

# The First Stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* (332-375): Comparison with Texts on Cultural Progress\*

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## 1. Introduction

There are two issues in the interpretation of the first stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* (the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode) which have occupied critics over decades. One is the question of whether the human being is represented positively or negatively in this ode. The enumeration of navigation, agriculture, hunting/fishing, use of animals for labour, language, intellect, civic disposition, carpentry, and medicine from the first strophe to the second strophe (*Ant.* 332-364) seems to be a proud assertion of human achievements. On the other hand, the second antistrophe (*Ant.* 365-375) contains a mention of the human being sometimes moving towards evil, sometimes towards good (*Ant.* 367), and humans are divided into *ὑψίπολις* and *ἄπολις*<sup>1</sup> (*Ant.* 368-371). To those scholars who regard the suggestion of moral ambiguity in this last stanza as important, the representation of the human being in the whole ode seems negative.<sup>2</sup> To those who regard this moral ambiguity as peripheral, the human being seems to be represented positively.<sup>3</sup>

The other major issue is the question of how far this ode is integrated into the context of the whole play. After the mysterious token burial of Polyneices' corpus is reported, the Theban elders (the chorus) remark to Creon at *Ant.* 278-9 that the act may have been 'caused by a god (*θεήλατον*)'. Upon hearing their suggestion, Creon furiously denies it, insisting that gods can never be favourable to Polyneices, and

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\* Earlier versions of this paper were read at several occasions during my sabbatical in 2011-12. I am grateful to all who facilitated these occasions and who gave me helpful criticisms, especially Richard Buxton, Douglas Cairns, Malcolm Davies, Patrick Finglass, Robert Fowler, Stephen Harrison, Noburu Notomi, Oliver Taplin, Tim Whitmarsh and Naoko Yamagata. I thank Professor Cairns for an advance glance at his article in this volume (Cairns (2014)). I also benefited from acute comments by two anonymous referees of *JASCA*.

<sup>1</sup> *ὑψίπολις* can be translated as 'one who stands high in the polis' or 'one who makes the polis prosper.' *ἄπολις* can be translated as 'one who loses the polis' or 'one who makes the polis perish.' Cf. Bonadeo (1982) 42 n. 2; Griffith (1999) 189-190.

<sup>2</sup> Linforth (1961) 196-9 thinks that the purport of the ode is a warning against human propensity to falling into evil, and the enumeration of human achievements is only 'a long concessive clause.' Ronnet (1967) 100-5 deems the first three quarters of the ode (from the first strophe to the second strophe) an enumeration of the destruction of nature by human hands and interprets the whole ode as representing the negative side of humans.

<sup>3</sup> E. g., Waldock (1951) 112-3; Havelock (1957) 69-70; Cole (1967) 6.

that the act must be by some men who, having received a bribe, acted against Creon's edict (*Ant.* 280-303). After a brief exchange between Creon and the guard (*Ant.* 304-331) the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode follows, which is the first utterance of the Theban elders after their suggestion of a divine intervention. Thus the enumeration of the marvelous achievements of humans in this ode can be seen as an expression of the Theban elders' flattery of Creon, who insists that the mysterious burial was carried out by humans, not by a god. By stating that humans can perform marvelous feats, the Theban elders can be seen as subtly withdrawing their suggestion of divine intervention in the token burial, and consenting to Creon's view that some humans are responsible for the act. But this connection with the preceding scene is indirect,<sup>4</sup> and some scholars have expressed the view that the triumphant assertion of human achievements is quite independent of the rest of the play.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, other scholars find themes and expressions which are common to the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and other parts of the *Antigone*, and think that these connect the ode to the wider context of the drama.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the two major issues above, another issue which is worth attention is the existence of texts from the middle to the end of the fifth century BCE which enumerate technical skills and express the idea of cultural progress. The idea of cultural progress is not so conspicuous in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, but the verbs in the second strophe, *ἐδιδάξατο* [taught oneself] (*Ant.* 356) and *ἐυμπέφρασται* [has contrived] (*Ant.* 364), at least hint at the move from a stage where a skill was not known to a stage where that skill has been acquired. In this respect, the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode assumes the idea of cultural progress. The various similarities between the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the texts on cultural progress have been pointed out in commentaries<sup>7</sup> and in studies on the concept of progress among the ancient Greeks,<sup>8</sup> but there is still room for a comprehensive comparison between the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the texts on cultural progress in the latter half of the fifth century BCE.

In this paper, I shall compare the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode with the texts on cultural progress (from the middle to the end of the fifth century BCE) in order to

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<sup>4</sup> If the vague pronoun *τάδ(ε)* at the end of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode (*Ant.* 375) refers to the burial of Polyneices, it is another connection of this ode to the context. Cf. Griffith (1999) ad *Ant.* 370-5.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., Waldock (1951) 112-3; Brown (1987) 154-5; Gardiner (1987) 87.

<sup>6</sup> E. g., Goheen (1951) 26-35; Griffith (1999) 179-181.

<sup>7</sup> E. g., Conacher (1980) 82-97; Brown (1987) 153-7; Griffith (1999) 179-190.

