 514–20), and he is not contradicted (cf. 111n.).

[20] The son's name varies: either Menoikeus or Megareus (cf. 1302–3n., E. *Pho.* 930–1018, and Mastronarde 1994: 28–30). For Haimon's role in the epic *Oidipodeia*, see below p. 9. Kreon, a descendant of one of the original 'Sown Men' (Σπαρτοί) of Thebes, is normally represented in tragedy as Iokaste's brother; it is not known what role he may have had in earlier versions. (His name means 'Ruler'.)

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direct male heirs all dead, Kreon takes over as ruler of Thebes. He at first refuses to allow Adrastos and the Argives to recover their dead for burial, but is eventually persuaded or compelled (in most versions, through the intervention of Theseus and an Athenian army) to back down and hand them over.[21] If the story is continued further, the Sons of the Seven (*Epigonoi*) eventually return to capture Thebes and destroy the city.

Of the pre-Sophoklean literary versions of this saga, the most influential were the epic cycle of *Thebais*, *Oidipodeia*, and *Epigonoi*, ascribed to 'Homer' or 'Arktinos', and rivalling the Trojan cycle in popularity. But various segments of the saga were treated by many other poets too, whose work survives to us only in fragments (as in the cases of Hesiod, Stesichoros, and Ion), or not at all,[22] and in due course numerous fifth-century tragedies were also based on this material. Of these, two celebrated tetralogies by Aischylos, the first (from *c.* 475 BCE?) containing *Nemea*, *Argeioi*, *Eleusinioi*, and *Epigonoi*.[23] the second (from 467) *Laios, Oidipous*, *Seven against Thebes*, and (satyric) *Sphinx*, certainly loomed large in the awareness of S. and his Athenian audience.[24] It is uncertain whether A. on either occasion presented a version specifically involving denial of burial to Polyneikes: probably not.[25] It is true that, in the case of *The Seven against Thebes*,

[21] In A. *Eleusinioi*, Theseus and Adrastos persuade Kreon to grant burial (*TrGF* III 175 = Plutarch, *Theseus* 29.4); but according to E. *Suppliants*, Lysias' *Funeral Oration*, Isokrates' *Panegyrikos*, etc., the Athenians defeat Kreon and the Thebans in battle (a popular *topos* of Athenian jingoism; cf. T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (Chicago 1902) 146–50). It is not known if the burial motif occurred in texts earlier than the fifth century; see Zimmermann 1993: 59–77.

[22] The scanty remains of the epic *Thebais* can be found in A. Bernabé, ed., *Poetae epici Graeci* I (Leipzig 1988) 17–32 and M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988) 21–7. Other important pretragic texts: Hesiod frs. 192–3 M–W; Stesichoros PLille 76a–c = M. Davies, *PMGF* 222(b); Pindar, *O.* 2.21ff., *N.* 9.18–19, *O.* 6.15ff., Ion, *PMG* 740 (see p. 10 below). For visual representations, see Robert 1915, *LIMC* (above, n. 15).

[23] The order and content of these four plays are far from certain; see S. Radt in *TrGF* III *s.vv.*, Zimmermann 1993: 81–7, T. Gantz, *AJP* 101 (1980) 158–9.

[24] H. C. Baldry, *G&R* 3 (1956) 24–37, Else 1976, Davidson 1983.

[25] A verse quoted by Didymos from the *Eleusinioi* refers to a singular 'corpse' (fr. 53a Radt νέκυς, cf. 409–12n.); if this refers to Pol., and if we fol-

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our MSS contain a final scene in which a herald announces over the corpses of the two brothers that 'the Councillors of the people' (1006 δήμου προβούλοις) have forbidden burial for Pol.; whereupon 'Antigone' asserts that she will disobey the edict and bury him, and the play ends with the Chorus of Theban women dividing into two groups, one going off to lament Eteokles, the other to join Ant. in burying Pol. However, most modern scholars have concluded that this scene was not composed by A. at all, but added onto his play after S.'s *Ant.* was already established as the classic treatment.[26] It is probable that the announcement of the arriving characters 'Antigone' and 'Ismene' at A. *Th.* 861–74 is likewise an interpolation, and that neither sister appeared in A.'s original play.[27] In that case, like E. *Pho.* (and E.'s lost *Antigone*),[28] and like S.'s own *OT* and *OC* (and lost *Epigonoi* and *Eriphyle*),[29] this scene is of interest for us here only as evidence for the 'reception' of our play, not for pre-Sophoklean treatments of the myth.

