











ANTI MIAΣ





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# ANTI MIAΣ

AN ESSAY IN ISOMETRY

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IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. I

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## PREFACE

OFTEN, when I have been reading various portions of lyrical Greek, both in the course of private study and as a schoolmaster with a form, I have been impelled to doubt the validity of the correspondence, in strophic-antistrophic composition, between one long and two shorts. The examples of the correspondence so frequently appeared to me to be associated with readings either obviously corrupt or at any rate of great difficulty, and the correspondence itself seemed to be so distinct an exception to the prevailing laws of choric composition, that my suspicions became thoroughly aroused.

But my ordinary reading enabled me to come to no definite conclusion. A group of tragedies, or even a book of Pindaric odes, contains by itself insufficient data for such a purpose.

Consequently I determined to go through Greek lyrical poetry as a whole in search of a solution of the problem. I began with Bacchylides (my notes on whom I have since revised in the light obtained from the study of other lyrics), and went on with Pindar. I then worked through half Aeschylus and all Sophocles. Up to this point, I seemed to find my doubt amply confirmed.

Next, I approached Euripides. Several plays of that author fell at once into line. But other of his plays proved

perplexing in the extreme. Either he freely admitted (in some plays only) the disputable phenomenon; or else his text has suffered corruption, in those plays, in ways and to a degree not usually suspected. After considerable hesitation, I proceeded to adopt the latter alternative as a working hypothesis. I believe that I am justified by the results.

When I had done what I was able with Euripides, I turned to such parts of Aeschylus as I had left over, and to various outlying fragments.

The conclusion is to my mind irresistible—the correspondence is unlawful always and everywhere (that is to say, within the scope of the laws of the Dorian lyric). But the argument is purely cumulative; and—I regret to say—I have over and over again been obliged to suggest emendations that, though possibly right, cannot possibly by themselves carry conviction. My case does not depend on my emendations—that fact I do not regret.

If I am in error as to the conclusion which I draw, I have at least the consolation of knowing that I have collected material for the investigation of other scholars. Wide tracts of the Classics are still in effect virgin soil.

I take the expression *ἀντὶ μίᾶς* from Triclinius. It is the marginal note by means of which he calls attention to the occurrence of an example of the phenomenon which I discuss.

## CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. PINDAR . . . . .	1
II. PINDAR ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	70
III. FRAGMENTS OF PINDAR . . . . .	76
IV. BACCHYLIDES AND FRAGMENTS OF OTHER LYRIC POETS . . . . .	87
V. AESCHYLUS . . . . .	121
VI. SOPHOCLES . . . . .	234
VII. EURIPIDES . . . . .	332



## ERRATA

### VOL. I

P. 342. *Substitute for ll. 20-22*: "In that case, conformably with the primitive metre, we should probably adopt the structure which Terpander inherited, rather than that which he originated."

P. 394, l. 35, for "improved" read "unproved"

## CHAPTER I

### PINDAR

#### INTRODUCTION

THE following series of "emendations" deals, as far as Pindar is concerned, with a mass of passages which (for the most part) have remained unemended, not because first-rate scholars have not wanted to emend them, but because they have been unable to do so.

My objection to the correspondence of two shorts with a long has probably been entertained in some measure by almost every editor.

It does not seem to me that I am justified in holding back my attempts from publication, either through fear of their being ridiculed (which some of them may probably deserve to be), or from a modest feeling that I ought not to rush in where angels have feared to tread.

I have been a student of Pindar for nearly twenty years, and therefore I feel that I am bound to print, and to let the survival of the fittest prevail.

But this I want to make plain. I hate conjectural emendation, and, had I not felt impelled by a duty to my brother scholars, I should never have embarked on, to me, so distasteful a task.

It is a proved fact that, as in the eleventh epode of Horace the line "Scribere versiculōs, amore percussum gravi" corresponds to the line "Inachia furerē, silvis honorem decutit," so in accordance with the metrical laws followed by Pindar there are certain places in which a

long syllable may answer to a short, a short to a long, in the correspondence of strophe with antistrophe and of epode with epode.

But it is not a proved fact that Pindaric laws permit the correspondence of one long syllable with two short syllables. Three views on this subject have been entertained: (i.) that the correspondence is universally permissible; (ii.) that it is permissible in certain cases, but not in the second portion of a diiambus; (iii.) that it is altogether impermissible. Most modern editors incline in practice to the first view, although they make Pindar sow with the hand and not with the whole sack. The second view was that of Hermann, who in the seventh volume of his *Opuscula* writes with regard to *Pyth.* v. 2, "Ac vel per se tam invenusta est solutio in fine dipodiae iambicae, ut non possit a Pindaro admissa credi." I follow Hermann as far as he goes; but personally I should like to emend his statement, and write: "Per se tam invenusta est solutio quaelibet, ut non possit a Pindaro admissa credi."

I will proceed to examine in detail the alleged instances of the "solutio" and of its converse, "contractio," that occur in our existing Pindaric text. They are numerous, but not more numerous than might be expected in the text of a lyric poet on the assumption of their being due to corruption; they are confined in a remarkable degree to particular odes; they are nearly all susceptible of a special kind of emendation, namely, not an emendation that consists in substituting dissimilar words, but an emendation the essence of which is a strict adherence to the *ductus literarum*. I call special attention to my notes on the last Isthmian. I have read a fair amount of Tzetzes' *Chiliads*, and believe I can tell *versus politici* when I see them. But it is easy to deceive one's self.



## OLYMPICA

## FIRST OLYMPIAN ODE

## A

The first, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth strophes or antistrophes (I know of no term that includes both strophes and antistrophes) of this ode present a long in the second syllable of their ninth lines. The first antistrophe and the second strophe resolve this long into two shorts.

The lines are as follows :

- (a) l. 9. σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν  
 (b) l. 20. ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῶ σῦτο δέμας  
 (c) l. 38. ἐς ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σίπυλον  
 (d) l. 49. μαχαίρα τάμον κατὰ μέλη  
 (e) l. 67. πρὸς εὐάνθεμον δ' ὅτε φυὰν  
 (f) l. 78. ἐς Ἄλιον, κράτει δὲ πέλασον  
 (g) l. 96. ἀκμαί τ' ἰσχῦος θρασύπυνοι  
 (h) l. 107. ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἰέρων

The initial corruption was, I think, in l. 20, and then spread into the adjoining strophe. I suppose the original reading to have been ὅτ' ἀμφ' Ἀλφεῶ. ἀμφί with the dative, meaning 'by the side of' (equivalent to παρά), and not 'on both sides of,' was unknown in later Greek. That it was nevertheless Pindaric, is proved by *Nem.* iv. 85 ἀμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων. The idiom is preserved in Lycophron (Alex. 1343): ὄρους ἔπηξεν ἀμφὶ Πηνειοῦ ποτοῖς, 'He made the bank of Peneus his frontier.' Add to this the fact that by haplography ΟΤΑΜΦΑΛΦΕΩΙ would almost inevitably become ΟΤΑΛΦΕΩΙ. This would naturally be expanded into ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῶ.

Compare the very general substitution in *Ol.* xiii. 107 of ἐν Ἀργεῖ for ἀμφ' Ἀργεῖ. The scansion of the former is supported only by Δίκα in l. 7, which surely is itself a mistake for Ἀλλὰ. "Si vis pacem, para bellum."

In l. 38 of our ode I believe that the combined

effect of the corruption in l. 20 and the difficulty of understanding what I suggest Pindar wrote, caused τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἐς ἔρανον to supplant an original ἐς εὐνομώτατον αἰκνον. For the word αἰκνον see my discussion of *Pyth.* iv. 31, where the correctness of my emendation is more clearly obvious than in this passage.

The ἐρ of ἔρανον is the ἐς of a slightly corrupt reading ἐς αἰκνον. That variation necessitated the substitution of τό γ' for ἐς before εὐνομώτατον. Hence the later τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἐς ἔρανον. But the other reading is ἐς εὐνομώτατον ἔρανον. That is nearer the original.

## B

l. 64 (the sixth of the third strophe) begins in the Byzantine MSS. with the word θέσσαν (3rd person plural of an alleged sigmatic first aorist of τίθημι). Whatever may be thought of the accident, the metre (- -) is that of all the other strophes and antistrophes.

The Ambrosian (A), Parisian (C), and Medicean (D) codices present the unmetrical θέσαν αὐτὸν (the αὐτὸν being superfluous).

On these facts some editors (as Fennell) proceed to read ἔθεσαν.

Mommsen reads θέν νιν; others θήκαν.

As there is no particular reason for conjecturing ἔθεσαν, it is unnecessary to discuss the point further.

In favour of θήκαν it may be urged that the original ΘΕΚΑΝ may easily have passed into ΘΕΙΚΑΝ.

## SECOND OLYMPIAN ODE

## A

In this ode the eleventh and twelfth syllables of the third line of the first strophe consist of two shorts. The same is true of all the other strophes and antistrophes in the ode, which with the first strophe are ten in number, except that the first antistrophe has at this point one long syllable. Hence there are nine examples against one.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 3. ἦτοι Πίσα μὲν Διός· Ὀλυμπιάδα δ' ἔστασεν  
Ἡρακλῆς
- (b) l. 10. ὀφθαλμός, αἰὼν δ' (v.l. τ') ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλούτῳ  
τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων
- (c) l. 23. Κάδμοιο κούραις, ἔπαθον αἰ μεγάλα, πένθος δὲ  
πιπνεῖ βαρὺ
- (d) l. 30. Ἴνοϊ τετὰχθαι τὸν ὄλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον. ἦτοι  
βροτῶν γε κέκριται
- (e) l. 43. λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνεΐκει,  
νέοις ἐν ἀέθλοις
- (f) l. 50. Ἴσθμοῖ τε κοινὰ Χάριτες ἄνθεα τεθρίππων  
δυωδεκαδρόμων
- (g) l. 63. ἐσλοὶ νέμονται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα ταράσσοντες  
ἐν χερὸς ἀκμῇ
- (h) l. 70. ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν·  
ἔνθα μακάρων
- (i) l. 83. Ἄοῦς τε παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα. πολλὰ μοι ὑπ'  
ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
- (k) l. 90. ἐκ μαλθακῆς αὐτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας οἴστους  
ιέντες; ἐπὶ τοι

l. 10 offends not only against metre (if I am right), but also against Doric grammar. The two errors must be cured by one process.

Thrice in Pindar αἰὼν has, beyond all question, its Doric (feminine) gender :

*Pyth.* iv. 186. τὰν ἀκίνδυνον . . . αἰῶνα

*Pyth.* v. 6, 7. κλυτῆς αἰῶνος

*Nem.* ix. 44. αἰὼν ἡμέρα

Nine times the gender is left undetermined :

*Ol.* ii. 66, 67. ἄδακρυν . . . αἰῶνα

*Pyth.* iii. 86. αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλῆς

*Pyth.* viii. 97. μείλιχος αἰὼν

*Nem.* ii. 7, 8. εὐθυπομπὸς αἰὼν

*Nem.* x. 58, 59. τοῦτον . . . εἴλετ' αἰῶνα (W. Christ points out that τοῦτον refers to πότμον, not to αἰῶνα, which means "world without end")



*Isth.* iii. 18. αἰὼν . . . ἐξάλλαξεν

*Fr.* 126. τερπνὸς αἰὼν

*Fr.* 131. αἰῶνος εἶδωλον

*Fr.* 165. ἰσοδένδρου . . . αἰῶνος

Once it appears as masculine, but in such circumstances that an alteration of the gender of the article is metrically possible and will suffice to make αἰὼν feminine :

*Isth.* vi. (vii.) 41, 42. ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον  
αἰῶνα

τὰν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα would be a very slight change : and I confidently propose it.

Thrice it is distinctly masculine :

*Ol.* ii. 10. αἰὼν δ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλούτον τε καὶ  
χάριν ἄγων

*Ol.* ix. 60. μὴ καθέλοι νιν αἰὼν πότμον ἐφάψαις : but this is surely a rather amusing misreading for μὴ καθέλοι νιν αἰῶ πότμος ἐφάψαις

*Isth.* vii. (viii.) 14. πανδόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται ἐλίσσω βίου πόρον : but I would read : πανδόλιος γὰρ αἰῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρεματὰ Φελίσσει βίου πόρον. Non-sigmatic verbals often vanish

Once there is a reading disputed from antiquity :

*Nem.* iii. 75. Aristarchus read ὁ θνατὸς αἰὼν. The MSS. present either θνατὸς (without ὁ) ἔων or ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν. Note the ε of ἔων ; it is only a way of writing αι. The true reading is, I strongly believe, ὄμαλκος αἰὼν (echoed in Aesch. *Ag.* 108 ἀλκῆ σύμφυτος αἰὼν). θνατὸς is an ancient gloss on ὄμαλκος—they were born together, and they will die together. Cf. Deuteronomy xxxiii. 25 “As thy days, so shall thy strength be.”

It is consequently evident that the present passage is the only one in Pindar where αἰὼν in the masculine is

really firmly established. I believe myself that the feminine *μόρσιμος* was taken for masculine, and that in consequence *ἄγουσα* was felt to be impossible. Cf. *τὸν* (for *τὰν*) *μόρσιμον αἰῶνα* (*Isth.* vi. [vii.] 41). But I do not think that this alone accounts for what has taken place. Observe that *ἄγων* stands at the end of the line, and can never have been *ἄγουσ'*. But what if the original clause ran *ἄγουσ' . . . αἰὼν*, and if *αἰὼν* itself became *ἄγων*? Short *αῑ* is a pitfall to copyists (see my emendations of *Ol.* xi. [x.] 105, and of *Pyth.* v. 91).

I have come to the deliberate conclusion that the line admits of being reconstituted, and fortunately admits of being reconstituted in one way only, as the words will only scan in one order.

Therefore I write :

ὄφθαλμός, <sup>ᾗ</sup> *μόρσιμος ἄγουσ'* ἔφεπε πλούτον τε καὶ χάριν  
αἰὼν

<sup>ᾗ</sup> means 'where,' and the **AI** has served as a bait to *αἰὼν*.

I have no occasion elsewhere, except in the last Isthmian, to deal with so serious a dislocation of the text. It may be observed that Hermann retains the ordinary reading, with the addition of *ὁ* before *πλούτον*. In metrical principle I consequently have him at my back. Heyne inserts not *ὁ*, but *ἐπ'*, and reads *ἄλβον* for *πλούτον*. Schwickert reads *μοιρίδιος ἄλβον*.

## B

In the same set of lines that I have just considered two short syllables stand eight times before the final iambus. On two occasions a long syllable replaces them :

(a) l. 3. ἦτοι Πῖσα μὲν Διός· Ὀλυμπιάδα δ' ἔστασεν  
Ἡρακλῆς

(b) l. 10. ὄφθαλμός, αἰὼν δ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλούτον τε  
καὶ χάριν ἄγων, or with the emendation  
suggested above, which does not affect  
this point of metre

- (c) l. 23. Κάδμοιο κούραις, ἔπαθον αἰ μεγάλα, πένθος δὲ  
πιτνεῖ βαρὺ
- (d) l. 30. Ἴνοι τετᾶχθαι τὸν ὄλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον. ἦτοι  
βροτῶν γε κέκριται
- (e) l. 43. λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνείκει, νέοις  
ἐν ἀέθλοις
- (f) l. 50. Ἴσθμοῖ τε κοιναὶ Χάριτες ἄνθεα τεθρίππων  
δυωδεκαδρόμων
- (g) l. 63. ἐσλοὶ νέμονται βίοντον, οὐ χθόνα τaráσσοντες  
ἐν χερὸς ἀκμᾷ
- (h) l. 70. ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν·  
ἐνθα μακάρων
- (i) l. 83. Ἄους τε παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα. πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος  
ὠκέα βέλη
- (k) l. 90. ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὐτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας οἴστον  
ιέντες; ἐπὶ τοι

In *Ol.* xi. (x.) l. 25, the MSS. read—

βωμὸν ἐξάριθμον Ἑρακλέης ἐκτίσσατο,

where βωμὸν ἐξάριθμον is a superfluous addition, derived from *Ol.* v. 5 (so Boeckh). The metre requires simply  $\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup$ . All that the sense demands is 'Hercules founded.' Triclinius omits βωμὸν ἐξάριθμον and for Ἑρακλέης reads βίη Ἑρακλέος. Perhaps he is right, except for the η of βίη: at any rate he is illuminating. In l. 3 of *Ol.* ii. we must read Ἑρακλέος ἴς. This expression occurs in Hes. *Th.* 951.

In l. 23 the present πιτνεῖ is grammatically awkward, let alone the doubt or more than doubt as to the circumflexed forms. Hesychius tells us that one meaning of πετάννυμι is κουφίζω. That is the word we want here. Read πίτνατο. If I am at all on the right track in my emendations, they tend to show that this is exactly the curious sort of partial corruption of words which characterizes the Pindaric MSS.

## C

The fifth line of all the strophes and antistrophes begins with a spondee, except that all the MSS., save



only those that embody Moschopulus' recension, replace this spondee in the fifth line of the fourth strophe by the word *κενεὰν*.

Tycho Mommsen scans *κενεὰν* as an iamb, thus not making it an example of the phenomenon which we are investigating, but an instance of an initial syllable of varying quantity.

But it seems to be beyond dispute that we ought to follow Moschopulus, as do the great mass of editors, and read *κεινὰν*.

In view of the version presented in perhaps the most deservedly admired of modern English translations of Pindar, it may be desirable to call attention to the fact that *κείναν* and *κεινάν* are different words.

## D

The sixth line of the five strophes and five antistrophes of this ode normally presents a long syllable immediately before the cretic which precedes the caesura before the six final syllables; but in the second strophe and in the last antistrophe this long syllable is replaced in the MSS. by two shorts. The lines run thus:

- (a) l. 6. *γεγωνητέον, ὅπι* (leg. cum Hermannō ὅπι)  
*δίκαιον ξένων, ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγατος*
- (b) l. 13. *ἀέθλων τε κορυφὰν πόρον τ' Ἀλφειοῦ, ἰανθεὶς*  
*ἁοιδαῖς*
- (c) l. 26. *κεραυνοῦ ταννέθειρα Σεμέλα, φιλεῖ δέ μιν*  
*Παλλὰς αἰεὶ*
- (d) l. 33. *ἀτειρεὶ σὺν ἀγαθῷ τελευτάσομεν, ῥοαὶ δ' ἄλλοτ'*  
*ἄλλαι*
- (e) l. 46. *ὄθεν σπέρματος ἔχοντα ῥίζαν πρέπει τὸν*  
*Αἰνησιδάμου*
- (f) l. 53. *ὁ μὰν πλούτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν*  
*τε καὶ τῶν*
- (g) l. 66. *θεῶν, οὔτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις, ἄδακρυν*  
*νέμονται*

- (h) l. 73. τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων, ὕδωρ  
δ' ἄλλα φέρβει
- (i) l. 86. χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ Φειδῶς φυᾶ, μαθόντες  
δὲ λάβροι
- (k) l. 93. τεκεῖν μὴ τιν' ἑκατόν γε Φετέων πόλιν φίλοις  
ἄνδρα μᾶλλον

In l. 26 I have come to the conclusion that the true reading is *κεραυνοῖο Σεμέλα τανύθριξ*. The corruption of *κεραυνοῖο* into *κεραυνοῦ* necessitated the reconstitution, *ταννέθειρα Σεμέλα*. But observe how the copyist has refused to depart, even in emendation, from the main *ductus literarum* of *τανυθρίξ*.

But with all his care, he seems to me to have made a false quantity. There are adjectives both from *ἔθειρ* and from *ἔθειρᾶ*. See Archilochus' *Iobacchi* (*χρυσοέθειρ*) and *ἔθειρ* in Suidas and *E. M.*, also Heliodorus iii. 2; but a feminine *ταννέθειρᾶ* would surely be impossible in classical times. *τανύς* + *ἔθειρᾶ* would normally yield *ταννέθειρος*, the feminine of which (were it separate in form from the masculine) would be *ταννεθείρᾶ*. An adjective of this type is *ἀγλαέθειρος*. See also my treatment of Euripides, *Orestes*, 322.

The only authority that I can discover for the *ᾶ* feminine form consists of two passages: Maximus Epirota, *Περὶ καταρχ.* 95, 220 (*χρυσοέθειρα Θεαντίς*), and Nonnus, *Ev. sec. S. Jo.* xi. 4 (*καλλιέθειρα*), which may be dismissed, and one passage in Anacreon apud Hephaest. (Bergk 76), where *εὐέθειρα χρυσόπεπλε κούρα* conceals *εὐέθειρε χρυσόπεπλε κοῦρε* (one of Bergk's readings), or *εὐέθειρα χρυσόπεπλε κοῦρε*.

On the other hand, a purely masculine form *ταννέθειρᾶ*, acc. *ταννέθειρᾶν*, would not be analogically impossible, though Dionysus for example is never so described.

*τριαῖνᾶ* yields in Pindar the masculines *εὐτριαῖνᾶ*, *ἀγλαοτριαῖνᾶ* and *ὀρσοτριαῖνᾶ*, with accusative short (*ἀγλαοτριαῖνᾶν*).

I can conceive that a lyric poet might call Poseidon *εὐάγκυρᾶ*: but did *ναῦς εὐάγκυρᾶ* exist, it would be Nonnine and not Greek.

What I have said has reference only to compounds of trisyllabic proparoxytone feminine substantives. The disyllabic paroxytone *πέζα* stands on a different footing. Not only is the substantive *τράπεζα* (which in origin can hardly be anything but an adjective meaning 'the four-footed one') feminine, but the adjectival forms *ἀργυρόπεζα* (*Iliad* passim, and *Pyth.* ix. 8) and *φοινικόπεζα* (*Ol.* vi. 94, and *Paeans*, ii. 77) are never anything except feminine.

It is worth notice that there exists a half-way reading, *τανέθειρα*.

In l. 93 *ἐκατόν γε Φετέων* (MSS. *ἐκατόν γ' ἐτέων*) ought to be *ἐκατονφετήρων*, 'no city among those that date back for a hundred years.' The other MS. reading, *ἐκατόν τ' ἐτέων*, is more manifestly a depravation of *ἐκατονταετέων*.

This corruption is typical and of very high interest. The Greek word for 'a hundred' is *ἐκατόν* and not *ἐκάοντα*, but the late Greeks formed compounds as if the word were *ἐκάοντα*. It is beyond question to my mind that *ἐκατοντα-* in classical Greek is always corrupt. *ἐκατον-* is preserved in Pindar in the following words:—

*ἐκατόγγυια* (*Fr.* ap. Athen. xiii. p. 573 F).

*ἐκατογκεφάλια* (*Ol.* iv. 7).

*ἐκατόγκρανος* (*Pyth.* viii. 16).

*ἐκατόγχειρα* (*Oxyrhynchus Paeon*, viii. 31).

*ἐκατόμβας* (*Pyth.* x. 33).

*ἐκατόμπεδοι* (*Isth.* vi. 32).

*ἐκατοντα-* has caused the correct reading in the present passage to disappear, and is corruptly read in the words:

*ἐκατονταετεί* (*Pyth.* iv. 282).

*ἐκατοντακάρανος* (*Pyth.* i. 16).

*ἐκατοντόργιον* (*Fr.* ap. Schol. Arat. *Phaen.* 282).

In the fourth Pythian the reading is *ἐκατονταετεί βιοτᾶ*. The hiatus after *βιοτᾶ* is enough in itself to show that the true reading is *βιοτᾶς*. Hence we arrive directly at the metrical and correct *ἐκατόν Φέτεσιν βιοτᾶς*.

In the fragment the *τ* of *ἐκατοντόργιον* will clearly go out. But the first Pythian is profoundly interesting.



In l. 16 for *Τυφὸς ἑκατοντακάρανος* we obviously must read *Τυφὸς ἑκατογkάρανος*.

But the corruption has affected all the other four of the five epodes. Take first l. 56. Here we are affronted by the outrageous reading, *Ἰέρωνι θεὸς*, with *θεὸς* scanned as one short syllable. It is evident that this was a desperate expedient on the part of the copyist in order to add a short syllable to the true original *Ἰέρωνος*.

In l. 36 for *ἐπὶ συντυχίαις* read *ἐπ' ἴσον τυχαῖς* (v. Dem. 261. 26).

In l. 76 for *Σαλαμῖνος* read *Σαλαμῖν'*.

In l. 96 for *κατέχει* read *στέγει*, which goes much better with *παντᾶ*.

## E

A phenomenon of quite unusual interest is presented in the first line of each epode. The true scansion is—

---o---o---o---o---o.

This is proved by l. 55,

*ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον :*

and 95,

*Θήρωνος. ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος.*

But an attempt was made to remove one of the three successive short syllables. Hence we get in l. 95 a commonly printed v. l. *ἀλλ' αἶνον ἔβα κόρος* (from I know not what MS. source, if any); while in l. 55 *ἐτυμώτατον* was clearly altered in some lost MS. or MSS. to *ἐτήτυμον*, which (by the side of the genuine *ἐτυμώτατον*) survives in two mutilated forms (1) *ἔτυμον* and (2) *ἐτυμώτερον*, a bold paraphrase of what some copyist took to be a new kind of comparative, viz. *ἔτ' ἔτυμον* (**ΕΤΕΤΥΜΟΝ** = *ἐτήτυμον*).

In l. 75 the alteration would have been easy :

*βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθους*

could readily have been changed into

*βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖς Ῥαδαμάνθους.*

Probably it was so changed; but it was equally easy to change it back again.

In l. 35

οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ', ἃ τ' ἔτι πατρώϊον  
(τῶνδ' ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον)

has been altered into

οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ', ἃ τε πατρώϊον.

But editors have not seen this. Some indeed scan the *a* short; but they are the editors who read *αἶνον ἔβα κόρος* and so on. Others think the vowel is long and an instance of  $- = \cup \cup$ .

How are these alterations to be accounted for? Very simply. In the first epode (ll. 15 et seq.) Pindar wrote:

λοιπῶ γένει. τῶν δὲ πεπερασμένων  
ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν  
χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατὴρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος.

The highly exact *πεπερασμένων* was inevitably corrupted into the clumsy *πεπραγμένων*.

Then the vitiated metre of the first epode affected every other. As with *πατρώϊον*, so with *πεπραγμένων*. Some say the first syllable is long, and equal to two shorts.

I hope to show, in the case of the eleventh Olympian, that the true scansion has been preserved in one member only, all the rest having been altered.

In dealing with the first Pythian (on *Ol.* ii. 93) I have gone further, and have asked my readers to agree that all five epodes alike have had an extra syllable inserted—a corruption which had its birth when the Greek word *ἑκατογκάρανον* was by the foul blotterature of barbarous copyists written *ἑκατοντακάρανον*, 'hundredty-heided.'

## F

The six last syllables of the fourth line of the first four of the five epodes have a long syllable before them: in the fifth epode this long is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines:

- (α) l. 18. λάθα δὲ πότημω σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἄν  
 (β) l. 38. ἐξ οὐπερ ἔκτεινε Λᾶον μόνιμος νῖος  
 (γ) l. 58. ποιναὶς ἔτισαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχᾷ  
 (δ) l. 78. Πηλεὺς τε καὶ Κάδμος ἐν τοῖσιν ἀλέγονται  
 (ε) l. 98. ἔργοις. ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφηνεν

The Triclinian reading in l. 98 substitutes for ἀριθμὸν the apparently untranslatable ἀρθμὸν.

It seems to me obvious that ἀριθμὸν is a corruption of ἀθμὸν. ἀθμὸν is the accusative of ἀθμός, Doric for ἤθμός, 'a riddle' or 'sieve.' The meaning is: 'It would be as easy to count the countless grains of sand that flow unhindered through the sieve as to tell the tale of the kind deeds done by Theron.'

It will be observed that on another numbering of the lines (employed by W. Christ) this line is not 98 but 108. On that reckoning it would stand quite close to l. 110, which would have prefixed to it the Greek for 110, viz. ρί'.

I suggest that this marginal ρί' was taken as a correction, and that thus the (to the copyist) unintelligible ἀθμὸν was expanded into ἀριθμὸν.

An instance of this kind of corruption is to be found, I think, in *Nem.* i. 13, new reckoning; i. 16, old reckoning. The MSS. there read :

ἔγειρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσφ.

The first syllable of ἔγειρε is metrically superfluous.

The emendation σπείρε is generally adopted. But why should the very common word σπείρε ever have been altered to ἔγειρε?

I suggested some time ago that εἶρε is the true reading, and that γ' εἶρε has become ἔγειρε.

But both there and here this would imply that the corruption took place before the adoption of the vulgate numbering.

### THIRD OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.



## FOURTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## FIFTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## SIXTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## SEVENTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## EIGHTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## NINTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

## THE OLYMPIAN ODE USUALLY NUMBERED X. (XI.)

No instances.

## THE OLYMPIAN ODE USUALLY NUMBERED XI. (X.)

## A

Before the two final syllables of the first line of the strophes and antistrophes a long syllable occurs nine times; whereas two short syllables occur once only, and that in a correction by Boeckh of a manifestly unmetrical (and not unanimous) MSS. reading.

Here are the lines :

(a) l. 1. τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι

(b) l. 7. ἔκαθεν γὰρ ἐπελθὼν ὁ μέλλων χρόνος

(c) l. 22. ἄπονον δ' ἔλαβον χάρμα παῦροί τινες

(d) l. 28. πέφνε δ' Εὐρυτον, ὡς Αὐγέαν λάτριον

(e) l. 43. ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐν Πίσσᾳ ἔλσαις ὄλον τε στρατὸν

- (f) l. 49. μετὰ δώδεκ' ἀνάκτων θεῶν. καὶ πάγον  
 (g) l. 64. σταδίου μὲν ἀρίστευσεν εὐθὺν τόνον  
 (h) l. 70. ἀπὸ Μαντινέας Σᾶμος ὠλιροθίου (so Boeckh)  
 (i) l. 85. τὰ παρ' εὐκλείῃ Δίρκα χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν  
 (k) l. 91. καὶ ὅταν καλὰ Φέρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ

In l. 70 the ordinary MS. reading is Σᾶμος ἠείδετο. But the better MSS. and the scholiasts preserve a reading which is clearly much nearer the original, viz. σᾶμ' Ἀλιροθίου or σᾶμ' Ἀλιρρόθιου. Boeckh most perspicaciously emended to Σᾶμος ὠλιροθίου; but he fell short of absolute correctness in that he did not perceive that considerations of metre, coupled with the fact of the -ρρ- of the MSS., demand not ὠλιροθίου (i.e. ὁ Ἀλιρρόθιου), but ὠλιρρόθου (i.e. ὁ Ἀλιρρόθου).

Either Apollodorus has made a not very serious error, or else the same emendation should be extended to his account (and other accounts) of the man in question.

## B

In the third line of each of the five epodes, with the exception of the third, a long syllable stands at the beginning. In the third epode it is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 15. καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης. τράπε δὲ Κύκνεια μάχα  
καὶ ὑπέρβιον  
 (b) l. 36. οὐ πολλὸν ἰδὲ πατρίδα πολυκτέανον ὑπὸ στερεῶ  
πυρὶ  
 (c) l. 57. ἀκρόθινα διελὼν ἔθνε καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ὅπως ἄρα  
 (d) l. 78. ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἐπόμενοι καὶ νυν ἐπωνυμίαν  
χάριν  
 (e) l. 99. εὐάνορα πόλιν καταβρέχων, παῖδ' ἐρατὸν δ'  
'Ἀρχεστράτου

In ll. 56 and 57 the expression τὰν πολέμοιο δόσιν ἀκρόθινα διελὼν ἔθνε seems to contain a tautology. At any rate it is awkward to express both τὰν πολέμοιο δόσιν and ἀκρόθινα.

I suggest that the fact is that Pindar is etymologizing,

and that he implied, without expressing, *ἀκρόθινα* by writing *πὰρ θίνα*, 'by the bank of Alpheus.'

Graphically *ἀκρο-*, or at least *ἀκρ-*, is not far removed from *πὰρ*, and this seems to me to be the kind of mild alteration in which Pindaric copyists delighted.

## C

I have now to deal again in another, and much more interesting, aspect, with the same set of lines that I have just been handling.

The third line of each of the first four epodes ends  
 - - - - -.

The third line of the last epode ends - - - -, viz.  
 Ἄρχεστράτου.

The proper name is certain, and so is the scansion.

If the four instances that constitute the majority can readily and without duress be induced to come over to the minority of one, the coincidence of possibilities of easy emendation in four separate passages will not by any reasonable man be considered fortuitous. All my argument is cumulative, and the accumulation provided by this ode appears to me highly important.

Here are the lines once more :

(a) l. 15. καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης. τράπε δὲ Κύκνεια μάχα  
 καὶ ὑπέρβιον

(b) l. 36. οὐ πολλὸν ἰδὲ πατρίδα πολυκτέανον ὑπὸ στερεῶ  
 πυρὶ

(c) l. 57. ἀκρόθινα (or, as I have suggested, πὰρ θίνα)  
 διελὼν ἔθνε καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ὅπως ἄρα

(d) l. 78. ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἐπόμενοι καὶ νυν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 χάριν

(e) l. 99. εὐάνορα πόλιν καταβρέχων, παῖδ' ἐρατὸν δ'  
 Ἄρχεστράτου

(a) For καὶ ὑπέρβιον read χυπέρβιον.

I doubt whether καὶ ὑπέρβιον is really possible in Pindar. The similar instances (not numerous enough to be convincing by mere weight of numbers) may possibly



be contaminations from the epic metre, and due to the copyists.

Take e.g. *Ol.* ii. 83 πολλά μῦθ' ἀγκῶνος. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 928, 930, tells us that Pindar is there ridiculed for his use of ἐμίν, a word which does not occur in the present Pindaric text. Probably we should read πόλλ' ἐμίν or even πολλά μιν. The latter would be totally unintelligible to any copyist.

(b) For στερεῶ πυρὶ read στερῶ πυρὶ.

That στερῶς became doubtfully intelligible is sufficiently proved by the fact that Lycophron revels in its use (*Alex.* 205, 233, 434, 1170), while never using στερεός. στερῶς does not occur, it is true, in the extant writings of Pindar; but στερέος is only presented in one other place, viz. *Pyth.* iv. 221, where doubtless στερεῶν ὀδυνῶν is quite genuine.

(c) l. 57 is the only one that presents a difficulty; but I think the difficulty is seeming rather than real.

The true early accusative of such words as πενταετηρίς is not in -ίδα but in -ίν.

πενταετηρὶν can perfectly well be read in this place. I suggest that we ought to read it, and also to substitute πῶς for ὅπως. Either of the two words can equally well be used in the indirect construction.

I conjecture that πενταετηρὶν πῶς was deliberately altered into πενταετηρίδα πῶς, and that the latter was in its turn changed to πενταετηρίδ' ὅπως under the influence of the ὅπα in l. 56.

The accusative of πενταετηρίς occurs in two other Pindaric passages—*Ol.* iii. 21, and *Nem.* xi. 27. In both of these the MS. form is ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔ', in elision. In both I would restore πενταετηρὶν.

A further point, unconnected with the metre, arises. It is true that the -a- of πεντα- does not stand on quite the same basis as the -τα- of ἑκατοντα-.

But I for one cannot believe that Pindar employed the late form. Consequently I carry my emendation further, and maintain that the true Pindaric form is πεντε~~τ~~ετηρίς, πεντε~~τ~~ετηρὶν.

(d) For ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν read ἐπώνυμναν χάριν.



*ἄνω* is etymologically the English 'wane,' and Herodotus' *ἀνόμενον ἑτός* (vii. 20) and the like show that *ἄνη* could well mean 'waning' or 'old age.' *More suo* the copyists have turned *ἄναν* into *ἀναιδέα*: and I believe that *δαναιὸν* became *θάνατον*. For a short *αι* contributing to a corruption compare *Ol.* ii. 10, and my emendation of the line.

Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 183) imitates, apparently, the true reading:

*γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δηναιὸν ἴαλλεν.*

It will be observed that a principle of Pindaric emendation is at stake. In reading *δαναιὸν* I assume that *θάνατον* is not remote from the *ductus literarum* of the original. Those who read *μόρον* or *πότμον* make it out a mere gloss.

#### TWELFTH OLYMPIAN ODE

No instances.

#### THIRTEENTH OLYMPIAN ODE

##### A

We now approach one of the most curious corruptions that I know of in the Pindaric text. The fourth line in each of the five epodes, except the last, begins with one long syllable: the last epode presents in this place two shorts.

The lines are:

- (a) l. 20. *τίς γὰρ ἰππείοις ἐν ἔντεσσιν μέτρα*
- (b) l. 43. *ὄσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε*
- (c) l. 66. *Παλλὰς ἠμεγκ' ἐξ ὀνείρου δ' αὐτίκα*
- (d) l. 89. *τοξόταν βάλλον γυναικείον στρατόν*
- (e) l. 112. *πόλιες, ἄ τ' Εὐβοια. καὶ πᾶσαν κατὰ*

It would be very plausible (though perhaps impossible) to scan *πόλιες* as a choree, treating the *iota* as a *y*.



But this is not the true solution. πόλιες itself is wrong.

Look at the whole passage, with its string of proper names, in the midst of which comes the weak, inept πόλιες :

1. 106. τὰ δ' ἐπ' ὄφρῦϊ Παρνασίᾳ  
 ἐν Ἀργεῖ θ' ὄσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, ὄσα τ' Ἀρκὰς  
 ἀνάσσων (?)  
 μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἀναξ,

Ἐπ. ε'

Πέλλανά τε καὶ Σικυῶν καὶ Μέγαρ' Αἰακιδᾶν τ'  
 εὐεργέες ἄλσος,

1. 110. ἄ τ' Ἐλενσίς καὶ λιπαρὰ Μαραθῶν,  
 ταί θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι  
 πόλιες, ἄ τ' Εὐβοία.

Sicily and Euboea are set side by side, πολύμηλος Σικελία (see *Ol.* i. 12, 13) and the "land of goodly kine." The meaning of Εὐβοία makes it almost necessary that the sheep of Sicily should be mentioned.

Is it not obvious that the only possible reading is οἶες ?

ταί θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι  
 οἶες, ἄ τ' Εὐβοία

is fine poetry. Moreover, it seems to me that the λ of πόλιες is nothing but the F of ὄFιες, which was by mistake written in its uncontracted form.

I have seen nothing more beautiful than the shores and mountains of Sicily. These Pindar recalls to the mind with great charm of accuracy. On Etna proper no sheep could pasture. It is the magnificent expanse of uplands beneath, and dominated by, the volcanic peak that the poet indicates.

But there is a further reason for the close juxtaposition of Etna and Euboea. Seen from the sea, the southern promontory of Euboea is a replica in miniature of the swelling Sicilian uplands that lie beneath the higher mountain-range. I know of no other Greek headland which presents the same appearance of rounded undulation.

Sicily must inevitably have reminded a Greek traveller of the island at home.

## B

All five epodes, except the fourth, present in the sixth line a long before the two final syllables: the fourth epode substitutes for this long two shorts.

The following are the lines:

- (a) l. 22. ἐπέθηκ' ; ἐν δὲ Μοῖσ' ἀδύπνοος  
 (b) l. 45. περὶ πλήθει καλῶν, ὡς μὲν σαφὲς  
 (c) l. 68. ἄγε φίλτρον τόδ' ἵππειον δέκεν  
 (d) l. 91. διασωπάσομαί 'Φοι μόνον ἐγώ  
 (e) l. 114. ἄνα, κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν

For μόνον it would be easy to substitute κῆρ'. But unnecessarily to assume a pure gloss would be to sin against a cardinal rule of Pindaric emendation.

I suggest with confidence that the word we ought to restore is μόρφν'.

Translate: 'His dark fate I will shroud in silence.'