<sup>8</sup> E. g., Havelock (1957); Cole (1967) 1-13; Guthrie (1969) 60-84; Dodds (1973) 1-25; Blundell (1986) 165-202. Utzinger (2003) offers a comprehensive examination of the texts with the notion of cultural progress. My present article is much humbler in scope, concentrating on the comparison of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and what I shall call 'Prometheus type texts' (see section 2).

point out some special characteristics of this ode which emerge from the comparison. And, based on this comparison, I shall try to reexamine the issue of the tone of the representation of humans in this ode, and the issue of how independent this ode is from the rest of the *Antigone*.

## 2. Texts on Cultural Progress

Before we look at the texts on cultural progress, I would like to mention two other texts with which the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode shares conspicuous affinities. One is the first stasimon of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* (585-651).<sup>9</sup> The beginnings of these two odes are conspicuously similar, so Sophocles' adaptation in his *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode is probable.<sup>10</sup> Another text is a passage in Solon 13W. Lines 43-66 of this elegiac poem enumerate six human activities (navigation, agriculture, craftsmanship, music, divination, medicine), and it is notable that navigation and agriculture appear as the first and the second entries, and medicine as the last entry both in Solon 13W and the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode. Though Solon 13W enumerates various human activities, the notion of cultural progress is not involved.<sup>11</sup>

Now I turn to the texts, most of which belong to middle and late fifth century BCE, which enumerate technical skills and express the notion of cultural progress. Two texts are associated with the mythological figure of Prometheus. First is the *Prometheus Bound*.<sup>12</sup> In lines 442-503, Prometheus enumerates intellect, carpentry, astronomy/calendar, numerals, letters, use of animals for labour, navigation, medicine, and divination as his gifts to humans. Next is Plato's *Protagoras* 321c-322d, where Protagoras recounts his version of the Prometheus myth. Though this dialogue was written in the fourth century BCE, it may contain some elements of what the sophist Protagoras taught when he visited Athens in the middle of the fifth

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<sup>9</sup> The date of the *Choephoroi* is 458 BCE.

<sup>10</sup> Friedländer (1934) 58-9; Garvie (1986) ad *Cho.* 585-93. Cairns (2014), 7-9 analyses the echo of the first stasimon of the *Choephoroi* in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode in detail. The beginnings of both the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the first stasimon of the *Choephoroi* contain *πολλὰ* and *δεινὰ*: *πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ τρέφει δαινὰ δειμάτων ἄχη* (*Cho.* 585-6) / *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κούδ' ἄνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει* (*Ant.* 332-3). Not only the use of these two adjectives but also the use of the rhetorical figure of priamel is a shared feature. Cf. Race (1982) 17.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the perceptive interpretation on the echo of Solon 13W in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode in Cairns (2014), 5-7. For an earlier instance of a list of human activities, cf. Hesiod, *Works & Days* 25-6.

<sup>12</sup> The date of the *Prometheus Bound* is not certain. If the author was not Aeschylus, the date may be around 440 BCE as West (1979) 146-8 suggests. If so, the production dates of the *Prometheus Bound* and Sophocles' *Antigone* were close to each other. (The date of the *Antigone* may be 442 or 441 BCE. Cf. Griffith (1999) 2 with n. 7.) Utzinger (2003), 229, supporting non-Aeschylean authorship, denies a direct influence of the *Prometheus Bound* on the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, but allows the influence of a contemporary discussion of the origin of human culture on both texts.

century BCE.<sup>13</sup> The technical skills enumerated in this text are ‘technical wisdom together with fire (τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρὶ (321d)),’ religious cult, language, carpentry/clothing, agriculture and civic skill (πολιτικὴν τέχνην (322b)).<sup>14</sup> In Euripides’ *Suppliant Women* 201-218, Theseus enumerates technical skills with which humans are endowed by a god.<sup>15</sup> The list includes intellect, language, agriculture, carpentry/clothing, navigation and divination. The overlapping of the entries among the *Prometheus Bound*, the *Protagoras*, and the *Suppliant Women* is so extensive that I would like to put these three texts together in a group and call them ‘Prometheus type texts’, although the god who gave the skills to humans is not named in the *Suppliant Women*.<sup>16</sup>

Another group of texts deal with the mythological figure of Palamedes who invented various skills. All the three great tragedians wrote a play on this mythological material, and the extant fragments of these plays include at least a part of the lists of technical skills. In Aeschylus’ *Palamedes* fr. 181a Radt, the extant list contains only numerals, but it is evident that the original list contained more entries. Sophocles’ *Nauplius* fr. 432 Radt includes a fuller list containing fortification walls, weights, numerals, measures, battle formation, astronomy and beacon fire. In Euripides’ *Palamedes* fr. 578 Kannicht, the extant list contains only letters, but, as in Aeschylus’ *Palamedes*, the original list certainly contained more entries. Gorgias’ *Defence on behalf of Palamedes* (B11a DK), chap. 30 has a full list, in which battle formation, law, letters, measure, weights, numerals, beacon fire and dice are enumerated.<sup>17</sup> These four texts are similar not only in that they all take Palamedes’ inventions as subject, but also in the choice of the technical skills in their lists. The entries in the lists of Sophocles’ *Nauplius* and Gorgias’ *Defence on behalf of Palamedes* overlap significantly,<sup>18</sup> and numerals in Aeschylus’ *Palamedes* are common to both Sophocles’ *Nauplius* and the *Defence on behalf of Palamedes*,

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<sup>13</sup> Those who think that the great speech of Protagoras in the *Protagoras* reflects the sophist’s teaching include Guthrie (1969) 63-4. See Utzinger (2003), 125-134. Among the catalogue of Protagoras’ writings (B8b DK) is a treatise titled περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως, although nothing is known about its contents.