Even apart from this final scene, however, *Seven against Thebes* clearly exercised a strong influence on S.,[30] esp. in the representation of the Argive attack (100–61), of the catastrophes piling up over the family of Laios (49–57, 582–625, 857–71), and of the divine anger that may lie behind them. Yet we should beware of dwelling too

low M. Schmidt in reading *Argeia* (= Pol.'s wife, daughter of Adrastos) rather than *Argeioi* or *Argeiai* as the title of the accompanying play, then his career throughout the trilogy appears rather prominent. But there is not much to go on here, and the rest of our evidence for the play focuses on the collective Argive dead, as in E. *Suppliants* (cf. 1080–3n.); cf. Zimmermann 1993: 81–7.

[26] On the authenticity of this scene, see (*pro*) H. Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 9 (1959) 80–115, P. S. Mellon, *The ending of A.'s Seven* (Ann Arbor 1974), and (*contra*) E. Fraenkel, *MH* 21 (1964) 58–64, R. D. Dawe, *CQ* 17 (1967) 16–28; further refs. in Zimmermann 1993: 99–111.

[27] The lines assigned to them in the *kommos* (961–74) could be sung by a divided chorus. There is no mention elsewhere in the play of any sisters.

[28] Zimmermann 1993: 161–88; the play was probably composed late in E.'s career.

[29] *TrGF* III F185–90, F201a–h.

[30] Else 1976, Davidson 1983, Garner 1990: 80–1. We know from other sources that *Seven* was one of Aisch.'s most popular and influential plays in the fifth century (Ar. *Frogs* 1021, A. Wartelle, *Histoire du texte d'Eschyle dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1971) 71–6).

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insistently on possible allusions to those few texts that happen to survive to us, when so much else is lost that may have been equally familiar and significant.[31]

In any case, in composing *Ant.* S. appears to have made substantial innovations of his own to both action and characters, to the point that in some respects the myth is virtually reinvented: (i) the issue of the Argive dead is suppressed,[32] with the focus shifting instead onto the burial of Pol. and (ii) the condemnation and suicide of Ant.; (iii) Kreon's son is betrothed to Ant.; (iv) Kreon's wife is introduced into the story; (v) Ismene is made into a significant factor, as companion and foil to Ant.; (vi) the gods are assigned a crucial and distinctive role. Each of these innovations brings with it significant dramatic consequences.

(i) Instead of a dispute between Thebes and Athens (and/or Argos) over the return of enemy soldiers' bodies, the conflict between Kreon and Ant. over the proper treatment of Pol.'s corpse is internal to Thebes, and to the royal family (since Kreon is Pol.'s uncle). Thus another chapter is added to the miseries of this blighted house, and the rights and wrongs of Kreon's conduct become much muddier (see below, pp. 28–34).

(ii) The main opponent of Kreon's edict is now Pol.'s sister (who is thus structurally equivalent to Adrastos and/or Theseus in the traditional myth). So, while the final outcome (Kreon's humiliation) remains the same, the dynamics of the confrontation are transformed, as he is challenged, not by a warrior-king backed by an army, but by his own young niece, then his son, and finally a blind prophet. Gender, youthful desire, parental authority, and the mysterious will of hidden gods are thus made into key issues, while the lonely immure-

[31] So, for example, the version of Pherekydes of Athens (*FGrHist* III F95, probably a generation earlier than S.'s *Ant.*), has a very different story-line: the two incestuous sons of O. and Iokaste (here named Phrastor and Laonytos) are killed; only later does O. marry Euryganeia, who bears Ant., Ismene, Pol., and Eteokles; Ismene is killed by Tydeus 'at a fountain' (and presumably the sons kill one another too, along with the Seven); then O. takes a third wife, Astymedousa. See further Zimmermann 1993: 89–96, and p. 10 below for the version of Ion of Chios.

[32] It may perhaps surface briefly at *Ant.* 1080–3 (see n., and cf. 9–10n.).

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ment and death of Ant. add further layers of pathos and lead directly to Kreon's personal ruin.

(iii) In the epic *Oidipodeia*, Haimon, who is described as κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἱμεροέστατον ἄλλων | παῖδα φίλον Κρείοντος ἀμύμονος ('finer and lovelier than all others, the dear son of noble Kreon') becomes a victim of the Sphinx at an early stage in the story (fr. 2 = schol. E. *Pho.* 1760, cf. Apollod. 3.5.8), and Kreon's other son dies during the battle against the Seven Argives (cf. 1302–3n.). In S. *Ant.*, we do not hear about any children of Kreon until shortly before Haimon's arrival, when Ismene mentions his impending marriage to Ant. (568);[33] then he is greeted as the 'youngest' and 'last' of Kreon's children (626; cf. 1302–3n.), and he provides the crucial link between the fates of Ant. and Kreon, for it is his passionate rage and suicide that deal his father the most crushing blow of all.