A fragment from Pindar's *Hymns* (xlii. 4, 5), though not absolutely parallel, should be quoted in this connexion:

εἰ δέ τις ἀνθρώποισι θεόσδοτος ἄτα  
 προστύχη, ταύταν σκότει κρύπτειν ἔοικε.

I strongly suspect that a far-off echo of the true reading is to be found in the scholiast's remark (on the passage under discussion): κατὰ δέ τινος καὶ τυφλοῦται.

## C

In all five epodes, except the third, there is, before the last three syllables of the last line, a long syllable: in the third epode this long syllable is replaced (in B, C, and D, but not in the "Byzantine" MSS.) by two short syllables.

The lines are:

- (a) l. 23. ἐν δ' Ἄρης ἀνθεί νέων οὐλίαις αἰχμαῖσιν  
ἀνδρῶν.
- (b) l. 46. οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.
- (c) l. 69. καὶ Δαμαίῳ νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργᾶντα πᾶτρι  
δειξόν.
- (d) l. 92. τὸν δ' ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ φάτναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι  
δέκονται.
- (e) l. 115. Ζεῦ τέλει, αἰδῶ δίδοι καὶ τύχαν τερπνῶν  
γλυκεῖαν.

In l. 69 the "Byzantine" MSS. read the perfectly metrical ταῦρον ἀργὸν πᾶτρι δειξαί; but there is little doubt but that this is a reconstitution of the text due to the same motive that is actuating myself.

It is difficult to see how, even with the help of the πα- of πατρι, an original ἀργὸν could have become the much less familiar ἀργᾶντα.

Hermann proposes ἀργᾶν, comparing Aesch. *Ag.* 116 ὃ τ' ἐξόπιον ἀργᾶς. But I am by no means satisfied that ἀργᾶς (i.e. ἀργάμενος) could by any possibility have an accusative ἀργᾶν. ἀργῆς, gen. ἀργῆτος, has ἀργῆτα for accusative. The rare ἀργῆς, gen. ἀργέος, would yield ἀργέα (the nominative does not actually occur). There was an accusative ἀργᾶν (also ἀργῆν): see Harpocration and Hesychius. But it seems to mean either 'a snake' or a particular kind of snake.

I suggest that the error is in the word πατρι.

Hesychius (s.v. αὐριβάτας) says that Aeschylus uses αὐρί (an emendation, approved by Dindorf, of the MS. αὔριον) in the sense of ταχέως. If Aeschylus, then probably Pindar.

πατρι is not wanted, and one might propose the reading—

καὶ Δαμαίῳ νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργᾶντ' αὐρὶ δειξόν.

For all one knows Pindar might have even written ἀφρι. But I do not propose that reading. I propose—

καὶ Δαμαίῳ νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργᾶντ' ἄρτι δειξόν.

αργανταρτι would easily be expanded into ἀργᾶντα



πατρὶ; and in any case ἄρτι in the sense of 'now' would run a good chance of being expelled from the text, because it militated against a well-known grammatical canon, seeing that the use with an imperative is virtually future. See Phrynichus and Lex. Rhet. Bekk.

The scholiast writes: ἀργᾶντα δὲ νῦν, τὸν ἔκδηλον τῷ μεγέθει.

I do not by any means assert that ἀργᾶντ' ἄρτι δείξον is the original reading. What I am fairly confident of is that it is the reading of which our present text is a corruption. Conceivably there may be something in αὐρὶ after all.

#### FOURTEENTH OLYMPIAN ODE

This ode presents a metrical difficulty of a peculiar nature. It consists of two strophes only (without an epode). The eleventh line of the opening strophe (l. 11) runs:

Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνους

The corresponding line of the closing strophe (l. 23) takes two forms in the MSS.:

- (a) κόλποις παρ' εὐδόξου Πίσας  
(b) κόλποισι παρ' εὐδόξου Πίσας

There are minor variations which need not be considered.

B, C, and D give κόλποισι: E reads κόλποις.

If κόλποις is correct, there is an instance of the phenomenon that I am investigating.

In that case I should emend Πύθιον to Πυθῆ' (from Πυθεύς, v. Steph. Byz.).

If κόλποισι is right, I should read, with Ahrens, Πυθῶν.

As the MSS. are strongly in favour of κόλποισι, there is a preponderance of evidence in favour of Πυθῶν: but the matter does not seem certain.

## PYTHIA

## FIRST PYTHIAN ODE

The fifth line of each of the five epodes, except the first, begins with a long syllable: in the first epode two shorts are substituted.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 17. Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε  
μὰν

(b) l. 37. λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι στεφάνοισί νιν ἵπποις τε  
κλυτὰν

(c) l. 57. τὸν προσέρποντα χρόνον, ὦν ἔραται καιρὸν  
διδούς

(d) l. 77. μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτα δ' ἐρέω πρὸ Κιθαιρῶνος  
μάχαν

(e) l. 97. οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιαι κοινωῖαν

I do not think that l. 17 is, after all, very corrupt.

I suggest that a copyist simply prefixed the *Κι-* of *Κιλίκιον* in order to make sense (following *Pyth.* viii. 16 *Τυφῶς Κίλιξ*), and that the rest, viz.—

λίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον κτλ.

is hardly at all changed from the original reading, namely—

λίκνον ἔθρεψεν πολυωνύμου ἄντρον κτλ.

I cannot pledge myself to the possibility in Pindar of the hiatus involved in *πολυωνύμου ἄντρον*: I ought perhaps to write *πολυωνύμο'* (i.e. *πολυωνύμοο*). But the question is merely graphic.

*λίκνον* ('cradle') is rather wanted in the passage, and is a reminiscence of *Iliad* ii. 783—

εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.

I suppose that favourable critics will call this emendation ingenious. It is not. I have mechanically followed the *ductus literarum*.

My point is that the repeated possibility of obvious

emendation, when the phenomenon I am discussing presents itself, amounts to a moral demonstration that the phenomenon has no real existence. I invite special criticism of almost the next emendation that I am called upon to make (*Pyth.* iv. 31).

To my mind it is sane, rational, and (considered as one of a long series) certain. But I shrink from trusting my own judgement.

### SECOND PYTHIAN ODE

No instances.

### THIRD PYTHIAN ODE

*vōv* should be read (with Triclinius and Boeckh) in l. 5 instead of *vōov*. One long syllable is required.

Hermann's alternative suggestions of *vōμ'* or (more probably, as he thought) *γvōμ'* seem to me a trifle too far removed from the *ductus literarum*.

### FOURTH PYTHIAN ODE

The fourth Pythian Ode stands to the other odes of Pindar in the relation of the 119th Psalm to the other Psalms. It is so long that it affords instances of nearly everything that is Pindaric; and yet it is not too long to be consulted as a microcosm of Pindar's thought and language.

In this ode there are no less than 663 instances of combinations of two short syllables. In three of these cases only do the two short syllables coalesce (according to the MSS.) into one long; and these three cases of coalescence are all in one series of metrical correspondence, as against twenty-three places in the series where there is no coalescence.

In the ode there occur the prodigious number of 2301 long syllables, excluding syllables in any sense final or "ancipitis quantitatis"; and only one of these 2301 longs appears in the guise of two shorts.



Consequently, out of a grand total of 2964 possible opportunities for the occurrence of the phenomenon which I am investigating, we find that advantage has been taken of four only.

I leave these figures to speak for themselves.

## A

In the fifth line of all the strophes and antistrophes, except the first strophe, the two last syllables are preceded by a long: for this long the first strophe substitutes two shorts. There is a further variation in the metre. The long syllable in question is everywhere preceded by another long, but the two short syllables of the first strophe are preceded by a short.

The exceptional line runs thus:

1. 5. οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ίερα

For *ίερα* Boeckh conjectures *ιρέα*, which is sufficiently obvious, but does not do anything to cure the quantity of the last syllable of *τυχόντος*: it is certain that neither *ιερ-* nor *ιρ-* is digammated. Ahlwardt substitutes *Πυθία*. This reading yields perfect metre; but in many places in this treatise I argue, and, I think, prove, that it is dangerous to assume the intrusion, without special reasons, of glosses into the text.

My own suggestion is that *Κιρράϊα* ought to be read. The local description *Κιρράϊα* is specially appropriate in view of οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος. The short *αῑ* would almost inevitably come to be written *ε*, as indeed even long *αῑ* was often written. *Κιρρέα*, with or without the aid of a gloss *ίερα*, would very easily pass into *ίερα*, via *καὶ ίερα*. The scholiast on l. 4 writes *πάρεδρος καὶ ίερα*.

My reading seems to supply a much-needed Greek basis for the common Latin use of Cirrhaeus in the sense "Delphic." Compare Lucan, *Phars.* v. 114–116:

Nec voce negata

Cirrhaeae moerent vates, templice fruuntur  
Iustitio.

## B

The series of lines which presents the three exceptions is as follows :—

- (a) l. 8. πόλιν ἐν ἀργινόμεντι (Hermann ἀργάμεντι)  
μαστῶ
- (b) l. 16. Διὸς ἐν Ἀμμωνος θεμέθλοις
- (c) l. 31. δεῖπν' ἐπαγγέλλοντι πρῶτον
- (d) l. 39. ἐναλίου βάμεν σὺν ἄλμα
- (e) l. 54. Φοῖβος ἀμμνάσει θέμισσιν
- (f) l. 62. βασιλέ' ἄμφανεν Κυράνα
- (g) l. 77. χθόνα μόλη κλειτᾶς Ἴωλκοῦ
- (h) l. 85. ἐν ἀγορᾷ πλήθοντος ὄχλου
- (i) l. 100. καταμίαναις εἰπέ γένναν
- (k) l. 108. Αἰόλω καὶ παισί, τιμάν
- (l) l. 123. γόνον ἰδὼν κάλλιστον ἀνδρῶν
- (m) l. 131. ιερόν (ιαρόν?) εὐζωᾶς ἄωτον
- (n) l. 146. ὁμογόνους, αἰδῶ καλύψαι
- (o) l. 154. τὰ μὲν ἄνευ ξυνᾶς ἀνίας
- (p) l. 169. ἀτὰρ Ἰάσων αὐτὸς ἦδη
- (q) l. 177. ἔμολεν, εὐαίμητος Ὀρφεύς
- (r) l. 192. κρέμασαν ἀγκύρας ὑπερθεν
- (s) l. 200. πιθόμενοι· κάρυξε δ' αὐτοῖς
- (t) l. 215. ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζένξαισα κύκλω
- (v) l. 223. γλυκὴν ἐν ἀλλάλοισι μῖξαι
- (x) l. 238. δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθεῖς
- (y) l. 246. τέλεσαν ἂν πλαγαὶ σιδάρου
- (z) l. 261. διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας
- (za) l. 269. ἔον ἐρημώσαισα χῶρον
- (zb) l. 284. ἔμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μισεῖν
- (zc) l. 292. μεταβολαὶ λήξαντος οὔρου

It will be seen that the dubious expressions are (l. 31) δεῖπν' ἐπαγγέλλοντι, (l. 54) Φοῖβος ἀμμνάσει, and (l. 108) Αἰόλω καὶ παισί.

These three all come fairly close together, and, if corruptions, are probably to some extent mutually interdependent.

(c) l. 31—

W. Christ prints ξένι' ἐπαγγέλλοντι, Bergk's conjecture, and says that δειπν' "sins against metre" ("quod quamvis contra metrum peccet"). Mommsen conjectures δέπας.

Both conjectures are wrong; but δειπν' is not right.

Eustathius (1714. 64) tells us that there are four forms—ἄικλον, αἰκλον, ἄικνον, αἰκνον; and Athenaeus (iv. 139 B) and other authorities show that these words were Lacedaemonian Doric for δειπνον. ἔπαικλον and ἐπάικλον were Lacedaemonian for ἐπίδειπνον. Pindar, in the third line of the third strophe (l. 15) of the fifth Paean, appears to use the word αἰκλον (Πανδώρου Ἐρεχθέος αἰκλον). The line in question is, by obvious accident, totally omitted in the papyrus. But opposite the third line of the eighth (the last) strophe, εὐμενὲι δέξασθε νόφ θεράποντα, are discernible the words πανδώρουερεχ . . . , and then αικλον. The metre seems to show that this is the end of the omitted line. (See Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt.)

ΔΕΙΠΝ could at a somewhat late period have properly enough been written ΔΙΠΝ.

Between ΑΙΚΝ and ΔΙΠΝ there is palaeographically hardly any difference, and it is with the greatest confidence that I propose to read :

ἄικν' ἐπαγγέλλοντι πρῶτον.

I do not think that the fact of the previous word (εὐεργέται) ending in ΑΙ has any real bearing on the corruption.

Cf. my emendation of *Ol.* i. 38.

I consider that in the present passage some copyist either directly corrupted ἄικν' into δειπν', or else mistook a gloss, δειπν', for a correction. In the latter case the gloss would not have obtruded itself into the text as a gloss, but owing to the accidental fact that it so closely followed the *ductus literarum* as not to be thought a gloss at all.



(e) l. 54—

It will be well to quote this line with its context :

τὸν μὲν πολυχρῦσφ πότ' ἐν δώματι

Φοῖβος ἀμμνάσει θέμισσιν  
 Πύθειον ναὸν καταβάντα χρόνῳ  
 ἰστέρω νάεσσι πολεῖς ἀγαγεῖν Νεῖλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος  
 Κρονίδα.

Oeno, Spermo, and Elais, grand-daughters of Apollo, and daughters of Anius, king of Delos (who was son of Rhoëo, nominally by Zarex, but actually, as the legend went, by Apollo), were called Οἰνότροποι and Φάβες (vid. Lyc. *Alex.* 580, and Tzetzes' note thereon).

This is enough to bring Φάβες into connexion with Apollo.

In l. 60 of this ode Pindar calls the Delphian priestess Μέλισσα, a word proper not to the Pythoness but, as the scholiast tells us, to the priestesses of Demeter, and here employed "καταχρηστικῶς." (Cf. Callim. *Ap.* 110.)

The Dodonean priestesses of Zeus were called Πέλειαι and Πελειάδες (vid. Herod. ii. 55, 57, Soph. *Trachiniae* 172, Paus. vii. 21. 2, x. 12. 10, Hesych. s.v. πέλειαι).

Πέλεια and Φάψ are almost indistinguishable in meaning.

The word Φοῖβος is not wanted. The mention (l. 55) of the "Pythian temple" shows sufficiently what god it was.

ἀμμνάσει seems not to be a mere mistake for ἀμνάσει, but to conceal ἀναμνάσει (M for NA). The ordinary spelling would be ἀμνάσει (cf. ὀμνάσθην, Theocr. xxix. 26, from ὀμμμνάσκομαι).

Consequently it is possible to suggest :

φαβῖς ἀναμνάσει θέμισσιν.

The by-form φαβῖς, for φάψ, is preserved (with a slight corruption) in Georg. Syncell. *Chron.* p. 172 A Ἄδματα θυγάτηρ Εὐρυσθέως ἐν Ἄργει ἱεράτευσεν ἔτη λη· αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἱερωσύνην διαδεξάμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο. Read φαβίδες, not, as Vales., φαεινίδες.

But would there be any special point in this passage

in calling the Pythoness a dove? I think so. In ll. 4 and 5 of this ode she is described as *χρυσέων Διὸς αἰητῶν πάρεδρος . . . ἰέρα (Κιρραία?)*. It seems to me that the imagery of the dove perching unharmed between the eagles under the protection of Apollo, of the lion, so to speak, lying down with the lamb, is sufficiently piquant to make *φαβίς* a far better expression than *Φοῖβος*. If it be asked why a mystic name of a priestess is brought into the ode at all (and that question, apart from *φαβίς*, is made necessary by the use of *μέλισσα* in l. 60), the answer probably is that Aristotle, the ancestor of Arcesilas, owed his name Battus to the fact that he was himself a priest. The legend that he stammered never won general acceptance, and it is improbable that *Βάττος* has anything to do with *βατταρίζειν*. Thrige was the first to point out the similarity between the name *Βάττος* and the appellation *Βησσοί*, applied to the Dionysiac priests of the Satrae; and *Βαττάκης* was one of the legendary founders of the order of *Γάλλοι*. Further than this it seems to be impossible to take the matter, owing to the lack of evidence. But *μέλισσα*, and still more *μέλισσα* plus *φαβίς*, seem to suggest some totemistic origin for the name *Βάττος*.

Although *Φοῖβος* offends in exactly the same way as *δεῖπν'* in l. 31, W. Christ, who, as we have seen, refuses the latter, yet prints the former, and that without note or comment. He either assumes, or, at any rate, acts on the assumption, that Pindar sometimes "contra metrum peccat."

(k) l. 108.

The whole expression is :

τάν ποτε Ζεὺς ὄπασεν λαγέτα

Αἰόλω καὶ παισί, τιμάν.

W. Christ lets this also pass in silence.

I can find no trace in Greek of a form *Ἄτολος*.

Aeolus, the son of Hellen, is certainly meant; but I do not think that he is really alluded to by name. He and his children were alike, according to one legend, *παῖδες Διός*, because Hellen was (in that legend) a son of Zeus.

Consequently I suggest that *παισί* means not the sons

of Aeolus, but the sons of Zeus, the nominative of the sentence (which term would include Aeolus himself), and that the words Αἰόλωφ καὶ are a corruption of ἀν' Ἴαωλκόν.

Read :

τάν ποτε Ζεὺς ὄπασεν λαγέταις  
ἀν' Ἴαωλκόν παισὶ τιμάν.

The long form Ἴαωλκόν, instead of the familiar Ἴωλκόν, bewildered the copyists, who, following very closely the *ductus literarum*, reconstituted **ΑΝΙΑΩΛΚΟΝ** into the perfectly intelligible and mythologically correct **ΑΙΟΛΩΙΚΑΙ**, and left out the *ς* of *λαγέταις*.

An indication of the true reading is preserved in the scholiast's observation : ὁ Ζεὺς ἐχαρίσατο τῷ Αἰόλωφ, καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ παισίν.

I am aware that this will be called a violent emendation ; but I ask the reader to consider the strong *a priori* improbability of it being due to blind chance that the highly appropriate ἀν' Ἴαωλκόν should fit so well the *ductus literarum* of what, on W. Christ's own showing, must be a corrupted reading.

## C

In l. 8 the word ἀργινόεντι might be taken as a fifth exception over and above the four, if scanned ἀργινόεντι. But W. Christ scans ἀργινόεντι, and treats the place where the -γι- occurs as a "syllaba anceps."

Probably Hermann's ἀργάεντι is right.

## FIFTH PYTHIAN ODE

We have now reached that portion of Pindar which has been considered with some thoroughness by Hermann. That great scholar, though not going the whole length of excluding all correspondences between a long and two shorts, nevertheless made various emendations in certain cases of the phenomenon, some of which seem so convincing as to make it unnecessary to discuss the passages at any length.



## A

In the second line of each strophe and antistrophe of this ode, except the first strophe, the initial amphibrach is followed by a long syllable. The first strophe alone presents in this position two short syllables.

- (a) l. 2. ὅταν τις ἀρετᾶ κεκραμένον καθαρᾶ  
 (b) l. 13. φέροντι καὶ τὰν θεόσδοτον δύναμιν  
 (c) l. 33. ποδαρκέων δώδεκ' ἂν δρόμων τέμενος  
 (d) l. 44. νόῳ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντιᾶσαι  
 (e) l. 64. ἀκέσματ' ἀνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει  
 (f) l. 75. ἴκοντο Θήρανδε, φῶτες Αἰγείδαι  
 (g) l. 95. ἔναιεν, ἦρωσ δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβῆς  
 (h) l. 106. τὸ καλλίνικον λυτήριον δαπανᾶν

On l. 2 Hermann writes (*Opusc.* vii. pp. 144, 145):  
 “statim initium, etsi quam continet sententia alibi similimis verbis a Pindaro posita est vitii suspicionem facit. . . . Recedit enim secundus versus ab ea forma, quam reliquae strophae omnes habent. . . . Ac vel per se tam invenusta est solutio in fine dipodiae iambicae, ut non possit a Pindaro admissa credi. Quamobrem eum scripsisse puto:

ὅταν τις ὀργᾶ κεκραμένον καθαρᾶ.”

Hermann is clearly right in his reading.

ὀργά occurs ten times in Pindar; and in every case except one it signifies ‘temper’ in the sense of ‘mettle,’ not ‘temper’ in the sense of ‘anger.’ Even in the case of the one exception (*Pyth.* iv. 141), I doubt whether it can be said to have the full later meaning.

Hence, the Pindaric sense being unfamiliar to copyists, ὀργᾶ was here changed to the palaeographically similar ἀρετᾶ; and in *Nem.* iii. 14 ὀργὰν was replaced by the rather absurd, but not much less palaeographically similar, ἀγορὰν.

## B

In the fifth line of each strophe and antistrophe, except the second strophe, the initial choree is followed by

two short syllables. In the second strophe these two shorts are represented by one long.

- (a) l. 5. ὦ θεόμορ' Ἀρκεσίλα  
 (b) l. 16. ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων  
 (c) l. 36. τεκτόνων δαίδαλ' ἄγων  
 (d) l. 47. καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον  
 (e) l. 67. ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν  
 (f) l. 78. ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι  
 (g) l. 98. ἐντί, μεγαλᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν  
 (h) l. 109. κρέσσονα μὲν ἀλικίας

In l. 36 δαίδαλ' is Hermann's emendation for the unmetrical δαιδάλματ'.

For τεκτόνων he proposes τεκτόνια.

There is not much doubt but that τεκτόνων is in substance, though perhaps not in primary origin, a gloss on χεριαρᾶν, 'craftsmen,' the last word of the preceding line.

But I do not think that it was as a gloss that it established itself in the text. It was on account rather of its palaeographical resemblance to the original reading.

As few will deny that τεκτόνων is corrupt, I am not as much concerned as usual to provide an emendation. My business is not to correct the text as an end, but only in order to show that a certain metrical phenomenon is insufficiently supported.

But although Hermann's τεκτόνια is possible, I should prefer to read ἐνστόμια, 'bridles.'

It is near the *ductus literarum*, and for my own part I fail to understand how any articles much more bulky than bridles can have been *hung up* in the temple, as is described in l. 34.

## C

The initial iamb of the seventh line of each epode, except the first, is followed by a long syllable. In the first epode we find two short syllables instead.

The lines in question are these :

- (a) l. 29. ἀφίκετο δόμους θεμισκρεόντων  
 (b) l. 60. ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων  
 (c) l. 91. ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς  
 (d) l. 122. Διὸς τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ

Hermann is certainly right in reading ἀφίκεται for ἀφίκετο in l. 29. But he does not explain how ἀφίκετο arose.

It would have been impossible, I maintain, for ἀφίκεται to have been changed straight into ἀφίκετο, because ἀφίκεται must in the context have made complete sense even to the copyists.

But there was a stage, and that a fairly early stage, when *αι* was commonly written *ε*.

ἀφίκετε would easily have passed into ἀφίκε (from ἴκω); and ἀφίκε would *metri scholiastici gratia* have been altered into ἀφίκετο.

## D

In the same seventh line of each of the epodes except the third, the three final syllables are preceded by a long syllable: the third epode substitutes two shorts. The previous syllable is in every case short.

I repeat the lines:

- (a) l. 29. ἀφίκετο δόμους θεμισκρεόντων  
 (b) l. 60. ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων  
 (c) l. 91. ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς  
 (d) l. 122. Διὸς τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ

In l. 91 Pindar is describing the famous flagged road at Cyrene to the temple of Apollo, which was used by the religious processions in honour of Apollo Paean, the patron of the Battus and Arcesilaus house.

The full passage is as follows (ll. 90 et seq.):

εὐθύτονόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις  
 ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς  
 ἔμμεν ἰππόκροτον  
 σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπι δίχα κεύται θανών.



The passage makes no sense as it stands.

ἔμμεν has to be left out in translation.

ἔμμεν distinctly shows that Aristoteles Battus laid down something *to be* a flagged road. That something is not mentioned.

The substantive must be concealed in one of the two adjectives εὐθύτονον (this, and not the MS. εὐθύτομον, is supported by the scholiasts) or πεδιάδα. As it is πεδιάδα that is metrically under suspicion already, it is this word that we should examine to see whether the *ductus literarum* will not guide to the desiderated substantive.

Let us go back to the uncial stage.

**ΠΕΔΙΑΔΑ** is almost identical with **ΠΕΑΙΑΝΑ**.

πᾶῖνα would (it is unnecessary to labour the point) have been written πεᾶνα in many texts; and the noting of the variant in any given MS. would lead directly to the confusion παιᾶνα.

That is all I want.

I think that I have lighted by a strict sequence of the *ductus literarum* on a strikingly bold and characteristic expression, in Pindar's happiest style.

If I am right, the poet says that Battus *laid down* the εὐθύτονος paeon of the worshippers in the concrete form of a highway, paved with stones, and trampled by horses' hoofs.

In other words he translated into a straight, steep highway the straight, steep music of the ὄρθιος νόμος.

With this the sense of κατέθηκεν excellently corresponds: the road was literally an avatâra of the hymn.

It is interesting to note how εὐθύτονον with a ν passed into εὐθύτομον, when it was deprived of the support of its substantive παιᾶνα, the presence of which alone really made its use natural. The short αι of παιᾶνα played its part, no doubt, in banishing the word, exactly as it must have played its part in transmuting δαναῖδον into θάνατον in *Ol.* xi. (x.) 105.

It seems to me a very probable corollary of what I have written that the σκυρωτὰ ὁδός at Cyrene went in ancient times by the name Παιάν: by a similar concrete use of language we speak of the "Confession" in



But, if the metricians are after all right, then the first two syllables of ὕδατι in l. 31 are two shorts corresponding to one long in each of the other similar places.

But before we can attempt the emendation of ὕδατι, we must discover what the proper quantity is of the syllable following the one long or two shorts. It is also necessary to determine whether the initial syllable of the line is really and in very truth a long and not a short syllable. The first syllable of ὄφρα leaves this point in doubt: and the *υ* of σκυρωτὰν is usually considered to be short.

I will begin with the latter question.

l. 124 has every appearance of being quite sound, and there is no ambiguity with regard to its opening quantities. Consequently I scan ὄφρα as a choree, and consider that the *υ* of σκυρωτὰν is long.

It is true that σκύρος has considerable authority; but the scholiast on this very passage writes σκῦρος. Perhaps there are two forms, σκῦρος (σκύρου) and σκύρος (σκύρους).

As to the other question, the second syllable of ὄφρα and that of εὔχομαι are both incontestably short. Therefore the second syllable of σκυρωτὰν must be altered. σκυρωτὰν goes as far back as Hesychius. Therefore I assume very early corruption, and in order to account for the *ω* of σκυρωτὰν, I suggest that σκῦρόενθ' was the original reading, and that it was altered while omicron and omega were still represented by the same sign.

Eustathius warns us against assuming that Πύλος in Homer is masculine on the mere strength of the fact that the apparently masculine forms of ἡμαθόεις are coupled with it.

δρόσοι τιθέντες in Aeschylus is familiar to all scholars.

Consequently it would seem that Pindar may well have written σκυρόενθ' ὀδόν: and, if he did, it is highly probable that the form would have been altered. Some unusual form is necessary.

Nor would it be a sound argument to urge that the occurrence of -εις feminines in the Orphic literature would have caused their perpetuation in the Pindaric text. Copyists fit to be set to work at the transcription of the



Doric poets had presumably some grammatical training, and would be more or less on their guard against what were doubtless considered by the learned to be vulgar errors.

Taking then as proved that the true scansion is — ∪ I unhesitatingly emend ὕδατι into δαιτὶ. Look at the whole expression “ δαιτὶ Κασταλίας ξενωθείς.”

## F

There seems to be another error in the same set of lines.

- (α) l. 31. ὕδατι (or δαιτὶ) Κασταλίας ξενωθείς γέρας  
ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμαις
- (β) l. 62. ὄφρα μὴ ταμία Κυράνας ἀτελῆς γένοιτο  
μαντεύμασιν
- (γ) l. 93. σκυρωτᾶν (or σκυρόενθ') ὀδόν, ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς  
ἀγορᾶς ἐπι δίχα κείται θανῶν
- (δ) l. 124. εὐχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπία τούτο δόμεν γέρας ἐπι  
Βάττου γένει

In l. 62 the middle syllable of γένοιτο is long, and corresponds to two shorts in the similar place of each of the other three lines.

It has already become apparent that this ode is more than usually corrupt, and it would not be surprising if it were sometimes impossible to restore the text with anything approaching reasonable certainty.

I suggest reading :

ὄφρα μὴ ταμίας Κυράνας ἐπέποι σφ' ἀτελέα μαντεύμασιν.

My contention is that **ἐνεποισφ** became **ἐνεποιτο**, the φ being misread ο as in *Ol.* xiii. 91. ἐπέποιτο was very reasonably “corrected” into γένοιτο, and a transposition effected in consequence. **ταμίας** and **ταμιαί** are almost identical.

## SIXTH PYTHIAN ODE

This is one of the odes that consist of strophes only ; but that fact has not brought in its train any unusual

circumstances to claim our consideration. There is only one instance of the phenomenon under investigation.

The third line of all the six strophes, except the last, presents before its three final syllables two shorts: in the last strophe these are replaced by one long.

- (a) l. 3. ἀναπολίζομεν, ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου  
 (b) l. 12. στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὐτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοῦς  
 (c) l. 21. τά ποτ' ἐν οὔρεσι φαντὶ μεγαλοσθενεῖ  
 (d) l. 30. ὃς ὑπερέφθιτο πατρός, ἐναρίμβροτον  
 (e) l. 39. πρίατο μὲν θανάτοιο κομιδὰν πατρός  
 (f) l. 48. ἄδικον οὔθ' ὑπέροπλον ἤβαν δρέπων

In l. 48 for ἤβαν Hermann suggests ἀνάταν.

In the form ἀΨάταν, this is correct.

In all the best MSS. the metrically superfluous word ἄπασαν is inserted at the end of l. 46. This ἄπασαν Hermann considers to have been shifted from its earlier position, which was immediately before ἤβαν, and from it he obtains his ἀνάταν.

The whole corruption can be accounted for, in my opinion, with unusual ease. I suppose that the first hand of some MS. wrote ἀνάταν, with the *av* diphthong, but that a diorthotes, or perhaps a chance reader, observed that the *av* had to be short. He therefore put a mark under the *v*, and wrote in the margin the words ἤ βαῦ, meaning 'or vav' (i.e. the Hebrew letter  $\gamma$ ). Vav has in the Hebrew alphabet the same force that digamma has in the Greek alphabet. There have been Jews at Constantinople from time immemorial, and in the Christian Church the custom of chanting the Hebrew alphabet in the course of the Lamentations of Jeremiah seems to date back to a remote antiquity. Hence there is no improbability in the occurrence of the note ἤ βαῦ. Modern Greek (and all Greek from Alexandrian times onwards is for this purpose modern Greek) cannot represent the sound of the word 'vav' except by either βαῦ or βᾶβ, and the use of a final β would be sufficiently inelegant to militate against the latter spelling.

ἤ βαῦ most easily passed into ἤβαν, and ἀνάταν was consequently expelled from its proper place. But it was

not totally banished. Only the Byzantine MSS. have rejected altogether its corrupt offspring, *ἄπασαν*. To the MSS. of how many authors can the same fidelity be imputed?

## SEVENTH PYTHIAN ODE

No instances.

## EIGHTH PYTHIAN ODE

No instances.

## NINTH PYTHIAN ODE

The last line of each of the five epodes, except the first, begins with a long syllable: the last line of the first epode begins with two short syllables.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 25. *ῥπνον ἀναλίσκοισα ῥέποντα πρὸς ἀῶ*  
 (b) l. 50. *εἰ δὲ χρῆ καὶ πὰρ σοφὸν ἀντιφερίξαι*  
 (c) l. 75. *δόξαν ἰμερτὰν ἀγαρόντ' ἀπὸ Δελφῶν*  
 (d) l. 100. *υἶὸν εὐχοντ', ὦ Τελεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν*  
 (e) l. 125. *πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο νικᾶν*

In l. 25 *ἀναλίσκοισα*, metre apart, seems an unnatural word in the context.

M. Schmid proposes *ἀλδήσκουσα*. *ῥπνον* will then be a choree. The suggestion appears to me to be admirable, if only we change *ἀλδήσκουσα* to *ἀλδήσκοισα*.

## TENTH PYTHIAN ODE

No instances.

## ELEVENTH PYTHIAN ODE

This ode is extremely corrupt.

After the two initial syllables of the fourth line of the first antistrophe, the third antistrophe and the fourth strophe and fourth antistrophe, come two short syllables:



in the first strophe, the second strophe and the second antistrophe, and the third strophe, there is instead one long. Honours, four each.

The following are the lines :

- (a) l. 4. *ματρί παρ Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων*  
 (b) l. 9. *ᾄφρα Θέμιν ἱερὰν Πυθῶνά τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκαν*  
 (c) l. 20. *Κασσάνδραν πολὺ χαλκῷ σὺν Ἀγαμεμνονίᾳ*  
 (d) l. 25. *ἔννυχοι (ἐννύχιοι B) πάραγον κοῖται ; τὸ δὲ  
 νέαις ἀλόχοις*  
 (e) l. 36. *Παρνασοῦ πόδα ναίουτ'· ἀλλὰ χρονίῳ σὺν  
 Ἄρει*  
 (f) l. 41. *Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν (τὸ δ' ἐτέον MSS.), εἰ  
 μισθῷ συνετίθει παρέχειν*  
 (g) l. 52. *τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ*  
 (h) l. 57. *καλλίονα θανάτου ἐν (εσχεν ἐν D) γλυκυντάτᾳ  
 γενεᾷ*

It will, I think, shortly become evident that in dealing with this series of lines I have before me two separate tasks: (1) to restore the text of the archetype from which our present readings are at some distance derived, and (2), when the text of the archetype has been restored, to reconstitute therefrom, as far as possible, the *ipsissima verba* of the author; and it will, I believe, be seen in the end that these and the archetype are by no means the same thing. This twofold task appears to me to be in this case capable, as it happens, of achievement.

I regard it as beyond all credibility that the second syllable of a line in the earlier lyric style should in sober truth be "anceps." Yet this is the phenomenon with which we are presented.

In ll. 4, 9, 25, 41, 52, and 57 it is short: in ll. 20 and 36 it is long.

Taking into account l. 9 (*ᾄφρα Θέμιν*), l. 25 (where B reads not *ἔννυχοι* but *ἐννύχιοι*), l. 52 (where the MSS. do not read the *τῶν γὰρ ἀμ πόλιν* of the editors, but *τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν*), and l. 57 (where the MSS. present *καλλίονα θάνατον*); and putting beside them the *Κασσάνδραν* of l. 20, and the *Παρνασοῦ* of l. 36, I think that it stands

to reason that the archetype proceeded on the belief that the first foot could be indifferently a dactyl or a spondee.

I would read the whole series thus :

- (*a*) l. 4. *ματρὶ παρὰ Μελίαν*  
 (*b*) l. 9. *ὄφρα Θέμιν ἱεράν*  
 (*c*) l. 20. *Κασσάνδραν πολιῶ*  
 (*d*) l. 25. *ἐννύχιοι πάραγον*  
 (*e*) l. 36. *Παρνασοῦ πόδα ναί-*  
 (*f*) l. 41. *Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἶ*  
 (*g*) l. 52. *τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πτόλιν εὐ-*  
 (*h*) l. 57. *καλλίονα θανάτου*

I apprehend that the archetype felt the second foot also to be a dactyl.

In l. 4 (the metre being dactylic), the *a* of *παρὰ* would present no difficulty as to its long scansion in arsis before the initial M of *Μελίαν*.

In l. 9 the *-ιν* of *Θέμιν* would be felt to be long in arsis before *ἱεράν*.

l. 41 either would have seemed unmetrical to a slight extent or else would have been cured by reading *δῆ* for *δὲ*.

In l. 52 *ἀνὰ πτόλιν* was probably read.

l. 57 seems to have been a puzzle, and the short *-α* of *καλλίονα* had to be as long as it could by grace of its position in arsis.

A possible (but to my mind much less probable) reading in l. 4 of the archetype would be *ματερὶ πὰρ Μελίαν*.

Hence we have the phenomenon which we are investigating carried back in the archetype from the second to the first foot.

It may now be restated in its historically more original form.

The fourth line of each strophe and antistrophe begins with either a dactyl or a spondee—six dactyls against two spondees.

It might seem that we ought to set to work (in order to the reconstruction of the true text, for we have now reached the second portion of the task) to expel the two spondees.

But numbers are not everything.

Though Παρνασοῦ πόδα (l. 36) might conceivably be a corruption of πὰρ ὤ- πόδα, at all events Κασσάνδραν is unimpeachable. It is surprising to see with what readiness the six dactyls fall into line.

I propose to reconstitute the original text as follows (not allowing the first syllable of the second foot to be "anceps," because I see no necessity):

- (a) l. 4. ματρὶ πρὸς Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων  
 (b) l. 9. ἱρὰν ὄφρα Θέμιν Πυθῶνά τε κῶρθοδίκαν  
 (c) l. 20. Κασσάνδραν πολὺ χαλκῶ σὺν Ἀγαμεμνονία  
 (d) l. 25. ἔννυχνοι πάραγον κοῖται; τὸ δὲ νέαις ἀλόχοις  
 (e) l. 36. Παρνασοῦ πόδα ναίοντ'· ἀλλὰ χρονίῳ σὺν  
 "Ἄρει  
 (f) l. 41. Μοῖσα, σπενυστέον, εἰ μισθῶ συνετίθειν παρέχειν  
 (g) l. 52. τῶν γὰρ κατὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακρο-  
 τέρω  
 (h) l. 57. καλλιῶ θανάτου Φάναν γλυκυτάταν γενεῆ

(a) I think that in l. 4 the copyists did not appreciate that the πρ- of πρὸς could make position: hence παρά was substituted.

(b) As we shall have occasion to see, when we come to Bacchylides, ἱρός seems to have been unknown even to the writers of papyri. ἱερός was usually substituted. In this passage obvious metre made the substitution impossible, unless accompanied with a transposition. Consequently both substitution and transposition have taken place.

(c) l. 20 is in every way a sound and standard line, a beacon irradiating an unsubstantial mist.

(d) ἔννυχνος never occurs: but I submit to the judgment of those familiar with dialectic Greek the proposition that ἔννυχνοι is nevertheless a fair and reasonable emendation.

(e) l. 36 is not quite as certain as l. 20; but to that line alone is it inferior in authority. They both absolutely agree.

(f) σπενυστέον seems to me as agreeable to the sense as it is to the metre.

(g) κατὰ πόλιν would certainly be written κατὰ πόλιν,



and *κατὰ πόλιν* would be changed into *ἀνὰ πόλιν* or *πτόλιν* by the imperious demands of metre.

(h) l. 57 and its context demand separate treatment.

The MSS. read :

*φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνοντ'*

*ἄτα* (*ἄτα* schol.), *εἴ τις ἄκρον ἔλων ἡσυχία τε νεμόμενος*  
*αἰνὰν ὕβριν*  
*ἀπέφυγεν, μέλανος δ' ἀν' ἔσχατιὰν*  
*καλλίονα θανάτου ἐν (εσχεν ἐν D) γλυκυτάτα γενεᾷ*  
*εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν (κράτιστον B<sup>1</sup>) χάριν πορών.*

Hermann reads *ἀμύνονται ἄται, εἰ*. This involves crasis of the last syllable of *ἄται* with *εἰ*, a remarkable phenomenon worthy of "Herondas." Leopold Schmidt conjectures *ἀμύνονται ῥᾶστ', εἰ*. Perhaps he is right.

For *μέλανος δ'* Hermann reads *μέλανα δ'*, Schmid *μέλανος*.