<sup>14</sup> πολιτικὴ τέχνη is specified as αἰδώς and δίκη (322c).

<sup>15</sup> The date of this play is not certain. Suggested dates range from 424 to 417-6 BCE. Cf. Collard (1975) vol.1, 8-14. Collard himself proposes 423 BCE.

<sup>16</sup> See the distribution of the enumerated skills in the ‘Prometheus type texts’ in the chart in the Appendix (p. 46). The black circles indicating the skills listed in the ‘Prometheus type texts’ cluster in the upper left area in the chart.

<sup>17</sup> The date of this work is not certain. Gorgias (c.485-c.380 BCE) is known to have visited Athens in 427 BCE.

<sup>18</sup> Numerals, weight, measure, battle formation and beacon fire are common to both lists.

while letters in Euripides' *Palamedes* also appear in Gorgias' *Defence*, so we may group these texts together. I will call this group 'Palamedes type texts.'<sup>19</sup>

I would like to add another text on cultural progress which belongs to the last half of the fifth century BCE, but do not fall into the two groups above. It is Critias' *Sisyphus* fr. 17 Snell.<sup>20</sup> This fragment contains a speech which states that humans invented laws and divinities.

Almost all the texts on cultural progress include the description of a primitive stage of humans, in which they were helpless, resourceless, confounded or beastlike, from which their culture progressed by the acquisition of various technical skills. Only the fragments of Sophocles' *Nauplius* and Euripides' *Palamedes* lack the description of this primitive stage, but in the original plays such descriptions may well have been included.

It should be noted that the 'Prometheus type texts' and the 'Palamedes type texts' contain different sets of skills.<sup>21</sup> The 'Prometheus type texts' enumerate skills basic to civilised human life such as intellect, language, agriculture, carpentry, navigation, and divination, whereas the 'Palamedes type texts' enumerate skills pertaining to warfare such as fortification, battle formation, and beacon fire. Other skills enumerated in the 'Palamedes type texts', i. e. numerals, letters, weights, measure are related to recording and measuring. It is probable that the 'Prometheus type texts' spread first in Athens, and the 'Palamedes type texts' appeared later as adaptation suited to the figure of Palamedes, the inventive general of the Trojan war.

In the next section, I would like to compare the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode with texts on cultural progress, especially with the 'Prometheus type texts', in respect of the choice, arrangement and wording of the technical skills enumerated, in order to clarify the special characteristics of this ode.

### **3. Comparison with Texts on Cultural Progress**

#### **(a) Similarity with the 'Prometheus type texts'**

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<sup>19</sup> In the chart in the Appendix (p. 46), the black circles indicating the skills listed in the 'Palamedes type texts' cluster in the lower right area.

<sup>20</sup> This was probably a satyr play. Its date is not certain, but is probably later than the *Antigone*, since Critias (c. 460-403 BCE) is more than twenty years younger than Sophocles. *Homeric Hymn* 20, *To Hephaestus*, which expresses the idea of cultural progress, is not securely datable to fifth century BCE.

<sup>21</sup> Only exceptions are astronomy/calendar, numerals, letters listed in the *Prometheus Bound* and some of the 'Palamedes type texts', and civic disposition/law listed both in Plato's *Protagoras* and Gorgias' *Defence on behalf of Palamedes*. May the author of the *Prometheus Bound* have intended to make the list of skills longer, so that the benevolence of Prometheus to humans can be exaggerated?

It is notable that the technical skills enumerated in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode conspicuously overlap with the skills enumerated in the ‘Prometheus type texts.’<sup>22</sup> Out of the nine skills in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, intellect and carpentry are common to all three of the ‘Prometheus type texts.’ Navigation, agriculture and language are common to two of the ‘Prometheus type texts.’ Use of animals for labour, civic disposition and medicine are present in one of the ‘Prometheus type texts.’ Only hunting/fishing does not occur in any of the ‘Prometheus type texts.’

On the other hand, the technical skills enumerated in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode do not overlap with those enumerated in the ‘Palamedes type texts’. It is especially notable that one of the ‘Palamedes type texts’ is the *Nauplius* by Sophocles himself, and that there is no overlap between the nine skills in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the seven skills in the *Nauplius*. Given this, it is conceivable that Sophocles knew both kinds of lists of technical skills, and chose to incorporate the sort of technical skills that were usually associated with Prometheus into his *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode. If this assumption is correct, one may see the ‘Prometheus type texts’ as reflections of a typical pattern which Sophocles probably had in mind as he composed the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, just as he probably also had the first stasimon of the *Choephoroi* and Solon 13W in mind.