(iv) Kreon's wife, Eurydike, like his son, is not mentioned until it is time for her to appear on stage (1180–1256n.), and she has probably been invented for this play. Her role is entirely that of victim, as she arrives only to learn of her son's death, and immediately departs to commit suicide herself, thus capping Kreon's series of calamities.

(v) In the extant remains of the Theban epics, small interest seems to be shown in Oidipous' daughters;[34] and although an 'Ismene' shows up occasionally in various versions of the saga before *Ant.* (sometimes in contexts quite unconnected to Oidipous' family),[35]

[33] Perhaps the tradition of Ismene's fatal love affair (below, n. 35) suggested this theme to S. In E. *Pho.*, this new tradition of betrothal between Ant. and Haimon is maintained (*Pho.* 757–60, 944–6), and a younger brother, Menoikeus, is added who can die for Thebes (Mastronarde 1994: 28–9). In E.'s (lost) *Antigone*, Haimon and Ant. marry and even have a son of their own, Maion (*hypoth.* S. *Ant.* 1.6–8).

[34] Zimmermann 1993: 59–68.

[35] The name proclaims her indigenous significance: in addition to the River Ismenos (104n.), Thebes boasted a hill, a village, and a cult title of Apollo of this name. See E. Bethe, *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2135–6 *s.v.* 'Ismene', Zimmermann 1993: 68–70, I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* V 1 (1990) 796–9. (It is possible that a rough breathing, 'Ἱσμ-, was preferred in fifth-century Attic: see Mastronarde 1994 on E. *Pho.* 101.) According to the seventh-century elegist Mimnermos (fr. 21 West), 'Ismene was intimate (προσομιλοῦσαν) with Theoklymenos, and was killed by [the Argive champion] Tydeus on the command of Athena.'

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there are only minimal traces of 'Antigone'.[36] One possible precedent to S.'s version of the two devoted sisters may have existed in a dithyramb by Ion of Chios (a contemporary and friend of S.), in which 'both Ismene and Ant. were burnt to death in the temple of Hera, by Eteokles' son Laomadas' (presumably because the sisters had shown support for Pol.?).[37] But the inclusion of this timid and 'normal' sister to serve as a foil to the abnormally bold and intransigent heroine – and to some degree as a channel for the audience's own responses (61–2, 98–9, 526–81nn.) – is likely to have been S.'s own idea.

(vi) Distinctively Sophoklean too, and obviously crucial, is the part played by the gods, an aspect of the drama in which any playwright usually enjoys much latitude. In S.'s play, the theme of divine anger at the refusal of burial to Pol. and at the unnatural 'burying' alive of Ant., looms insistently throughout the final scenes, esp. in the words of Teiresias; and, given the prophet's enormous authority and the 'objective' evidence of the failed sacrifices and polluted altars (999–1022, 1080–6), together with the repeated references to the gods' concern by Ant. and the Chorus earlier in the play (77, 450–70, 519–21, 542, 838–70, 891–4, 921–8; 278–9, 368–75, 582–625), we must regard this divine intervention as a dramatic 'fact', i.e. as an integral part of the causal chain leading to the denouement.[38]

[36] Ant.'s function in *OC* as guide to the blind Oidipous in his wandering exile may or may not have had an Archaic precedent; cf. Zimmermann 1993: 190, 196–7. Pausanias (second century CE) mentions a local Theban legend in which Ant. dragged the body of Pol. and placed it on the funeral pyre of Eteokles (9.25.2, cf. 9.18.3); but this, like Apollodoros' account (3.7.1) that 'Ant. secretly stole the corpse of Pol. and buried it; and after being caught by Kreon, she was buried alive in the grave', is probably derived from S.'s play (though Petersmann argues that these reflect pre-Sophoklean traditions). Ant.'s name, but nothing more, is found in Pherekydes (see above, n. 31). As a name, Ἀντιγόνη ('In return for birth', or 'Instead of a parent' or 'Instead of procreation'?) is rare (though the masculine Ἀντίγονος becomes popular in the Hellenistic period): it was presumably invented to fit her mythical role.

[37] Salloustios, quoted in *hypoth.* 2.2–4 (= Ion, *PMG* 740). Perhaps Kreon's tendency in *Ant.* to treat the sisters as a like-minded pair may reflect this, or an earlier, tradition (488–9n., Zimmermann 1993: 94–5, 118).

[38] That is not to say that every account of the gods' attitude or Zeus's law (e.g. Ant.'s at 450–70, or Kreon's at 282–9, 514–22, or the Chorus' at 278–9,

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