W. Christ describes the passage as "misere corruptum," and writes "dubitanter" :

*μέλανα δ' ἀν' ἔσχατιὰν*  
*κάλλιπεν θανάτοι' αἴσαν γλυκυτάταν γενεᾷ,*  
*εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν χάριν πορών.*

Dissen reads :

*μέλανα δ' ἀν' ἔσχατιὰν*  
*καλλίονα θανάτου σχήσει, γλυκυτάτα γενεᾷ*  
*εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν χάριν πορών.*

Other emendations have been attempted.

It is obvious to any one who takes the trouble to wade through the scholia on the passage that the text, in its former state, or one of its former states, spoke not of a glorious or honourable death, but of the life of one faithful in well-doing even unto the time of death.

I propose the reading :

*μέλανος ἀν' ἔσχατιὰν*  
*καλλαίω θανάτου Φάναν γλυκυτάταν γενεᾷ*  
*κηνώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν χάριν πορών.*

I translate :

'Having given to his kin the joy of an old age most sweet of noble life up to the very brink of black death, and the grace of a good name, better than all wealth.'

The accusative *καλλαίω* recalls the emendation of *Ol.* ix. 60, that I had occasion to make in the course of the discussion of *Ol.* ii. 10 (*αἰῶ πότμος* for *αἰῶν πότμον*).

For *ἄνα*, meaning "old age," see what I have said on *Ol.* xi. (x.) 105. There, if I am right, *ἄναν δαναίων* means "lingering old age."

Here the first *a* would have to be long: but is not the variation of quantity exactly what would be expected of a word from the root in question?

I have been dealing, I know, in this ode with problems of surpassing difficulty: but the fact that innumerable obstacles have not arisen to check me on the path along which my hypothesis (and not any uncontrolled desire of emendation) is leading me, surely tends to prove with such proof as the very nature of the case alone admits that my hypothesis is sound, and that modern editors have built on insecure foundations.

I invite the reader to draw a sharp line of distinction between those emendations which affect the *esse* and those which merely affect the *bene esse* of my contention.

To digress a little from my strict subject matter, I must confess to grave doubts as regards the authorship of the eleventh Pythian.

It is manifest that the text has not had the same history as that of, at any rate, nearly all the odes with which I am dealing.

Considering its position as last ode but one of the Pythians, it may be either an "extravagans," really by Pindar, but not added till a comparatively late date to the standard editions of his works, or else not by Pindar at all, but by some contemporary.

See W. Christ's remark as to the mythology being apparently borrowed from Aeschylus.

The victory of Thrasydaeus is dated 478 B.C. I would observe that Simonides did not leave Athens for Syracuse till at least 476 B.C. The *Oresteia* was not produced till long after this date: but the *Oresteia* probably followed Athenian tradition. Simonides could have written this ode or a finer: not so Bacchylides.

I cannot abstain from pointing out the essential

resemblance of *νέα κεφαλά* (*Pyth.* xi. 35), which does not smack of Pindar, to the expression (usually read) of Simonides' most beautiful fragment, *καλὸν πρόσωπον*.

But I must not stray too far.

## TWELFTH PYTHIAN ODE

No instances.

## NEMEA

### FIRST NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

### SECOND NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

### THIRD NEMEAN ODE

#### A

The sixth line of each strophe and antistrophe, except the first antistrophe, presents a long before the final syllable.

The lines are as follows :

(a) l. 6. διψῆ δὲ π<sup>ρ</sup>άγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου

(b) l. 14. ᾤκησαν, ὦν παλαίφατον ἀγορὰν

(c) l. 27. ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβει

(d) l. 35. καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν

(e) l. 48. Κένταυρον ἄσθμαίνων ἐκόμιζεν

(f) l. 56. νύμφευσε δ' αἰτῖς ἀγλαόκαρπον

(g) l. 69. καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις

(h) l. 77. πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ



In l. 14 Kayser reads ἔδραν instead of ἀγορὰν. Rauchenstein conjectures ἀλκὰν or ὄρμὰν.

ὄρμὰν is very near to what I consider to be the true reading, namely ὄργαν. Compare Hermann's conjecture of ὄργᾶ for ἀρετᾶ in *Pyth.* v. 2, and my remarks on that passage.

## B

The fourth line of each epode, except the first, presents two shorts before its two final syllables: the first epode substitutes one long.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 20. ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα παῖς Ἀριστοφάνευσ·  
οὐκέτι πρόσω
- (b) l. 41. ὃς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει, ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα  
πνέων οὐ ποτ' ἀτρεκέϊ
- (c) l. 62. Αἰθιόπεσσι πείρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως  
σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος ὀπίσω
- (d) l. 83. τίν γε μὲν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελόισας, ἀεθλο-  
φόρου λήματος ἔνεκεν

In l. 62 I have substituted without question for the absurd MS. χείρας the true reading πείρας, which I published some years ago.

For οὐκέτι πρόσω in l. 20 Hermann reads οὐκέτι προτέρω. He is led to this emendation by the fact that the scholiast uses the word περαιτέρω.

I do not feel sure but that περαιτέρω may be an explanation of πρόσω itself, not necessarily of προτέρω. In view of the final syllable of οὐκέτι and the possibility of haplography, τὸ πρόσω seems to me a quite conceivable alternative.

## FOURTH NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

## FIFTH NEMEAN ODE

## A

The fourth line of each strophe and antistrophe, except the first antistrophe, presents a long syllable before its four final syllables: the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The following are the lines in question :

- (a) l. 4. Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενῆς  
 (b) l. 10. θέσσαντο πᾶρ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου  
 (c) l. 22. πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις ἄειδ' ἐν Παλίῳ  
 (d) l. 28. πείσαισ' ἀκοίταν ποικίλοις βουλευμασιν  
 (e) l. 40. πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενῆς ἔργων περι  
 (f) l. 46. Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ· χαίρω δ', ὅτι

In l. 10 Hermann reads πᾶτρός θ' Ἑλλανίου, with a consequential emendation in the next line of πίτναν τ' into πίτναντ' (which latter is also the Triclinian reading).

I am not concerned to decide between the claims of this reading and those of another which I suggest for consideration, namely πᾶτρός Σελλανίου.

I need not stay to speak of the Σέλλοι or Ἑλλοι at length. As a religious title, Ἑλλάνιος may well have retained its original initial Σ.

## B

In each of the three strophes and antistrophes of this ode, except the first strophe and antistrophe, after the first three syllables of the last line a long syllable occurs. The first strophe and antistrophe substitute two shorts in this place.

The following are the lines :

- (a) l. 6. οὐπω γένυσι φαίνων τέρειαν ματέρ' οἰνάσθας  
ὀπώραν  
 (b) l. 12. Ἐνδαΐδος ἀρίγνωτες υἱοὶ καὶ βία Φώκου  
κρέοντος

- (c) l. 24. φόρμιγγ' Ἀπόλλων ἐπτάγλωσσον χρυσέῳ πλά-  
κτρῳ διώκων
- (d) l. 30. ὡς ἄρα νυμφείας ἐπίερα κείνος ἐν λέκτροις  
Ἀκάστου
- (e) l. 42. Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πιτυῶν ποικίλων ἔψαυσας  
ὑμνων
- (f) l. 48. ἴσθι, γλυκεῖάν τοι Μενάνδρου σὺν τύχῃ μόχθων  
ἄμοιβάν

It is obvious that the first strophe and antistrophe are interdependent. In l. 6, for *γένυσι* Hermann substitutes the dative singular *γένυι*. This is indubitably right.

The *υ* diphthong was always causing difficulties.

The scholiast is thought to have read *γένυσι* (at least Heyne thought so); but though he does speak of *τῶν γενειάδων ἀνάφυσιν*, nevertheless he writes: *ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὐδέπω ἐν τῇ γενειάδι δεικνὺς τὴν ἀπαλὴν ὄραν*.

The fact is that Heyne was not considering the possibility of the scholiast reading *γένυι*, but was merely investigating the only question at that time existing, namely whether the scholiast read a dative or whether he read the nominative *γένυς* of Byzantine MSS.

It is a strange fact that this Byzantine reading is nearer to the truth than the *γένυσι* of the early MSS. I fear that the explanation is not that the Byzantines had sources of information unknown to us, but that they had feelings very like my own with regard to metre.

Hermann cures the metrical defect in l. 12 by reading *Ἐνδᾶδος οἱ ἀρίγνωτες υἱοὶ*. He scanned *οἱ* and the *ἀ-* of *ἀρίγνωτες* as one syllable by synzesis. Merely as a matter of orthography we must go a little further and read *ἀρίγνωτες*. The corruption in that case stands in no need of explanation.

## SIXTH NEMEAN ODE

### A AND B

(A) There are three epodes; the sixth line of both the first two begins with a pyrrhic; the third epode substitutes a long syllable.



The lines are these :

(a) l. 22. Νεμέα δὲ τρίς

(b) l. 47. βοτάνα τέ νιν

(c) l. 72. δελφίνι κεν

(B) The eighth line of the two first epodes begins with a long syllable. The third epode replaces this with a pyrrhic.

The following are the lines :

(a) l. 24. Σωκλείδα (read Σωκλείδα’, i.e. Σωκλείδαο  
elided), ὃς ὑπέρτατος

(b) l. 49. νικάσαντ’ ἔρεφε δασκίους

(c) l. 74. ἴσον εἴποιμι Μελησίαν

The obvious metrical corruption in l. 49 is not in a part of the line to affect my argument. Hermann reads νικῶντ’ ἔρεφε δασκίους. Schmid reads νικάσαντ’ ἔρεφ’ ἀσκίους. It was Triclinius who suggested ἀσκίους. But this by the way.

To deal with (A) and (B) together, I will set out the last epode at length.

εὐχος ἀγόνων ἄπο, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱερούς,  
 Ἄλκιμίδας τό γ’ ἐπάρκεσε  
 κλειτῆ γενεᾷ· δύο μὲν Κρονίου παρ τεμένει,  
 70 παῖ, σέ τ’ ἐνόσφισε καὶ Πολυτιμίδαν  
 κλᾶρος προπετῆς ἀνθ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος·  
 δελφίνι κεν  
 τάχος δι’ ἄλμας  
 ἴσον εἴποιμι Μελησίαν  
 75 χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον.

No one has emended δελφίνι. For ἴσον εἴποιμι, εἰκάζοιμι and ἴσον σποῖμι have been suggested, as well as other equivalents.

There are two objections to the last sentence, taken as it stands.

It is singularly unconnected with its context; and it attributes to Melesias an entirely inappropriate excellence.

The words can only mean that Melesias was as swift

in the brine as a dolphin, not that he surpassed other persons in his proper business as much as a dolphin surpasses other fish in respect of swiftness in the brine.

To say that Melesias was a swift dolphin in the brine would be a bold but intelligible metaphor: to say that he was as swift in the brine as a dolphin is an unintelligible simile.

Though the scholia do not go the whole length that logic requires, they recognize at least that it is swiftness that the received text attributes to Melesias.

This point is also brought out in Gianbatista Gautier's excellent translation:

Dirò intanto, che all' opra  
È veloce Milesia  
Qual Delfino nel pelago,  
È qual' cocchiere e mani, e forza adopra.

I will first give my emended reading, and then my textual reasons. I propose to read as follows:

ἰσάδελφον ἐν  
τάχος δι' ἄλμας  
ἀμφίσπομι Μελησίαν  
75 χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον.

ἀμφίσπομι is from ἀμφέπω.

I should paraphrase thus: 'Super alta vectus unâ eâdemque celeritate, quâ Alcimidam aggredior, Melesiam foveam.'

I believe that the expression δι' ἄλμας corrupted -δέλφον ἐν into δελφῖνί κεν, and that ἰσα-, being unintelligible where it stood, was transposed to the beginning of l. 74.

ἴσ' ἀμφίσπομι would easily pass into ἴσ' ἄν εἴπομι. φ is often taken for a crossed out omicron.

This would make sense of a sort: but the presence of both κεν and ἄν must eventually have changed ἴσ' ἄν into ἴσον.

W. Christ follows Bergk in reading εικάζοιμι, and he says that the reading ἴσον εἴπομι "ex glossemate natum esse coarguunt scholia."

The scholia do nothing of the sort. It is true that a

scholiast writes : ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσον ἂν εἴποιμι. But this does not "co-argue" a gloss.

The circumflexed ἴσον shows that the scholiast had before him another possible late correction of ἴσ' ἂν εἴποιμι, viz. ἴσ' εἴποιμι.

The neuter plural of ἴσος was used apparently semi-adverbially in classical Greek, and wholly adverbially in late Greek.

Cf. Sophocles, *OT.* 1187—

ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ,

and, as a strong example of the decadent idiom, Dio Cass. *Exc.* p. 32. 97—

τὸ σῶμα ἴσα τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔρρωτο.

Therefore to the copyists δελφίνι . . . ἴσ' ἂν εἴποιμι meant 'perinde ac delphinum dicerem.'

It will be observed that ἐν τάχος supplies a connexion with the rest of the poem, and does away with the abruptness of the last clause.

## SEVENTH NEMEAN ODE

### A

After the seventh syllable of the sixth line of each of the five strophes and antistrophes, except the second antistrophe, two short syllables are presented : the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 6. εἶργει δὲ πότμῳ ζυγένθ' ἕτερον ἕτερα. σὺν  
δὲ τὶν

(b) l. 14. ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν  
τρόπῳ

(c) l. 27. λευρὸν ξίφος· ὃν κράτιστον Ἀχιλῆος ἄτερ  
μάχα

(d) l. 35. κεῖται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθην

(e) l. 48. εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν. τρία Γέπεα διαρκέσει



- (f) l. 56. εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω  
 (g) l. 69. εἰ παρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρρον ἐννέπων  
 (h) l. 77. εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν· ἀναβάλεο. Μοῖσά  
 τοι  
 (i) l. 90. ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὄς ἐδάμασας,  
 εὐτυχῶς  
 (k) l. 98. εἰ γάρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοντον ἀρμόσαις

In l. 35 W. Christ has rightly restored Νεῶπόλεμος in place of Νεῶπτόλεμος.

In l. 69 ψάγιον is unimpeachable (see Hesychius), but Triclinius read ψέγιον. Ahrens actually tried to introduce a gratuitous example of bad metre by proposing ψελλόν, to which Schneidewin alludes in these terms: "Ego Ahrentis eximiam emendationem ψελλόν praetulisse, nisi *ubique* in hoc carminis loco solutiones regnarent." The italics are my own.

I cannot resist the impression that Schneidewin considered that the first omicron of Νεοπτόλεμος remained short before πτ.

## B

After the initial syllable of the seventh line of each strophe and antistrophe, except the fourth strophe, we find a long syllable: the fourth strophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are as follow:

- (α) l. 7. καὶ παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος ἀρετᾶ κριθεῖς  
 (b) l. 15. εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἕκατι λιπαράμπυκος  
 (c) l. 28. ξανθῶ Μενέλα δάμαρτα κομίσαι θοαῖς  
 (d) l. 36. τᾶ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων  
 (e) l. 49. οὐ ψεύδεις ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ  
 (f) l. 57. εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον  
 (g) l. 70. Εὐξενίδα πάτραθε Σώγενες, ἀπομνύω  
 (h) l. 78. κολλᾶ χρυσὸν ἐν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἀμᾶ  
 (i) l. 91. ναίειν πατρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων  
 (k) l. 99. ἦβα λιπαρῶ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις

Hartung does unnecessary violence to the text of l. 70 by reading *Εὐξεινίδι Σωγένους πάτρα*.

The words *Εὐξεινιδᾶ πάτρᾳθε* are tautological to the verge of impossibility. Sogenes could not possibly be an Euxenid except by descent.

A reference to the context shows that the literal meaning of the root of the name of the Euxenid clan has to be emphasized.

To me it is obvious that the right reading is *εὐξείνε πάτραθε*. These words denote that Sogenes was 'ancestrally favourable to strangers': they connote that he was an Euxenid.

No doubt there was a gloss, *Εὐξεινίδα*, on the whole expression, *εὐξείνε πάτραθε*: but the important fact is that it did not oust *πάτραθε*, and was only admitted by the copyist, not *qua* gloss, but because it closely followed the *ductus literarum* of *εὐξείνε*.

#### EIGHTH NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

#### NINTH NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

#### TENTH NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

#### ELEVENTH NEMEAN ODE

No instances.

## ISTHMA

## FIRST ISTHMIAN ODE

No instances.

## SECOND ISTHMIAN ODE

No instances.

## THIRD ISTHMIAN ODE

(Otherwise Third and Fourth Isthmian Odes)

## A

In the third line of each of the five strophes and antistrophes, except the fourth antistrophe, the three initial syllables are succeeded by a long syllable. In the fourth antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 3. ἄξιος εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι  
 (b) l. 9. ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ  
 (c) l. 21. ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν  
 (d) l. 27. ὕβριος ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται  
 (e) l. 39. τόνδε πορῶν γενεᾷ θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον  
 (f) l. 45. τοιάδε τῶν τότ' ἐόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδῶν  
 (g) l. 57. θεσπεσίῳ ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν  
 (h) l. 63. ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα. τόλμα γὰρ εἰκὼς  
 (i) l. 75. ναυτιλίασί τε πορθμὸν ἀμερώσαις  
 (k) l. 81. ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτῶ θανόντων

It will be seen that l. 63 presents the exceptional phenomenon as part of a proper name.

Let me only premise that Τελεσιάδα might (at least *metri gratia*) be written Τελεσσιάδα (witness Aesch. *Ag.* 700 *τελεσσίφρων*), and then proceed at once to set forth the whole antistrophe in question.

προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν, κείνον ἄφαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων  
καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,  
ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα. τόλμα γὰρ εἰκὼς  
θυμὸν ἐριβρεμετᾶν θηρῶν λεόντων  
ἐν πόνῳ, μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ, αἰετοῦ ἅ τ' ἀναπιτναμένα ρόμβον  
ἴσχει.  
χρῆ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντα μαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.

From this is it not patent that the true reading is ἀρνὶ Τελεσσιάδα? Melissus ('Busy Bee') is his father's Lamb; but for daring, he is a very Lion, and for artfulness, a Fox.

## B

In the last line of each of the epodes, except the fourth epode, the four final syllables are preceded by one long: the fourth epode substitutes two shorts.

The following are the lines:

- (a) l. 18. αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ'  
ἐξάλλαξεν· ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν
- (b) l. 36. νῦν δ' αὖ μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον  
χθῶν ὡτε φοινικέοισιν ἀνθησεν ῥόδοις
- (c) l. 54. ἐν νυκτὶ ταμῶν περὶ *F*ῶ φασγάνῳ μομφὰν ἔχειν  
παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων, ὅσοι Τρῳάνδ' ἔβαν
- (d) l. 72. τὰν πυροφόρον Λιβύαν, κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων  
ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα σχέθου
- (e) l. 90. γνώμα πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ. σὺν Ὀρσέα δέ  
νιν κωμάζομαι, τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν

Hermann emends the Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα of l. 72 to Ποσειδᾶνός σφ' ἐρέπτουτα—"probabiliter," says W. Christ.

ἐρέπτειν, 'to cover' or 'roof,' was not recognized in post-classical times. It was thought to be the active of ἐρέπτεσθαι, 'to munch'; as appears plainly in Pollux vi. 41 καὶ ἐρέπτειν ἔλεγον τὸ συντόνως ἐσθίειν.

But it survives in *Pyth.* iv. 240.

We have already seen how unsubstantial σφ' became, owing in part to its being read σο, with ο crossed out.

Hermann's emendation should be received.



## FOURTH ISTHMIAN ODE

(Otherwise called Fifth Isthmian Ode)

No instances.

## FIFTH ISTHMIAN ODE

(Otherwise called Sixth Isthmian Ode)

In the sixth line of the second and third strophes and antistrophes before the two final syllables two shorts are presented: the first strophe and antistrophe agree in substituting one long.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 7. Φυλακίδα νικῶντος· εἶη δὲ τρίτον  
 (b) l. 16. ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς· ἐγὼ δ' ὑψίθρονον  
 (c) l. 32. *Φέθνεα, καὶ τὸν βουβόταν οὔρει* *Φίσον*  
 (d) l. 41. ὁ δ' ἀνατείνας οὐρανῷ χεῖρας ἀμάχους  
 (e) l. 57. Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον, ᾧ Μοῖσα, ταμίας  
 (f) l. 66. θεοφιλῆ ναίοισι· Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν

It is obvious that the first strophe and the first antistrophe do not offer independent evidence, but are in a conspiracy to back up one another's story.

Without further argument I will propose τρίτατον and ὑψινόθρονον.

## SIXTH ISTHMIAN ODE

(Otherwise called Seventh Isthmian Ode)

No instances.

## SEVENTH ISTHMIAN ODE

(Otherwise called Eighth Isthmian Ode)

Under the heading C, I shall have to discuss a fact of extraordinary interest. A portion of one (or more) of Pindar's lines will scan accentually as a trochaic dimeter

catalectic followed after a caesura by words that, with a slight alteration, will make a trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, also accentual.

This form of the *versus politicus* must have appealed mightily to the copyists. Pindar for once was using an intelligible and human metre.

The result was that they extended the accentual scansion to every corresponding line in the whole ode.

Consequently, out of the seven times that the line recurs, we six times gravely read in our present text an accentual trochaic dimeter catalectic of the most approved medieval construction; and the seventh time we find it very nearly perfect.

The latter portions, after the caesura, are never quite perfect specimens of accentual trochaic dimeters brachycatalectic; but I maintain every one of them is a later attempt to bring that metre into conformity with quantitative scansion.

The type is:

6. Μοῖσαν. ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες.

The scholia break off at l. 26 (old style), now l. 13: τὸ δὲ πρὸ ποδός.

It is tempting at first sight to assume that a scholium on l. 5, viz. *συντέτακται γὰρ ἡ ῥῶδὴ ἐπὶ κατορθώμασι τοῖς (lacuna) ἤδη πολέμῳ*, is a mutilation of a statement that the ode has been constituted on the basis of the emendations of some editor. But the scholia of Victorius fill up the lacuna with the word "Ἐλλησιν. As Boeckh points out, *κατορθώμασι* and "Ἐλλησιν do not go well together. One must surely read:—*συντέτακται γὰρ ἡ ῥῶδὴ ἐπὶ κατορθώμασι τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἤδη πολέμῳ*. When *κατορθώμασι* passed into *κατορθώμασι*, the masculine "Ἐλλησιν became unintelligible, and was generally omitted. I am not prepared, in view of the context, to argue that this form of the scholium is non-original. Still, the perfect is a little curious. If by any chance the scholium did originally speak of a reconstitution (which I do not attempt to contend), then *ἤδη πολέμῳ* cannot well conceal the name of any scholar except that of Palamedes ("Eleaticus"), the

contemporary of Athenaeus, who wrote an *Ἑπόμνημα εἰς Πίνδαρον*.

But before passing to C, I must deal with A and B.

## A

The five initial syllables of the first line of each of that series of strophes which compose this ode, are followed in the existing MSS. by two shorts, except in the fourth strophe, where one long is substituted.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 1. Κλεάνδρω τις ἀλικία τε λύτρον  
 (b) l. 11. ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μόχθον. ἀλλά  
 (c) l. 21. σὲ δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν ἐνεγκῶν  
 (d) l. 31. ἐπεὶ θεσφάτων ἤκουσαν. εἶπεν  
 (e) l. 41. ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἄφθιτον ἄντρον εὐθύς  
 (f) l. 51. γεφύρωσέ τ' Ἀτρεΐδαισι νόστον  
 (g) l. 61. τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον, ἔσσυταί τε

In l. 31 ἤκουσαν is clearly a little corrupt : in any case the Doric is ἄκουσαν.

To get rid of the long in place of two shorts Hermann conjectured first ὄπ' ἄκουσαν, and afterwards adopted Triclinius' ἐπάκουσαν. Schmid reads ἐσάκουσαν, and Boeckh the outrageously violent " συνίενν. ἔειπεν."

Personally I propose the reading ἐνάκουσαν, on account of the -ων of θεσφάτων. I understand ἐνάκουσαν as ἐσάκουσαν, with the dialectic ἐν for ἐνσ.

εἰσακούω with the genitive is classical.

The metrical scholia demand attention. The author of them writes : τὸ ὄγδοον εἶδος μονοστροφικόν ἐστι καὶ διαιρεῖται κατὰ κῶλα εἰκοσίδυο, ὧν τὸ α' Φαλαίκειον. εἶδος 'a particular presentation (of Pindaric metre),' and is in practice synonymous with 'ode.' 'The form of the eighth ode is monostrophic, and it is divided into twenty-two cola, of which the first is a Phalaecian.' A strict Phalaecian is a dactylo-trochaic hendecasyllable, - ≡ - - - - - - - - - ≡ (with a dactyl in the second foot), " passer mortuus est meae

puellae." The scholiast seems to use the term so as to include a trochaic hendecasyllable with a dactyl not in the second foot.

There is a marginal annotation on the statement τὸ α' Φαλαίκειον, which runs thus: Ἡφαιστίων δὲ Πινδαρικὸν ὀνομάζει, συνιστάμενον ἐξ ἀντισπάστου χοριάμβου καὶ ἰαμβικῆς κατὰ κλειδος. ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ μὲν τοι ἀποδόσει ἀντὶ χοριάμβου μόλοσσος κεῖται. 'But Hephaestion designates it Pindaric, composed of an antispast, a choriamb, and an iambic termination. However, in the third correspondence a molossus stands in the place of a choriamb.'

The "third correspondence" seems to me to be the fourth strophe, which we are discussing: the first strophe would be, I suppose, the "protasis." But what is the meaning of Πινδαρικὸν ὀνομάζει?

A "Pindaric" is an anapaestic dimeter acatalectic, though why so called I cannot imagine. It is true that l. 1 of the ode may be read as ending with an anapaestic monometer; but it is impossible to torture the line into even the semblance of an anapaestic dimeter, and in no strophe except the first is there so much as the false appearance (caused by a mute and a liquid) of an anapaestic ending.

Consequently, Hephaestion either

- (1) used "Pindaric" in a metrical sense otherwise unknown, or
- (2) read something quite different from what we read, or
- (3) merely said that the ode was Pindaric.

The second explanation seems to me highly probable.

Hephaestion lived at Alexandria before the time of Suidas.

## B

The second line of each of the seven strophes, except the sixth strophe, begins with a long syllable. The sixth strophe substitutes two shorts.



- (a) l. 2. *εὐδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων*  
 (b) l. 12. *μοι δείμα μὲν παροιχόμενον*  
 (c) l. 22. *κοιμᾶτο, δῖον ἔνθα τέκες*  
 (d) l. 32. *εὐβουλος ἐν μέσοισι Θέμις*  
 (e) l. 42. *Χείρωνος αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαι*  
 (f) l. 52. *Ἐλέναν τ' ἐλύσατο, Τροίας*  
 (g) l. 62. *Μοισαῖον ἄρμα Νικοκλέος*

I will quote the context in which the suspicious l. 52 stands.

Ἄχιλῆος·

ὁ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν

αἵμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ραίνων φόνῳ πεδίων,

γεφύρωσέ τ' Ἀτρεΐδαισι νόστον,

Ἐλέναν τ' ἐλύσατο, Τροίας

Ἴνας ἐκταμὸν δορί, ταί νιν ρύοντό ποτε μάχας ἐναριμβρότου

ἔργον ἐν πεδίῳ κορύσσοντα, Μέμνονός τε βίαν

ὑπέρθυμον Ἐκτορά τ' ἄλλους τ' ἀριστεάς.

*λύεσθαι* means either 'to ransom' or 'to loose from one's own person.' Therefore, although etymologically 'Ἐλέναν ἐλύσατο could mean 'caused Helen to be released,' nevertheless no Greek author could with propriety employ the words in such a sense, especially when speaking of a soldier fighting in the field.

Pindar did not write 'Ἐλέναν τ' ἐλύσατο.

Achilles ransomed nothing and nobody; but it is true that by returning to the fight after sulking in his tent, he put from his own person an important something, namely "reproach."

I therefore confidently propose to read *δέννον* instead of 'Ἐλέναν.

I think it conceivable that the corruption dates from very early times, anterior to that of the graphical duplication of letters. ΔΕΝΟΝ might easily lead to ΕΛΕΝΑΝ.

For the use of *λύω* in such a connexion cf. *Ol.* iv. 21-23:

ἄπερ Κλυμένοιο παῖδα

Λαμνιάδων γυναικῶν

ἔλυσεν ἕξ ἀτιμίας.

I think that there Pindar might have said that the son of Clymenus ἀτιμίαν ἐλύσατο.

The scholia do not extend as far as this line.

## C

Before the four final syllables of the fifth line of the first, second, sixth, and seventh strophes a long syllable occurs: in the third, fourth, and fifth strophes, two shorts are substituted. The shorts, though only occurring thrice as against a long four times, will ultimately, I think, be seen to have the right on their side.

The lines are these:

- (a) 1. 5. ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξεῦρε. τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ  
ἀχνύμενος  
θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι  
Μοῖσαν. ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πευθέων λυθέντες
- (b) 1. 15. ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον· ἰατὰ δ' ἔστι βροτοῖς σὺν  
γ' ἐλευθερία  
καὶ τά· χρῆ δ' ἀγαθὰν ἐλπίδ' ἀνδρὶ μέλειν·  
χρῆ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θῆβαις τραφέντα
- (c) 1. 25. ἀρίστευον υἱέες υἱέων τ' ἀρηΐφιλοι παῖδες ἀνορέα  
χάλκεον στονόεντ' ἀμφέπειν ὄμαδον·  
σώφρονές τ' ἐγένοντο πινυτοί τε θυμόν.
- (d) 1. 35. διώξει χερὶ τριόδοντός τ' ἀμαιμακέτου, Δί τε μισγο-  
μέναν  
ἢ Διὸς παρ' ἀδελφεοῖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν  
παύσατε· βροτέων δὲ λεχέων τυχοῖσα
- (e) 1. 45. λῦοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑφ' ἥρωϊ παρθεσίας. ὡς φάτο  
Κρονίδαις  
ἐννέποισα θεά· τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ γλεφάροις·  
νεῦσαν ἀθανάτοισιν· ἐπέων δὲ καρπὸς
- (f) 1. 55. ὑπέρθυμον Ἐκτορά τ' ἄλλους τ' ἀριστεάς· οἷς  
δῶμα Φερσεφόνας  
μανύων Ἀχιλεὺς, οὖρος Αἰακιδᾶν,  
Αἴγιναν σφετέραν τε ρίζαν πρόφαινεν.
- (g) 1. 65. ἐνίκασε δὴ ποτε καὶ κείνος ἄνδρας ἀφύκτω χερὶ  
κλονέων.  
τὸν μὲν οὐ κατελέγχει κριτοῦ γενεὰ  
πατραδελφεοῦ· ἀλίκων τῷ τις ἄβρον

It will be seen that the third member of this prodigious line (which member is to all intents and purposes a line in itself) is divided into two parts by a caesura after the sixth syllable in the case of the first six strophes. In the seventh strophe the metre is proved by the absence of caesura to have gone to pieces.

It is difficult to believe the evidence of one's senses ; but it is perfectly manifest that in the first six strophes the ante-caesural portions of the third members of the lines are nothing more nor less than accentual trochaic dimeters catalectic of the medieval type.

In *versus politici* a subordinate accent, which I will graphically denote by a circle above the line, is placed at regular intervals, missing out one syllable each time, on the otherwise unaccented syllables of any word long enough to receive it.

For example, ἀθανάτοισιν (l. 45) scans accentually as if it had three accents, viz., ἀθανάτοισίν : and, to take a really long word, Aristophanes' σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι would in medieval times scan as σάλπιγγόλογχυπηνάδαι.

Here are the six dimeters with the accentual scansion marked :

- (a) Μοῖσαν ἔκ μεγάλων δὲ
- (b) χρῆ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι
- (c) σώφρονές τ' ἐγένοντο
- (d) παύσατ'· βροτέων δὲ
- (e) νεῦσαν ἄθανάτοισιν·
- (f) Αἴγιναν σφετέρων τὲ

(g) may easily be reconstituted in the same metre by reading—

πᾶτραδὲλφεοῦ ἄβρον

If these are a chain of accidental coincidences, then many a man has gone to the gallows on weaker evidence.

In order to make the series true examples of *versus politici*, the caesura should in each case be followed by a line of a length different from that of the ante-caesural system.

There is clear evidence that this was once the case

with the series I am discussing, and that the post-caesural metre was that of a trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic.

These brachycatalectic dimeters were in their turn brought back into a semblance at least of quantitative scansion; but the accentual metre has left visible traces.

In l. 15 the long first syllable of Θήβαις ought, on my theory, to be two shorts. Pindaric order makes very strongly in favour of putting τραφέντα between ἐπταπύλοισι and Θήβαις. Also I think that most Grecians will agree that the passage would be much the better for the addition of a γε.

I suppose that the passage originally ran—

χρὴ δ' ἐν ἐπταπύλοισί γε τραφέντα Θήβαις

Although

γῆ τραφέντα Θήβαις

is a perfect specimen of an accentual trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, it nevertheless could not stand as the second member of a *versus politicus*, because the *versus politicus* was stricter than Pindar with regard to caesura rules, and would not suffer an enclitic word to be placed immediately after the caesura. Consequently γε τραφέντα Θήβαις had perforce to be altered to Θήβαισι τραφέντα.

This latter, when an attempt was made to restore quantitative scansion, was changed in its turn to the really unmetrical reading of our existing MSS., Θήβαις τραφέντα.

In l. 55 the long syllable of ῥίζαν is very simply explained on an identical hypothesis.

It is manifest that the only possible way (without extreme violence to the text) of getting two shorts in place of the long, is to read προέφαινε ῥίζαν. This will not scan at all as a trochaic dimeter. Neither, it is true, will ῥίζαν πρόφαινεν: but ῥίζαν πρόφαινέν γε (though somewhat barbarous) scans excellently on accentual principles.

I maintain that ῥίζαν πρόφαινεν is nothing but ῥίζαν πρόφαινέν γε with the γε left out in the interests of quantitative scansion.



If we now turn to l. 5, we shall, it is true, find a more difficult problem: but the problem admits, if not of a certain, at least of a reasonable, solution.

Instead of *πενθέων* we want a word, in the original text, of anapaestic scansion. That word is almost certainly *πάθέων*.

But what possible temptation could there be to corrupt *παθέων* into *πενθέων*? The accentual theory supplies an immediate answer.

Neither

*παθέων λυθέντες*

nor

*πενθέων λυθέντες*

will scan as a trochaic dimeter.

I cannot think of any rough equivalent in sense and form, that will scan accentually, except—

*πόνων ἔκλυθέντες.*

When *πόνων ἔκλυθέντες* came to be turned back into quantitative metre, the *πον-* of *πόνων* became the *πεν-* of *πενθέων*.

In l. 25 *πινυτοί τε θυμόν* very probably is a correct reconstitution of what Pindar actually wrote: but I suggest that it is in the highest degree possible that it had to pass through the stage of

*πινυτόθυμοί τε.*

l. 35, as it stands, is faulty in two ways. There is no expressed nominative for *τυχοῖσα* to agree with, and the final short syllable of *τυχοῖσα* stands *in hiatus*.

I imagine that the existing line is an attempted quantitative reconstitution of some such accentual line as—

*παύσατῆ· βροτέων δὲ ἅ τυχοῖσα λέκτρων*

The matter is most uncertain, but a possible original reading would be:

*παύσαθ'· ἅ βροτέων δὲ προτυχοῖσα λέκτρων*

That line would itself scan accentually: but it would

offend, as the practice of elision is in *versus politici* confined within narrow limits.

In l. 55, I have already suggested *προέφαινε ρίζαν*; but there is another metrical fault. The long second syllable of *Αἴγιναν* is intolerable. I propose to read the member as a whole thus:

Ἄϊόναν σφετέραν τε προέφαινε ρίζαν,

thereby upsetting the accentual scansion of the former portion also.

Eione is mentioned, though almost certainly as a result of corruption, in Bacchylides (xvi. 112), and is spoken of in various other authors. I propose that the name should be read.

I suggest that, according to the legend Pindar follows, she was none other than Thetis.

Achilles by his heroic deeds showed not so much that he was an Aeginetan, as that he had the blood of gods in his veins.

l. 65 has been corrupted beyond all possibility of certain reconstruction. I suggest that the original reading was something like—

πατραδελφεό· αὐτίχ' ἄβρον ἀλίκων τις

The accentual stage may have been—

πάτραδέλφει· ἄβρον ἄλιξ οὖν αὐτῷ τις

I wish to emphasize the fact that the ante-caesural and post-caesural portions stand on different ground as regards the accentual scansion. In the case of the former it is an undeniable fact: in the case of the latter it is only an overwhelmingly strong presumption.

I have left far too much of it remaining *ante caesuram*. Further emendations might, some will say, restore more of the original:

τὸ πρόσω δ' ἐστὶ σοφοῖς ἄβατον  
κασόφοις· οὐ μιν διώξω. κείνος εἶην.

The presence of traces of *versus politici* in this ode would seem to be most naturally attributable to some

interference with the text by or under the influence of John Tzetzes, the chief of the early exponents of the accentual metre. It is true that in his hands and in the hands of medieval writers generally the *versus politicus* assumed the form of an accentual iambic dimeter acatalectic followed by an accentual iambic dimeter catalectic, whereas in this ode we seem to see an accentual trochaic dimeter catalectic followed by an accentual trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic. But this very variant of the strictly normal type of *versus politicus* is of the commonest occurrence in modern Greek poetry, and must inevitably have sprung into existence almost, if not quite, contemporaneously with the longer iambic form of the verse. As early as the year 602 A.D. part of the greeting accorded by the Blues in the Hippodrome to Phocas took the form (though with a different metrical connexion) of the very trochaic dimeter catalectic with which we have to deal. They chanted “Μάθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν,” though they prefixed to this dimeter an iambic dimeter acatalectic.

It is well known that Tzetzes annotated Pindar. That he also emended (“cleansed,” ἐκάθηρε) his text, is made almost certain by an epigram given on the page of addenda at the end of the second edition of Potter’s *Lycophron* (Oxford, 1702), and there stated—this is important—to have formerly been prefixed to copies of the Pindaric odes. It runs :

Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ εἰς βαλανεῖον ἔχον Πίνδαρον.

Αἶθε σε, Πίνδαρε, μᾶλλον ἐμοῖς ἐκάθηρα ρέέθροισ,  
Καί κεν ἄριστον ὕδωρ τοῦμὸν ἔφησθα μόνον.

If this had been an epideictic epigram on a bath containing a statue of Pindar, and if the bath itself had been personified as speaking, it would have been difficult to extract any real sense from the couplet, and it would have been ludicrous to prefix it to the odes. Clearly an emender is speaking, not a bath.

The epigram occurs twice in the Ninth Book (Ἐπιδεικτικά) of the *Anthology*, once after the 628th Epigram, and once after the 680th Epigram, each time following an



epigram about a bath. The double presentation (rare, but not unparalleled, in the Anthology) is suspicious. The first time it occurs, the epigram is said to be τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. by John the Grammarian, who is otherwise called Philoponus, and wrote about 620 A.D.); the second time it is set down as Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ τοῦ Βαρβουκάλου (the poet, Barbucalus, or Barbucallus, of Albucella, flourished *circa* 550 A.D.). The first time it is described as εἰς ἔτερον λουτρόν, the second as εἰς λουτρόν ἔχον Πίνδαρον.

Neither John Barbucalus nor John Philoponus was a Pindaric scholar. John Tzetzes was; and this non-epideictic epigram from his pen has been interpolated, with conflicting guesses at his identity, at two separate points of the Ἐπιδεικτικά of the Anthology.