### **(b) Differences from the ‘Prometheus type texts’**

There are also notable differences between the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the ‘Prometheus type texts’. One feature of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode which emerges from these differences is that humans are represented as more independent from gods in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode than in the ‘Prometheus type texts’. Firstly, humans themselves discover technical skills in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, whereas Prometheus and other gods teach them in the ‘Prometheus type texts’.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode does not mention divination/religious cult, which all three ‘Prometheus type texts’ include.<sup>24</sup> Since divination and religious cult are means of communication between humans and gods, lack of these in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode

<sup>22</sup> In the chart in the Appendix (p. 46), it is easy to see that the nine black circles indicating skills in the first stasimon of the *Antigone* (the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode) roughly correspond to the black circles indicating the skills listed in the ‘Prometheus type texts’ in the upper left area.

<sup>23</sup> Brown (1987) 154; Ditmars (1992) 52; Kitlinger (2008) 21. In the *Protagoras*, humans themselves invent religious cult, language, carpentry, clothing, shoes, bedding and agriculture, but these inventions are based on the ‘technical wisdom with fire’ given to them by Prometheus, and the crucial πολιτικὴ τέχνη is given to them by Zeus through Hermes.

<sup>24</sup> Brown (1987) 154. The description of divination is especially detailed in the *Prometheus Bound* (484-499).

makes its representation of humans less dependent on gods than in the 'Prometheus type texts'. In this connection, it is notable that agriculture is described in terms of ploughing which harasses the Earth, the highest goddess (*Ant.* 337-341), so that impiety is attached to it, whereas agriculture is referred to in terms of harvest in the *Protagoras*<sup>25</sup> and the *Suppliant Women*<sup>26</sup>, and there is no hint of impiety in connection with the mention of agriculture.<sup>27</sup> The hint of impiety attached to agriculture, which is absent from the 'Prometheus type texts', adds to the effect of presenting humans as independent from gods in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode.

Another feature of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, which emerges from their differences from the 'Prometheus type texts', is the representation of humans as aggressive towards outside world.<sup>28</sup> In the first strophe, the human being is said to go out on sea (*Ant.* 334-7) and on land (*Ant.* 337-341). It should be noted that the description of navigation includes the detail that the seafaring takes place 'under the wintry/stormy South wind (*χειμερίῳ νότῳ*)' (*Ant.* 335), but the season of this wind was generally deemed dangerous for seafaring, so the reckless use of this skill seems to be emphasised.<sup>29</sup> Agriculture, described as an act of harassing the Earth, as we noted above, also adds to the impression of human aggressiveness. And in the first antistrophe, humans hunt birds in the sky, beasts on land, and creatures in the sea (*Ant.* 342-7). Humans also catch and tame wild horses and bulls for labour (*Ant.* 347-352). Thus the first half of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode is occupied with the descriptions of humans going out and moving about both on land and sea,<sup>30</sup> catching wild creatures and taking them back.

In the 'Prometheus type texts', on the other hand, the description of the primitive stage of humans precedes the enumeration of skills.<sup>31</sup> The description of the primitive stage is common to almost all the texts which express the notion of cultural progress, as we noted above. If a description of the primitive stage had been

<sup>25</sup> τὰς ἐκ γῆς τροφάς (*Prot.* 322a).

<sup>26</sup> τροφήν τε καρποῦ (*Suppl.* 205).

<sup>27</sup> Friedländer (1934) 59. Solon 13W (47-8) refers to agriculture in terms of ploughing but gives no hint of impiety of humans. In [Hesiod], *Shield of Heracles*, there is a description of ploughers as rending the divine earth: οἱ δ' ἀροτῆρες / ἤρεικον χθόνα διὰν (286-7).

<sup>28</sup> Griffith (1999) 181: 'culture is presented as an aggressive process of 'defeating' and 'mastering' nature.'

<sup>29</sup> At *Works and Days* 673-7, Hesiod advises cessation from seafaring before 'the approaching winter/storm and the terrible blasts of the South wind (*χειμῶν' ἐπιόντα Νότοιο τε δεινὰς ἀήτας*)'.

<sup>30</sup> This is emphasised by the repeated use of verbs which involve the notion of spatial movement: *χωρεῖ* (336), *περῶν* (337), *ἰλλομένων* (340), *πολεύων* (341), *ἄγει* (343).

<sup>31</sup> *νηπίους ὄντας* (*P. V.* 443), *γυμνόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόδητον καὶ ἄστρωτον καὶ ἄοπλον* (*Prot.* 321c), *πεφυρμένου καὶ θηριώδους* (*Suppl.* 201-2).

included in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, a picture of humans as weak and vulnerable would have preceded the enumeration of technical skills. In all three of the ‘Prometheus type texts’, the acquisition of intellect/wisdom marks the first departure from the primitive stage.<sup>32</sup> In two of the ‘Prometheus type texts’, the acquisition of language follows closely after the acquisition of intellect.<sup>33</sup> Language and intellect are mentioned in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, but they appear in the second strophe as fifth and sixth entries.<sup>34</sup>

In the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode, hunting/fishing appears as the third entry after navigation and agriculture. It may seem curious that hunting/fishing does not occur in any of the ‘Prometheus type texts’, nor in any other text we are looking at in this paper.<sup>35</sup> The elaborate description of hunting/fishing in the first half of the first antistrophe adds greatly to the impression of the aggressiveness of humans towards the natural world.