Tzetzes flourished *circa* 1150 A.D. The earliest MS. of the Isthmian odes is of the end of the twelfth century (Vaticanus 1312, known as B), but, owing to the loss of sheets, contains of the Seventh Isthmian ll. 1-18 and 39-63 only. Hence it presents no more than four out of the seven lines with which we are dealing; but those four are enough to show that the processes of alteration and re-alteration were already complete. If Tzetzes innovated about the year 1140, and if the MS. was written about the year 1190, the intervening half-century would afford time for his successors to recast his innovations. The earliest MS. of the whole ode is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Mediceus 32. 52, known as D).

I have occasion to suspect in several plays of Euripides the presence of paraphrases into the Political Metre (of the normal type) of the original quantitative choruses: but, if I am right, the accentual metre has in its turn been emended back to such an extent as to leave less distinct traces, at any rate for the most part, than are left in the Seventh Isthmian. I also think that the prose arguments of the particular Euripidean plays in question, and of no others, show distinct signs of having been originally composed in the Political Metre. This field of investigation is probably new, and certainly difficult.



## CHAPTER II

; PINDAR (*continued*)

### A

#### THE OLYMPIAN ODES

So far as the Olympian odes are concerned, the result of this inquiry is that I have been able to discover nineteen instances of the phenomenon under investigation in a total of 997 lines.

Nine odes out of fourteen, containing 537 lines, as against five odes containing 460 lines, show no trace of the phenomenon. The five odes include *Ol.* i. and ii., containing 216 lines, which furnish eleven of the nineteen instances. The second ode alone supplies nine instances.

Everything here is out of proportion. Are we to account for the lack of proportion by attributing to the first, second, eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth Olympians (the odes which contain instances or possible instances) or to most of them some metrical peculiarity not shared in by the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and twelfth Olympians (which present no instances)? Or shall we rather conclude that the odes which present instances (or most of them) have been more favourite subjects of study in the schools than the other odes, and that in consequence the metrical principles of an age posterior to Pindar's have been applied to them with a more lavish hand?

To avoid highly disputable technicalities, I will sum up in simple language what appear to be the leading metrical characteristics of the various odes.

Let us first take the group of five.

Ode i. seems to consist for the most part of a series of

dactyls, spondees, trochees and tribrachs. I honestly do not think that any one can say with truth anything more precise about its structure.

Ode ii. consists of cretics, trochees, (perhaps) spondees, and first, third, and fourth paeons.

Ode xi. seems to be a mixture, in the main, of dactyls, trochees and tribrachs.

Exactly the same is true of Ode xiii.

The same is true of Ode xiv.

To turn to the other group, in which we are confronted with the serried array of Odes iii. to x. inclusive, Ode iii. is a combination of dactyls, spondees and trochees.

Ode iv. is just like Odes xi., xiii. and xiv. in the other group.

Ode v. is similar, except for the absence of tribrachs, and for its peculiar stanza-like arrangement. Its authenticity was doubted in antiquity.

Ode vi. is predominantly dactylic and spondaic, with an infusion of trochees. Here, if anywhere, we should expect *a priori* to find epic rules as to the interchangeability of dactyls and spondees in operation; but, though the ode runs to 105 lines, it furnishes no instance.

Ode vii. is of a similar character.

So is Ode viii.

Ode ix. appears to consist almost entirely of trochees interspersed with (no doubt cyclic) dactyls.

Ode x. is on the whole similar to Ode xi. etc. in the other group.

Ode xii. is dactylic and spondaic and also admits trochees.

It therefore appears quite impossible to draw any satisfactory distinction on metrical grounds between the bulk of the one group and the bulk of the other. It is indeed to be observed that in the case of the second ode it is in the short syllables of the paeons that the phenomenon presents itself: but I can hardly imagine any one claiming for paeons a "privilegium" in this respect. What is very easy to understand is that late metricians and copyists must have found the paeon a thing of perplexity and wonder, and have been only too glad to reduce it, when conveniently possible, to a more familiar form.

## B

## THE PYTHIAN ODES

In the Pythian odes I have found nineteen instances in 1203 lines.

The odes that furnish examples are seven out of twelve, and contain 881 lines, as against the 332 lines of the remaining five odes which are without examples of the phenomenon.

It will be seen that the proportion of examples to lines is rather less than in the Olympians. This is just what, on my view of things, we should expect. The Pythians were never quite as favourite a school-book as were the Olympians.

Owing to the length of the fourth Pythian, that ode contributes five instances, or at any rate four. The other odes of the group contribute one each, except that the fifth Pythian is responsible for six, and the eleventh Pythian for four.

Let us now see whether there is any difference of metre observable between the two groups, or between the bulk of the odes in the one group and the bulk of the odes in the other group.

Let us take first the group of seven odes which present examples.

*Pyth.* i. consists of dactyls and spondees with very occasional trochees.

*Pyth.* iii. consists of dactyls and spondees, with a few trochees.

*Pyth.* iv. is made up of dactyls, spondees and trochees.

*Pyth.* v. appears to be for the most part logaoedic, admitting trochees, dactyls and a large number of tribrachs: but the first five lines of each strophe and antistrophe are composed of mingled paeons and cretics. Four of the six examples occur in the logaoedic portions of the odes, while the remaining two are examples of resolved cretics. The paeons do not contribute at all to the number.

*Pyth.* vi. consists of trochees, dactyls and tribrachs.

*Pyth.* ix. is built up of dactyls, spondees and trochees.



*Pyth.* xi. is composed of trochees, dactyls and tribrachs. It seems impossible to set the other group (of five odes) in any separate category.

*Pyth.* ii. has for its component parts tribrachs, trochees and dactyls.

*Pyth.* vii. is similar to *Pyth.* ii. and consequently similar also to a number of odes in the other group.

*Pyth.* viii. does not appear to be essentially different.

*Pyth.* x. chiefly consists of dactyls and trochees.

*Pyth.* xii. has a marked dactylic and spondaic measure, with an infusion of trochees.

## C

### THE NEMEAN ODES

I have succeeded in the Nemean odes in discovering nine instances in 755 lines. This is approximately at the rate of one example in every 84 lines. The approximate rate in the Olympian odes is one instance to 52 lines; in the Pythian odes, one instance to 63 lines. It is interesting to observe how the phenomenon becomes proportionately rarer the further we pass from the high road of the Olympian Epinicia into regions less trodden by the feet of the schoolmasters of old.

The nine instances are contained in four odes (out of eleven) containing 318 lines, as against seven odes (which do not present examples) containing 437 lines.

After what we have seen in the case of the Olympian and Pythian odes, it may seem superfluous to inquire whether the Nemeans present two groups of such different metrical quality that the one admits the phenomenon, the other not. But for the sake of completeness the matter may be briefly dealt with.

Let us take first the group of four odes that supply examples.

*Nem.* iii. seems to consist of dactyls, trochees and tribrachs.

*Nem.* v. is made up of dactyls, trochees, spondees and (if the solution be allowed, but not otherwise) tribrachs.



*Nem.* vi. consists of dactyls, trochees and, perhaps, spondees.

*Nem.* vii. seems to be partly logaoedic, but partly also to be composed of paeons, antispasts and choriamb. The examples presented in this ode are one instance of *solutio*, and one of the converse phenomenon, both occurring in what appear to be essentially quadrisyllabic feet.

To turn to the other group,

*Nem.* i. is composed of dactyls, trochees and spondees.

*Nem.* ii. is likewise composed of dactyls, trochees and spondees.

*Nem.* i. is considered to be an example of the dactylo-epitrite metre, *Nem.* ii. of the logaoedic: but, although I do not deny the possibility of the absolute correctness of these descriptions, I am unable to understand the confidence with which modern metricians label the two odes, both of which are made up of different combinations of precisely the same feet.

*Nem.* iv. is similar to *Nem.* ii., except that it is not so clear that it admits spondees.

*Nem.* viii. resembles *Nem.* i. and consequently also *Nem.* v. in the other group.

*Nem.* ix. consists for the most part, at any rate of choriamb, with a few cretics.

*Nem.* x. seems to be made up of dactyls, spondees and trochees.

*Nem.* xi. is very similar.

Consequently the groups cannot really be separated.

## D

### THE ISTHMIAN ODES

The Isthmian odes present, so far as I can find, nine instances in 704 lines.

These are contained in three odes, which together make up 383 lines, as against four odes without instances, the aggregate of the lines of which amounts to 321.

The approximate rate of the occurrence of the examples is one to 72 lines.

But if we exclude the last Isthmian ode, which must

be admitted to have had an unique textual history, we must state these facts in a very different form.

The first six Isthmian odes seem to yield four instances of the phenomenon in question, in 552 lines.

These instances are contained in two odes, totalling together 231 lines, as against four odes without instances, which contain in all 321 lines.

The approximate rate of the occurrence of the examples is one to 138 lines. We see that the *Isthmians* were still less read in schools and the like than the *Nemeans*.

Let us turn to the group which contains instances.

*Isth.* iii. consists of dactyls, spondees and trochees.

*Isth.* v. is very similar.

*Isth.* vii. is composed of trochees and dactyls.

In the other group—

*Isth.* i. is composed of dactyls, spondees and trochees.

So is *Isth.* ii.

So is *Isth.* iv.

*Isth.* vi. appears to have the same features.

It is clear that the groups cannot be differentiated.

## E

### SUMMARY

Taking all four books of the odes together, we find a grand total of 56 instances, in 3659 lines, or an approximate average of one instance in every 65 lines.

Given the notorious corruption of lyric texts, this average is not sufficiently high to create any serious presumption of the originality of the phenomenon. Any slight presumption that it may raise, vanishes, if once it can be shown that the examples existing in the text are, even for the most part, susceptible of rational and easy emendation, and that it is possible to give reasons that readily account for the alteration of the suggested primordial readings.

I must leave scholars to judge whether or no I am right in thinking that I have shown that the examples are susceptible of such emendation, and that I have given sufficient reasons to account for the corruptions of the text.

## CHAPTER III

### FRAGMENTS OF PINDAR

THE fragments of Pindar at present generally accessible present very few consecutive passages of sufficient length to give an opportunity of judging the relations of strophe with antistrophe, and none at all of comparing epode with epode.

In the few cases where portions of strophes with antistrophes have been preserved side by side, there is no instance at all of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring.

I am awaiting with interest the publication of the Paeanic fragments. I anticipate that their evidence is likely to be similar to that of the papyrus of Bacchylides. (They have since been published, and I proceed to deal with them.)

### OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

These Papyri of Pindar, so far as they have been published up to the date on which I write (February 28, 1908), cannot in absolute strictness be said to exhibit any instance that is necessarily an instance of the exact phenomenon which I am investigating.

This fact is highly important, in view of the circumstance that the papyrus which contains a quantity of the *Paean*s, apart from which manuscript very little of Pindar has been found at Oxyrhynchus, is a manuscript of quite unique value and excellence. It presents in the margin readings of Aristarchus and Zenodotus, and is evidently informed with the spirit of the very best Alexandrian



tradition. It is overwhelmingly superior to the papyrus of Bacchylides.

But with the papyrus of Bacchylides it is possible that it may share one defect.

That papyrus unquestionably falls into the error of sometimes treating a particular strophe with its antistrophe as of a slightly different metre from that of other strophes and antistrophes in the same ode.

If we assume that the papyrus of the *Paeans* was written under the same misconception, in that case there is nothing in the latter papyrus to give countenance to the theory that the phenomenon I am discussing is legitimate. Nowhere is there an example of a strophe presenting a long and of its particular antistrophe substituting two shorts, or *vice versa*.

In the Sixth Paeon the penultimate syllable of the ninth line of the first strophe is a long: the first antistrophe is missing. The latter portion of the ninth line of the second strophe is missing: the ninth line of the second antistrophe agrees in scansion with the ninth line of the first strophe. In the third strophe alone the penultimate long of the ninth line is replaced by two shorts: all of the ninth line of the third antistrophe, except the first two letters, has perished.

This state of things is quite consistent with the hypothesis that the writer of the papyrus presented examples of the phenomenon I am discussing: it is equally consistent with the hypothesis that he regarded strict correspondence as confined to a particular strophe and its particular antistrophe.

The epodes of the Sixth Paeon are three in number. Consequently they can by no possibility be divided into sets of two. They certainly present one *prima facie* example of the phenomenon I am investigating. That example may, however, be equally well accounted for by saying that the copyist regarded the second and third epodes as an equipollent pair, and the first epode as something slightly different. They also present, not in the extant text, but as a result of an apparently inevitable filling up of gaps, another *prima facie* example of the



phenomenon. That example can only otherwise be accounted for on the supposition that the copyist changes his point of view, and for the moment regards the first and second epodes as the equipollent pair.

That assumption is doubtless improbable, but it is not altogether impossible. The same doubt applies to a *prima facie* example of the phenomenon, which presents itself in l. 56, and in that case there exists into the bargain a marginal note which tends to show that Zenodotus preferred a reading of normal scansion. As there are no other instances, *prima facie* or otherwise, to be discovered of the phenomenon in question, I am justified in the cautious statement that the Oxyrhynchus Papyri cannot in absolute strictness be said to exhibit any instance that is necessarily an instance of the exact phenomenon which I am investigating.

But I may go a little further. The third line of none of the epodes, except of the second epode, is extant. The third line of the second epode begins with the plainly written word **ÉΙΔΕΝ**. The metrical importance of the diaeresis is enormous. It shows that Alexandrian tradition clung to my main position with sufficient tenacity to preserve by means of a diacritical mark a most unfamiliar transitional form in spite of the obvious temptation to fall back on the familiar εἶδεν. Not only does **ÉΙΔΕΝ** bear eloquent testimony to the teaching of the true metricians: it also encourages us to adopt in various other passages of lyrical Greek the diaereses of what in Attic are diphthongs, that have been suggested by sundry emenders. It seems to prove at any rate that we ought to be on the look-out for intervocalic digamma—sigma disappeared much earlier—in Pindaric Greek. But it also seems to show that in such cases intervocalic digamma existed in Pindar only in its effects, not by way of actual presence. Assuming that before a digamma the augment is necessarily η, not ε (and it is difficult not to assume that), the digamma of ἠΐδεν must have disappeared before the η could by any possibility be shortened *ante vocalem* into ε. I imagine that both in Doric and in Attic the contraction into ἠδον was prevented by the existence of

ἴδω, ἴδοιμι, ἴδε and ἰδεῖν. The paradigm would tend to keep ἦιδον uncontracted until such time as was necessary for it to pass into εἶδον. Here in the *Paeans* we catch that transitory form. In Attic we find only its ultimate result, εἶδον.

Hardly less important than the εἶδεν of l. 106 is the δεμαῖ of l. 80 of the same ode. Apart from the value of this form to my general argument, it seems to show that the tradition is right which assigns to σέλας the contracted dative σέλᾱι instead of the usually printed σέλα. Only σέλᾱι could yield σέλα. I cannot see any influence like that of the paradigm of ἰδεῖν, mentioned above, that can be supposed to have kept an original σέλᾱι uncontracted for a sufficient time to produce σέλᾱι. Therefore I assume that σέλᾱι (or δέμαῖ) shows the original quantity, and that the dative σέλα is an error of writing.

I will proceed to the instances.

## SIXTH PAEAN

### A

In the ninth line of the first strophe the penultimate syllable is a long: the first antistrophe is missing. Of the ninth line of the second strophe nothing remains except the first five letters: the penultimate syllable of the ninth line of the second antistrophe is a long. In the ninth line of the third strophe the penultimate long is replaced by two shorts: of the ninth line of the third antistrophe nothing remains but the first two letters.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 9. ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον  
 (b) l. 30. (This line has wholly perished.)  
 (c) l. 70. τοι πα (The rest of this line has perished.)  
 (d) l. 91. ἔπραθεν, εἰ μὴ φύλασεν Ἄπό[λ]λ[ω]ν  
 (e) l. 131. δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν]  
 (f) l. 152. νο (The rest of this line has perished.)

Now it is not at all improbable, though quite incapable

of proof, that ll. 9, 30, 70, and 91 all exhibited an identical scansion (two of them certainly did), and that ll. 131 and 152 agreed together in a variation of that scansion in the unmutilated papyrus. In that case, as I have pointed out, it would not be the precise phenomenon I am investigating that would be in question. We should, on the other hand, have an instance of the kind of corruption, exhibited in the Bacchylides papyrus, which causes an individual strophe with its antistrophe to deviate a little from the metre of the other strophes and antistrophes.

In either case, the fact that it is the word *ἀρεάν* that deviates from the normal metre of the ode must awaken some suspicion in the mind of a student of lyric poetry. *ὄργα* possessed in Doric the meaning of 'temper' or 'spirit.' Tragedy was not ignorant of the word in the same sense. But in ordinary Greek *ὄργή* meant nothing except 'anger.'

In the epinician odes, forms of *ὄργα* in the Doric sense seem at least twice to have been displaced, once by a form of *ἀρετά*. In the second line of the fifth Pythian ode, where *ἀρετᾶ* is the MS. reading, Hermann is almost certainly right in emending to *ὄργᾶ*. In the fourteenth line of the third Nemean ode it is, unless I am quite mistaken, *ὄργαν* that is replaced in the vulgate by *ἀγορᾶν*.

In a word, *ὄργα* in its Doric sense appears to have been liable to be transformed into any similar combination of letters that would more or less yield a meaning in the context.

I do not hesitate to read :

*δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίξενον ὄργαν*

I consider—and I invite the reader to weigh the point—that a "spirit of justice towards strangers" is a much more natural expression than a "virtue of justice towards strangers." I know that *ἀρετά* is a wider word than 'virtue': but, even so, *ἀρετά* jars in the combination.

It is to be observed that in the Fifth Nemean Pindar speaks of the *μεγαλήτορες ὄργαι Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε*.

I think it not improbable that the missing ninth line of the third antistrophe was corrupted so as to match



syllable for syllable the papyrus reading of the ninth line of the strophe.

## B

In the twelfth line of the first epode the penultimate syllable is mutilated, but it must be a long : in the twelfth line of the second epode the penultimate syllable is again mutilated, but again it must be a long : in the twelfth line of the third epode the penultimate long is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 54. ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἴσον[ο]μο[ι]σα[ι]

(β) l. 115. ἐ-  
-[πεν]θορόντα, μή μιν εὐφρον' ἐς οἴ[μ]ον

(c) l. 176. (The beginning of this line has perished,  
but not the end) [ἀπ]είρονας ἀρετὰς

In l. 54 the third and fourth letters of the last word (*ον*) are not clearly legible : but the former of them is certainly either **O** or **C**, not **A**. This fact makes *ἰσονομοῖσαι* certain. There is not room for *ἰσονομοῦσαι*. It is plain from the papyrus remains that neither *ἰσονομεῦσαι* nor *ἰσα νέμοισαι* was presented.

In l. 115 the papyrus gives **ΕΥΦΡΟΝ'**. This means *εὐφρον'* as opposed to *ἐϋφρον'*, seeing that the copyist frequently places the acute accent (but not the circumflex) on the first vowel of a diphthong. Compare **ΧΟΡΕΤΣΙΟΣ** in the sixth line of this ode.

Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, in their admirable *editio princeps*, have unfortunately emended l. 54 into the form :

ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἴσον γε νέμοισαι.

They seem to be chiefly influenced by a desire to keep the first syllable of *ἴσο-* short, though they point out themselves that "it is lengthened in the compound *ἰσοδαίμων*, *Nem.* iv. 84." The combination of γὰρ and γε condemns the possibility of their reading. (Professor Bury, surely by some oversight, suggested the addition of the γε.)



They are of opinion that in this papyrus the contraction or crasis of *ἰσονομέοισαι* would appear unaltered as *ἰσονομέοισαι*, scanned *ἰσονομέοισαι*. They do not seem to take into account the fact that the *οι* of Pindaric feminine participles is the impure diphthong, which in Attic, probably with a different shade of pronunciation, is written *ου*.

Before the Euclidean alphabet, or its analogue, was applied to the Pindaric poems, I fail to see how the uncontracted *ἰσονομέοισαι* can have been written in any other way than **ICONOMEOSAI**. The impure diphthong which results from the lengthening of *ο* to compensate for the loss of a preconsantal *ν*, is in Attic and Ionic written, in post-Euclidean times, *ου*: but in Aeolic and in Pindar it is written *οι*. Hence we have both *λίουσα* and *λίοισα*: but both of them must once have been written **ΛΤΟΣΑ**.

There are two other shades of the impure *ο*-diphthong (there are really more than two, but two only are concerned in this argument).

If an *ε* and an *ο* are contracted together, the result in Attic is an impure *ο*-diphthong, which is written *ου* (e.g. *ποιούμεν*): the result in Ionic and in Doric is an impure *ο*-diphthong, which is written *ευ* (e.g. *ποιεῦμεν* and *ποιεῦμες*). But on the pre-Euclidean system *ποιούμεν* was written **ΠΟΙΟΜΕΝ**. It seems impossible that *ποιεῦμεν* and *ποιεῦμες* can have been written otherwise, before the adoption of something like a Euclidean system, than **ΠΟΙΟΜΕΝ** and **ΠΟΙΟΜΕΣ**.

Again, the contraction of an *ε* together with an already existing impure *ο*-diphthong produces in Attic merely an impure *ο*-diphthong, which in the Euclidean alphabet is written *ου*, but in the pre-Euclidean alphabet was written **Ο** (e.g. **ΠΟΙΕΟΣΑ**, otherwise *ποιέουσα*, yields **ΠΟΙΟΣΑ**, otherwise *ποιούσα*). Similarly in Ionic the contraction of an *ε* together with an already existing impure *ο*-diphthong yields merely an impure *ο*-diphthong, which in the later alphabet was written *ευ*, but in the earlier alphabet cannot, one would think, have been represented by any other symbol than **Ο** (e.g. **ΠΟΙΕΟΣΑ**, otherwise *ποιέουσα*, yields **ΠΟΙΟΣΑ**, otherwise *ποιεῦσα*).

In the Pindaric dialect the impure *ο*-diphthong was

in post-Euclidean times graphically represented in two different ways according as the diphthong arose from the extrusion of a *ν*, in which case it was written as *οι*, or was the result of the contraction of *ε* and *ο*, in which case it was written *ευ*. But it is abundantly plain that neither of these two forms of the impure diphthong is anything other than an impure diphthong. Neither the *ι* nor the *υ* has a substantive existence.

Consequently, in the absence, so far as I know, of direct Pindaric evidence, we may infer from the concurrent analogy of other dialects that in Pindar the word *ἰσονομείσαι* was capable of being contracted (compare *ποιεῦσαι* and *ποιούσαι*) into a form which in Pindar's own day would have been written **ICONOMOCAI**. Whether the exact minutiae of Pindaric pronunciation ought to have impelled Euclidean scribes to represent the impure *ο*-diphthong in this word by the symbol *ευ* or by the symbol *οι*, it is impossible to say. Personally I incline to the former alternative. But the matter is one of such complexity, that no one need wonder, if the Euclidean copyists in such a case transliterated the ancient **O** into the symbol (*οι*) to which they were accustomed in Pindaric participles, rather than into the symbol *ευ*, which is the only reasonable alternative.

The papyrus of Bacchylides once presents **ET** as the contraction of *ε* + the impure diphthong which results from the lengthening of an *ο* to compensate for the loss of a pre-consonantal *ν*, viz., in the third person plural **OIKETCI** (Ode viii. 43). This is evidence that contraction of some sort is possible.

Therefore it would not in the least surprise me, if in this passage *ἰσονομοῖσαι* were the traditional reading, with roots as far back as the first transliteration from the primordial script.

The editors, in order to make l. 115 fit in with the metre which by arbitrary emendation they have assigned to l. 54, are forced to adopt Professor Bury's suggestion of placing a diaeresis over *εὔφρον'*, which they write *εὐφρον'*. The manuscript, as we have seen, goes out of its way to guard against any such scansion.

It is in l. 176 that the papyrus presents the word that gives rise to an instance of my phenomenon, if instance it really be.

Under heading A, we had to deal with *ἀρετάν*. We now have to deal with *ἀρετὰς*. The coincidence is significant.

All that is left of this line is **ΕΪΡΟΝΑCΑΡΕΤΑC**, and there is no context left except a few letters at the end of the previous line. In the absence of context it is difficult to discuss readings. But *ἀρετὰς* itself gives rise to some suspicion (see *Pyth.* v. 2 and *Paeon* vi. 131). If, as seems highly possible, the editors of the papyrus are right in expanding **ΕΪΡΟΝΑC** into *ἀπείρονας*, it is difficult not to be reminded of Euripides' *χρυσέων ἐνόπτρων λεύσσοισ' ἀτέρμονας εἰς ἀνάγας* (*Hec.* 925-6).

**ΑΠΕΪΡΟΝΑCΑΥΓΑC** would easily become **ΑΠΕΪΡΟΝΑC-ΑΥΤΑC** (compare *Pyth.* ix. 62, where Bergk has corrected to *ἀνγαῖς* the MS. readings *αὐταῖς* and *αὐταῖς*, which are manifestly the result of early uncial corruption), and then be mended into **ΑΠΕΪΡΟΝΑCΑΡΕΤΑC**.

But this is not a fair passage to be set to discuss. Yet it must be remembered that, if the absence of context shields the reading from attack, it equally shields my contention from any attack based on this particular papyrus-reading. A reading without its context is not an argument but an allegation.

## C

In the fourteenth line of the first epode the second syllable is a long: in the fourteenth line of the second epode that long is replaced by two shorts: the beginning of the fourteenth line of the third epode has perished.

The lines run as follows:—

(a) l. 56. *πατρὶ Μναμοσ[ύν]α τε*

(b) l. 117. *ἰξέ-*

*-μεν βίου· [ἀ]μφιπόλοισ δὲ*

(c) l. 178. (The beginning has perished) **ΤΡΩΪΑΝ· ΦΙ**

It is impossible to say whether the person responsible for the text merely equated two of the three epodes as



strophe or antistrophe, leaving one epode out in the cold, or whether he felt himself to be presenting an example of the phenomenon under discussion. But, from the general features of the papyrus, I much doubt whether he can have regarded the phenomenon as *per se* legitimate.

Here is the context of l. 56 :—

ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἴσον[ο]μο[ῖ]σαι  
 πάντα κε[λαι]νεφεῖ σὺν  
 πατρὶ Μναμοσ[ύ]να τε  
 τοῦτον ἔσχετ[ε τεθ]μόν,  
 κλύτέ νυν.

55

Opposite l. 55, but a little above it, appear the remains of the letter η. This, as the editors have seen, is a part of the abbreviation Ζ<sup>η</sup>, standing for Ζηνόδοτος (compare the margin of *Paeon* iv. 58). After the η, but on the level of the line in the text, there is a slight gap, and then the letters ελα.

The editors conjecture on these data a marginal note : Ζ<sup>η</sup> κελαινεφεῖ. Why Zenodotus should have been so preposterous as to create a perfectly gratuitous example of the phenomenon I am discussing, is not explained.

There cannot be much doubt that we ought to fill up the marginal note thus : Ζ<sup>η</sup> κελαινεφεῖ τε. Observe how this reading improves the scansion :

ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἰσονομοῖσαι  
 πάντα κελαινεφεῖ τε  
 σὺν πατρὶ Μναμοσύνα τε  
 τοῦτον ἔσχετε τεθμόν,  
 κλύτέ νυν.

55

Homoeoteleuton caused τε to disappear from the end of l. 55. This caused no obvious gap in the metre, because σὺν was ready to fill the place of τε, and πατρὶ became two longs instead of two shorts.

Indeed, in combination with μν many copyists must have fancied that it was impossible for a short vowel to form a syllable short by position.

An additional argument for this reading of l. 55 is to be found in the fact that it gives to the last syllable of

that line its proper short quantity. In tragic chorus I more than incline to the belief that synapheia is universal. In Euripides in particular the assumption of universal synapheia in lyrical passages seems to me to give over and over again the one clue needed for the elimination of manifest corruption. But of Pindar I cannot say more than that synapheia is very general. It must be remembered that synapheia may in its nature coexist with compulsory diaeresis or caesura. Nevertheless, unless our existing texts are hopelessly distorted, there are diaereses in Pindar which excuse breach of synapheia.

If Zenodotus did not read *κελαινεφεῖ τε*, what else in reason is there that he can have read? It was not a totally different reading: it contained the letters *ελα* towards the beginning of it. It appears to me that I have not indeed positive proof, but still strong reason for claiming that one or other of the two great grammarians who bore the name Zenodotus was on the same side as I am with regard to the problem with which I am dealing.

#### SUMMARY

The *Paeans* of Pindar, so far as they have been recovered, present three instances of the phenomenon I am investigating, or conceivably of a phenomenon closely akin to it. There is such an amount of mutilation in the papyrus, that it is of no use to count lines with a view to an average. All three instances occur in the only Paean that has escaped practical wreckage, and even that Paean has been dreadfully battered.

If I seem to be critical of the editors and of Professor Bury, it is only because neither they nor anyone else can avoid doubtful conclusions in a first edition. The skill and patience with which they have treated the papyrus seem to me to be nothing short of marvellous. But the *marginalia*, which are in an abominable script, appear to have been in several places quite wrongly deciphered, if I can trust my own eyesight and that of some of my younger friends, on the evidence of the specimen facsimile plate.

## CHAPTER IV

### BACCHYLIDES

#### AND FRAGMENTS OF OTHER LYRIC POETS

### BACCHYLIDES

THE papyrus of Bacchylides, which apparently dates from the first century B.C., contains matter (allowing for subtraction in the case of partly mutilated lines) very roughly and approximately equivalent to some 800 lines (new reckoning) of Pindar. We have seen that the 3659 lines of the four books of the Pindaric Odes exhibit altogether 56 cases of a long syllable in a strophe, antistrophe or epode being answered in correspondent strophes, antistrophes or epodes by two short syllables, or *vice versa*, that is approximately one such instance to every 65 lines.

On that reckoning we should expect to find in Bacchylides about twelve examples. As a matter of fact we find eighteen. But of these eighteen, four can be banished by means of what are almost graphic devices, while of the remaining fourteen four occur in whole or in part within the compass of one set of seven lines, and four present themselves in two pairs, each pair in one line apiece. Except in the third and seventeenth odes the instances are of the simplest nature, variation from the norm being in fact confined to one single strophe, antistrophe or epode, and not complex, as often in Pindar. The inference is obvious.

Few scholars, after considering the examples on their individual merits, are likely to think the impugned correspondence due to the pen of Bacchylides. It would



be of great interest to have access to a good papyrus of the first century B.C. I suppose that such things existed; otherwise our present texts of the classics must be due to emendation in imperial times to an extent that seems highly improbable in view of the presumable absence of sufficiently qualified emenders.

In any case the papyrus of Bacchylides is clearly not a first-class manuscript: it shows manifest traces of serious corruption at various points.

I follow the numbering of Jebb's edition.

### ODE I

(Five strophes and antistrophes, and three epodes sufficiently intact for comparison.)

No instances.

### ODE II

(Strophe and antistrophe sufficiently intact for comparison.)

In the second line of the strophe the fourth and fifth syllables (this rests on indubitable restoration) are two shorts: in place of these two shorts the second line of the antistrophe presents one long.

The second and third lines of the strophe and antistrophe are these:

(a) ll. 2, 3.    **ECK . . . . . EPANXAPITΩ**  
                   **NTM . . ΦΕΡΟΥΣ'ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ**

Read, with Dr. Kenyon:

                  ἐς Κέον ιέράν, χαριτώ-  
                   -νυμον φέρουσ' ἀγγελίαν.  
 (b) ll. 7, 8. ἀχένη Ἰσθμοῦ ζαθέαν  
                   λιπόντες Εὐξαντίδα νᾶ-  
                   -σον

I can have no manner of doubt but that we should emend *ιέρ*άν into *ιρά*ν. The same thing must be done in

the fifteenth line of the third ode. It may be questioned whether Bacchylides ever employs the form *ιέρως*. It is true that in Ode xvii. 1, 2 we read :

*Βασιλεῦ τᾶν ΙΕΡΑΝ Ἴθανᾶν,  
τῶν ἀβροβίων ἀναξ Ἴώνων,*

but I question whether in that passage **ΙΕΡΑΝ** does not stand either for *ιερᾶν* or *ιαρᾶν*, adjectives from *ἴον*, 'a violet.' The same question arises with regard to the fourth Pythian ode of Pindar, l. 131.

The presence, at least metrical, of the digamma at the beginning of *Ἴσθμοῦ* is to be noted. Ode iii. 40 and Ode xvi. 131 lead me to suppose that Bacchylides graphically expressed this letter.

### ODE III

(Ten strophes and antistrophes, and five epodes sufficiently intact for comparison.)

#### A AND B

The first line of each of the seven strophes and seven antistrophes (and they are all but one sufficiently intact for our purposes, so far as the first line is concerned) of this Ode is an iambic trimeter catalectic. The first syllable of the third foot is common (long in the first, third, and sixth strophes, and in the second and fifth antistrophes, but short in the second, fifth, sixth and seventh strophes—this part of the fourth strophe is lost—and in the first, third, fourth, sixth, and—apparently—seventh antistrophes), and, as is natural in that case, is invariably followed by a caesura.

On either side of this common syllable we find variations.

The second foot is normally an iamb; but in the second and seventh strophes it is a tribrach. The fourth strophe is defective at this point.

The third foot is normally either a dactyl or a tribrach, accordingly as the common syllable is long or short; but

the second and seventh strophes and the seventh antistrophe present an iamb. The fourth strophe is again defective. So in a minor degree are the third strophe and the sixth antistrophe : but in the latter case at least there is no possibility of doubting the metre.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1. ἀρ[ισ]τοκάρπου Σικελίας κρέουσιν  
 (β) l. 5. [σεύου]το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχῳ τε νικά  
 (γ) l. 15. βρύει μὲν ἱερά βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς  
 (δ) l. 19. πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγ[ιστ]ον ἄλσος  
 (ε) l. 29. φύλαξ Ἀπόλλων· [ὁ δ' ἐς ἄ]ελπτον ἄμαρ (So Jebb)  
 (φ) l. 33. ναή[σ]ατ', ἔνθα σὺ[ν ἀλόχῳ] τε κεδ[νᾶ]  
 (γ) l. 43. \* \* \* \* \* ν ἄστν  
 (η) l. 47. τὰ πρόσθεν (read with Dr. Kenyon πρόσθε)  
 δ' [ἐχ]θρὰ φίλα· θανεῖν γλύκιστον  
 (ι) l. 57. ἄπιστον οὐδὲν ὄ τ[ι θεῶν μέ]ριμνα  
 (κ) l. 61. δι' εὐσέβειαν, ὅτι μέ[γιστα θ]νατῶν  
 (λ) l. 71. [ἰοπλό]κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχοντ]α Μουσᾶν  
 (μ) l. 75. [δολό]εσσα δ' ἐλπὶς ὑπ[ὸ κέαρ δέδ]υκεν  
 (ν) l. 85. φρονέοντ[ι] συνετὰ γαρύω· βαθὺς μὲν  
 (ο) l. 89. γῆρας θάλλ[εια]ν αὐτὶς ἀγκομίσαι (Dr. Kenyon ἀγκομίσαι : but Pindar shows we should read ἀγκομίξαι)

It is apparent that the lines requiring our attention are numbers 15, 85 and 89. The two last fall within the compass of the seven lines mentioned in the remarks with which I introduce the discussion of the phenomenon in Bacchylides.

It will be observed that this third ode furnishes an altogether disproportionate number of instances of the phenomenon. The reason is obvious. The ode, though the last in date, is the first in order of the three odes addressed to Hiero. This inversion of chronological sequence is enough to show the popularity of the poem. Consequently it must have been far more familiar in the schools than was the rest of Bacchylides, and must conse-



quently have undergone processes of revision, to which the other Bacchylidean odes were fortunately to a much less extent submitted.

We may confidently emend (it is hardly to be called emendation) l. 15 into the form :

*βρύνει μὲν ἰρὰ βοοθύτοις ἑορταῖς.*

On the use of *ἰρός* I have just spoken (Ode ii. 2). With reference to *βοοθύτοις*, it is only necessary to quote *βοοβοσκός*, *βοόγληνος*, *βοοδημητήρ*, *βοοειδής*, *βοοζύγιον*, *βοόκλεψ*, *βοοκλόπος*, *βοόκραϊρος*, *βοόκρανος*, *βοοκτασία*, *βοόκτιτος*, *βοονόμος*, *βοοπρόσωπος*, *βοοῤῥαίστης*, *βοοσκόπος*, *βοοσσόςος*, *βοοστασία*, *βοοστάσιον*, *βοόστασις*, *βοόστικτος*, *βοόστολος* (in Nonnus: MS. *βοοστόλος*), *βοοσφαγία*, *βοοτρόφος*, and, especially, *βοοθύτης* in Suidas.

It must be remembered that we are dealing with uncials. **BOO** could not very well become **BOY**. But in the pre-Euclidean alphabet the impure diphthong resulting from the contraction of two omicra, as distinguished from the pure diphthong with a real *υ*-element, was written **Θ**. Therefore *βοόθυτος* was **ΒΟΘΥΤΟC**, and *βούθυτος* was **ΒΟΥΤΟC**. The difference is inconsiderable, and the **Θ** would greatly increase the chance of confusion.

The case of ll. 85 and 89 is not so simple: but I do not think that any insuperable difficulty will be found to exist.

This is the context :

<i>ὁ δ' ἄναξ [Ἀπόλλων]</i>	
<i>[ὁ βουκό]λος εἶπε Φέρη[τος υἱ].</i>	
<i>θνατὸν εἴντα χρῆ διδύμους ἀέξειν</i>	
<i>γνώμας, ὅτι τ' αὔριον ὄψεται</i>	ἐπ. 5.
<i>μῦνον ἀλίου φάος,</i>	80
<i>χῶτι πεντήκοντ' ἔτεα</i>	
<i>ζῶαν βαθύπλουτον τελείς.</i>	
<i>ὄσια δρῶν εὐφραϊνε θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ</i>	
<i>κερδέων ὑπέρτατον.</i>	84
<i>φρονέοντ[ι] συνετὰ γαρύ· βαθὺς μὲν</i>	στρ. 5.
<i>αἰθῆρ ἀμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου</i>	
<i>οὐ σάπετα[ι]· εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρονός·</i>	

ἀνδρὶ δ' [οὐ θ]έμις πολὺν π[αρ]έντα  
 γήρας θάλ[εια]ν αὐτὶς ἀγκομίσαι (I have shown we  
 must read ἀγκομίξαι) ἀντ. ζ'.  
 ἤβαν. 90

It is clear that in l. 85 the dative φρονέοντι must have been the reading of the papyrus. It is equally clear that the words echo Pindar's φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν (*Ol.* ii. 85), which was probably penned in the year 476 B.C., that is to say about eight years before the victory celebrated in this ode (468 B.C.). Chronologically therefore it is quite possible that Bacchylides may have imitated the second Olympian: but it surely would be an act of incredible meekness for him to have imitated the very passage in which Pindar makes his ferocious onslaught on himself and on Simonides. Look at Pindar's words:—

πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη  
 ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας  
 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐρμηνέων  
 χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ·  
 μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι  
 παγγλωσσία, κόρακες ὄς, ἄκραντα γαρύετον  
 Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

This argument by itself is sufficient to breed the gravest suspicion that it is the copyists and not Bacchylides who are responsible for this particular resemblance to Pindar. The coincidence of the two-fold metrical abnormality both strengthens that suspicion, and also lends weight to the grave doubt whether the abnormality in question is not in all cases the result of corruption.

It is worth special notice that the end of Apollo's speech (ll. 78–84) is not marked by any recapitulatory clausula, such as τοιαῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ θεός. The absence of such a clausula is very unusual in Greek. In this ode itself the termination of the speech of Croesus (l. 47) is marked by the words τόσ' εἶπε, καὶ κτλ. (l. 48).

On these combined grounds I read l. 85 thus:—

φρονεῦντ' ἐγάρυ' ὁ συνετός· βαθὺς μὲν.

In the pre-Euclidean alphabet *φρονεῦντ' ἐγάρυ' ὁ συνετός* would have been written **ΦΡΟΝΟΝΤΕΓΑΡΤΗΘΟΥΣΤΝΕΤΟΣ**. Not much importance attaches to the spelling *φρονεῦντ'*, but I wish to point out that *φρονεῦντα* must have been written **ΦΡΟΝΟΝΤΑ**, because the contraction of *εο* cannot possibly produce the pure but only the impure *ευ*-diphthong. This fact ought to have a bearing on dialectic orthography. I suspect, to turn to the main point, that we are dealing with a variety of alphabet that was in the main pre-Euclidean, but had dropped the rough breathing **Η**. That assumption makes my suggestion easier, but it is not absolutely necessary.

I consider that **ΓΑΡΤΗΘΟΥΣΤΝΕΤΟΣ** or, I should like to say, **ΓΑΡΤΟΥΣΤΝΕΤΟΣ** was mis-transcribed into the later alphabet as **ΓΑΡΤΩΟΥΣΤΝΕΤΟΣ**. That process would almost immediately produce a line :

*φρονέοντα γαρύω συνετός. βαθὺς μὲν.*

Imperative metrical considerations would require the remodelling of such a line.

I suggest that the best the inferior Alexandrian copyists (as opposed to the better class, who have preserved part of Pindar's *Paeans*), with their theories of permissible correspondence and their recollections of Pindar's second Olympian, could do with it was to write, as they did write :

*φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω · βαθὺς μὲν.*

I translate my reconstruction thus: 'Wisely spake the god of wisdom.' If anyone doubts the application of the participle *φρονέοντα* to words as distinguished from persons, I can refer him to a much stronger example of the same figure in Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 74):

*ὄσ' ἂν λέγωμεν, πάνθ' ὀρώοντα λέξομαι.*

We now pass on to l. 89.

Either this line is correct as it stands, in which case the whole of my theory of metrical correspondence falls to the ground, or else its metrical abnormality can only, so.



far as after long consideration I am able to see, be removed by one process.

I suggest that *θάλειαν αὐτις* is an Alexandrian correction, effected on obvious metrical grounds, of an earlier reading *θάλειάν περ αὐτις*, and that *θάλειάν περ αὐτις* is in its turn a corruption of an original *θάλειαν πέρυτις*, 'that bloomed in years bygone.'

It is not necessary to have recourse to Villon's "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" and to argue that 'last year' is used in some metaphorical sense. *πέρυσι* (and therefore the Doric *πέρυτις* also) meant not only 'last year,' but also (a fact recognized by Stephanus, but not by Liddell and Scott) 'in days gone by.' Hesychius interprets it by the words *παρεληλυθότα χρόνον*. Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 2. 7) writes: *ἔσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσι*.

And the extended meaning is agreeable to the etymology of the word.

The Sanscrit is *पर*, derived from *पर* and *वर्*, and meaning simply 'in another year.'

## C

The fourth line of each epode is an iambic dimeter acatalectic. The first foot is intact in six out of the seven epodes, and is invariably a spondee. The second foot is also intact in six epodes, and is an iamb, except in the third epode, where it is a tribrach. Hence there arises an instance of my phenomenon. The third foot is intact in five of the epodes. In four of these it is a spondee, but in the fifth epode the first hand and the diorthotes differ as to reading and quantity. The fourth foot is intact, or partially so in all seven epodes. In two it is unmistakably an iamb: in two others the last syllable is long, but the first syllable is missing: in two epodes the last foot is an iamb with a vocalic ending, and the first syllable of the next line is in each case missing: in the first epode the diorthotes changes the original reading, but both readings are words of two short syllables ending in a single consonant, and the first word of the next line is *οἶδε*, which probably retains its digamma.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 12. πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας (So diorthotes.  
First hand **ΓΕΝΟC**. Next word οἶδε.)
- (b) l. 26. Ζητὸς τελε[ιοῦσαι κρῖ]σιν (So Jebb. Next  
word Σάρδιες.)
- (c) l. 40. [πίτνουσ]ιν Ἀλυά[τ]τα δόμοι (So Herwerden.  
Next word missing.)
- (d) l. 54. λαμπρὸν διáι[σσειν μέ]νος (So Jebb. Papyrus  
**ΔΙΑΙ**. Next word Ζεὺς.)
- (e) l. 68. [τις μ]ῆ φθόνω **ΙΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ** (So Papyrus. A  
diorthotes, in Roman imperial times, added  
**Π**, to produce **ΠΙΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ**. Beginning  
of next word lost.)
- (f) l. 82. ζῶν βαθύπλουτον τελεεῖς
- (g) l. 96. -πά (i.e. σιωπά). σὺν δ' ἀλαθ[εῖα] καλῶν

In l. 40 the probable explanation of the tribrach is that Ἀλυάττα stands for Ἀλφάττα. l. 68 of this ode and l. 131 of Ode xvi. leave me in little doubt that Bacchylides and his very early copyists wrote digamma, and wrote it in the form **Λ**. In both these lines **Λ** has been mistaken for **Α**, and consequently omitted at the date of the omission of digammas. I do not know whether here the digamma was confused with the previous **Α**, or whether, Alyattes being a proper name, it was merely found impossible to drop the digamma without replacing it by **Υ**. **Λ** could not be corrupted, in the ordinary sense of the term, into **Υ**.

In l. 68 neither *ιαίνεται* nor *πιαίνεται* will scan. It is abundantly certain that *ιαίνω* has no initial digamma, and the first syllable of *πιαίνω* is long. Both in this passage and in Ode xvi. 131,

*φρένα ιανθεῖς,*

the Papyrus presents *ιαίνω* as if it had a digamma. I shall shortly discuss the latter passage at length, as the corruption in it has contributed to the creation of an example of my phenomenon in the preceding line (xvi. 130). Here (iii. 68) we should read *λιάζεται*, and there

*φρένα λιασθεῖς.*

**ΛΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ** and **ΛΙΑΘΕΙC** have been mistaken for **ΛΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ** and **ΛΙΑCΘΕΙC**. The papyrus-readings are the result.

## D

We now come to another difficulty arising in the bewitched circle of the seven lines.

Five out of the seven epodes have the beginning of the fifth line intact. In the first, second, fourth, and seventh epodes it opens with a trochee: in the third and fifth epodes there is a lacuna at this point: in the sixth epode the line opens with a tribrach. In the fifth epode a word conjecturally restored admits of being scanned at beginning either with a trochee or with a tribrach.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 13. οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλ[ο]ύτον μὴ μελαμ- (i.e. μελαμφαρέϊ)

(b) l. 27. Σάρδιες Περσ[ᾶν ἐπορθεύντο στρ]ατῶ (So Prof. Housman.)

(c) l. 41. \* \* \* \* \* μυρίων

(d) l. 55. Ζεὺς ἐπιστάσα[ς μελαγκευ]θὲς νέφος (So Dr. Kenyon.)

(e) l. 69. [θεοφι]λῆ φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀ[ρ]ήϊον (θεοφιλῆ Herwerden; ἀρήϊον Blass.)

(f) l. 83. ὄσια δρῶν εὐφραϊνε θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ

(g) l. 97. καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν

In l. 69, though θεοφιλῆ will scan, I should prefer to read θευφιλῆ. It is well known that compounds with θεο- admit of contraction, when the θεο- precedes the accented syllable of the word, but not otherwise in the best Greek. Yet even Θεύκριτος and Θούκριτος are not unknown. The pre-Euclidean form of θευφιλῆ, equally with that of θεοφιλῆ, must have been **ΘΟΦΙΛΕ**. See my remarks on Bacchylides iii. 15.

In l. 83 **OCIA** is to my mind a mistake for **ΘΕΙΑ**. A copyist thought that the ink had run along a papyrus-rib through the first two letters. I am not sure that θεία δρῶν εὐφραϊνε θυμόν would have been quite intelligible in the mouth of a male Athenian. Attic seems to have



restricted, at least in the main, the adjective *θεῖος* to the acts etc. of the gods themselves. But it was not so in Doric. Plato writes in the *Meno* (99 D): *οἱ Λάκωνες, ὅταν τινα ἐγκωμιάζωσιν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, θεῖος ἀνὴρ, φασίν, οὗτος.* Women at Athens, Plato also tells us, expressed themselves in the same way. I presume that a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* could most properly be said *θεῖα δρᾶν*.

## ODE IV

(Consisting of two strophes, both substantially intact.)

No instances.

## ODE V

(Consisting of five strophes, antistrophes and epodes, and presenting very few mutilations.)

No instances.

## ODE VI

(Consisting of two strophes, both substantially intact.)

No instances.

## ODE VII

(Twenty-seven lines in whole or in part are extant.)

No antistrophic correspondence can be traced, except that the first antistrophe appears to begin at l. 8, but only three lines of that antistrophe are intact or substantially intact. Some think that ll. 39 onwards are part of another ode.

The small portion of traceable antistrophe is not very faithful to the strophe, but presents no instances of my phenomenon.

## ODE VIII

(Consisting of four strophes, antistrophes and epodes, all more or less intact except one strophe and one epode.)

No instances.

## ODE IX

(Consisting of two strophes, antistrophes and epodes, all sufficiently intact for comparison.)

No instances.

## ODE X

(Consisting of three strophes, antistrophes and epodes, several of them being absolutely intact, and all except the first strophe sufficiently intact for somewhat detailed comparison.)

No instances.

## ODE XI

(Consisting of one strophe and the first line of an antistrophe.)

The two corresponding lines present no instances.

## ODE XII

(Consisting of seven strophes and antistrophes, of which four strophes and five antistrophes are sufficiently intact for comparison; and seven epodes, of which six are preserved.)

No instances.

## ODE XIII

(Consisting of one strophe, antistrophe and epode, all sufficiently intact, and of a small mutilated portion of another epode.)

No instances.

## ODE XIV

(Consisting of three strophes, antistrophes and epodes, of which two strophes, one antistrophe and two epodes can be compared.)

No instances.

## ODE XV

(Consisting of one strophe, antistrophe and epode, all fairly intact.)

This ode does not really present an instance of my phenomenon, but editors have insisted on reading ΔΕΪΑ, with a lacuna before and an erasure after it, as ἀδεία in l. 7. Jebb's note is: "ἀδεία: there is no other example of diaeresis in this word; but it is certain here." Now ἀδεία is a *vox nihili*, and if the papyrus could be proved actually to have contained it, we should be constrained to emend to ἀδεία without diaeresis, and so to create an example of the phenomenon I am discussing. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the papyrus read ἀδεία.

The strophic and antistrophic passages in question are these:

(α) ll. 5-10. . . . . ΝΕΙΤΑΡΕΠΑΝΘΕΜΟΕΝΤΙΕΒΡΩΙ  
 . . . . . ΓΑΛΛΕΤΑΙΗΔΟΛΙΧΑΥΧΕΝΙΚΥ[  
 . . . . . ΔΕΪΑΝΦ.ΕΝΑΤΕΡΠΟΜΕΝΟΣ  
 . . . . . ΔΙΚΗΙΠΑΙΗΟΝΩΝ  
 ΑΝΘΕΑΠΕΔΟΙΧΝΕΙΝ  
 ΠΥΘΙ'ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ.

(β) ll. 17-22. ΕΝΘ'ΑΠΟΛΑΙΛΟΣΕΥΡΥΝΕΦΕΙΚΗΝΑΙΩΙ  
 ΖΗΝΙΘΥΤΕΝΒΑΡΤΑΧΕΑΣΕΝΝΕΑΤΑΤΡΟΤΣ  
 ΔΥΟΤ'ΟΡΣΙΑΛΩΙΔΑΜΑΣΙΧΘΟΝΙΜΕ[  
 ΛΕΚΟΡΑΙΤ'ΟΒΡΙΜΟΔΕΡΚΕΙΑΖΥΓΑ[  
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ  
 ΤΥΙΚΕΡΑΝΒΟΥΝ.

In l. 7 the first Ν stands *in litura*. Apparently the original letter was Ι.



Jebb reads the passages thus :

(a) ll. 5-10. [ἐς θεὸν] εἶτ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀνθεμόεντι "Εβρω  
[θηρσὶν ἀ]γάλλεται ἢ δολιχαύχενι κύκνω,  
[ὄπι ἀ]δεία φρένα τερπόμενος,  
[μέχρι Πυθῶνά]δ' ἴκη παιήνων  
ἄνθεα πεδοιχνεῖν,  
Πύθι' Ἄπολλον.

(b) ll. 17-22. ἔνθ' ἀπὸ λαΐδος εὐρυνεφεῖ Κηναίῳ,  
Ζητὶ θύεν βαρναχέας ἐννέα ταύρους  
δύο τ' ὄρσιάλῳ δαμασίχθου μέλ-  
-λε κόρα τ' ὄβριμοδερκεῖ ἄζυγα  
παρθένῳ Ἀθάνῃ  
ὑψικέραν βούν.

But surely the god of music did not go

Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore

in order that he might shoot wild beasts and swans. That would be the only justification for *θηρσὶν*, though Jebb thought he chased the beasts and listened to the swans. "Swans sing before they die," and presumably Phoebus repaired to the scene of Orpheus' death, in order that he might hear them and other birds sing.

Read something on the lines of :

φαψὶν ἀγάλλεται ἢ δολιχαύχενι κύκνω,  
εὐμηδέ' ἰᾶ φρένα τερπόμενος.

## ODE XVI

(Comprising two strophes, antistrophes and epodes, all of unusual length, and presenting only the slightest of lacunae.)

This ode in the course of its 132 lines exhibits nine examples of my phenomenon. It is apparent up and down the ode that the original metre has been rudely disturbed.

## A AND B

In the sixth line of the first strophe and antistrophe, and of the second antistrophe, the fifth syllable is a long :

in the sixth line of the second strophe this long is replaced by two longs, which readily but wrongly admit of emendation into two shorts. The same line in the second antistrophe, on a false division, ends with another example of my phenomenon.

The lines run thus :

- (a) l. 6. *βορήϊαι πίτνο[ν] αἰραι*  
 (b) l. 29. *-χε (i.e. κάτεχε) μ[ῆ]τιν. εἰ καί σε κεδνὰ*  
 (c) l. 72. *ιδὼν τέρας χεῖρας πέτασσε*  
 (d) ll. 95, 96. *τὰ λειρίων τ' ὀμμάτων δάκρυ  
χέον, βαρεῖαν ἐπιδέγμενοι ἀνάγκαν*

It is obvious that ll. 95, 96 are wrongly divided, and Jebb is right in reading :

*τὰ λειρίων τ' ὀμμάτων δά-  
 -κρυ χέον, βαρεῖαν ἐπιδέγμενοι ἀνάγκαν.*

But it does not seem to have been noticed that the undue prolongation of the line in the second antistrophe is responsible for the deliberate prolongation of the corresponding line in the second strophe. It is true that

*ιδὼν τέρας χεῖρας πέτασσε*

does not exactly answer to

*τὰ λειρίων τ' ὀμμάτων δάκρυ,*

but it is meant to do so as far as circumstances will admit. It is a glaring fault of the Bacchylides papyrus to bring an individual strophe and antistrophe into relation without regard to the other strophes and antistrophes. The *locus classicus* consists of the first strophe and antistrophe of the fifth ode.

In l. 72 we should probably read :

*ιδὼν τέρας χεῖρ' ἔτασσε.*

I take *ἔτασσε* as the Doric aorist of *τιταίνω*. Compare *ἔτοσσε*, by the side of *ἔτυχε* (later also *τέτυχε*).

Wilamowitz reads :

*ιδὼν τέρας πέτασε χεῖρας.*

It seems to me extremely difficult to justify in this case so violent a remedy as transposition.

### C AND D

The fourteenth line of the first strophe (if we follow Blass' ingenious piecing together of the papyrus and restoration of a slight lacuna) is of the scansion :

υ-υυυ-υ-υ.

The fourteenth line of the first antistrophe is of the scansion :

υ-υυυ-υ-υ.

The fourteenth line of the second strophe is of the scansion :

υ-υυυυυ-υ.

The fourteenth line of the second antistrophe is of the scansion :

υ-υ-υυυυ-υ.

There can be little doubt but that the scansion in the line of the first strophe is correct. The line of the second antistrophe, as compared with this, yields two instances of my phenomenon.

It is interesting to observe that no two of these lines completely correspond. It seems to me that the reason for this is that a very slight slip in transliteration from the pre-Euclidean alphabet resulted in the sixth syllable in the line of the second strophe becoming a short instead of remaining a long, that in consequence the line of the first antistrophe lost a final short in order that it might preserve a total equipollence of metrical value, and that also in consequence three shorts are made to appear at a point, really illegimate, of the line of the second antistrophe, but where they nevertheless correspond to the three last of the five medial shorts in the corrupted line of the second strophe.

Of course to take this view is to regard the less learned of the Alexandrian copyists as not much more trustworthy than those of Constantinople in the Middle Ages. That is my view, and it appears to be borne out by the facts.



In quoting the lines in question I am compelled to give also the preceding and following lines :

- (α) ll. 13-15. δὲ λευκᾶν παρηίδων·  
βόα[σέ] τ' Ἐρίβοια χαλκο-  
θώρα[κα Πα]νδίοιος
- (b) ll. 35-38. Ποσιδᾶνι, χρύσειον  
τέ οἱ δόσαν ἰοπλοκοί  
κάλυμμα Νηρηίδες
- (c) ll. 79-81. Ποσειδᾶν ὑπέρτατον  
κλέος χθόνα κατ' εὐδενδρον.  
ὡς εἶπε· τῷ δ' οὐ πάλιν
- (d) ll. 102-104. ἔδεισε Νηρέος ὀλ-  
-βίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-  
-ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας

In l. 80 which, as I have said, seems to be the root of the whole corruption, Dr. Kenyon suggests, and editors generally accept, the emendation ἡύδενδρον. This appears to me to be right, and an instance of facile error in transcription from the older alphabet is doubtless the cause of the mischief.

In ll. 37, 38 editors incline to the view that the first syllable of κάλυμμα should stand at the end of the earlier line, though Professor Housman actually supposes that the omission of the final short syllable in l. 37 is legitimate. If we begin l. 38 with the second syllable of κάλυμμα, we rightly begin that line with a long syllable instead of a short. In that case we must either insert between κάλυμμα and Νηρηίδες a short syllable beginning with a double consonant, or else elide the final of κάλυμμα and insert a trochee beginning with a vowel. Ludwich inserts ἀδύ, Mr. Platt εἶμα. Jebb, with very good reason, rejects both, suggests that ἔνθα would be better, and then rejects that also.

Mr. Nairn has pointed out that Didymus, in his commentary on Bacchylides (quoted in Ammonius), states that some grammarians distinguish between the Nereids (i.e. the daughters of Nereus) and the lawful daughters of Nereus by his wife Doris, and Mr. Nairn has shown that

the text of Bacchylides does not draw this distinction : indeed Didymus does not say that it did.

More complete than the passage from Didymus is one from Eustathius (*Odyssey*, p. 1954. 4), where that writer quotes, without naming, Didymus, and adds matter of his own. His words (given in full in Dindorf's Stephanus, s.v. *Νηρείς*) are :

ιστέον ὅτι κοινῶς μὲν Νηρηίδες πᾶσαι αἱ τοῦ Νηρέως θυγατέρες, παραδέδοται δὲ ἄλλως ὅτι ἐν ὑπομνήματι Βακχυλίδου τοῦ λυρικοῦ διαφορὰ Νηρείδων φέρεται καὶ Νηρέως θυγατέρων οὕτως· εἰσὶν οἱ φασι διαφέρειν τὰς Νηρείδας τῶν τοῦ Νηρέως θυγατέρων, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ Δωρίδος γνησίας αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας νομίζεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων κοινότερον Νηρείδας καλεῖσθαι· πιθανὸν οὖν τὰς μὲν ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς Δωρίδος γνησιωτέρας τῶν ἄλλων οὔσας Νηρέως θυγατέρας λέγεσθαι, Νηρείδας δὲ τὰς συνεισάκτους. καὶ ὅρα ἐν τούτοις (printed ἐν τούτους) τὸ Νηρείδας κοινὸν ὃν ἢ καὶ Ἀττικόν· τὸ γὰρ Νηρείδας ἰωνικώτερον ἐκ τῆς Νηρήος Ἰώνων γενικῆς.

Of course *ὑπόμνημα* means 'commentary,' not 'manuscript' in this passage.

I can only conclude that, while indeed Bacchylides cannot possibly have distinguished between the *Νηρηίδες* on the one hand and the *Νηρέως θυγατέρες* on the other, because the two expressions necessarily mean the same thing, he did as a matter of fact distinguish in this ode between the *γνήσiai Νηρηίδες* and the *Νηρηίδες* or *Νηρέως θυγατέρες* who did not happen to be *γνήσiai*. He probably made the distinction in this very passage. Theseus is claiming to enjoy equally with Minos the prerogatives of divine descent. "My mother," says he, "was wedded to Poseidon, and the Nereids crowned with violets gave unto her a veil of gold." It is apparent that Theseus may very well have enhanced the dignity of his mother's marriage by referring to the givers of the veil not simply as Nereids, but as Nereids of the lawful stock. A gift from them, and from them alone, would have been a recognition not merely of the fact, but also of the lawfulness, of his mother's marriage.

Consequently I wish to read something, that will scan, of the general meaning *κάλυμμ' ἔτεονηρίδες*.

I strongly suspect that as a matter of fact Bacchylides distinguished the legitimate Nereids simply by their number, and I would suggest the reading :

Ποσειδᾶνι, χρύσεόν  
τέ οἱ δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι κά-  
-λυμμ' ἑπτὰ Νηρηίδες.

I can discover no evidence as to the traditional number of the legitimate daughters of Nereus and Doris accepted by those of the ancients who did not hold that all fifty Nereids were legitimate. But three, seven, or twelve are surely the only small numbers with which a self-respecting legend would deal ; and of these numbers seven is altogether the most mythological and artistic.

No ordinary copyist would tolerate an expression so absurd to him as ἑπτὰ Νηρηίδες. Moreover the text may have been **ΚΑΛΥΜΜΗΝΗΡΗΙΔΕΣ**. The *Paeans* of Pindar prove the use of alphabetical numerals at an early date, with values as above the books of Homer. Hence H, not Z, = 7.

It is a matter of much greater difficulty to restore ll. 102, 103 to anything that may possibly have been their original form.

The scansion of l. 102 as it stands is :

υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-

ll. 13, 36, 79 show that the scansion ought to be :

υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-

Dr. Kenyon emended thus :

ἔδεισεν Νηρηῆος ὀλ-  
-βίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-  
-ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας.

Blass at one time read the same, with the exception of ἔδεισε for ἔδεισεν. Afterwards he adopted a suggestion of Mr. Richards :

ἔδεισ' ὀλβίῳ Νη-  
-ρηῆος κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-  
-ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας.



It is obvious that neither ἔδεισεν Νηρήος ὀλβίου nor ἔδεισε Νηρήος ὀλβίου will give the required scansion in l. 102. Mr. Richards' reading certainly puts that line into due metrical shape, but it does so at the cost of an unusually violent transposition. Jebb says that the transposition "may be regarded as certain." Did he take into consideration that the latter of the words to be transposed actually extends into another line? Moreover Mr. Richards leaves untouched the two instances of my phenomenon in l. 103. Whatever may be thought of the phenomenon in itself, at any rate two instances in one line surely argue corruption.

An inspection of l. 103 shows that what has really happened is that the three short syllables, ἀπὸ γὰρ, have been pushed into a later position in the line than they ought to occupy, and so pushed (it seems to me) owing, at least in part, to the influence of the corruption in l. 80.

I therefore suggest that in ll. 103, 104 we ought to read (expelling the -βίου of ὀλβίου):

κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαωτά-  
-των λάμπε γυίων σέλας.

This of course leaves us in great perplexity as to l. 102. It is impossible to make either Νηρέος or Νηρήος scan, if the line is to begin with ἔδεισε.

Mr. F. J. G. Mella suggests to me (and I believe that he is right) that the true remedy is to cut out the unnecessary participle ἰδὼν in l. 101. In that case, instead of

τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν  
ἔδεισε Νηρέος ὀλ-  
-βίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-  
-ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας,

one would read

τόθι κλυτὰς ἔδει-  
-σε Νηρήος ὀλβίου  
κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαωτά-  
-των λάμπε γυίων σέλας.



shadow of justification, transposes ἴδεν (which he turns into ἴδε) and σεμνάν, and so reads :

σεμνάν τε πατρὸς ἄλοχον φίλαν  
ἴδε βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις.

Jebb follows Professor Housman to the extent of printing his transposition in the Bacchylidean text.

Mr. Richards suggests a further transposition of the words πατρὸς and ἄλοχον, and changes τε into τότ'. His reading is :

σεμνάν τότ' ἄλοχον πατρὸς φίλαν  
ἴδε βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις.

Of this proposal Jebb speaks approvingly.

Sitzler regards σεμνάν as a gloss on βοῶπιιν, and reads τὰν in place of it ; as if an obvious gloss could oust so familiar a form as the accusative singular of the definite article.

I maintain that it is altogether illegitimate to have recourse to wild assumptions of unexplained transpositions unless and until the normal method of sound emendation, namely a careful study of the *ductus literarum*, has proved infructuous. I do not think that that is the case here.

Instead of σεμνάν we desiderate two short syllables which shall bear a strong graphic resemblance to some at least (the more the better) of the letters of **CEMNA**. **CEMA** would do very well, but it could not in conjunction with the letters **AN** at the end of the previous line form a Greek word. **ΘEMA** would do equally well. We must remember the ribbed nature of papyrus, and the tendency of ink to run laterally along the ribs. **ΘEMA** might easily be read **CEMA**, the reader thinking that the ink of the middle stroke of the **E** had run. **ΘEMA** will combine with **AN** to produce ἄνθεμα.

What then, if we read, experimentally, and as a stage in emendation, the following ?

ἴδεν τε πατρὸς \* \* \* \* \* φίλ' ἄν-  
-θεμα, βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις.



In that case Amphitrite is described as 'dear treasure of his father's—,' obviously 'of his father's bed,' or 'bosom,' or the like.

The Greek expression ἀγκάλισμα surely gives the clue, and we ought to read :

ἴδεν τε πατρός ἀγκαλᾶν φίλ' ἄν-  
-θεμα, βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις.

The plural ἄνθεμα in such a context need cause no surprise. There are obvious parallels in Greek, and we may also compare the Latin *deliciae*.

I do not mean to say that this restoration possesses more than a certain degree of probability. If I were an editor, I should not dream of admitting it to the text. But possibilities *in hoc genere* have to be exhausted before the *quaestio infinita* of violent transpositions can even be thought of.

## G

In the twenty-first line of the first strophe and antistrophe the first two syllables are short: in the second strophe they are a short and a long, scanned, it seems, by a remarkable synizesis as one long: in the second antistrophe (which I have just corrected) they appear as two longs.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 21. ὄσιον οὐκέτι τεᾶν  
 (b) l. 44. σὺ δαμάσειας ἀέκον-  
-τα  
 (c) l. 87. κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὐ-  
-ρον  
 (d) l. 110. σεμνὰν βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν

In l. 110 I have already proposed to read :

ἄν-  
-θεμα, βοῶπιιν ἐρατοῖ-  
-σιν.

At this stage I can state what I conceive to be the main reason for the distortion of *-θεμα* into *σεμνάν*. It was simply the fact of the occurrence of *κέαρ κέλευσε* in l. 87. Some copyist thought that l. 87 did not begin with a long syllable by synizesis, but with an iamb. Consequently he made the second antistrophe correspond to the second strophe. It is another instance of the copyists treating a strophe with its antistrophe in Bacchylides as a unit metrically independent of the other strophes and antistrophes. He meant the first syllable of *σεμνάν* to be short. Theoretically that scansion is very possible. Aeschylus and Euripides tolerate, though seldom, the liberty of treating *μν* as if the combination were that of a mute and a liquid. See Aeschylus, *Agam.* 90, Euripides, *Bacch.* 71, and, as bearing on Doric, Epicharmus 69.

It is necessary to quote the context of l. 87. ll. 86-89 run thus :

τά[φ]εν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔνδοθεν  
 κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὐ-  
 ρον ἴσχειν εὐδαίδαλον  
 νᾶα· μοῖρα δ' ἑτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὀδόν.

To my mind it goes without saying that one ought to read *ἔνευσε* for *κέλευσε*. The change is of the minutest order, except as regards the omission of the initial **K**. That insertion of that **K** may be accounted for in either of two ways. It may be due to a species of diplography, because of the fact of *κέαρ* beginning with **KE**: or some copyist may have begun to write *καὶ*. What really astonishes me is the fact that *ἔνευσε*, as far as I know, has not been suggested by anyone. I take for granted that only a handful of critics would be likely to emend on the sole strength of the occurrence of an instance of my phenomenon, though a great many would feel vaguely uneasy in their minds: but I do not take it for granted that the Grecian world should acquiesce in such a synizesis as that of *κέαρ*.

No one can entertain a profounder respect than myself for German scholarship; but it is most unfortunate that

consideration of "Metrik" has passed almost exclusively into the hands of a school of thinkers, however eminent, who have not been brought up to practise almost from infancy Latin and Greek verse-composition. Without that practice no man is qualified to deal with the niceties of poetic diction and scansion in the ancient languages. That practice Englishmen in the past have enjoyed. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit.*

## H

The ninth syllable of the twenty-third line of the first strophe and antistrophe and of the second strophe is a long. In the second antistrophe the papyrus, which in any event is corrupt in the passage, also in my view presents a long, but the editors (on the strength of a diaeresis, which I consider not to be a diaeresis in the modern sense) take the papyrus as presenting two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 23. θ[υμόν]· ἴσχε μεγαλοῦχον ἦρωσ βίαν  
 (b) l. 46. δε[ί]ξομεν· τὰ δ' ἐπίοντα δα[ίμω]ν κρινεῖ  
 (c) l. 89. νᾶα· μοῖρα [δ'] ἐτέραν ἐπόρσυν' (the aug-  
 ment is deleted by a line) ὀδόν  
 (d) l. 112. ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλλον (Kenyon rightly ἀμφέβαλεν)  
 ἌΙΟΝΑ πορφυρέαν

Assuming for the moment that ἌΙΟΝΑ is original, we are bound either to take it as an accusative, denoting some kind of garment, or else as a nominative, which nominative can only be the Doric form of Eione.

In the former case the line will run :

ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν ἄϊόνᾶ πορφυρέαν.

Hence we have an instance of my phenomenon.

In the latter case the line will run :

ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν Ἄϊόνᾶ πορφυρέαν.

This reading does not give an instance of my phenomenon.

Some years ago I argued that Ἄϊόνα was the right reading.



I recede from that contention, only to substitute for it a claim for *Ἄιόνα* not indeed as what Bacchylides wrote but as what the copyist read.

I understand the copyist to have identified Amphitrite with Eione. He would have translated: 'And she, Eione, flung about him a purple robe.'

Observe the way in which a single strophe and antistrophe are isolated by the transcribers. A later hand thought the meaning of the letters to be *ἄόνᾶ*, an accusative singular; and consequently altered *ἐπόρσιν* in l. 89 into *πόρσιν*, in order that the strophic and antistrophic lines might (on the theory of the lawfulness of the phenomenon to which I object) correspond. That is to say *-ραν πόρσ-* is answered, in that version of the text, by *ἄόνᾶ*.

I need not labour the point that a diaeresis is frequently used to indicate a subscript vowel as opposed to a second element of a diphthong. The long mark over the **A** means the same thing. In combination with *ι* the first element of a diphthong cannot be long. As regards *υ*, moderns would only be consistent if they wrote *η* and *ω* instead of *ηυ* and *ωυ*, which are not really diphthongs.

No satisfactory emendation has been proposed. By far the best is Mr. Richards' *πορφυρέαν σινδόνα*.

*σινδόνα* suits the *ductus literarum* more than fairly well, but the transposition is scarcely to be tolerated. It was not the habit of copyists to use such trenchant methods.

It is essential that at this point the recovery by Theseus of the *χρύσειον χειρὸς ἀγλαὸν κοσμόν* (either a ring or an armlet), which Minos had thrown into the sea, should be expressly mentioned. The action of the ode largely hinges on the restoration of this trinket. Even at the cost of much arbitrary alteration words denoting the ornament in question would have of absolute necessity to be introduced into this line.

But fortunately no very grave change is required.

Read:

*ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν ἀμφίον παγχρύσειον.*

Some copyist regarded the *μφ* of *ἀμφίον* as a dittography

of the  $\mu\phi$  of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu$ . At the same time there were two words,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha$  (apparently another name of Amphitrite: see C. W. Hermann's discussion on the word in an inscription of Drerus in Crete), and  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha$  (Eione). Between them these words sufficiently account for the intrusive  $a$  at the end of  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha$ .

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , '*res circumiecta*,' occurs in classical Greek in the 370th fragment of Sophocles only; but it emerges into common use in later times (see for example Anna Comnena viii. p. 224, and Ducange s.v.), when it either means an ornament generally, or in particular an ornament of the altar. The history of the word, in short, is very like that of  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\xi$  (moustache) and  $\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  ( $\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}$ ).

That  $\pi\alpha\gamma\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu$  (which seems to me imperatively demanded by the sense) should have passed into  $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$  may appear at first sight to be a more violent assumption than those I am in the habit of treating as permissible. But prejudice against it ought to disappear when it is remembered that the  $\upsilon$  is short. The scansion  $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is peculiar to Doric, and must unquestionably have proved a serious stumbling-block to the less erudite class of copyists.

My conjecture is just a conjecture: but this is a case where conjectural emendation is the only possible remedy.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

## I

In the fourth line of the first epode the third syllable is a long: the second epode substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 50.  $\theta\acute{\alpha}[\rho]\sigma\omicron\varsigma \cdot \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\ \chi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}[\sigma\alpha\tau]\ \eta\tau\omicron\rho$   
 (b) l. 116.  $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  (papyrus  $\Delta\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , with  $\omicron$  superscribed)  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\ \rho\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$

If it were not for the alteration of the papyrus in l. 116, I should confidently propose in l. 50 to read  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ . That the  $a$  of  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  may be short in Doric is

proved by Sophocles, *Trach.* 835, Euripides, *Med.* 1252, and *Ion* 122.

But ΔΟΛΙC suggests that Ἄλιου may be right, and that for ΔΟΛΙC we ought to read δαλις.

Hesychius contains the entry: δαλίδας· τὰς μεμνηστευμένας. I imagine that δαλις Ἀφροδίτα might mean 'Aphrodite, goddess of betrothals.' In the context it seems not a little harsh to allude to the goddess of wedlock as δόλιος.

I have written Ἄλιου, not Ἄλιον with the editors. The papyrus does not mark the breathing. I cannot imagine that ἄλιος is genuine Doric. I discuss the question at some length in my remarks on Euripides, *Hippol.* 850.

## K

In the eighteenth line of the first epode the third syllable is a long: the second epode substitutes two shorts.

These are the lines:

(α) l. 64. εἴσεαι δ' αἶ κ' ἐμᾶς κλήη

(β) l. 130. Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηῆτων

I must give the context in the second epode. The lines run:

Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηῆτων 130  
 φρένα ἰανθείς (ΦΡΕΝΑΙΑΝΘΕΙC),  
 ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τυχάν.

As in Ode iii. 68 λάζεται has become ἰαίνεται, so here in l. 131 λιασθείς has become ἰανθείς. The original writing was ΛΙΑCΘΕC, which was mistaken for ΛΙΑCΘΕC. It is certain that ἰαίνω has no digamma. Therefore corruption is undeniable.

It is obvious that ΔΑΛΙΕΧΟΡΟΙCΙ (Δάλιε χοροῖσι) is almost identical with ΔΑΛΙΕΧΘΟΡΟΙCΙ (Δάλι' ἐχθοροῖσι).

I therefore read:

Δάλι', ἐχθοροῖσι Κηῆτων, 130  
 φρένα λιασθείς,

.....



I strongly suspect that ἐχθροῖσι Κηίων is aimed at Pindar. He had attacked the two Ceian poets, Simonides and Bacchylides; and this is Bacchylides' retort.

Whether this be so or not, if ἐχθροῖσι and λιασθείς are right, then l. 132 must be turned upside down in sense.

I think that ll. 75-77 of the second Olympian ode of Pindar yield a valuable clue. Pindar writes:

ὄσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐστρῖς  
ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχουν  
ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν.

In the light of this remarkable Doric interpolation of πάμπαν between a preposition and its noun, I do not hesitate to read here:

ὄπαζ' ἄνευ πάμπαν ἐσθλῶν τυχάν.

It must be remembered that θεόπομπον scans as θέυπομπον. Moreover I suspect that the text passed through the intermediate stage, ἄνευθε πάμπαν.

## ODE XVII

(All four strophes almost completely intact.)

This ode departs from ordinary lyric form in being a series of strophes without epodes.

The fifth line of the first strophe begins with a trochee: the second strophe replaces this trochee with a tribrach, and the third and fourth strophes with a spondee.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 5. ἦ τις ἀμετέρας χθονὸς  
(b) l. 20. Σίνιν, ὃς ἰσχύι φέρτατος  
(c) l. 35. ἦ μούνον σὺν ὀπλοισιν (Weil ὀπάοισιν)  
(d) l. 50. κηῦτυκτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-  
-ναν

It will be seen that the papyrus as it stands goes a good deal further than to present an example of the phenomenon I am investigating. It is not merely the fact that the first long syllable of these lines appears once

in the form of two shorts, but the whole first foot is variable: it presents itself twice as a spondee, once as a trochee, and once as a tribrach. Hence there is even more licence than is ordinarily allowed in the first foot of a tragic trimeter, and this kind of licence very few scholars will on reflexion allow to lyric poetry. In fact the copyists have overreached themselves, and have sufficiently disproved the authenticity of my phenomenon in this passage by making it part and parcel of a more patent metrical anomaly.

Fortunately the remedy is easy. In every case we can with the utmost facility read a dactyl, thus:

- (a) ἦέ τις ἀμετέρας χθονὸς  
 (b) Σίντιν, ὃς ἰσχύι φέρτατος  
 (c) ἦέ μόνον σὺν ὀπάσιν  
 (d) κηῦτυκτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-  
 -ναν

ἦέ was written by Bacchylides **EE**. *μόνον* and *μοῦνον* must have alike been written (I suppose) **MONON**, because the *ου* of *μοῦνον* is not, I take it, a pure diphthong, but a compensatory lengthening of the *ο*. Compare the Doric *μῶνος*. Indeed I doubt whether, if Bacchylides had wanted to use the long form, he would not have had to say *μῶνον*. Ionic forms in the older lyric writers are most probably due to mistranscription. With regard to *Σίντιν*, there is abundant evidence in the MSS. of Aristotle and elsewhere of a form (whether a corruption or not) *Σίννις*: but I write *Σίντιν* rather than *Σίννιν*, chiefly on the strength of the Homeric *Σίντιες*. That the *ηυ* of *κηῦτυκτον* indicated a diaeresis is highly probable. Otherwise we could hardly expect the papyrus to be so strictly Doric as not to write **ΚΕΤΤΥΚΤΟΝ**. Dr. Kenyon "on metrical grounds" reads ἦ *μόνον* and *κηῦτυκτον*. He has not gone quite far enough.

### ODE XVIII

(Strophe, antistrophe and epode fairly intact.)

No instances.

## ODE XIX

(Only a portion of the first strophe remains.)

Necessarily no instances.

## FRAGMENTS

Fragment 16 (apparently a drinking-song) is the only one in which strophic correspondence can be traced. It consists of the latter half of one strophe followed by two other strophes. It presents no instance of the phenomenon I am discussing. As the fragment is preserved by Athenaeus only, it is of some interest as indicating approximately the state of the Bacchylidean text in the third century A.D. The corruptions are not considerable, and are probably later than Athenaeus. There is enough to show that Athenaeus possessed a text as good, or very nearly as good, as that of the papyrus, though it is unfortunate that the papyrus does not include this fragment.