Compared to the arrangement of technical skills in the ‘Prometheus type texts’, which is preceded by the primitive stage and starts with intellect (and, in two of the texts, is followed closely by language), the emphasis on the aggressiveness of humans towards the outside world in the first half of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode stands out.

The third feature of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode is its indication of the limitation of technical skills. In the second strophe, the human being is said to be *παντοπόρος* [all-inventive] and not *ἄπορος* [helpless] towards anything (*Ant.* 360-1). After this strong assertion of human inventiveness, however, one exception is added: *Ἄϊδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται* [will not obtain only the escape from Hades] (*Ant.* 362-3). Mention of death as the limitation of human technical skills can be found neither in the ‘Prometheus type texts’ nor in other texts on cultural progress examined in this paper.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> ἔννους ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπιβόλους (*P. V.* 444), τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί (*Prot.* 321d), σύνεσιν (*Suppl.* 203).

<sup>33</sup> Language is the second entry in Euripides’ *Suppliant Women* (ἄγγελον γλῶσσαν λόγων (203-4)), and the third entry in the *Protagoras* (φωνὴν καὶ ὀνόματα (322a)).

<sup>34</sup> καὶ φθέγμα καὶ ἀνεμόεν φρόνημα (*Ant.* 353).

<sup>35</sup> It may be a coincidence that no list of technical skills including hunting/fishing survived from the fifth century BCE, though such lists existed. Or since carnivorous creatures also hunt, might hunting/fishing not have been felt to be a particularly cultural activity? On the other hand, the mention of creatures in the sky, on the land, and in the sea in the first antistrophe of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode can be seen as another echo of the first stasimon of the *Choephoroi*. See Cairns (2014), 8.

<sup>36</sup> At *Prometheus Bound* 248, Prometheus proclaims that he made humans unable to foresee their deaths. Cairns (2014), 6-7 points out that the limitation of human skills is repeatedly mentioned in Solon 13W.



Another limitation of technical skills is stated in the second antistrophe. The technical skills may not necessarily cause the human being to advance in the right direction. The human being, having acquired the acumen of technical skills, is said to proceed sometimes towards evil and sometimes towards good (*Ant.* 365-7).<sup>37</sup> Then the humans are divided into two categories, i.e. ὑψίπολις and ἄπολις:

νόμους παρείρων χθονὸς  
θεῶν τ' ἔνορκον δίκαν  
ὑψίπολις· ἄπολις ὅτω τὸ μὴ καλὸν  
ξύνεστι τόλμας χάριν. (Ant. 368-371)

[The one applying laws of land and sworn justice of gods is *hypsipolis*,  
*apolis* is the one with whom evil abides because of daring.]<sup>38</sup>

The antithesis of ὑψίπολις and ἄπολις (*Ant.* 370) is underlined by the fact that these two words and παντοπόρος· ἄπορος (*Ant.* 360) in the second strophe occupy metrically corresponding positions.<sup>39</sup>

In two of the 'Prometheus type texts', the *Prometheus Bound* and Euripides' *Suppliants*, no distinction among humans is mentioned, nor is there any mention of law or justice. In the *Protagoras*, all humans are said to be endowed with the πολιτικὴ τέχνη (precisely αἰδώς and δίκη), but exception is made for those who should be put to death because they cannot share αἰδώς and δίκη (*Prot.* 322c-d). So the distinction between ὑψίπολις and ἄπολις in the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ ode is similar to only one of the 'Prometheus type texts'.<sup>40</sup>

The first stasimon of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* emphasises the moral defect of humans (especially of women), repeatedly employing words containing etymological elements common to τόλμα<sup>41</sup>. It should be noted that in the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ ode, the ἄπολις is described as ὅτω τὸ μὴ καλὸν ξύνεστι τόλμας χάριν (*Ant.* 370-1). It is conceivable that, not only the beginning of the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ ode, but

<sup>37</sup> τοτὲ μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἔσθλον ἔρπει (*Ant.* 367).

<sup>38</sup> The manuscript reading παρείρων[inserting, applying] (368) is defended by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990) 124. Dawe, Brown and Griffith accept Reiske's conjecture γεραίρων [honouring].

<sup>39</sup> Bonadeo (1982) 37-8.

<sup>40</sup> This and other correspondences between the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ ode and the myth of Prometheus in Plato's *Protagoras* led some critics to argue for the influence of the teaching of historical Protagoras on Sophocles, including Ditmars (1992) 52-3. The mention of law features also in Gorgias' *Defence on behalf of Palamedes* B11a, 25-6 (νόμους τε γραπτὸς φύλακας τοῦ δικαίου) and in Critias' *Sisyphus* fr. 43, 5-7 (κάπειτά μοι κακοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους / θέσθαι κολαστάς, ἵνα δίκη τύραννος ἦ / . . . τήν τ' ὕβριν δούλην ἔχη).

<sup>41</sup> ὑπέρολμον (*Cho.* 594), τλαμόνων (*Cho.* 597), παντόλμους (*Cho.* 597).

also the notion of τόλμα as the cause of immorality, may be another echo of the first stasimon of the *Choephoroi*.<sup>42</sup>

#### 4. Points of Contact with the Context of the *Antigone*

If a typical pattern of enumeration of technical skills associated with Prometheus was circulating in the latter half of the fifth century BCE and Sophocles was aware of it and adopted most of the technical skills associated with this pattern to his πολλά τὰ δεινά ode, the differences from all or some of the ‘Prometheus type texts’ pointed out in the previous section can be seen as conscious departures. As for the possible reasons why Sophocles departed from the common pattern, one should reflect how the differences from the ‘Prometheus type texts’ contribute to creating points of contact between this ode and the context of the *Antigone*.

We have seen above that humans are presented as independent from gods in the πολλά τὰ δεινά ode in contrast to the representation of humans in the ‘Prometheus type texts’. One should also note that the emphasis on human independence from gods presents a striking contrast with the emphasis on human vulnerability to divine powers uttered by the Theban elders and others later in the *Antigone*. In the second stasimon (*Ant.* 582-625), the Theban elders repeatedly mention the idea that human destruction is caused by gods (*Ant.* 584-5, 593-603, 622-5).<sup>43</sup> It has been pointed out that there are conspicuous verbal echoes of the πολλά τὰ δεινά ode in the second stasimon.<sup>44</sup> Teiresias announces that the Erinyes of Hades and other gods lie in wait for Creon in order to cause him harm (*Ant.* 1074-6). The Theban elders urge Creon to liberate Antigone and bury Polyneices, repeating the danger of divine retribution (*Ant.* 1100-1, 1103-4). The third stasimon (*Ant.* 1115-1154) as a whole is an invocation to Bacchus to come to rescue the city of Thebes which is in a state of severe illness (*Ant.* 1140-2). The lack of divination in the list of technical skills of the πολλά τὰ δεινά ode, pointed out above, also makes a contrast to the detailed description of the divination by Teiresias (*Ant.* 998-1022). The contrast between human independence from gods in the πολλά τὰ δεινά ode and human vulnerability to divine powers repeatedly mentioned later in the play

<sup>42</sup> Bonadeo (1982) 38; Cairns (2014), 8.

<sup>43</sup> Dodds (1973) 8; Brown (1987) 154.

<sup>44</sup> Easterling (1978) 150. οἰδμασιν (337) / οἶδμα (587); ἀκαμάταν (339) / ἀκάματοι (607); κουφονόων (342) / κουφονόων (617); τοτὲ μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ’ ἐπ’ ἐσθλόν ἔρπει (366-7) / τὸ κακόν δοκεῖν ποτ’ ἐσθλόν (622), ἔρπον (585), ἔρπει (613), ἔρπει (618); ἀστυνόμους (355), νόμους (368) / νόμος (613). Cairns (2014), 10-14 reveals further correspondences.

seems to contribute to the effect of Creon's sudden loss of confidence after the Teiresias scene.

It is notable that some details in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινά* ode which contribute to the representation of humans as aggressive towards the outside world resonate with an expression which Creon utilises prior to the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινά* ode. The description of the taming of a wild horse includes the detail of putting a yoke on the neck: ὀχμάζεται<sup>45</sup> ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγῶ (*Ant.* 351). A similar expression appears in Creon's words describing citizens who are not obedient to himself: οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῶ λόφον δικαίως εἶχον (*Ant.* 291-2). Creon's tyrannical attitude towards the Theban citizens seems to be echoed in the aggressive attitude of humans towards wild animals through these two similar expressions, only sixty lines apart.<sup>46</sup>

The image of navigation which also contributes to the representation of humans as aggressive to the outside world and is the first entry in the list of technical skills, seems to reflect the first speech of Creon which begins with the image of navigation. As Creon appears for the first time in the play, the Theban elders wonder, 'what wisdom is he plying (ἐρέσων)?' (*Ant.* 158). Creon begins his long first speech with a metaphor of a state as a ship: ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ / πολλῶ σάλῳ σείσαντες ὠρθωσαν πάλιν [Sirs, the gods set the situation of the city securely upright again, having shaken it with much tossing] (*Ant.* 162-3).<sup>47</sup> In the same speech, Creon utilises the image of navigation again: ἦδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σῶζουσα καὶ ταύτης ἔπι / πλέοντες ὀρθῆς τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα [This (state or country = ship) is the saviour and, when it is upright, we make friends while sailing on it.] (*Ant.* 189-190).<sup>48</sup>

In connection with hunting, which features prominently in the first antistrophe of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινά* ode and contribute to the representation of humans as aggressive to the outside world, it should be noted that Antigone is represented as a bird to be hunted in the guard's speech following the ode. The guard reports to Creon that Antigone was seen crying near Polyneices' corpse after a sandstorm: ἡ

<sup>45</sup> ὀχμάζεται is a conjecture of Schöne, accepted by Dawe, Brown, Lloyd-Jones & Wilson. The manuscript readings (ἔξεταται, ἔξετ', ἄξεταται) do not scan nor make good sense. Dain accepts Brunck's conjecture ὑπάξεταται. Griffith suggests ὑπαγάγετ'.