## FRAGMENTS OF OTHER LYRIC POETS

As in the case of the fragments of Pindar, so in that of those of the other lyric writers there are not many instances of portions of corresponding systems surviving side by side. Sometimes too the text has come down to us in so corrupt a state as to make the division into strophe and antistrophe a matter of doubt.

I have only found three *prima facie* instances of our phenomenon, one in Alcman, one in Anacreon, and one in Timocreon.

## A

## ALCMAN

The usage of Alcman is specially important, as he is traditionally credited with the invention of the lyrical antistrophe.



In the papyrus of the *Partheneion* (Bergk, 23) the fifth and sixth lines (which editors of Pindar would treat as one line) present (at the beginning of the fifth line) an initial long syllable in the fourth and seventh strophes. The fifth strophe substitutes two shorts. The other strophes are mutilated, so as to afford no evidence.

Here are the lines :

- (a) ll. 40, 41. Ἄγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὀρῶρ' ὄτ' ἄλιος, ὄνπερ  
ἀμιν  
(b) ll. 56, 57. διαφάδαν—τί τοι λέγω ;—Ἀγησιχόρα, μὲν'  
αὔτα  
(c) ll. 82, 83. ἀλλὰ τᾶν . . . . . σιοί, δέξασθ'. . . . .

In the fifth strophe, which contains ll. 23, 24, Agesichora is compared to a race-horse :

ἦ οὐκ ὀρήης ; ὁ μὲν κέλης Ἐνετικός, ἅ δὲ χαίτα  
τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ  
χρυσὸς ὡς ἀκήρατος, τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον  
διαφάδαν—τί τοι λέγω ;—Ἀγησιχόρα, μὲν' αὔτα.—  
ἅ δὲ δευτέρα πέδ' Ἀγιδῶν τὸ εἶδος  
ἵππος εἰβήνῃ κόλαξ αἰὲς δραμεῖται.

Whether μὲν αὔτα or Bergk's very ingenious μὲν' αὔτα is preferred, it is apparent that διαφάδαν has no verb. This is a very violent aposiopesis, not, I think, to be paralleled in any Greek lyric author.

σφαδάζειν is the technical term for that movement on the part of horses which Virgil describes in the words *et micat artus*.

I believe the existing reading to be a corruption of

τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον  
διασφαδᾶ.

I regard πρόσωπον as accusative of respect, like the *artus* of Virgil.

For the future tense, 'will toss her head,' compare the future δραμεῖται just below.

Of course I do not suppose that Alcman wrote διασφαδᾶ. I think that he wrote ζασφαδᾶ.

The first syllable of *ζασφαδά* is only long by virtue of the *σφ*. An original *ζᾶφάδαν* would be impossible.

*ζασφαδά* would give great point to Bergk's *μέν' αὐτα*—almost 'Whoa, there!'

## B

## ANACREON

In the twenty-first fragment of Anacreon (Bergk's numbering) the third line of each strophe or stanza, except the first and the fifth, begins with a long syllable. The first strophe or stanza substitutes (apparently) two shorts and the fifth one short.

The real explanation is that this is a satyric poem, composed not in strophes at all but in stanzas, and not lyric in the Greek sense. There is no corruption.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 2. *ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων*  
 (b) l. 5. *πλευρήσι . . . βοός*  
 (c) l. 8. *κίβδηλον εὕρισκων βίον*  
 (d) l. 11. *πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος*  
 (e) l. 14. *γυναιξὶν αὐτῶς . . .*

The last line of the second, third and fourth verses begins with a spondee, that of the first with a tribrach, and that of the fifth with an iamb.

## C

## TIMOCREON

In the first ode of Timocreon, on Themistocles, the third line of the strophe ends with an ionic a minore, while the third line of the antistrophe ends with what the editors treat (rightly on the received reading) as a molossus. That is to say, the antistrophe substitutes --- for the ∪∪--- of the strophe.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 3. *ἄνδρ' ἱερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν*  
 (b) l. 7. *εἰς πατρίδ' Ἰάλῦσον*

Ἰάλυσος has three known scansion.

In Homer it is ∪---∪.

In Pindar it is ∪-∪∪.

In the *Anthology* it is -∪∪∪.

I propose to combine the scansion of Homer with that of the *Anthology*, and to treat the word in this passage as ∪∪-∪ (the last short long by position).

Read :

ἔς πατρίαν Ἰάλυσον.

The existing reading presents an absolute solecism as regards the quantity of the initial iota. In the *Anthology* the iota is only long on the principle that any fourth paeon may have the first syllable lengthened *metri gratia*. Compare ζεφυρίη in the *Odyssey*. That this principle had a deeper root than in epic convenience or convention, and was derived from the *métrique* of the language itself rather than from that of poetry, seems to me to be indicated by the persistence throughout Greek of the initial long alpha of ἀθάνατος.

## D

### TIMOTHEUS

No lyrical poetry of Timotheus (if indeed any of his extant fragments are lyrical) survives in sufficient mass to admit of the detection of strophe and antistrophe.

The *Persae* is not lyrical, but aulodic. Aulodic and lyrical metre, though allied, are not the same thing. Consequently Timotheus in the *Persae* knows nothing of strophe, antistrophe, or epode; but uses instead the remotely analogous divisions of the post-Terpanodian nome.

The aulodic nome has nothing to do with my subject matter: but I am compelled to speak of it at some length in my discussion of the ἀρμάτειον μέλος in the *Orestes* of Euripides, because that dirge, which is really aulodic, and conforms to the divisions of the nome, has been mistaken for a lyrical composition.



## CHAPTER V

### AESCHYLUS

#### PROMETHEUS VINCTUS

AESCHYLUS has always been a name of terror to feebler scholars. Sophocles and Euripides have never been popularly supposed to present a tithe of his peculiar difficulty. The fact is that Aeschylus adhered more closely than either of his brethren to the non-Attic traditions of lyric poetry. Hence we may suppose, with great probability, that his copyists were usually not *οἱ τυχόντες*, but, like those of Pindar, men who possessed a certain knowledge of dialectic Greek.

Add to this the official preservation of the text of his writings by the Athenian government, and the fact that the volumes containing this text were secured by the Alexandrian library.

Aeschylus has indeed been corrupted almost beyond belief: but at least he has been saved in large measure from corruptions of the kind and of the date which disfigure the great mass of the MSS. of Greek poets.

Yet, even so, it is surprising to find that the *Prometheus Vincetus* presents only one instance of the phenomenon I am investigating, or at the most two instances, it being uncertain whether the passage in which the latter occurs is or is not antistrophic.

There is good ground for supposing that the text of the *Prometheus Vincetus*, however corrupt in some respects, is in others uniquely sound.

Solon and his followers at Athens wrote their iambics

in pure Ionic. It is consequently to be expected that in early tragedy the iambic portions should have retained a more distinctively Ionic flavour than that of the existing texts.

In the *Prometheus Vincetus* the Medicean MS. presents *είσοιχνεύσω* (l. 122, in anapaests), *ἔδρης* (l. 203, in iambs), *αἰτίην* (l. 228, in iambs), *πωλεύμεναι* (l. 646, in iambs), *ναύτησι* (l. 728, in iambs), and *θῶκος* (l. 832, in iambs). I do not know anything to parallel this group, except the isolated form *ὑμνεύσαι* in Euripides, *Medea* 421.

But the passage from the *Medea* runs thus :

*μούσαι δὲ παλαιγενέων λήξουσ' αἰοιδᾶν  
τὰν ἐμὰν ὑμνεύσαι ἀπιστοσύναν.*

The Doric terminations make it clear that *ὑμνεύσαι*, if genuine, is the Doric and not the Ionic contraction. Nothing can be built on the fact that *ἀπιστοσύνη* is a characteristic Ionic word. Euripides writes not *ἀπιστοσύνην* but *ἀπιστοσύναν*.

I am therefore justified in treating the Medicean MS. of the *Prometheus Vincetus* as bearing unequalled witness to the antecedently probable existence of a period when tragedy Ionized much more widely than at a later date.

Therefore I regard the *Prometheus Vincetus* as a most crucial play for the purposes of my object. If its testimony went against me, I should surrender at discretion.

But its testimony is overwhelmingly in my favour.

#### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 128–187)

No instances.

#### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 399–436)

The first line of the second strophe begins with a long syllable ; the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 415. *Κολχίδος τε γὰς ἔνοικοι*

(β) l. 420. *Ἀραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος*

In the antistrophe Martin reads 'Αρίας, i.e. 'of Persia.' I think he is right, and that 'Αραβίας is either a dittography or a mere correction of 'Αρίας.

The initial alpha of 'Αρία is no doubt short by nature; but it must have been impossible for a Greek to abstain from deriving the word from 'Αρης. Consequently we should expect to find the vowel occasionally long. For 'Αρίας τ' ἄρειον compare 'Αρες 'Αρες.

Hermann reads Σαρματᾶν instead of 'Αραβίας. The acceptance of this emendation would imply the existence of corruption in the text of the *Prometheus Vinc-tus* to an extent contradicted by the available evidence. But I should not consider a similar emendation very violent in a chorus of Sophocles.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 528-609)

It is possible that the ten lines from 563 to 577 (so numbered) inclusive are really a strophe and antistrophe. Most extraordinary difficulties stand in the way of making the first five lines and the last five lines agree; but if it be a case of strophe and antistrophe at all, the last syllable but one of the fourth line of the strophe is a long, whereas the fourth line of the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines, as they stand, are these :

(α) l. 566. τὸν μυριωπὸν εἰσορῶσα βούταν

(β) l. 570. κυναγετεῖ πλανᾶ τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν

It is simplicity itself to read ἀν τὰν. ἀν should not be written ἄν. The grave accent on prepositions is purely decorative, and in the case of monosyllabic prepositions is only written when there is no breathing (e.g. πρὸς, but εἰς). In medieval Greek κατὰ τοῦτον and κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα are written; but the accentual scansion is κάτα τοῦτον and κατὰ τον ἄνδρα, everything depending on the accent of the noun or pronoun (τὸν ἄνδρα being in effect one word, τονάνδρα).



## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 889-910)

No instances.

## SUMMARY

The *Prometheus Vincetus* presents, at the most, two instances of the phenomenon I am investigating, both of them susceptible of easy emendation.

## SUPPLICES

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 40-161)

## A

The third line of the second strophe has for its penultimate syllable a long: for this long the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 56. *δοξάσει τις ἀκούειν* (MSS. ἀκούων) ὅπα τᾶς  
Τηρείας (. . . ἀλόχου in next line)

(b) l. 61. *ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόνον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως*

Read of course, with Professor Tucker, *Τηρείας*.

## B

In the fifth line of the third strophe the second syllable is a long: the third antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are as follows:

(a) l. 68. *δειμαίνουσα φόλους, τᾶσδε φυγᾶς*

(b) l. 75. *ἔστι δὲ κὰκ πτολέμου τειρομένοις*

Read, with Enger, *ἔστιν κὰκ*.

In the strophe Professor Tucker's *ποιμαίνουσα φόβους* seems very reasonable.

## C

In the first line of the fifth strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: the antistrophe replaced them with one long. The corruption in the strophe is so obvious that it is only for completeness' sake that I mention the instance.

The lines run thus :

(a) l. 86. *ιάπτει δὲ ἀπιδὼν ἀφ' ὑψιπέργων*

(b) l. 93. *ιδέσθω δ' ἐς* (edd. rightly *εἰς*) *ὑβριν κτλ.*

Hermann seems to have been the first to correct δὲ ἀπιδὼν into δ' ἐλπιδὼν.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 333-420)

## A

In the third line of the first strophe the eleventh and twelfth syllables are two shorts: the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 335. *ἴδε μέγαν* (Stephanus *με τὰν*: Scaliger *με σὰν*) *ικέτιν φυγάδα περιδρομον*

(b) l. 346. *σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψιγόνου μάθε γεραφρόνων*

For *γεραφρόνων* Professor Tucker with great probability reads *γεραῖα φρονῶν*.

*φυγάδα περιδρομον* and *μάθε γεραῖα φρονῶν* are dochmii. *ἴδε με τὰν* (or *σὰν*) *ικέτιν* and *σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψιγόνου* are not dochmii. On the other hand the MS. reading *ἴδε μέγαν ικέτιν*, though meaningless, is a good dochmius.

*σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψινοῦ* would be a good dochmius, and would supply the needed antithesis to *γεραῖα φρονῶν νοῦς*, not *γένος*, is in question.

The Medicean MS. originally read not *μέγαν ικέτιν* but *μέγαν ικέτην*. I am convinced that this conceals *με γαπετηῆ*. The fact of the reading being *ικέτην*, not *ικέταν*, is important.

The meaning of *γαπετηῆ* requires that we should emend *περίδρομον* into *περίτρομον*.

## B

The seventh line of the first strophe begins with a long syllable: the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are as follows:

(a) l. 337. ἄλκ-

ἄ πίσυννος μέμν-

κε.

(b) l. 340. *ἱεροδόκα* [? *ἱεροδόκοις*]. I will not enter into the question of the proper reading of the rest of the line.

Hermann saw that some form of *ἱεροδόκος* should be read.

## C

In the third line of the third strophe the eighth syllable is a long: the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 379. *μηχαρ ὀρίζομαι γάμου δύσφρονος*

(b) l. 389. *ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς, ὅσια δ' ἐννόμοις*

Professor Tucker with considerable probability reads *γάμου ὑπέρφρονος*.

The want of correspondence between *μηχαρ ὀρίζομαι* and *ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς* is not of a kind which I am directly investigating; but it is clear that I cannot afford to treat heresies as to dochmiacs lightly.

Either phrase constitutes a good dochmius, but the two phrases cannot correspond. Possibly, though it does not affect the metre, Professor Tucker is right in reading *μηκος*: certainly Arnold's *τάδικα* is an improvement on *ἄδικα*, though it does not seem to me a very natural expression. Wecklein's *ἔλληρα* involves the assumption that a mere gloss was substituted for the original reading. I am not disposed to combat the probability of this contingency so strongly as I should be, were a similar emendation to be attempted in Pindar. Nevertheless the text of Aeschylean choruses seems to me to possess a



certain affinity to the text of Pindar, and I believe further that what is true with regard to glosses in Pindar is true with regard to glosses in Greek poetry as a whole.

It has occurred to me that *ἄδικα* may possibly stand for an original *δάϊα*.

### D, E AND F

We now come to a series of three examples of our phenomenon within the compass of a few lines. l. 403 differs syllabically from l. 408, l. 407 from l. 412, and l. 414 from l. 418.

Editors have endeavoured to remedy the discrepancies: but Professor Tucker (no one who deals with the *Supplices* can either disregard his opinions, or avoid the repeated mention of his name), though elsewhere cautious with regard to resolution, considers that this lyric passage is so composed as to tolerate the correspondence of resolved with unresolved cretics. I venture to disagree with him.

### D

The second line of the fourth strophe begins with a long syllable (the first of a cretic): the second line of the fourth antistrophe resolves this long into two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 403. *πανδίκως εὐσεβῆς*  
 (b) l. 408. *πολυθέων ῥυσιασ-*  
*θείσαν*

The context of the antistrophic line is:

*μηδ' ἴδης μ' ἐξ ἔδρᾶν*  
*πολυθέων ῥυσιασ-*  
*θείσαν, ὦ*  
*πᾶν κράτος ἔχων χθονός.*

Heimsoeth reads *πανθέων*, Kiehl *πολυθέων*.

It is obvious that a compound of *θεός*, owing to the double possibility of scansion, is not a very favourable example for those who maintain the laxer theory of

metre. If Kiehl's *πολυθέων* be right, we can readily understand that a desire to treat *-θέων* as two syllables would prompt the alteration to *πολυθέων*, even apart from the form *πολυ-*.

But, for my own part, I am not prepared to assent to the introduction of *πολύς* or its compounds into lyric poetry. Both *πολύς* and *πολλός* are used by Pindar, but never *πολύς*. *πολύς* is essentially epic, not even being used in good Ionic prose, let alone in Doric.

This seems to me to put *πολυθέων* out of court. *πανθέων* appears intrinsically improbable. Therefore I suggest :

ἐξ ἐδρᾶν  
που θεῶν.

## E

The fourth and fifth syllables of the last line of the fourth strophe are two shorts: the fourth antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines run as follows :

(a) l. 407. *δυσθέοις ὀρομένην* (M writes an  $\omega$  over the second  $\sigma$  of *ὀρομένην*)

(b) l. 412. *καὶ φύλαξαι κότον*

For *ὀρομένην* Turnebus, followed by various editors, reads *ὀρμένην*, and surely rightly.

## F

In the third line of the fifth strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: the fifth antistrophe substitutes a long.

The lines run thus :

(a) l. 414. *δίκας ἀγομένην*

(b) l. 418. *μένει δρεικτείνειν*

*δίκας ἀγομένην* seems in the context to be absolutely sound.

The antistrophic context runs :

ἴσθι γὰρ παῖσι τάδε καὶ δόμοις,  
 ὀποτέραν (Turnebus, rightly, ὀπότερ' ἂν) κτίσης,  
 μένει δρεικτείνειν  
 ὁμοίαν (Prof. Tucker, with probability, τὰν ὁμοίαν) θέμιν.

The general sense is plain : ' You must choose between justice and injustice : but as you do, so will your children and house be done by.'

I suggest that μένει δρεικτείνειν is a corruption (*via* "Ἀρει κτείνειν") of μένεις ἄρ' ἐκτίνειν, and that μένεις ἄρ' ἐκτίνειν is in its turn a mere amplification for the sake of further clearness of an original μένεις ἄρα τίνειν.

I translate : ' Thou art destined after all—know it well—to bring upon thine own children and house whichever sentence thou shalt establish.'

δρεικτείνειν is not a convenient word to rely on in support of the view that cretics may be resolved without regard to syllabic correspondence.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 508–583)

#### A

In the sixth line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts : the second antistrophe replaces these by one long.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 527. πολλὰ βροτῶν διαμειβομένα

(β) l. 536. Παμφύλων τε (the rest of the line is very uncertain)

On πολλὰ βροτῶν Professor Tucker writes : " πὸλλ' ἀνδρῶν Meineke propter antistropham Παμφύλων. Sed nominibus propriis conceditur aliquid."

The investigation of similar problems in Pindar seems by no means to establish that "nominibus propriis conceditur aliquid." At the same time I cannot accept Meineke's emendation. It is too violent.

For πολλὰ βροτῶν I suggest πολλόθρων, i.e. πολυθρόων.



*πολύθροος* occurs elsewhere in this play. The possibility of compounding with *πολλός* as well as with *πολύς* is apparently demonstrated by the existence of the word *πολλόγειος*, a kind of grape from which inferior wine was made.

My supposition is that *πολλόθρων* became *πολλόβρων*, which was naturally "corrected" into *πολλά βροτῶν*, perhaps under the influence of

*πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστυα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.*

It is to be observed that l. 716 begins with the word *πολυδρόμου*, corresponding to the first four syllables of *νήας ἔπλευσαν* in the antistrophic l. 723. In that passage I incline to suspect that Aeschylus wrote *πολλοδρόμου*.

## B AND C

The fourth lines of the third strophe and antistrophe are lyric iambic trimeters. The scansion of the former is

--|○○○|○-|○-|○-|○-,

of the latter

○○○|○-|---|○-|---|○-.

Hence there are instances of our phenomenon in both the first and the second feet, while the third and fifth feet disagree in another way.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 543. *λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον, ὄντ' ἐπέρχεται*

(b) l. 552. *βοτὸν ἐσορῶντες δυσχερὲς μιξόμβροτον*

The meaning of the antistrophic line and its context is that the inhabitants of the places through which Io passed wondered at her half-human, half-bovine form.

I suggest that the line originally ran:

*μιξόμβροτον ἐσορῶντες ἐς δίχειρ βοτόν.*

The possibility of *δίχειρ* as a nominative or accusative neuter is sufficiently attested by the fact that Pollux gives *ἐκατόγχειρ*, though the nominative in extant literature is *ἐκατόγχειρος*.

My contention is that the *ἐς* of *ἐς δίχειρ* was regarded, owing to the unfamiliar ending of the adjective, as a direction to read *δίχειρες*: and that *δίχειρες*, being a *vox nihili*, was in its turn speedily altered into *δυσχερῆς*.

The line would then run :

*μιξόμβροτον ἔσορῶντες δυσχερῆς βοτόν.*

The spondee in the fourth foot necessitated a transposition of the words of the line. The only transposition possible was to :

*βοτόν ἔσορῶντες δυσχερῆς μιξόμβροτον.*

I base my alteration not even mainly upon metrical grounds. The word *δυσχερῆς* makes no real sense in the passage, and the parallels that have been suggested by editors are not to the point. *δίχειρ* on the other hand is surely wanted.

A good deal has been written at various times as to the Aeschylean conception of the appearance of Io after her metamorphosis.

The well-known expression, *τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου* (*Prometheus* 588), seems to me (in the absence of contrary evidence, which I am unable to find) to be fairly conclusive that Aeschylus regarded Io as a maiden, but with the horns, and perhaps the head, of a heifer. As a maiden, she would have arms and hands. That it should be expressly mentioned that she had two *χεῖρες*, and not merely that she possessed *χέρη*, is natural and almost necessary. To possess two *χεῖρες* is a distinctly human attribute: *τετράχειρ* is late Greek, but it cannot be doubted that a classical Greek would have used it on occasion, when referring to certain kinds of lower animals.

The picture which I suggest Aeschylus drew of Io is (allowing for difference of sex) exactly that of the Egyptian Apis.

An objection to the predominantly human shape of Io has been founded upon the notion that the object of her metamorphosis was to render impossible her union with Zeus. But it must be remembered that the metamorphosis was effected not by Hera, but by Zeus himself,

and that in any case the jealousy of Hera is only an after-thought, intended to account to some extent in later times for the bovine features of Io, which an earlier generation would have regarded as only natural in a deity.

In the seventh line of the third strophe, an iambic trimeter, there is a double want of syllabic correspondence with the corresponding line of the fourth antistrophe. Neither anomaly is an instance of the phenomenon I am investigating; but in the general interest of the strictness of metre which I advocate, I will quote the lines, and emend one of them.

(α) l. 564. λαβοῦσα δ' ἔρμα Δίον ἀψευδεὶ λόγῳ

(β) l. 572. Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον καὶ τόδ' ἂν γένος λέγων

Is it not clear that the strophic line should run :

λαβοῦσα δ' ἄδ' ἔρμαιον ἀψυθεὶ λόγῳ?

## D

The third line of the fifth antistrophe is an iambic trimeter, pure, except that the first foot is a dactyl. The third line of the fifth strophe consists of five pure iambic feet, lacking the initial dactyl. An attempt has been made to supply the missing dactyl by means of a conjunctural spondee.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 576. . . . πατήρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ, ἄναξ

(β) l. 581. οὐτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένον σέβει κράτη

Professor Tucker, quite consistently with the sense required, reads the metrically dubious :

εἰ γὰρ πατήρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ, ἄναξ.

Hermann reads εὐτέ γε.

It is possible that we ought to read ἔπλεο πατήρ κτλ. The word ἔπλεο is sufficiently unfamiliar, especially in view of its uncontracted termination, to have puzzled copyists; and its ΠΛ closely resembles the ΠΑ of πατήρ.



## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 614-679)

In the fourth line of the third strophe the third syllable is a long, according to the MS. reading: the third antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 654. ἄχορος κίθαρῖς

(b) l. 662. πρόνομα δὲ βρότατος (Prof. Tucker βότ'  
ἀγροῖς)

On reference to the context it will be seen that it is not absolutely impossible to construe ἄχορος κίθαρῖς in apposition with the previous word λαιγὸς.

But Plutarch (*Amat.* 758 F) quotes the passage in a mutilated form. Fortunately the mutilation hardly affects the two words which constitute l. 660. Plutarch gives them as ἄχαριν ἀκίθαρῖν. Porson has made the certain restoration :

ἄχορον ἀκίθαρῖν.

This side-light on the existing text of Aeschylus is of the utmost importance with regard to the problem which I am discussing. Without serious detriment to the sense the MSS. have corrupted an example of strict syllabic correspondence so that it has become a very strong example of the equivalence of a long and two shorts. Without Plutarch's aid I should have endeavoured to suggest an emendation; but to support the necessity of emendation I should have had nothing to rely on except my root contention as to regularity of metre and the cumulative evidence of the passages which I discuss throughout this book. Plutarch's witness shows that, in this passage at least, my principles would not have led me astray.

## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 747-875)

This chorus may for critical purposes be divided into two distinct portions.

The first three strophes and antistrophes, embracing

ll. 755–798 inclusive, constitute the first portion. This section is distinctly corrupt, but the corruptions have not proceeded to such a length as to obscure the main features of the text.

The rest of the chorus, consisting of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth strophes and antistrophes, namely ll. 799–870 inclusive, is in a most frightful condition. Accidence and syntax, metre and sense, have alike in great measure disappeared. It is impossible in this part of the chorus to trace with clearness the relation between strophe and antistrophe. I have, however, extracted from it one passage where it seems plain that the MSS. intend correspondence of the kind which I doubt.

## A

In the less corrupted portion of this chorus, the third line of the third strophe has for its fifth and sixth syllables two shorts: the third antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines run as follows:

- (a) l. 780. λύσιμα · μάχιμα δ' ἔπιδε πάτερ  
 (b) l. 788. φυγάδα μάταισι πολυθρόοις

Even here the text is in such confusion that MS. authority goes for hardly anything, while on the other hand emendation must necessarily be unsafe because it is uncontrolled.

It would perhaps be difficult to better Paley's

λύσιμα · μάχαν δ' ἔπιδε, πάτερ.

## B

In the highly corrupt portion of the chorus, the sixth strophe presents in its second line a long second syllable: the sixth antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines, which apart from the metrical difficulty do not appear at first sight corrupt, are these:

- (a) l. 811. ἀλμήεντα πόρον  
 (b) l. 822. ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ

For ἀλμήεντα Hermann reads ἀλμιόεντα, Hartung ἀλμυρόεντα.

ἀλφεσίβοιον seems to me to be more probably corrupt than ἀλμήεντα. ὕδωρ is the Nile, and ἀλφεσίβοιον must bear, instead of its Homeric meaning, the sense of 'cattle-fattening.' The only other instance of this use of the word is to be found in an elegiac fragment of Alexander Aetolus, a writer of the third century B.C., who speaks of Πειρήνης . . . ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ. But I dispute the rendering of the word in Alexander Aetolus. A reference to Pausanias (ii. 3, par. 2, 3) will show that the water of Pirene was considered to possess a peculiar excellence, and was used in the tempering of Corinthian bronze. I suggest that the elegiac writer simply meant to convey that a draught from Pirene was worth many oxen, and that he used the word ἀλφεσίβοιον in its Homeric sense, though not in its Homeric context.

This consideration increases the difficulty of supposing that Aeschylus could use ἀλφεσίβοιον in the sense 'cattle-fattening.'

It seems not improbable that for ἀλφεσίβοιον we should read some compound of ἀμφί descriptive of the bifurcation of the Nile which forms the Delta. For the term Delta to have come into use, two main streams, not more, must have been present to the Greek mind.

Accordingly I suggest :

ἀμφίσταυρον ὕδωρ.

ἀμφίσταυρος is the only suitable compound I can discover. Dindorf's Stephanus simply says: 'Ἀμφίσταυρος, ὄ, Bifurcatus, Gl.'

I have not convinced myself, and certainly do not expect to convince others, that ἀμφίσταυρον is right. But it is possible; and a possible alternative is all that is required, at least for my purposes, in a chorus so exceptionally corrupt as that with which we are at present dealing. My sheet-anchor throughout is the *ductus literarum*: in this hurricane it has dragged, and there is no security.

If, however, even here it is possible to take the *ductus literarum* as moderately trustworthy, it seems to me that



the **ciβ** of *ἀλφεισίβοιον* is more likely to have replaced **ctp** than any other combination of letters. This circumstance might well induce us to read *ἀμφίστροιβον*, which word (see *στροιβός* in Stephanus) would presumably be a depravation of an original *ἀμφίστρομβον*. I am assured by a learned egyptologist that it was a common practice among the Egyptians to blow trumpets by the banks of the Nile, especially at the time of the rise of the waters. Compare Euripides, *Helen* 169 :

τὸν Λίβυν λωτόν.

### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 988-1043)

The second line of the first strophe presents an initial long syllable: the second strophe substitutes two shorts. But the corruption in the strophe is so obvious, that, except for the sake of showing what MSS. are capable of, it is waste of time to set forth the lines.

They are these :

(a) l. 989. *μᾶκρὰς θεοὺς γανάεντες* (Pauw *γανάοντες*)

*πολιούχους*

(b) l. 1005. *δύναται γὰρ Διὸς ἄγχιστα σὺν Ἥρᾳ*

Stanley, for *μακρὰς*, restored *μάκαρας*.

### SUMMARY

The *Supplices* of Aeschylus presents sixteen instances of the phenomenon in question, and a seventeenth instance has been conjecturally introduced. One of the sixteen examples is shown by a quotation in Plutarch to be non-original: three examples are beyond all possibility of question corrupt: two others are purely graphical: two others again fall under extreme suspicion owing to the fact that they are both presented within the compass of the same line. Of the remaining eight, not more than four cause even the slightest difficulty to the emender. In a play so notoriously corrupt as the *Supplices* there is nothing surprising in these figures.

## PERSAE

In this play I shall have occasion to consider a small number of examples of the accustomed kind, one instance in a short anapaestic system of peculiar appearance, and sixteen alleged correspondences within a compass of fifty-three lines, which, I shall maintain, are not lyric at all, but are a corrupted presentation of a series of anapaestic lines of the ordinary type.

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 66-138)

No instances.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 255-284)

## A

The first four syllables of the first line of the first strophe are all short: the antistrophe substitutes a long syllable followed by a syllable which may be either long or short, followed in its turn by a short syllable. Consequently, either the long first syllable of the antistrophic line corresponds to the two short syllables at the very beginning of the strophic line, and the second syllable of the antistrophic line is short; or else the long first syllable of the antistrophic line corresponds to the short first syllable of the strophic line, on which assumption the second syllable of the antistrophic line must be long, and must correspond to the second and third syllables of the strophic line. I will adopt the former hypothesis as the less irregular of the two.

My meaning will, I hope, become apparent, when I quote the lines, which run as follows:

(a) l. 255. ἀνι ἄνια κακά, νεόκοτα

(b) l. 259. ἦ μακροβίοτος ὄδε γέ τις

ἀνι ἄνια are instances of the neuter plural of an

adjective *ἄνιος*, equivalent in meaning to *ἀνιηρός*. In l. 1054 of this play *ἄνι' ἄνια* is used interjectionally, and also in l. 1061, where the identical expression recurs, corresponding metrically with itself, so that we are thrown back on l. 256 for the determination of the quantity of the iota.

I strongly suspect that there is no such adjective as *ἄνιος*, and that the right reading in ll. 1054 and 1061 is *ἀνία ἀνία*, the substantive.

The scholiast on l. 256 writes *ἀνίατα*.

It seems to me in the highest degree probable that **ΑΝΙΑΝΙΑ** is a not very serious miswriting of **ΑΝΤΑΙΑ**, and I am not sure that the scholiast's supposed gloss *ἀνίατα* is anything more than a misread marginal restitution of the original word.

Consequently I restore :

(a) l. 255. *ἀνταῖα κακά, νεόκοτα.*

(b) l. 259. *ἦ μακρόβιος ὄδε γέ τις.*

## B, C AND D

The second syllable of the second line of the second strophe is a long : the second antistrophe replaces it with two shorts. The fourth and fifth syllables of the strophic line are two shorts, the antistrophe substitutes one long. The seventh syllable of the strophic line is a long : instead of a long the antistrophe presents two shorts. The antistrophic line has in the middle a redundant short syllable, or, more probably, the strophic line lacks a short syllable.

The existence of three instances of my phenomenon in two corresponding lines is strong evidence in my favour, and evidence proffered by a hostile witness.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 264. *τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῆ*

(b) l. 270. *ἀλίδονα σώματα πολυβαφῆ*

An attempt has been made to rewrite the antistrophic



line; but that line is hardly such as to be the result of a corruption.

On the other hand the strophic line is scarcely intelligible in its context, which is this:

ὄτοτοτοῖ, μάταν  
τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῆ  
γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν  
δίαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

*βέλεα* is not at all the word wanted: we require 'hosts,' 'nations,' or the like.

I propose to read the passage thus:

ὄτοτοτοῖ, μάταν  
ἄρα πολύλα' ἔθνε' ἀναμιγῆ  
γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν  
δίαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

I think this emendation is sound; but in any case it is only incidental. My main point is the improbability of *βέλεα*. I contend that the Greek masters were in the habit of writing reasonable sense.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 543-600)

#### A

In the second line of the first strophe the second and third syllables are short: for these two shorts the first antistrophe substitutes a long.

The lines run as follows:

- (a) l. 544. γαῖ' Ἀσίας (Ἀσιὰς H. Stephanus) ἐκκενωμένα  
(b) l. 554. ὀμόπτεροι κυανώπιδες

Blomfield rightly emends to Ἄσις. Hermann restores metre to the rest of the line by reading ἐκκεκνωμένα.

#### B

The third line of the first strophe has for its fourth and fifth syllables two shorts: the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 545. Ξέρξης μὲν γὰρ ἄγαγεν (MSS. ἤγαγεν) ποποῖ  
 (β) l. 555. νᾶες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ

Read :

Ξέρξης μὲν ἄγαγεν, ποποῖ.

### C

In the sixth line of the first strophe the initial syllable is apparently long : the first antistrophe replaces it with two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 548. βαρίδεσσι ποντίαις  
 (β) l. 558. διὰ δ' Ἰαόνων (Hermann διὰ γ' Ἰαόνων)  
 χέρας

It is apparent that there is dittography in **διαδιασωνων** : consequently I propose to read δι' Ἰαόνων, and to scan as short the first syllable of βαρίδεσσι. The traditional accentuation is not βᾶρις, but βάρις. There is some question whether some author did or did not employ a word βᾶριβάτης—probably indeed the word is a fiction. But it is very hard to disregard the traditional evidence as to the existence of βάρις.

### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 636–681)

The sixth line of the first strophe has two initial short syllables : the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 641. διαβοάσω  
 (β) l. 648. οἶον οὔπω

It seems to me probable that we should read διαβῶσω, and scan as short the diphthong of οἶον.

The *locus classicus* for the omega-forms of the verb meaning 'to shout,' as far as tragedy is concerned, is

l. 1023 of this play (1054 on Dindorf's numbering), where Dindorf convincingly reads *καπιβῶ* for *καπιβῶα*.

ll. 695-703

Immediately after the fourth chorus come thirteen ordinary iambic trimeters spoken by Darius. Then (l. 695) the chorus interpose with two anapaestic dimeters brachycatalectic, followed by one anapaestic dimeter catalectic of the kind which concludes a regular system of anapaestic dimeters. Then Darius resumes his speech, but this time in ordinary trochaic tetrameters. After three lines of these tetrameters the chorus again intervene with two more anapaestic dimeters brachycatalectic, which constitute an echo, in sound and syntax, of the two former lines of identical metrical structure: they then close the system, as before, with a familiar anapaestic dimeter catalectic. But this second catalectic dimeter begins with a long, whereas the former began with two shorts (a variation of a perfectly ordinary type, on the assumption that we are dealing with a system subject not to lyric, but to anapaestic rules). Then Darius resumes his trochaic tetrameters. Atossa shortly afterwards joins in, and the trochaic tetrameter measure is kept up for 56 lines.

It seems to me that as ordinary anapaestic dimeters are commonly used to herald the advent of a character about to speak in iambic trimeters, so here a peculiar variety of anapaestic dimeters, with the diaeresis after the third and not after the second anapaest (a measure exceeding the ordinary anapaestic measure in length much in the same way as trochaic tetrameters exceed iambic trimeters) is employed to escort Darius to that new position on the stage from which presumably he would deliver his trochaics.

The passage runs thus ;

- l. 695. XO. *σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,  
σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι  
σέθεν ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει.*
- ΔΑ. *ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον σοῖς γόοις πεπεισμένος,  
μή τι μακιστῆρα μῦθον, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων*



- l. 700. εἶπὲ καὶ πέραινε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ μεθεῖς.  
 ΧΟ. δέιομαι (Ven. B δίομαι) μὲν χαρίσασθαι,  
 δέιομαι (Ven. B δίομαι) δ' ἀντία φάσθαι,  
 λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

For λέξας Hermann reads προλέγων.

To my mind both σέθεν and λέξας are sound. Aeschylus, if the text is trustworthy, seems to have cleverly avoided a decision as to whether the unfamiliar brachycatalectic dimeters ought or ought not to be subject to lyric law by using the device of the echo, a device which is sometimes employed (for quite other ends) even in iambic trimeters.

For example, in Aristophanes, *Plutus* 447-8 :

ἔρημον ἀπολιπόντε ποι φευξόμεθα  
 τῆνδὶ δεδιότε, μηδὲ διαμαχούμεθα,

there is an appreciable echo of the dual ἀπολιπόντε in the dual δεδιότε, and a more marked echo of the contracted future φευξόμεθα in the contracted future διαμαχούμεθα.

Or to take anapaests, *Plutus* 495, an anapaestic tetrameter catalectic ends :

βαδιεῖται κούκ ἀπολείψει,

whereas the next line ends :

φευξείται, κᾶτα ποιήσει,

where there is a distinct double echo.

But when Aeschylus came to the familiar anapaestic clausula, there was no reason at all why he should not avail himself of anapaestic liberty to the full extent. Consequently I decline to impugn λέξας.

Yet I am by no means convinced that a paroemiac can be tacked on as a clausula to a series of non-regular anapaestic lines. Copyists indeed appear at one period (perhaps under the influence of ideas as to choric metre similar to those of Seneca) to have regarded the paroemiac as a possible clausula to any chorus, whether anapaestic or not. See, for example, the ninth chorus of the *Rhesus*, and my remarks upon it.

It would be perfectly possible to read here :

XO. σέβομαι σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,  
σέβομαι σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι  
σέθεν ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει.

XO. . . . .  
δίεμαι δίεμαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι,  
δίεμαι δίεμαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι,  
λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 854-1048)

#### A AND B

The third lines of the third strophe and antistrophe are dactylo-spondaic pentameters acatalectic.

The first foot of the strophic line is a spondee, of the antistrophic line a dactyl.

The fourth lines of the strophe and antistrophe are dactylo-spondaic hexameters acatalectic.

The second foot of the strophic line is a spondee, of the antistrophic line a dactyl.

The lines run as follows :

(a) ll. 872-3. οἶα (Ven. B οἶα) Λέσβος, ἐλαιόφυτός τε  
Σάμος, Χίος

ἠδὲ Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκονος, Τήνω τε συν-  
άπτουσ'

(b) ll. 877, 878. καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον Κυπρίας τε  
πόλεις, Πάφον,

ἠδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμῖνά τε, τᾶς νῦν  
ματρόπολις τῶνδ'

Hermann apparently takes the diphthong of οἶα as short, and for καὶ Ῥόδον he reads Ῥόδον τ'. I cannot accept this emendation, because it is insufficient to cure the real mischief.

The chorus are setting forth a list of the islands that were formerly included in the dominions of Darius.

The whole passage runs thus :

<i>νᾶσοί θ' αἶ κατὰ πρῶν' ἄλιον περίκλυστοι</i>	στρ.
<i>τᾶδε γὰ προσήμεναι,</i>	871
<i>οἶα Λέσβος, ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος, Χίος,</i>	
<i>ἠδὲ Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκονος, Τήνη τε συνάπτουσ'</i>	
<i>"Ἄνδρος ἀγχιγείτων·</i>	
<i>καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους ἐκράτνε μεσάκτους,</i>	ἀντ.
<i>Λῆμνον, Ἰκάρου θ' ἔδος,</i>	876
<i>καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον, Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφον,</i>	
<i>ἠδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμῖνά τε, τὰς νῦν ματρόπολεις τῶνδ'</i>	
<i>αἰτία στεναγμῶν.</i>	

It will be observed that the word *οἶα* in l. 872 is unnecessary. It would be harmless, but for two considerations. An almost identical *οἶαι* has been used just before in l. 864; and *οἶα* here ought to have the effect of shortening the last syllable of *προσήμεναι* in the previous line, whereas the last syllable of *ἔδος* in the second line of the antistrophe is unquestionably long.

Therefore I consider that *οἶα* is a mere epigraphic interpolation, of which the unmetrical neuter plural *οἶα* (most MSS.) may well be the original form.

I therefore read l. 872 thus :

*Λέσβος, ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος, Χίος - - -* (or *- - -*, because the minutest of emendations will produce a long syllable at the end of the corresponding antistrophic line).

It is to be remarked that some kind of an adjective with *Χίος* is needed to balance the *ἐλαιόφυτός* of *Σάμος*. I suggest that the opening words of the next line, viz. *ἠδὲ Πάρος*, conceal *ἠδυκράς* (which stands for *ἀδυκράς*), and that *Πάρος* is not really mentioned. I take *ἀδυκράς* as hinting at the Chian wines, and therefore as strictly parallel to the mention of the Samian olives. *εὐκράς* is used both of wines 'well mixed' and of climates 'well tempered.' Compare also *γαλατοκράς*, *μελικράς*, and *χαλκοκράς*.

I have now brought the two lines into this condition :

*Λέσβος, ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος, Χίος ἀδυκράς,*  
*Νάξος, - - - - , Μύκονος, Τήνη τε συνάπτουσ'*



A momentary glance at a map shows the two islands close to Naxos that have been left out. Read :

Νάξος, Ἄμοργος, Ἴος, Μύκονος Τήνη τε συνάπτουσ'.

I suggest that Ἄμοργος Ἴος was dropped out because of the similarity of part of **Ἄμοργος** to **μύκονος** : moreover **Ἄμοργος** would be apt to be taken as one word, and that one word an adjective.

The passage is now completely cured, except in one particular : *ἀδνκράς* in l. 872 necessitates a final long syllable in l. 877. Therefore, instead of Πάφον I read Πάφον τ'.

At l. 885 we come to the end of what some editors consider to be the tragedy of the *Persae*. Xerxes now enters, and a strange scene of lamentation and recrimination ensues. I hope to be able to show that the finale is not in reality of the grotesque nature that is usually imagined. To my mind deliberate corruption has at this point been practised on a large scale. Some 70 lines (ll. 902–972 inclusive) appear to me to have been rewritten in the Doric dialect, in order to make them lyrical ; and some 60 of them (ll. 911–972 inclusive) have been distorted out of the ordinary anapaestic metre into a semblance of three strophes and antistrophes. These changes were not effected without ruin to the dignity, indeed to the intelligibility, of various passages. Exact reconstruction throughout is manifestly impossible : but the playwrights have not done their work so thoroughly as to leave us without signposts pointing to the proper path.

A special reason which prompts me to suppose that ll. 911–972 were not originally composed of strophes and antistrophes is the fact that in this narrow compass the text as it stands presents no less than sixteen examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating. Even those who believe in the phenomenon will not be disposed to admit so much of it in so short a space. Quite apart from my other reasons for thinking the lines to have formed originally regular anapaestic systems, it seems to me simpler to suppose such to have been the case than to

attempt to emend in detail the sixteen examples. They are these :

C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, and S.

### C, D, E, AND F

The second lines of the so-called first strophe and antistrophe after the regular anapaestic system present four examples.

- (a) l. 912. μέλεος γέννα γᾶ τε πατρῶα (so Heath :  
Hermann πατρῶα : MSS. πατρία)  
(b) l. 919. δύσθροον αὐδάν. δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὖ

### G AND H

The last lines of the first so-called strophe and antistrophe present two examples.

- (a) l. 917. πέμψω, πολύδακρυν ιακχάν (MSS. πέμψω bis)  
(b) l. 924. κλάγξω δ' αὖ γόν ἀρίδακρυν

### I AND K

The ninth and tenth lines of the so-called second strophe and antistrophe present two examples.

- (a) ll. 933-4. Σούσας Πελάγων, [καὶ quod certe  
delendum] Δοτάμας  
ἦδ' Ἀγδάβάτας, Ψάμμυς, Σουσισκάνης τ'  
(b) ll. 944-5. Μέμφις, Θάρυβις, καὶ Μασ-  
ίστης Ἀρτεμβάρης τ' ἦδ' Ἵσταίχμας

### L

The last lines of the so-called second strophe and antistrophe present one instance.

- (a) l. 935. Ἀγβάτανα λιπόν  
(b) l. 946. τάδε σ' ἐπανέρομαι

## M

The first lines of the third so-called strophe and antistrophe present one example.

- (a) l. 947. *ἰὼ ἰὼ μοι, τὰς ὄγυγιους κατιδόντες*  
 (b) l. 960. *ἔννεγά μοι δῆτ' ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπομιμνήσκεις*  
 (Hermann *ὑπορίνεις*)

## N

The fifth lines of the so-called third strophe and antistrophe furnish one instance.

- (a) l. 951. *ἦ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ*  
 (b) l. 964. *καὶ μὴν ἄλλο (manifeste ἄλλον) γε ποθοῦμεν*

## O

The seventh lines of the so-called third strophe and antistrophe supply one example.

- (a) l. 953. *μυρία μυρία πεμπαστὰν*  
 (b) l. 966. *Ξάνθιν (MSS. Ξάνθην vel Ξάνθον), ἄρειόν τ'*  
*Ἄγχάρην*

## P

The eighth lines of the third so-called strophe and antistrophe furnish one example.

- (a) l. 954. *Βατανόχου παῖδ', Ἄλπιστον*  
 (b) l. 967. *Δῖταιξίν τ' ἦδ' Ἀρσάκην*

## Q

The tenth lines (the ninth line of the strophe is supposed to have been lost) of the third so-called strophe and antistrophe supply one instance.

- (a) l. 956. *τοῦ Σεισάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα*  
 (b) l. 969. *Κηγδατάταν καὶ Λυθίμναν*



l. 322 of this play shows that the name is *Σεισάμας*, not *Σεισάμας*.

## R AND S

The eleventh lines of the third so-called strophe and antistrophe provide two examples.

(α) l. 957. Πάρθον τε, μέγαν τ' Οἰβάρην

(β) l. 970. Τόλμον τ' αἰχμᾶς ἀκόρεστον

I will now set out Hermann's text of ll. 886–972 inclusive, and then, before entering upon detailed arguments, will exhibit my own suggested version.

## HERMANN'S TEXT

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰώ,

δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγεράς μοίρας

τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης,

ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη

Περσῶν γενεᾷ· τί πάθω τλήμων ;

890

λέλυται γὰρ ἐμῶν γυίων ῥώμη

τήνδ' ἠλικίαν ἐσιδόντ' ἄστῶν

.....

νηριτοτρόφους . . . . .

εἴθ' ὄφελε, Ζεῦ, κάμῃ μετ' ἀνδρῶν

895

τῶν οἰχομένων

θανάτου κάτα μοῖρα καλύψαι.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὄτοτοῖ, βασιλεῦ στρατιᾶς ἀγαθῆς

καὶ Περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης,

κόσμον τ' ἀνδρῶν,

900

οὓς νῦν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν.

γᾶ δ' αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν

προφδός

ἦβαν Ξέρξῃ κταμέναν, "Αἰδου

σάκτορι Περσᾶν· ἀδοβάται γὰρ

πολλοὶ φῶτες, χῶρας ἄνθος,

905

τοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ γὰρ φύστις  
 μυριάς ἀνδρῶν ἐξέφθινται.  
 αἰαῖ, αἰαῖ κεδνᾶς ἀλκᾶς·  
 Ἄσσια δὲ χθῶν, βασιλεῦ γαίας,  
 αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

910

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ὄδ' ἐγών, οἰοῖ, αἰακτὸς  
 μέλεος γέφυρα γᾶ τε πατρώα  
 κακὸν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν.

στρ. α'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρόσφθογγόν σοι νόστου τὰν  
 κακοφάτιδα βοάν, κακομέλετον ἰὰν  
 Μαρριανδυνού θρηνητῆρος  
 πέμψω, πέμψω πολύδακρυν ἰαχάν.

915

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἴετ' αἰανὴν πάνδурτον  
 δύσθροον αὐδάν· δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὐ  
 μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί.

ἀντ. α'

920

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦσω τοι καὶ πάνδурτος  
 δαίπαθέα σέβων ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη  
 πόλεως γέφυρα πενθητῆρος·  
 κλάγξω κλάγξω δ' ἀρίδακρυν ἰαχάν.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

Ἰάνων γὰρ ἀπηύρα,  
 Ἰάνων ναύφρακτος Ἄρης ἑτεραλκῆς  
 μυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος  
 δυσδαίμονά τ' ἀκτάν.

στρ. β'

926

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

οίοιοι βόα, καὶ πάντ' ἐκπεύθου.  
 ποῦ δὲ φίλων ἄλλος ὄχλος, 930  
 ποῦ δέ σοι παραστάται,  
 οἶος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,  
 Σούσας, Πελάγων, Ψάμμισ, Δοτάμας  
 ἠδ' Ἀγδαβάτας, Σουσισκάνης  
 τὰ Βάτανα προλιπών ; 935

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

όλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον 940  
 Τυρίας ἐκ ναὸς ἔρροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς  
 Σαλαμνιάσι στυφέλου  
 θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς. 945  
 ἀντ. β'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

οίοιοι βόα, ποῦ σοι Φαρνούχος, 940  
 Ἀριόμαρδος τ' ἀγαθός,  
 ποῦ δὲ Σευάλκης ἀναξ,  
 ἢ Δίλαιος εὐπάτωρ,  
 Μέμφις, Θάρυβις καὶ Μασίστρας,  
 Ἀρτεμβάρης τ' ἠδ' Ὑσταίχμας ; 945  
 τάδε σ' ἐπανερόμαν.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰώ, ἰώ μοι, τὰς ὠγυγίους κατιδόντες 950  
 στυγνὰς Ἀθάνας πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ,  
 ἔ ἔ, ἔ ἔ,  
 τλάμονες ἀσπαίρουσι χέρσῳ. 955  
 στρ. γ'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ καὶ τὸν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ  
 τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμὸν  
 μυρία μυρία πεμπαστὰν



Βατανώχου παῖδ' Ἄλπιστον

955

τοῦ Σησάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα,  
 Πάρθον τε μέγαν τ' Οἰβάρην  
 ἔλιπες ἔλιπες, οἴ', ὦ ὦ δάων,  
 Πέρσαις ἀγανοῖς κακὰ πρόκακα λέγεις;

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἴυγγά μοι δῆτ' ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπορίνεις  
 ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα στυγνὰ πρόκακα λέγων,  
 βοᾷ βοᾷ  
 δὴ μελέων ἔντοσθεν ἦτορ.

ἀντ. γ'

961

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ μὴν ἄλλον γε ποθοῦμεν,  
 Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριάδαρχον,  
 Ξάνθιν, ἄρειόν τ' Ἀγχάρην,  
 Δίαιξίν τ' ἠδ' Ἀρσάκην  
 ἰππιάνακτας,  
 Κηγδαδάταν καὶ Λυθίμναν  
 Τόλμον τ' αἰχμᾶς ἀκόρεστον·  
 ἔταφον ἔταφον· οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς  
 τροχηλάτοισιν, ὅπιθεν ἐπόμενοι.

965

970

## SUGGESTED VERSION

(I retain Hermann's numbering)

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰώ,

δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγερᾶς μοίρας  
 τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης,  
 ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη  
 Περσῶν γενεᾷ· τί πάθω τλήμων;  
 λέλυται γὰρ ἐμῶν γνίων ῥώμη  
 τήνδ' ἠλικίαν ἐσιδόντος·  
 εἴθ' ὄφελε, Ζεῦ, κάμῃ μετ' ἀνδρῶν  
 τῶν οἰχομένων

890

891

892

895

θανάτου κάτα μοῖρα καλύψαι.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὄτοτοί, βασιλεῦ στρατιᾶς ἀγαθῆς  
καὶ Περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης,  
κόσμου τ' ἀνδρῶν,

900

οὓς νῦν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν·  
γῆ δ' αἰάζει τὴν ἐγγαίαν  
ἤβην Ξέρξη καταμένην, Ἄιδου  
σάκτορι Περσῶν· ἀδοβάται γὰρ  
πολλοὶ φῶτες, χώρας ἄνθος,  
τοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ γὰρ φύστις  
μυριάς ἀνδρῶν ἐξέφθινται  
γαίας. αἰαὶ κεδνῆς ἀλκῆς.

905

Ἄσῖα δὲ χθών, βασιλεῦ γαίας,  
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς πρόχην κεῖται.

910

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ὄδ' ἐγών, οἰοῖ, αἰακτὸς ἐμῆ  
μέλεος γέννη γῆ τε πατρώα  
κάκ' ἄρ' ἔκτῃμαι.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρόσφθογγον σοῦ νοστήσαντος  
κακόφημον ὀά, κακόμελπτον ἰαῦ  
Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος  
πέμψω, πολύδακρυν ἰακχήν.

915

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἴετ' αἰανῆ καὶ πανόδυρτον  
δύσθροον αὐδὴν· δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὖ μ'  
ἄτροπος ἰποῖ (through the stage ἰπνοῖ: vide  
passim).

920

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

πλήσω στοναχὴν αἰ πανόδυρτον,  
δυσπαθέ οἴζων ἀλίστά τ' ἄγη,  
πολιᾶς ἔννης πενθητήρος·  
τέγξω δ' αὐγὴν ἀρίδακρυν.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

Ἰώνων γὰρ κάρτος ἀπηύρα  
ναύφρακτος Ἄρης ἄλλοπρόσαλλος  
νυχίαν πλάκ' ἀκὴν  
σύμενος δυσδαίμονά τ' ἀκτὴν. 925

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἰοί τε βόα, πᾶν τ' ἐκπεύθου.  
ποῦ δ' ἔστι φίλων ἄλλων ὄχλος ; 930  
ποῦ δὲ παραστάται, οἳ τ' ἔσσηνες,  
Φαρανδάκης, Σούσας, Πελάγων, 931  
Ψάμμισ, Δοτάμας, Ἀγδαβάτης, 932  
Σουσιस्कάνης τ', 933  
ἀρχοὶ τῶν Ἀγβαταναίων ; 935

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ὄλοους ἔλιπον Τυρίας ἐκ ναὸς  
ἐρρώγυϊας ἠδ' αὐταῖσιν  
Σαλαμινιάσι  
στυφελιζομένους ἐπὶ πέτραις.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἰοί, ποῦ σοι, ποῦ Φαρνούχος τ' 940  
Ἀριόμαρδός τ' ἀγαθός ; ποῦ δ' αὖ  
Σευάλλκης, ὦν', ἠδ' εὐάωρ  
ἔστι Λίλαιος, Μέμφις, Θάρυβις,  
καὶ Μασίστης, Ἀρτεμβάρης, 945  
ἠδ' Ὑσταίχμης ;  
τάδε δῆ, τάδε σ', ὦ παῖ, ἐροῦμαι.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

τοί γ', ὦ μοί μοι, τὰς ὠγυγίας  
ἔσκαταβάντες  
στυγνὰς Θήβας, πόλιν ἐπτάπυλον,  
κέαται τλήμονες  
ἀνδρῶν σπαρτῶν ἐνὶ χέρσῳ. 950

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ καὶ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ  
τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμὸν  
μυρία μυρία πεμπαστήν, τὸν  
Βατανώχου παῖδ', Ἄλπιστον, τὸν 954  
τοῦ Σεισάμεω τοῦ Μεγαβάτα, 956  
Πάρθον τε μέγαν  
τόν τ' Οἰβάρηνα λέλοιπας ;  
ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ δῆων  
Πέρσαις ἀγανοῖς κακὰ λάσκεις.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰύ· τί με δῆτ' ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων 960  
ὑπομμνήσκεις,  
ἀλίαςτ' ἀλίαςτ' ἀστοῖσιν ἄχη ;  
βοᾶ ὠαῖ μοι  
μελέων ἔντος τυθὲν ἦτορ.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ μὴν ἄλλον γε ποθοῦμέν τινα  
Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριάδαρχον, 965  
Ξάνθιν, ἄρειόν τ' ἀνδρ' Ἀγχάρην,  
ἣδὲ Διαίξιντ' ἣδ' Ἀρσάκην,  
ἰππιάνακτας, κήγηδαδάτην,  
καὶ Λυθίμναν,  
Τόλμον τ' αἰχμῆς ἀκόρεστον. 970  
ἔταφον γάρ, ὅτ' οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς  
τροχελάστους εἶδον ἔποντας.

This version is in many places quite as near to the MSS. as is that of Hermann, as will be apparent to the reader who consults a critical edition of the play.

From l. 911 to l. 972 exact balance both as regards lengths of systems and as regards lengths of speeches is preserved. But the correspondence is not syllabic. In other words, we have the characteristic feature of elaborate anapaestic composition, but we have not the lyrical feature of strophe and antistrophe. Yet how easy for



an innovator to invest such a composition with a lyrical semblance!

That the passage was not originally written in Doric but in the Ionizing Attic appropriate to anapaestic systems is strongly suggested by two facts. In l. 947 the reading of the MSS., *ἐπανερόμαι*, in what is certainly anapaestic metre of some sort, cannot well stand for anything else than *ὦ παῖ, ἐρούμαι*. Now *ἐρούμαι* is present in meaning; but the present *ἐρέομαι*, as against *ἔρομαι* (not to speak of *ἔρωτώ*), is distinctly Ionic. A still stronger argument may be derived from l. 956. We know from l. 322 of this play that the middle syllable of *Σεισάμας* is short. Consequently the Doric genitive *Σεισάμα* will not scan in the anapaestic context, and one is driven *nolens volens* to the Ionic genitive *Σεισάμεω*.

With regard to my contention that the lines are of the ordinary anapaestic type, I will call special attention to the recurrence of anapaestic dimeters catalectic, and also to the fact that at least two passages, which make sheer nonsense and are not anapaestic at present, regain together both sense and anapaestic metre.

Let us first look at the speech of Xerxes which takes up the lines numbered by Hermann 948–950. Xerxes has already (ll. 936–939) mentioned the death off Salamis of certain Persian officers who had sailed in a Tyrian ship. Then the chorus ask him as to the fate of Pharnuchus, Ariomardus, Seualces, and others. It is enough to turn to ll. 37, 38 of this play,

*τάς τ' ὠγγίαις*  
*Θήβας ἐφέπων Ἀριόμαρδος,*

to see that this second list is a list not of sailors but of officers in the land-army. They were never on shipboard at all; and yet the MSS. make Xerxes reply:

*ὦ ἰώ μοι,*  
*τὰς ὠγγίαις κατιδόντες*  
*στρυγὰς Ἀθάνας, πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ,*  
*εἴ ἐή, τλάμονες ἀσπαίρουσι χέρσῳ.*

‘Woe, woe unto me, because they despised’ (or

‘having beheld’) ‘that ancient city, the city Athens, the abhorred, all with one measured motion, alas alas, wretched men, pant upon dry land.’

So far as such trash has any meaning, it conveys (as editors have seen) the impression that the men in question have been taken from the sea, and are dying on dry land, like fish out of water. Moreover it is to be observed that they are still panting at the date of Xerxes’ arrival at his capital. He does not say that he left them panting, but simply: ‘They pant.’ Can absurdity go further?

It does not need ll. 37, 38 to show us that ‘Ogygian’ is an epithet of Thebes, not of Athens. It is true that both in Pindar and in Aeschylus the adjective is applied to hills and caves, in some such sense apparently as ‘everlasting’; but it is not till we come to Callimachus that we find the word applied to cities other than Thebes. Hesiod’s ὠγύγιον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (*Theogony* 806) is perhaps enough to show that that portion of the *Theogony* is not ancient.

Consequently one is inclined (and ll. 37, 38 convert inclination into compulsion) to substitute Θήβας for the non-anapaestic Ἀθάνας. Indeed there is nothing violent about this: Θήβας and Ἀθήνας, Θάβας and Ἀείνας are surprisingly similar.

We must read then Θήβας, and understand that Xerxes, having told of Salamis, is now telling of an engagement by land in Theban territory, possibly even, though not necessarily, of Plataea itself.

It is historically true that Plataea was fought some seven or eight months, at the very least, after the probable date of Xerxes’ return to Susa: but Aeschylus throughout the play antedates by about a year the complete destruction of the Persian forces. See the Messenger’s words in l. 254:

στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων.

Still more important are ll. 477–9:

στρατὸς δ’ ὁ λοιπὸς ἔν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ  
διώλλυθ’, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κρηναῖον γάνος  
δίψῃ πονοῦντες, οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἄσθματος κενοί κτλ.

There Plataea is hinted at, but only to be both slurred over and antedated. Any express mention of an outstanding war still being waged by Mardonius would have interfered with the completeness of the catastrophe, and yet Plataea was too important to be passed by without any allusion. An unobtrusive antedating was the only escape from the difficulty. ll. 788–833 (in which the Messenger is point-blank contradicted) and ll. 845–6, are unintelligent interpolations. (See the Appendix entitled “Aeschylus and Plataea.”)

πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ are words without reasonable meaning. But it is obvious that, if we rightly restored Θήβας, then ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ is a corruption of ἐπτάπυλον, and πάντες can hardly be anything else than πόλιν.

In the next line the ridiculous present ἀσπαίρουσι seems to conceal some case of the national Theban adjective σπαρτός. ἀνδρῶν σπαρτῶν ἐνὶ χέρσῳ is the natural thing for Aeschylus to have written. Probably he wrote it. In that case ἐῆ ἐῆ almost certainly represents κέαται, in its depraved stage of κέατε.

Hence, without the slightest violence, and by the most natural deductions, we arrive at the reading (I need not justify two minor changes):

τοί γ', ὧ μοί μοι, τὰς ὠγυγίας  
 ἔσκαταβάντες  
 στρυγνὰς Θήβας, πόλιν ἐπτάπυλον,  
 κέαται τλήμονες  
 ἀνδρῶν σπαρτῶν ἐνὶ χέρσῳ.

I ask the reader to observe particularly the fact that as we restore sense, not arbitrarily but under strict guidance of the *ductus*, so *pari passu* we restore the ordinary anapaestic metre.

The other passage to which I desire to call special attention consists of the two lines 971, 972. As they stand they are most marvellous nonsense.

The MSS. read:

ἔταφον ἔταφον οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς  
 τροχηλάτοισιν ὀπισθεν δ' ἐπόμενοι.



Some scholiasts interpret ἔταφον as ἔθανον, others as ἐτάφησαν. The prevalent modern interpretation of the lines is: 'I marvel. They are not about thy wheeled tent, seeing that they follow behind.' This of course involves the omission of δ' after ὀπισθεν. One editor apparently takes the nominative participle as the object of ἔταφον.

It appears to me almost certain that the second ἔταφον is simply a corruption of the paleographically similar γαροτ, i.e. γὰρ ὄτ'.

Consequently I read the first line thus :

ἔταφον γάρ, ὄτ' οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκην- (we must consider whether the acc. or the dat.)

ἀμφὶ . . . ἐπόμενοι seems to conceal ἀμφιέποντας in tmesis, and the -ισθεν of ὀπισθεν is surely εἶδον.

As ἀμφιέπειν governs the accusative, we have now got as far as :

ἔταφον γάρ, ὄτ' οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηνὰς  
. . . . . εἶδον ἔποντας.

I take the right word at the beginning of the second line to be the perfectly regularly formed τροχελάστους. Therefore I read :

ἔταφον γάρ, ὄτ' οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηνὰς  
τροχελάστους εἶδον ἔποντας.

My reading of l. 915 is of some metrical importance : it seems to me clear that the unintelligible κακομέλετον is an alteration of κακόμελπτον, and the interjections appear to me almost certain.

In ll. 919, 920 it seems difficult to deny that at one stage the MSS. must have read :

δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὖ μ'  
ἄτροπος ἱπνοί.

ἱποῦν was commonly written ἱπνοῦν in MSS. ; see *Prom. Vinct.* 364.

In ll. 923, 924 the MSS. read :

πόλεως γέννας πενθητῆρος  
κλάγξω δ' αὖ γόον ἀρίδακρυν.



I read :

πολιᾶς ἔννης πενθητηῆρος  
τέγξω δ' αὐγὴν ἀρίδακρυν.

I understand the chorus to say that they will fulfil (I read πλήσω for ἦσω chiefly in order to avoid hiatus after ἱποῖ, which does not end a system) the lamentation of grey-haired mourning women, just as in l. 916 they say they will employ the dirge used by Mariandynians.

I suggest that the former of these two lines is parodied in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 610 :

ἤδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πολιὸς ὦν ἔνη ;

The neighbouring l. 613 of that play runs :

οἶδέν τις ὑμῶν τὰκβάταν' ἢ τοὺς Χαόνας ;

In l. 926 I have substituted ἀλλοπρόσαλλος for ἑτεραλκῆς. I do not think that ἑτεραλκῆς has any real meaning in the context. The revisor appears to me to have substituted an inappropriate for an appropriate Homeric word of remotely similar sense with a view, I take it, to softening the harshness of the reproach.

In l. 937 ἑρρώγωνίας seems to me the only possible correction of ἑρρόντας. But it seems to involve (as indeed do some of the other suggestions that I am making hereabouts) that at the time of its mutilation, whether intentional or unintentional, the text of this portion of the *Persae* was written, if not in the pre-Euclidean alphabet, at any rate with the pre-Euclidean vowels. It seems to me rash to assume that pre-Euclidean works were invariably transcribed into the Euclidean alphabet. It is quite conceivable that copies in the earlier script may occasionally have been made even as late as the third century B.C.

In l. 963 I do not hesitate to read ἔντος τυθὲν for ἔντοσθεν. I presume that the preposition, when employed postpositionally, retracts its accent.

The reason why all these anapaests should have been converted into lyrics is not far to seek. The dialogue between Xerxes and the chorus is long, and destitute of

action. It doubtless possessed its own charm for the contemporaries of Aeschylus. The spectacle of fallen majesty, the mysterious remoteness of atmosphere produced by the use of strings of extraordinary names, and the acknowledgement of the prowess of Greece involved in the lamentations of Persia—all this must have contributed at one time to induce the audience to admire the termination of the *Persae*.

But when the democracy of Athens had broken down in large measure the restraint and dignity that were the characteristics of the best Greek art, then a passage such as this came to be regarded as intolerably dull. It is an extreme example of the kind of *longueur* which Aristophanes in the *Frogs* represents Euripides as denouncing. Therefore we can well understand that some playwright, if he could not get action, was determined at all events to have dancing, and so for the solemn movement of regular anapaests substituted a succession of lyric systems. As a ballet, the result may have been a success. The words perhaps mattered no more than they do in a modern opera.

## T

The sixth line of the first strophe (after l. 972; otherwise the fourth strophe) begins with two short syllables: the corresponding antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 978. *διᾶπρέπον οἶον δέδορκεν ἅτα*

(b) l. 984. *δυσπόλεμον δὴ γένος τὸ Περσῶν*

In the context, I suggest that for *δυσπόλεμον* we should read *δὺς ὀλόμενον*. Hermann reads *πάγκακον* instead of *διᾶπρέπον*, but I consider my correction much simpler.

## V

In the eleventh line of the second strophe (after l. 972) the second and third syllables are two shorts: the corresponding antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines run thus :

(a) l. 995. Ἰάωνων λαὸς οὐ φυγαίχμας

(b) l. 1006. φίλων ἄταισι ποντίαισιν

Hermann reads Ἰάων. He also suggests Ἰώνων, because "in hac fabula Iones nusquam aliter quam aut Ἰανες aut Ἰάονες vocantur." He is referring in reality to ll. 925, 926, where he twice reads Ἰάνων. Ἰάνες is a ghost-word. The true choice here is between Ἰάων and the Doric contraction (of Ἰαόνων) Ἰάνων. I prefer the latter as being a trifle nearer the MSS.

### X

In the fifth line of the third strophe (after l. 972) the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: instead of two shorts the corresponding antistrophe presents one long.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 1011. ἴυζε μέλος ὁμοῦ τιθείς

(b) l. 1019. ἐπορθίαζέ νιν γόοις

This example is interesting, as showing almost the extreme extent to which copyists ordinarily permitted themselves to carry transposition. It is also interesting, as presenting a very good instance of two corruptions of the same part of the same word standing side by side in the text.

I do not doubt but that Aeschylus wrote :

ἴυζ', ἰάλεμόν θ' ἴει.

In μελ- we see a transposition of -λεμ- and in -ιθεί- a transposition of θ' ἴει.

-λεμόν appears as μέλος, and also as ὁμοῦ.

All this is quite in accordance with the grammar of textual corruption.

### SUMMARY

The *Persae* presents thirty instances of the phenomenon I am investigating; but of these thirty sixteen occur



within the compass of fifty-three lines, which I have shown reason for supposing to have been originally not lyrical but anapaestic. Of the remaining fourteen examples, one is in all probability anapaestic like the sixteen above mentioned: three occur within the limits of a single line: two present themselves in a mutilated list of place-names, which geographical considerations enable us to emend with facility: one other instance is almost certainly corrupt. The seven examples that stand over admit of easy treatment, and none of them are of a kind to engender belief in the legitimacy of the phenomenon.

### SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

Fortunately the *Septem* is not a very important play for the purpose of my discussion. It presents only a handful of serious instances of the phenomenon under investigation. Consequently I am only called upon to touch here and there the existing text of the choruses. But had I to deal with them in a less incidental manner, I should feel myself to be in a position of great difficulty. There is widespread corruption of so rampant a character, that over and over again the only reasonably clear fact is that we read something widely different from that which Aeschylus wrote, it being difficult to the verge of impossibility to determine in what sort of direction emendation ought to endeavour to proceed. But the task I have set myself hardly brings me into relation with the most serious problems which an editor of the play ought either to attempt to solve or else to abandon as insoluble. Yet I cannot completely avoid them.

### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 78-162)

In the fourth line of the third strophe, the seventh syllable (the last) is a long: in the fourth line of the third antistrophe for that long two shorts are substituted. It is also to be noticed that in the strophic line the final



long syllable is preceded by a trochee, whereas in the antistrophic line that trochee is replaced by an iamb. This is sufficient proof of considerable corruption.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 154. *έτεροφώνω* (but Par. C *έτεροφρώνω* : v.l.  
*έτεροφρόνω*) *στρατῶ*

(b) l. 160. *μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε*

The reading of Par. C is almost proof positive that we ought to substitute *έτερόθρω* for *έτεροφώνω*.

Read :

*έτεροθρῶ στρατεύματι.*

When *έτερόθρω* was expanded into *έτεροφώνω*, then *στρατεύματι* had to be cut down to *στρατῶ* in order to preserve some semblance of correspondence.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 184-224)

No instances.

## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 270-349)

### A

In the second line of the first strophe the eighth and ninth syllables are obviously a short and a long, but the long syllable is only lengthened by the presence of *μν*, so that there is a sort of theoretical possibility of treating the two syllables as two shorts : in the second line of the first antistrophe, if that line is in any way to be equated with the strophic line, we have the phenomenon of one long syllable replacing the two syllables above mentioned. In the strophic line, the two syllables are preceded by an iamb : in the antistrophic line the long syllable is preceded by a trochee.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 271. *γείτονες δὲ καρδίας μέριμναι*

(b) l. 287. *τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς ἀφέντες*

There are two rival emendations. Hermann reads :

*τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐξαφέντες ἐχθροῖς.*

Oberdick reads :

*τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐνστάταις ἀφέντες.*

I think Hermann is right. A muddle between the first syllables of *ἐξαφέντες* and *ἐχθροῖς* may well have caused the corruption.

### B, C AND D

In the sixth line of the third strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the third antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long. One MS. introduces two further examples of the phenomenon.

The lines run thus :

- (α) l. 333. *ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομᾶν (v.l. διαδρομῶν)  
ὁμαίμονες*
- (β) l. 344. *δμωῖδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι (Par. B omits  
νέαι : Ven. B reads δμωῖδεσι δὲ καινοπημόνεσι  
νέαις)*

Both the strophic and the antistrophic context are in a state of extreme corruption: but I see no reason to question the integrity of the vulgate reading of the antistrophic line itself. It is far otherwise with regard to the strophic line.

Hermann thinks that line means "et rapinae fiunt, sorores discursationum." I have two objections to this rendering. First, he supposes an ellipse of the word meaning "fiunt"—it cannot be supplied from the context. Now the copula may certainly be omitted: but can the substantive verb, when it is not used as a copula? "Rapinae sunt sorores discursationum" would be another matter.

Secondly, I do not think that *διαδρομαί*, "runnings about," can with the slightest propriety be personified

as the sisters of *ἀρπαγαί*. The case would be different, were the word not *διαδρομαί*, but "battles" or "victories" or the like.

The edition of Dr. Verrall and Mr. Bayfield translates in quite another manner. We there read: "And the little ones are chased and seized: lit., *the brothers and sisters (of the babes) become the prey of pursuit.*" On this I can only say that the useful exercise of translating through a brick wall may, if resolutely persisted in, blind even eminent scholars to the possibilities of sane speech.

The strophic corruption, as may be seen by a glance at the context, is so profound, as to leave me in grave doubt with regard to the general sense.

I tentatively read:

*ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ δυσφρονᾶν ὀμαίμονες.*

"Violence is the twin-sister of Enmity," is a natural expression. As regards the plurals of abstracts, the use of them is in accordance with Greek idiom.

I imagine that **ΔΥΣΦΡΟΝΑΝ** would be not unlikely to pass into **ΔΙΑΔΡΟΜΑΝ**. Even so, there is a hiatus before *ἀρπαγαί* which gives me pause.

I must particularly guard myself against being supposed to build anything on the basis of my highly uncertain emendation.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 398-402, 433-7, 462-6,  
502-6, 544-8, AND 607-611)

### A

The second dochmius of the second line of the first strophe is of the form  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ : the second dochmius of the second line of the first antistrophe is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ .

The lines are these:

(a) l. 399. *θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὡς δικαίως πόλεως*

(b) l. 434. *κεραυνοῦ δέ μιν βέλος ἐπισχέθου*

In the antistrophic line Brunck rightly changed *μιν* to *νιν*, and Hermann *ἐπισχέθου* to *κασχέθου*.

I do not see that it is possible to assign to ἐπισχέθαι a rational meaning. The word could govern βέλος very well, but not *νιν*. I suppose that the copyists must have taken it in some such impossible sense as that of 'inhibere.'

## B

In the second line of the third strophe the first dochmius is of the form ∪--∪--: in the second line of the third antistrophe the first dochmius is of the form ∪∪∪∪∪∪.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 545. τριχὸς δ' ὄρθιος πλόκαμος ἴσταται

(β) l. 608. ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῆ

Blomfield plausibly, but without explaining the supposed corruption, reads in the strophe καὶ τριχὸς ὄρθιος. It is really the antistrophe that needs attention. The fact that all MSS. give ἡμετέρας, not ἀμετέρας, is almost proof positive that the word is a substitution for something else.

The antistrophic context is this :

κλύοντες θεοὶ δικάϊους λιτὰς  
ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῆ.

Some MSS., as might be expected, present δικαίας instead of δικάϊους. But a later hand in M (the first hand of which writes δικαίας λιτὰς ἡμετέρας) has by superscription, going on the opposite tack, changed the reading into δικάϊους λόγους ἡμετέρους. That variation appears as the actual text in Lips. Cantabr. 2. Robortellus (A.D. 1552), following the almost certainly corrupt tradition which exhibits λόγους, but also following what seems to be a tradition of quite a different character, prints :

κλύοντες θεοὶ δικάϊους λόγους  
ἐμούς, εὖ τελεῖτε πόλιν εὐτυχεῖν.

This reading removes, *inter alia*, the rather questionable ὡς unaccompanied by ἄν after an imperative. It also



brings the second dochmii of the second line into complete accordance. And it banishes the phenomenon to which I take exception.

Hermann supposes that Robortellus may be incorporating a Triclinian emendation. But (see the *Agamemnon* passim) Triclinius notes indeed, but does not emend, instances of what he calls *ἀντὶ μᾶς*.

If it were not for the *η* of *ἡμετέρας*, I should hesitate. As it is, I am inclined to regard the Robortellian reading as, with a slight variation, sound. I propose :

κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίους λιτὰς  
ἐμάς, εὖ τελεῖτε πόλιν εὐτυχεῖν.

Disagreeing with Hermann, I think that the play on εὖ is in the Aeschylean style.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 667–689)

No instances.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 701–772)

##### A

In the second line of the fourth strophe the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: in the second line of the fourth antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The passages are these :

- (α) ll. 748–9. βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί· τὰ δ' ὀλοὰ  
πελόμεν' (v.ll. πελόμενα, παλλόμενα,  
τελλόμενα, τελόμεν', τελλόμεν', τελού-  
μεν') οὐ παρέρχεται  
(β) ll. 754–5. θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεως,  
πολύβοτός τ' αἰὼν βροτῶν

Hermann reads, with great probability :

θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεος, ὁ  
πολύβοτός τ' αἰὼν βροτῶν.

## B

In the second line of the fifth strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the second line of the fifth antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 760 *ἐγένετο μέλεος ἀθλίων*

(b) l. 767. *ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφάς*

It is particularly to be noticed that, instead of *ἐγένετο*, Codex Guelferbytanus and Codex Taurinensis 253 give *γένετο*. I can hardly imagine, in view of the copyists' dislike of unaugmented forms, that *γένετο* is a corruption of *ἐγένετο*. It is much more likely to be an attempt to deal with the unfamiliar *ἔγεντο*.

*ἔγεντο* would remove all difficulty. In the sense of *ἐγένετο* the word is not only classical but also lyrical in the fullest sense. It is found once or twice in Pindar (*Pythians* vi. 28, and ? *Fr.* 147); as well as in Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll. 199, 705), in Sappho (*Fr.* 16), and in Alexandrian literature *passim*. I suppose that the word owes its existence to some mistaken imitation of the Homeric *γέντο* ('*cepit*'): but all the same it existed, and it looks as if Aeschylus used it.

## SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 812–988)

This chorus is divided into two essentially different portions. The first portion ends at l. 931. That portion is lyrical: the second portion is an aulodic threnos, composed, presumably in accordance with the rules that govern Carian aulody, on a complicated principle unknown to lyric poetry. That principle involves the use of something analogous to the lyrical strophe and antistrophe: but inside the aulodic strophe and the aulodic antistrophe there is a further correspondence of lines one with another of such a kind as to produce a subordinate strophic-antistrophic arrangement; and some of the aulodic portion of the chorus is subject only to this linear correspondence,

and is not included in any strophe or antistrophe in the larger sense. I regard it as quite uncertain whether aulodic rule does or does not forbid, either as regards the main strophes and antistrophes or as regards the subordinate quasi-strophes and quasi-antistrophes, the phenomenon which, as I am endeavouring to show, is forbidden in lyrical poetry. In any case, it matters little, for the purposes of this discussion, what aulodic rule allows or disallows.

It is quite plain that, at any rate, some kinds of Attic chorus, as exemplified in Aristophanes, admit the phenomenon that I am discussing: and that fact has hardly any bearing on the rules of Doric lyrical poetry.