<sup>46</sup> Goheen (1951) 27; Utzinger (2003), 64. The motif of the taming of horses appears again in Creon's words to Antigone in the second epeisodion: συμικρῶ χαλινῶ δ' οἶδα τοὺς θυμουμένους / ἵππους καταστῦθέντας (*Ant.* 477-8). Cf. Goheen (1951) 28.

<sup>47</sup> In the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινά* ode, navigation is associated with stormy/wintery south wind (χειμερίῳ νότῳ (*Ant.* 335)) and resounding waves (περιβρυχίοισιν . . . ὑπ' οἴδμασιν (*Ant.* 336-7)). Can this be seen as a further link between this ode and the opening image of navigation in Creon's first speech, which includes a reference to rough sea (πολλῶ σάλῳ σείσαντες (*Ant.* 163))?

<sup>48</sup> The imagery of navigation also appears at *Ant.* 540-1, 715-7, 994, 1284. Cf. Utzinger (2003), 63-4.

παῖς ὄραται κἀνακωκύει πικρῶς / ὄρνιθος ὄξυν φθόγγον, ὡς ὅταν κενῆς / εὐνῆς νεοσσῶν ὀρφανὸν βλέψη λέχος [This girl was seen, and she was wailing bitterly with a bird's piercing cry as when it sees, with the nest being empty, it's bed bereft of nestlings.] (*Ant.* 423-5). Ten lines later, the guard uses the image of hunting as he describes the capture of Antigone: χῆμεῖς ἰδόντες ἰέμεσθα, σὺν δέ νιν / θηρώμεθ' εὐθύς οὐδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένην [And seeing (her) we hurried, and together we immediately hunted her who was not shocked at all.] (*Ant.* 432-3). Considering the connection of the representation of humans as aggressive in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and the words of Creon pointed out above, this image of hunting of a bird applied to Antigone only fifty some lines after the ode may be significant.<sup>49</sup>

To the third feature of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode distinct from the 'Prometheus type texts', i.e. the limitation of human technical skills, belongs the mention of Hades/death (*Ant.* 361-2). Death and the dead are frequently talked about before the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode.<sup>50</sup> After the ode, not only do death and the dead continue to be talked about, but also the name of Hades (or Pluto) is repeatedly mentioned.<sup>51</sup> Among these numerous references to Hades, one should especially note Antigone's claim that Hades endorses or recognises her act of burial (*Ant.* 519, 542)<sup>52</sup>, Teiresias' warning that Hades will punish Creon (*Ant.* 1074-6)<sup>53</sup>, and Creon's recognition of Hades' power (*Ant.* 1199-1200, 1284-5).<sup>54</sup>

Another aspect of the limitation of human technical skills, i.e., the moral ambiguity of humans in respect of the observation of law/justice is a major theme of the *Antigone*.<sup>55</sup> Creon declares in his first speech: τοιοῖσδ' ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' αὖξω πόλιν [With these laws, I will strengthen this city.] (*Ant.* 191). This seems to

<sup>49</sup> The image of hunting also occurs at *Ant.* 92.

<sup>50</sup> E. g., *Ant.* 13-4, 35-6, 49-60, 72-5, 144-8, 170-4, 194-206, 245-7, 255-6, 282-3, 308-9.

<sup>51</sup> Αἰδης or Αἰδης: *Ant.* 519, 542, 575, 581, 654, 777, 780, 811, 822, 1075, 1205, 1241, 1284. Πλούτων: *Ant.* 1200. There is a reference to Persephone at *Ant.* 894.

<sup>52</sup> Antigone claims that Hades desires the funeral rites for Polyneices: ὅμως ὃ γ' Αἰδης τοὺς νόμους [rites] τούτους ποθεῖ (*Ant.* 519). She also says that Hades and the dead are the witnesses for her deed: ὧν τοῦργον Αἰδης χοῖ κάτω ξυνίστορες [As for whose deed it was, Hades and those below are the witnesses.] (*Ant.* 542).

<sup>53</sup> τούτων σε λωβητῆρες ὑστεροφθόροι / λοχῶσιν Αἰδου καὶ θεῶν Ἐρινύες, / ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε ληφθῆναι κακοῖς [For these (exposure of Polyneices' corpse and entombment of living Antigone), the Furies of Hades and of gods, who will harm and destroy later, lie in wait so that you will be caught up in these same evils] (*Ant.* 1074-6).

<sup>54</sup> The messenger reports (*Ant.* 1199-1200) that before they performed funeral rites for Polyneices, he and Creon prayed together to Hecate and Pluto/Hades to restrain their anger. After the death of Haemon, Creon laments why Hades destroyed him: ἰὼ, ἰὼ δυσκάθαρος Ἄδου λιμήν, τί μ' ἄρα τί μ' ὀλέκεις; [Oh, oh, unappeasable haven of Hades, why me, why do you ruin me?] (*Ant.* 1284-5).

<sup>55</sup> For the ambiguity of the expression νόμους παρείρων χθονὸς θεῶν τ' ἔνορκον δίκαν (*Ant.* 368-9) in view of the action of the play as a whole, see most recently Kitzinger (2008) 27, n. 26.

correspond to one possible meaning of ὑψίπολις, 'one who raises the city high'. In reply to the Theban elders' suggestion that the token burial of Polyneices was caused by gods, Creon describes Polyneices' act as intended against gods' precincts and laws: 'He came to burn the pillared-temples and votive offerings, and to scatter their (i.e. the gods') land and laws (νόμους)' (*Ant.* 285-7). The verb *τολμάω*, which is etymologically connected with *τόλμα* used in the description of ἄπολις in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode (*Ant.* 370-1), is used by Creon as he condemns the one who performed the token burial of Polyneices: *ὁ τολμήσας τάδε* (*Ant.* 248). So when the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode is sung, ὑψίπολις may seem to correspond to Creon, and ἄπολις to Polyneices and the culprit of the forbidden burial. But later in the play, Antigone proclaims the distinction between Creon's decree and the eternal and unwritten divine law: *οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥοιμην τὰ σὰ / κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῆ θεῶν / νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητά γ' ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν* [I didn't think that your decrees, being mortal, had power to supersede the unwritten and steadfast laws of gods.] (*Ant.* 453-5). After hearing the prophecy of Teiresias, Creon fears that he should have observed the established laws: *δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους / ἄριστον ἢ σῶζοντα τὸν βίον τελεῖν* [For I fear that it is best to end one's life observing the established laws.] (*Ant.* 1113-4). Furthermore, the chorus remarks that Creon seems to have realised *δίκη* too late (*Ant.* 1270). Thus the correspondence between ὑψίπολις and Creon is questioned through the course of the drama.<sup>56</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Comparison with texts on cultural progress attempted in this paper offers an additional support to the view that Sophocles was aware of a typical discourse on cultural development with an enumeration of technical skills, which was reflected in what I called the 'Prometheus type texts', when he composed the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode. The technical skills listed in the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode largely coincide with those listed in the 'Prometheus type texts', but some notable differences in the choice, arrangement and presentation of the skills point to three features of the representation of humans as special characteristics of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode.

Two features, i.e. humans represented as independent from gods and humans represented as aggressive towards the outside world, while emphasizing the high degree of human achievements, hint at the impiousness or recklessness of humans. The third feature, the limitation of technical skills, also detracts from the praise of

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. J. Pinsent (1983) 3; Utzinger (2003), 65-72.

humans. Therefore, comparison with the ‘Prometheus type texts’ suggests that, though the predominant tone of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode is positive, some care was taken also to incorporate hints at the negative aspects of humans possessing technical skills.

We have also seen that these departures from the ‘Prometheus type texts’ often form points of contact with the rest of the *Antigone* on different levels. Some of these relate the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode to phrases Creon uses before the ode, and others to major themes in this drama such as human dependence on gods, power of Hades, and the divine law. Thus, although the conjunction between the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* ode and its immediate context is not so obvious, comparison with the ‘Prometheus type texts’ reveals some traces of the incorporation of elements which help this ode to be thematically relevant in the wider context of the *Antigone*.

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Appendix  
 Chart of Skills listed in *Antigone*, Solon 13W,  
 ‘Prometheus type texts’, and ‘Palamedes type texts’

See notes 16, 19, 22. The numerals in black circles indicate the order of entries in each text.

	‘Prometheus type texts’			‘Palamedes type texts’				
	Soph. <i>Ant. First</i> Stasimon	Solon 13W 43-62	[Aesch.] <i>P.V.</i> 442-503	Plato <i>Prot.</i> 321c-322d	Eur. <i>Suppl.</i> 201-218	Aesch. <i>Palam.</i> fr. 181a	Soph. <i>Naupl.</i> fr. 432	Eur. <i>Palam.</i> fr. 578
primitive stage			*	*	*	*		*
navigation	①	①	⑦		⑤			
agriculture	②	②		⑤	③			
hunting/fishing	③							
use of animals	④		⑥					
language	⑤			③	②			
intellect/wisdom	⑥		①	①	①			
civic disposition/law	⑦			⑥				②
carpentry/clothing	⑧		②	④	④			
medicine	⑨	⑥	③					
divination/religious cult		⑤	⑨	②	⑥			
use of metals			⑩					
astronomy/calendar			③				⑥	
numerals			④			①	③	⑥
letters			⑤					① ③
weights							②	⑤
measure							④	④
fortification							①	
battle formation							⑤	①
beacon							⑦	⑦
dice								③
craftsmanship		③						
poetry		④						