### FIRST PORTION OF THE CHORUS

#### A

The third line of the first strophe is an iambic trimeter, of the scansion  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ : the third line of the first antistrophe is an iambic trimeter of the scansion  $\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ . Neither line presents any distinctively Doric forms, nor, for that matter, any distinctively Attic forms. It is obvious that the lines, as they stand, are non-lyrical senarii, and that therefore there is no question of lyrical correspondence. But I view with grave suspicion the occurrence in an Aeschylean chorus (I should not say the same of Sophocles) of isolated tragic lines in a lyrical chorus, closely connected in sense with their context. Therefore I fear that there may be deep-seated corruption: but I can do nothing more than quote the lines, which are these:

(a) l. 814. *κακόν με καρδίαν τι περιπίτνει κρύος*

(b) l. 822. *βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαῖον διήρκεσαν*

#### B, C, D, E, F, AND G

The second strophe and antistrophe of this chorus, which consist mainly of lyrical iambic lines, have been corrupted in such a way as to make extraordinary havoc



of sense, and to produce, within the compass of two lines, five examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. A generally received emendation of the former of the two lines creates a sixth example.

Before I proceed to give the technical description of the six instances, I will set out the strophe and antistrophe.

They run :—

τάδ' αὐτόδηλα· προῦπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος· στρ. β'  
 διπλαῖ μέριμναι, (M διπλαῖς μερίμναις) δίδυμ' ἀνορέα  
 (v.l. δίδυμ' ἀνορα, διδυμάνορα, διδυμανόρια, διδο-  
 μανορέα : Hermann δίδυμ' ἀγανόρεα) κάκ',  
 αὐτοφόνα, (v.l. αὐτόφωνα, αὐτόφονον), δίμοιρα, τέλεια  
 (clearly for δίμορα τέλεα), τάδε (v.l. τὰ, δὲ τὰ)  
 πάθη (v.l. παθεῖν)· τί φῶ ; 830  
 τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων δόμων ἐφέστιοι ;  
 ἀλλὰ γόον (v.l. γόων), ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὔρον (v.l.  
 κατ' οὔργον, κακούργων)  
 ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ (v.l. κρατεῖ, κράτει) πόμπιμον  
 χεροῖν ἀντ. β'  
 πίτυλον (v.l. πύτιλον), ὃς αἰὲν (v.l. αἰεὶ, αἰεὶ) δι'  
 Ἄχέροντ' ἀμείβεται  
 τὰν (v.l. τήν, τα, τὰν νῦν) ἄστονον (v.l. ἄστολον)  
 μελάγκροκον (v.l. μελαγκροκὰν) ναύστολον θεω-  
 ρίδα, 835  
 τὰν (v.l. τήν,) ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι (Pauw rightly  
 ἰπόλλωνι), τὰν ἀνάλιον  
 πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

From this exhibition of the text it is evident that the second line of the second strophe is a lyrical iambic trimeter catalectic, of which the first foot is either an iamb or a spondee, and that the second line of the second antistrophe is a lyrical iambic trimeter non-catalectic of which the first foot is a tribrach. Moreover, on Hermann's reconstitution the fifth foot of the strophic line is a tribrach, whereas the fifth foot of the antistrophic line is an iamb.

It is also evident that the third line of the second strophe and the third line of the second antistrophe are





ἔρεσσ'—ἔθ' εἰς κρατεῖς σύ—πόμπιμον χεροῖν ἀντ. β'  
 ὕλαν, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβη,  
 αἴονα μελανοκρόκαλον, ἀνὰ θεωρίαν 835  
 τὰν ἀστιβῆ' πόλλουσι, τὰν ἀνάλιον  
 πανδόκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

I suggest ὄρορεν in l. 829, because that rare Homeric form of the perfect may easily have been thought to be the transitive aorist, and so have caused accusative sigmas to be superscribed above the nominative terminations of διπλαῖ μέριμναι. Hence, I suggest, the reading διπλαῖς μερίμναις.

In l. 832 I should be at least equally ready to read

ἀλλὰ γόων γὰρ ὄφελμ' ἀμαυρόν,

were it not for the fact that at the end of a strophe a mere comma is hardly a heavy enough stop.

In l. 833, I must call attention to the important readings κρατεῖ and κράτει.

In l. 834, nothing but a second person at the end will give catalectic scansion.

l. 835 must begin with a vowel, in order to make the last syllable of ἀμείβη short.

αἴονα is a word that everlastingly gives rise to corruption. αἴονα μελανοκρόκαλον ('the shore with its black shingle') is very like the MS. readings and accounts for all of them. ναύστολον θεωρίδα is merely ἀνὰ θεωρίαν ('on the last pilgrimage') with ἄστολον, meant as a correction of ἄστονον, erroneously inserted between the two words. It is easy to see how, in the naval context, θεωρίαν, 'pilgrimage,' was changed into the uncially similar θεωρίδα, 'embassy-ship.'

I think that the only emendation that calls for explanation is ὄφελμ' ἀμαυρόν in l. 832. ὄφελμα has Sophoclean authority. In uncials it is singularly like ὦ φίλαι. ἀμαυρός passes from 'dark' into a sense more or less equivalent to 'ineffectual.'

I do not suppose that ἀμαυρόν passed straight into κατ' οὖρον. I conjecture that it passed into ἀν' οὖρον, and that ἀν' οὖρον had metri gratia to be converted into κατ' οὖρον because of the corruption ὦ φίλαι.

To prevent misapprehension, it may perhaps be desirable that I should also state my view as to *ἔλαν* in l. 834. Nothing is commoner in the way of corruption than the addition of a few letters to words in order to suit a supposed sense. When *ἀμείβη* (perhaps written *ἀμείβειαι*, uncontracted) passed into *ἀμείβεται*, it became inevitable that *ἔλαν* should be turned into a masculine form, capable of serving as antecedent to *ὁς*. Seeing that the immediately preceding word is *χεροῖν*, I consider that *ἔλαν* may well have passed straight into *πίτυλον* without any extraneous assistance. But assume (a natural assumption) that there was a gloss *πίτυν*. That would lead to *πίτυλον* inevitably, the gloss being mistaken for a correction.

The whole of the depravation appears to me to be uncial.

I lay no stress on minute details: but I venture to think that in this passage, which is of an exceptional character, I have been able with strong probability to get back—as regards all main features—to what Aeschylus wrote. It is very seldom that I am able even to approach to any such claim.

## SECOND PORTION OF THE CHORUS

l. 932 consists of a non-tragical trimeter, divided between Antigone and Ismene. Then follows a dialogue between the two sisters, each of whom delivers in turn a short line, each short line in the mouth of the one being answered, antistrophically so to speak, by the following short line in the mouth of the other.

This system of composition ends at l. 940. An aulodie strophe begins at l. 941, and ends at l. 956. Its antistrophe begins at l. 957 and ends at l. 972. Unfortunately there is a good deal of undenied corruption in the text: but it is quite evident that throughout the greater part of the strophe and antistrophe a subordinate system of short strophes and antistrophes, like those of ll. 933–940, is continued, in spite of our having now come within the region of a long strophe and antistrophe. Hence there



is a two-fold thread of correspondence. The short correspondences are mostly of the ordinary strophic-antistrophic type: but once in the main strophe and once (at the same point) in the main antistrophe we have a tripartite sequence, such as is occasionally presented in the long strophes of lyrical poetry.

So much is evident, but it is also evident that only the greater part and not the whole of the main strophe and antistrophe is complicated by subordinate correspondence.

Immediately after the end of the main antistrophe, the poet reverts to the system of short correspondences only, which he has employed in the passage preceding the main strophe. This system is kept up from l. 973 to l. 980.

Of ll. 981-988 it is difficult to speak with any certainty. The text is mutilated and the metre doubtful. With l. 988 the chorus closes.

I am not discussing aulodic law, and am quite unable to say whether the phenomenon that I dispute in lyric poetry is or is not lawful in some kinds of aulodic poetry.

Examples present themselves in l. 951 as compared with l. 967, in l. 973 as compared with l. 974, in l. 979 as compared with l. 980, and possibly (a question of a repeated *ἰώ*, and subject to the doubt as to the true system of correspondence at this point of the chorus), in l. 983 as compared with l. 986.

If the chorus were lyrical, I should merely say that these examples of the phenomenon—four in all—occur in such violently corrupted contexts that it is alike useless to attempt to emend them and impossible to argue from them. But we are dealing with aulody and I will draw no conclusions at all.

It is important to observe that on various occasions up and down the argument of this tractate I may, for all I know, be dealing with aulodic and not with lyrical choruses. If that is so, then it seems to me to follow from the generally homogeneous character of all the choruses with which I deal for the direct purpose of my argument



that there is no difference between the rules of lyrical poetry and of one kind of aulodic poetry. Be that as it may, there are certainly some kinds of aulodic poetry which are subject to rules of their own. Examples of such aulodic poetry are the *nome* (which has rules very different from the rules of lyric poetry), and the concluding portion of this chorus (which is subject to rules more or less analogous to those of lyric poetry). I am not indeed sure that I ever bring into my direct argument any chorus that is not strictly speaking lyrical. I find a difficulty in supposing that there existed so fundamental a cross division inside aulodic poetry that a whole province of that poetry should be subject to the rule of an alien law. But I know that it is customary to say that numerous tragic choruses are aulodic.

#### SUMMARY

The *Septem* presents in its *prima facie* lyrical portions sixteen examples of the phenomenon I am investigating: but two of these arise from the vagaries of a single MS. and six occur in a violently distorted passage. Of the eight that remain over, not more than three can be considered capable of bearing even summary investigation.

A portion of the last chorus of the play is composed in accordance with a system of aulodic law, which differs widely from lyrical. Here, in the midst of great corruption, three or possibly four instances present themselves. Even if they are genuine, they do not come within the purview of the argument.

#### AGAMEMNON

##### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 104-242)

##### A AND B

In this long chorus the only examples of the doubtful correspondence that forms the subject of our inquiry are

to be found in the text of the first two lines of the first strophe and antistrophe. One of these examples has long since been remedied by the graphic device of a diaeresis: the other has not yet been cured; but I am about to suggest a simple treatment.

The first line of the first strophe is a dactylic hexameter: the first antistrophe substitutes a spondee in the first foot.

The second line of the first strophe is one dactyl shorter than the first line, but otherwise identical in structure: here again the first antistrophe substitutes a spondee in the first foot.

The first four lines of strophe and antistrophe are as follows:

(a) ll. 104–107. *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον κράτος αἴσιον*  
*ἀνδρῶν*

*ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει*

*πειθῶ μολπάν,*

*ἀλκάν* (read with Hermann *ἀλκᾶ*)

*σύμφυτος αἴων.*

(b) ll. 118–121. *κεδνός δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασι*

*δισσοῦς*

*Ἄτρείδας μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας*

*πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·*

*οὔτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων.*

Monk rightly corrected Ἄτρείδας into Ἀτρείδας.

I suppose that hardly any scholar can have read carefully that antistrophic passage without being struck by a certain awkwardness of diction. The omen of the eagles and the hare has just been mentioned. Then, according to the received text, it is said that the seer, having looked on the two sons of Atreus, men of divergent mood, understood the meaning of the birds that feasted on the hare and of the sign sent to the army on its way, and declared the interpretation thereof.

This is complete sense: but it is not complete balance. There is no statement that the seer looked on the eagles as well as on the Atridae. There is no statement that he

mystically identified the two birds and the two captains. Either statement would be sufficient: one of the two is wanted, not indeed for intelligibility, but for the sake of fully articulate expression.

Therefore I read with confidence :

κεδνὸς ἴδε στρατόμαντις· ἴδεν δύο λήμασι δισσοῦς  
 Ἄτρείδας μαχίμους· ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας  
 πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·  
 οὔτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων.

'The good prophet of the host beheld it: he beheld the two sons of Atreus, differing in spirit, men of war: he had understanding of them that made the hare their meat and of the sign upon the road: and thus he declared the interpretation.'

The absence of connecting particles until the concluding οὔτω δ' εἶπε, seems to me fully appropriate. It is not until the sum of the whole matter is reached that the necessity for δέ arises.

I may perhaps be permitted to wander a little from my theme in order to discuss a monstrous reading in the epode, l. 137.

I will quote the passage :

τόσσον περ εὐφρων ἅ καλὰ  
 δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων,  
 πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 θηρῶν ὀβρικόλοισι τερπνά,  
 τούτων αἰτεῖ ξύμβολα κρίναι,  
 δεξιὰ μὲν, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα στρουθῶν.  
 ἰήϊον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,  
 μὴ τινας ἀντιπνόους Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἐχευῆδας ἀπλοίας  
 τεύξῃ.

The line

δεξιὰ μὲν, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα στρουθῶν

is supremely ridiculous, and to leave out στρουθῶν is to leave out the most prominent and important feature.

I suggest that the line has become attached to the



wrong sentence. There should be a full stop after κρῖναι. Then Calchas continues :

δεξιὰ μὲν δέχομαι, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματ' ἀπωθῶ·  
 ἰήϊον δὲ καλέω κτλ.

I suggest that φάσματ' ἀπωθῶ was misread φάσματα πωθῶ, and that πωθῶ (perhaps *via* an intermediate ποῦ θῶ;) became στρουθῶν. For the appropriateness, to say the least, of ἀπωθῶ, compare the next word, ἰήϊον.

δέχομαι perished for three separate reasons, its similarity to δεξιὰ (wherein lies its appropriateness), the similarity of -μαι to μὲν, and the similarity of -μαι to κατ-.

### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 352-466)

This chorus is of considerable value as supporting my central contention that the alternation in strophe and antistrophe between one long and two shorts is due not to the writers but to the copyists of Greek lyrics.

In one sense the chorus supplies four examples of the correspondence in question: but it will be seen that it supplies them in such a sense only as is highly favourable to my contention.

#### A

The sixteenth line of the first strophe has, immediately before its final iamb, two short syllables: the sixteenth line of the first antistrophe has one long in place of these two shorts.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 367-8. λακτίσαντι μεγάλα Δίκας  
 βωμόν εἰς ἀφάνειαν  
 (b) ll. 384-5. ἤσχυνε ξενίαν τράπε-  
 ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός

Canter emended the senseless word *μεγάλα* into the plainly right word *μέγαν*.

It is important to note the authority on which *μεγάλα* rests. There are only two MSS. for this part of the *Agamemnon*, namely the Florentine MS. (fourteenth



century), and the Farnesian MS. (also fourteenth century, containing the emended text of Triclinius).

The Florentine reading of the strophic and anti-strophic lines is that which I have given above.

Triclinius on the other hand reads :

(α) ll. 367-8. ἐκλακτίσαντι μέγала Δίκας (gloss :  
μεγαλῶς, ἀντὶ μιᾶς)

(β) ll. 384-5. ἤσχυνε τὴν ξενίαν τράπε-  
ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός

One may plausibly conjecture that Triclinius altered λακτίσαντι to ἐκλακτίσαντι and inserted τὴν before ξενίαν with a view to strict conformity of metre. That result could more simply be effected by reading the present λακτίζοντι, and not adding τὴν or τὰν. I admit that I do not consider λακτίσαντι sound.

But the point of importance is that the certainly depraved μέγала has only such prestige as the Florentine MS. and Triclinius can give it. If the Medicean MS. were extant in this portion, we might reasonably expect to find the original μέγαν.

The second gloss, ἀντὶ μιᾶς, is Triclinius' invariable method of noting the occurrence of an example of the phenomenon which I am investigating. It means ; 'two short syllables instead of one long.'

## B

In this example we find that while Triclinius presents a regular correspondence, the Florentine MS. makes two shorts and a long correspond. Both versions make perfect sense, so that there is no reason to treat Triclinius' reading as an emendation. We have already seen that he does not object to the doubtful phenomenon. The instance is this. In the fifth line in the second strophe Codex Florentinus gives as the sixth and seventh syllables two shorts, replacing them in the second antistrophe by one long. Triclinius gives one long both in strophe and in antistrophe.



agree in reading the ninth and tenth lines of the second strophe and antistrophe respectively (I have added the necessary quantities, as gathered from the antistrophe) thus :

(a) ll. 394-5.  $\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - - & \cup & - & \cup & - \\ \text{πάρεστι} & \text{σιγᾶς} & \text{ἄτιμος} & \text{ἀλοίδορος} & & & & & & \\ \hline \text{ἄδιστος} & \text{ἀφεμένων} & \text{ιδεῖν} & & & & & & & \end{array}$

(b) ll. 410-1.  $\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - \\ \text{τὸ} & \text{πάν} & \text{δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος} & \text{αἴας} & \text{συννορμένοις} & & & & & & & \\ \hline \text{πένθεια} & \text{τλησικάρδιος} & & & & & & & & & & \\ \text{[next line} & \text{δόμων} & \text{ἐκάστου} & \text{πρέπει]} & & & & & & & & \end{array}$

It is plain that ἀφεμ- of ἀφεμένων is answered by τλησ- of τλησικάρδιος.

There seems to be no obvious reason for suspecting the text of the antistrophic passage.

I cannot fairly be required to deal with a passage that has bewildered every editor, except so far as is necessary in order to point out its worthlessness as support for any metrical possibility. But I may be permitted, without prejudice to my general argument, to attempt an emendation of my own.

I will keep the antistrophic lines exactly as they stand in the MSS., and in the strophe I would read :

$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{πάρεστι} & \text{σῖγ' ἀτενισμοῖς} & \text{ἀλοιδόροις} & \\ \text{ἄδιστος} & \text{ἀφθόνων} & \text{ιδεῖν.} & \end{array}$

For this sense of ἀφθονος it is sufficient to quote Plato's *Republic*, vi. 500 A ἀφθονόν τε καὶ πρᾶον ὄντα.

I wish once more to emphasize the fact that in obviously corrupt lines it makes hardly the slightest difference to my argument whether my emendations are right or even absurdly wrong.

I think I should be making a mistake if I were to adduce a passage of this sort without adding my own emendation to that of previous scholars. In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom. But I must clearly be understood as not claiming any especial wisdom for my own attempts.



## D

We now come to a very manifest example of corruption, which also shows openly the whole process of an original long being corrupted into two shorts.

As far as MS. texts go we are wholly dependent on Codex Florentinus and on Triclinius. But we have also the help of Cramer's *Anecdota*. The eleventh lines of the third strophe and antistrophe respectively run thus :

- ἀλ-
- (a) l. 428. λοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός (so Cramer's *Anecd.*  
*Oxon.* i. p. 119. 13)
- (b) l. 446. τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά

Here there is no want of correspondence at all. But the Florentine MS. corrupts διαὶ, reading :

ἀλ-  
λοτρίας διὰ γυναικός

The Triclinian MS., or some source from which it borrows, perceives that διὰ is unmetrical, and accordingly "corrects" it by the introduction of the phenomenon to which I object.

The result is that the Triclinian MS. reads as follows :

- ἀλ-
- (a) l. 428. λοτρίας γε διὰ γυναικός
- (b) l. 446. τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά

I will not pause to inquire whether this decisive exemplification of the way in which the faulty correspondence crept into our texts is due to Triclinius himself or was copied from some ancient archetype. *In hoc genere* what a grammarian may have done in the fourteenth century A.D. another grammarian may have done in the second century B.C., or yet another still earlier.

This example affords an object-lesson worth much gold.



## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 659-748)

This long chorus presents only one example of the phenomenon I am investigating, and that example, though it was so classed by Triclinius, clearly does not represent any intended correspondence. Another instance emerges in the course of emendation.

## A AND B

In the sixth line of the fourth strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the fourth antistrophe those two shorts are *prima facie* replaced by one long. But, on that assumption, the latter portions of the two lines are in hopeless metrical disagreement; and it is obvious that the first of the two strophic shorts in question ought (as Hermann saw) to be a long.

The lines run:

(a) l. 738. δαίμονά τε τὸν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον, ἀνίερον

(b) l. 746. ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια προσέβα τοῦ, δύναμιν οὐ

Hermann rightly changes the strophic line to

δαίμονά τε τὰν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον, ἀνίερον.

If in the antistrophic line we simply omit the unintelligible τοῦ after προσέβα, we find that the eleventh and twelfth syllables (two shorts) of the strophic line are answered by the eleventh syllable (one long) of the antistrophic line, thus:

(a) δαίμονά τε τὰν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον, ἀνίερον

(b) ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια προσέβα, δύναμιν οὐ

Hermann, after thinking of προσέβαλε, has recourse to προσέμολε. But I think it almost certain that προσέβα τοῦ must be a corruption of a middle third person singular in -ατο. προσέβατο can be paralleled by προσεβήσето and προσεβήσατο, and by the analogy of ἔφατο as equivalent to ἔφη: but I hardly think that Aeschylus would have

used it. Very likely it was once read. If so, I suggest that it, in its turn, is a corruption of *προσέειπτο*. A letter *υ* in the original word, preserved it may be as an interlineation, seems to be wanted in order to account for the *υ* of *τοῦ*.

It is to be observed that in the strophic line Codex Farnesianus (the Triclinian MS.) omits the word *ἄμαχον*, but contains a Triclinian note: *τὸν ἄμαχον, ἀντὶ μιᾶς*. I think that it is more or less clear that the copyist of this Codex has mistakenly thought that Triclinius meant to exclude *ἄμαχον* from the text, on the ground of this note. He may even have supposed that *ἀντὶ μιᾶς* meant in the context 'tautological.' By *ἀντὶ μιᾶς* Triclinius intended to convey that the two first syllables of the expression *τὸν ἄμαχον* present an example of the phenomenon which I am investigating in this tractate. Triclinius notes such examples, but contents himself with noting them. In any case, the omission of the word *ἄμαχον* would do nothing whatever to ameliorate matters, but would make the strophic and antistrophic lines of wholly different length.

It is commonly, but without sufficient reason, thought that at any rate the scholia, if not also the text itself, of Codex Farnesianus were written by Triclinius with his own hand. An Aphthonius (dated 1298) and a Hesiod (dated 1316), both written by him, are preserved, the one at New College and the other at Venice. If Triclinius wrote these scholia with his own hand, then he must have failed to notice that he or some one else had accidentally (for no sane man would have done it intentionally) omitted *ἄμαχον* from the text. This, in view of the note "*τὸν ἄμαχον, ἀντὶ μιᾶς*," is most difficult to suppose. But when the Triclinian note had once been written, then that note might easily cause the intentional omission of *ἄμαχον* by the very next copyist.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 942-993)

##### A

In the fourth line of the first strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the fourth line of

the first antistrophe for those two shorts one long is substituted.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 945. *μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος ἀοιδά*

(b) l. 958. *θρήνον Ἐριννὺς αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν*

The antistrophic context shows beyond a doubt that Ἐριννὺς stands for a genitive. Consequently Porson and Hermann emend to the ordinary genitive. But I am not so sure that Ἐριννύος is the immediate predecessor of our existing reading. An examination of the lexicon leads me to doubt, though the genitive singular is never found contracted (if I may use the word contracted), whether Ἐριννὺς may not be a stage of corruption.

ἀοιδά stands at the end of the strophic line before a vowel. ἔσωθεν at the end of the antistrophic line stands before a consonant. I do not think that in this style ἔσωθε would be a possible emendation. If it is not, then something is seriously wrong.

The reading of Codex Farnesianus confirms me in my doubts. l. 944 ends with the word *ποτᾶται* (*ποτᾶτο* would make no sense): but Farnesianus ends l. 944 with the elided *ποτᾶτ'*, and presents l. 945 thus :

*ἄμισθος ἀοιδά, μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος*

Even so there is want of synapheia (unless we can read ἔσωθε in the antistrophe) at the end of l. 945: but I do not think that Triclinius would have dreamt of so transposing the strophic line simply in order to remedy an *ἀντὶ μιᾶς*.

His reading is clearly wrong, if only because of the elision of the last syllable of *ποτᾶται*: but it may well contain remnants of the right reading.

I am inclined to think that it does, but in an extremely complicated manner.

There ought to be a Triclinian note *ἀντὶ μιᾶς* attached to the word *ἀκέλευστος*. I conjecture that this note was written at the end of the line.

Now it is obvious that if the original reading was

*μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστον ἄμισθον ἀοιδάν,*



perfect sense would be preserved, and at the same time the difficulty arising from want of *synapheia* would be removed, while the antistrophic line would only need the expansion of Ἐριννῶς (which I have assumed as a stage) into a truly original Ἐρινύος, in order to present perfect correspondence.

Add to this the almost certain Triclinian note, and we obtain :

μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστον ἄμισθον ἀοιδὰν ἀντὶ μιᾶς

Now ἀοιδὰν ἀντὶ is so like ἀοιδὰ μαντι- (especially if *v* be written *μ*) that it would be very easy for the Triclinian reading and note to be corrupted into the shape

μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστον ἄμισθον ἀοιδὰ μαντιπολεῖ.

This would give the impression that ἀοιδὰ μαντιπολεῖ was the Triclinian order. Given ἀοιδὰ μαντιπολεῖ, and given also the vulgate reading, which a copyist in a difficulty would naturally consult, any other correction than

ποτᾶτ'.

ἄμισθος ἀοιδά, μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος

becomes almost impossible.

Hence I conclude, of course very uncertainly, that Triclinius read :

μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστον ἄμισθον ἀοιδάν

Whether he did or not, that appears to me to be the right reading.

## B

In the first line of the second strophe the fifth syllable is a long : in the first line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by a short and a long, which for the sake of sense and grammar are emended into two shorts.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 968. μάλα γάρ τοι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὑγιείας

(β) l. 981. τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσόνθ' (Pauw rightly πεσόν)  
ἄπαξ θανάσιμον



We still depend for MS. authority on Farnesianus and Florentinus only.

Editors have seen that the metre is paeonic: they seem not to have observed that *πεσόνθ'* in the antistrophic line must have arisen owing to an impression that it was dochmiac.

Hermann emends the strophic line into the form:

*μάλα γέ τοι τὸ πόλεός γ' ὑγίτας.*

Conington suggests *πολέας* instead of Hermann's *πόλεός γ'*.

Paley writes:

*μάλα γέ τοι τὸ μεγάλας ὑγίτας.*

For my own part, I would suggest that these emendations in no way account for the MS. *τάς*, and would read:

*μάλα γέ τοι τὸ ταέας ὑγίτας.*

I consider that *πολλῆς* was a gloss on *ταέας*, and that when *ταέας* became *τάς*, then *πολλῆς* was mistaken for a correctional addition, and so *πολλᾶς* was put into the text.

Compare Madvig's *κεκτημένος ταῦ χρυσίον*, for *κεκτημένος τ' αὐτὸ πολὺ χρυσίον* (Plato, *Theaetetus*, 175 c).

## C

We now come to another place where I think Triclinius has been quite unduly discredited.

In the third line of the second strophe the first syllable is a long: in the third line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts, that is to say, it is so replaced in Codex Florentinus, but in Codex Farnesianus there is no irregularity, except a neglect of synapheia.

The passages are these:

(a) ll. 967-70. *ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ  
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει*

(b) ll. 982-3. *πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἂν  
πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;*

So Florentinus : but Farnesianus :

προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα  
τίς τ' ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαιίδων ;

Now, as between πρόπαρ and προπάροιθ', I think we must decide in favour of πρόπαρ. That word is by far the rarer of the two, and a good instance of the way in which it was liable to be corrupted is to be found in John the Deacon (720, p. 344). We there read: ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω ἐδήλου ὁ Ἡσίοδος λέγων “προπάροιθεν Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.” But the Hesiodic line (*Theogony*, 518) is :

πείρασιν ἐν γαίης, πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

It is indeed most difficult to suppose that an original προπάροιθ' could be corrupted, especially, as here, *obstante metro strophico*, into πρόπαρ.

πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς by itself cannot of course stand : but it is so easy to account for the corruption by reading πρόπαρ ἂν ἀνδρὸς, that I do not hesitate to do so.

But if we read πρόπαρ ἂν ἀνδρὸς, one of the chief objections to the Triclinian τίς τ' ἀγκαλέσαιτ', namely its want of ἂν, vanishes.

But still τίς τ' is objectionable in two ways. It leaves the final syllable of the previous line short, whereas it ought to be long, and it presents a meaningless τ'.

Nevertheless I believe that τίς τ' puts us well on the track of the true reading, which is :

πρόπαρ ἂν ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμ' οὐδ-  
 -εἰς ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαιίδων.

The first word of the very next line is οὐδὲ. This caught the eye of some copyist, and as a consequence the οὐδε- of οὐδεῖς disappeared, leaving -ις, which was probably transformed into τίς in the copyist's mind so rapidly that he put it on paper without conscious correction. This τίς Triclinius, or perhaps some earlier corrector whom he followed, transformed *metri gratia* into τίς τ'. But the general fidelity of Triclinius to his authorities (in the case of Aeschylus he certainly had access to MSS. now

lost) is shown by the fact that he adhered to *προπαροιθ'* whereas *πρόπαρ ἄν* would have helped his reading immensely.

*πρόπαρ ἄν* requires the substitution in the strophe of *ἀκόρετον* for *ἀκόρεστον*: but *ἀκόρετον* has the better real authority of the two forms, and we know that in similar words *σ* is constantly interpolated.

The vulgate reading of the antistrophe presents in l. 982 two final syllables which have no counterpart in the strophe. To cure this defect Blomfield (and he has been generally followed) inserted *ἄει*, reading:

*ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ ἄει  
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.*

*ἄει* certainly resembles the *γεί-* of *γείτων*: but I feel persuaded that it is the antistrophe that is at fault. I regard the vulgate *αἶμα τίς ἄν πάλιν* as merely an unmetrical attempt (partly due to ignorance of the force of *ἀγ-* in *ἀγκαλέσαιτ'*, and partly to a desire to introduce *ἄν*) to amplify the obviously insufficient *τίς*, which the Triclinian text, much more simply though wrongly, amplifies into *τίς τ'*.

We must remember that the vulgate of this passage reposes, for MS. authority, on Codex Florentinus alone. It is hardly to be supposed that, were M extant at this point, we should read in that manuscript *αἶμα τίς ἄν πάλιν*. I do not hold up Triclinius as against the best MSS., though at all times his treatment is worthy of consideration; but I certainly maintain that his readings are fully as likely to be correct, or on the way to being correct, as the readings of such a MS. as Codex Florentinus.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1031-1136)

We have now returned within the sphere of the Medicean and Guelf. MSS.: at l. 1054 we also regain the help of Codex Venetus B.

This chorus is extremely corrupt. It is mainly dochmiac, with iambic pendants.



## A

In the second line of the third strophe the second dochmius takes the form  $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  in all MSS. : so does the second dochmius in the second antistrophic line in Codices Farnesianus, Florentinus, and Venetus B (which last MS., as now extant, does not resume until after the strophe); but in M and G we have the obviously correct  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ .

As it so happens that it is possible by the mere expansion of a crasis to give in the strophic dochmius in question  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  instead of  $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ , we obtain a sort of illusory *secunda facie* example of the phenomenon I am investigating, if we equate the emended strophic  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  with that reading in the antistrophe which gives  $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  because the first of the two initial shorts stands before a mute and a liquid (which begin a word), so that it is possible for ingenious perversity to express that antistrophic reading by the quantities  $\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ . And this, though it can hardly be doubted but that the antistrophic  $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  is a deliberate adaptation of the true  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  to suit the  $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  of the strophe. But Hermann produces no evidence for his statement that this adaptation was made by Triclinius. Triclinius may well have found it already in existence.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 1050. *αὐτοφύνα* (so M, Farn., and Flor.; G  
*αὐτόφωνα*) *κακὰ καρτάναι* (Farn. *κακὰ*  
*κάρτανας*)
- (b) l. 1055. *κλαιόμενα* (G *κλαιομένα*) *τὰ* (M and G  
*τάδε*) *βρέφη σφαγὰς*

Hermann suggests, but does not adopt, *κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας*.

The illusory example of the phenomenon under discussion arises from the equation :

- (a) *κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας*  
 (b) *τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς*



The passages are of intense difficulty. Neither *αὐτοφώνα* in the strophe nor *κλαιόμενα* in the antistrophe forms a complete dochmius. I can conceive no justification for the occurrence here of unsupported cretics, resolved or unresolved. I infer from the change of *τάδε* into *τὰ* that most probably *κλαιόμενα* has been deliberately adapted to the metre of *αὐτοφώνα*. I do not mean that *κλαιόμενα* itself is wrong, but I think that an iamb, a tribrach, or a dactyl has been left out before it, and that *κλαιόμενα* is in reality a rare, but perfectly permissible, resolution of the final cretic of a dochmius.

That *κλαιόμενα* is adapted to *αὐτοφώνα* and not *vice versa*, I deduce from the fact that there is manifest corruption between the word *αὐτοφώνα* and the word which immediately precedes it at the end of the previous line.

The strophic passage runs :

ll. 1049–50.  $\tilde{a} \tilde{a}$  (M and G alone have  $\tilde{a} \tilde{a}$ ). *μισόθειον*  
*μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ ξυνίστορα* (Farn. and  
 Flor. *συνίστορα*)  
*αὐτοφώνα κτλ.*

The violation of synapheia at the end of l. 1049 is of the most glaring character. Not merely is the short final *a* of *συνίστορα* left unelided before a vowel, but it has also (as a reference to the antistrophe will show) to be scanned long. I cannot doubt but that a word (an iamb, a tribrach, or a dactyl) has disappeared before *αὐτοφώνα*.

Unless that word begins with a long vowel, preliminary to the iamb, tribrach, or dactyl, and with that long vowel elides the final vowel of *συνίστορα* (a rather unlikely supposition, because enjambement of dochmii, though quite lawful, is not particularly common), it must be a word beginning with a double consonant (unless indeed, as seems probable, initial  $\rho$  would make position in such a case). It ought to resemble the whole or some part of either *συνίστορα* or *αὐτοφώνα*. It seems natural to imagine that it begins with *ξυν-*, in order to account for the strangely unmetrical *ξυνίστορα* which the MSS. (except Farnesianus and Florentinus) substitute for *συνίστορα*.

On these grounds, and on the ground of sense, I propose to read :

μισόθειον μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνίστορα  
ξύνωρ' αὐτοφύνα κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας.

*σύνωρος* occurs in Hesychius, and seems to me to suit the necessities of this passage better than any other word of which I can think.

I imagine that the antistrophic line would gain considerably in force, if it were read :

σφαγὰς κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη, σφαγὰς.

## B

In the second line of the fourth strophe the dochmius with which the line begins is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup--$ , or, more properly, as given by a corrector of M,  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$ : in the second line of the fourth antistrophe the dochmius is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ .

These are the lines :

(a) l. 1060. τί τόδε νέον ἄχθος (a corrector of M ἄχος)

μέγα ;

(b) τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον πόσιν

Both μέγα and πόσιν are metrically superfluous. I think we should read :

(a) τί τόδε νῦν ἄχος ;

(b) τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον.

The next strophic line begins with the word μέγ'. It is impossible to say whether this μέγ' was first accidentally duplicated, and then the gloss on ὀμοδέμνιον misunderstood as the missing antistrophic word, or whether first of all τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον was thought to be too short for a complete line, and therefore amplified with πόσιν from the margin, and then μέγα introduced into l. 1060 in order to balance it. One of the two processes seems to have taken place.

## C

In the second line of the fifth strophe the sixth and seventh syllables are two shorts : in the second line of the fifth antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 1074. ἦ (G alone ῆ) δίκτυον τί γ' Ἀΐδου ;

(b) l. 1085. τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισιν (G πέπλοισι)

Schütz first restored Ἀΐδου. There is another error in the strophic line. The previous line which is dochmiac ends with the word φαίνεται. Therefore l. 1074 must begin with a consonant. The accentuation ἦ, which all the MSS. except G present, is no mere mistake. Read :

μη δίκτυον τί γ' Ἀΐδου ;

We have the later idiom μή τί γε in the making in this passage.

The last syllable of l. 1085 (unless G be right in giving πέπλοισι) is *prima facie* long, because the next line begins with a consonant : the last syllable of l. 1074 on the other hand stands before a vowel at the beginning of the next line. But the next line in each case is a tragic pendant. That the trimeters are not lyrical is sufficiently proved by the dialect of the former of the two pendants (l. 1075) :

ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἦ ξύνεννος, ἦ ξυναιτία.

Before tragic pendants that occur in the middle of a chorus the last syllable is common, as if it stood at the final end of a system.

## D

This example occurs at a point where I suspect to the very highest degree even the approximate integrity of the strophic text. Cassandra has been speaking words of most grave import, ending :

στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει  
κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου.



The word *λευσίμου* is nonsense in the context: I suppose we ought to read *λουσίμου*.

The chorus reply :

ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει  
ἐπορθιάζειν ; οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.

They then continue with this statement :

ll. 1080-3. ἐπὶ (G ἐπεὶ) δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς  
σταγῶν ἄτε καὶ (Farn. omits καὶ) δορία (so  
M: δωρία G, Ven. B, and Flor.: δωριά  
Farn.) πτώσιμος  
ξυναντεῖ (G ξυναντεῖ) βίου δύντος (M  
δύνοντος) ἀνγαῖς·  
ταχεία δ' ἄτα πέλει.

Now, even if we admit various emendations suggested by scholars of the highest eminence, I think we are forced candidly to confess that the whole idea of a saffron drop of blood running to the heart is so extravagant as to be impossible in the works of Aeschylus.

The chorus have just asked what manner of avenging power (*ποίαν Ἐρινὺν*) Cassandra means. That is very much the same thing as asking, though not quite directly, what the crime is that calls for vengeance.

I strongly suspect that the chorus go on to say: 'There comes to my mind that figure, veiled in robe of saffron dye, that fell lifeless at the touch of the steel. Verily, there is a swift vengeance for this thing.'

I cannot get away from

κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσ'

in l. 224. Moreover *δορὶ πτώσιμος* is very like l. 219.

I need not labour the evident truth that it would be entirely in keeping for the chorus at this point to recall the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. That was the *causa causans* of the death of Agamemnon. Clytemnestra's guilty love for Aegisthus was not a cause, but only a means to a divine end.

I should be going altogether beyond my province, were I to attempt a reconstitution of the passage on

these lines. I have said as much as I have said simply because an example of the phenomenon I am discussing occurs in the very midst of this passage: but the treatment of the passage as a whole is, as it happens, in no way necessitated by or in the course of the limited object which I have in view.

In the eighth line (counting, for the purpose of numeration only, tragic pendent lines as if they were lyrical lines) of the fourth strophe the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: in the eighth line (if we adopt the same principle of numeration as in the case of the strophe) of the fourth antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 1080. ἐπὶ (G ἐπει) δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς  
 (β) l. 1091. ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς (M and G τις)  
 ἀγαθὰ φάτις

I think that we ought to read κροκοβαφῆς δράμε. Copyists do not like unaugmented forms. Supposing κροκοβαφῆς δράμε to have been the original reading, it would probably have been altered into ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς. κροκοβαφῆς ἔδραμε would not scan at all; but ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς would scan to the ear of any copyist who believed in the legitimacy of the phenomenon which I attack.

#### E AND F

In the eighth line of the seventh strophe the fourth syllable is a long: in the eighth line of the seventh antistrophe the reading of Venetus B and of Florentinus (M and G here again fail us) substitutes for that long two shorts; but the reading of Farnesianus is difficult to accommodate in any way to the strophe. I am employing the same method of numeration of lines as in the case of instance D.

These are the lines:

- (α) l. 1122. νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι  
 (β) l. 1133. καὶ τίς σε (Farn. τίς σε καὶ) κακοφρονεῖν τίθησι  
 (Farn. omits τίθησι)

In Farnesianus the strophic line has the note ἀντὶ μιᾶς. Hermann, who never does Triclinius the barest justice, makes the astounding statement that by these words “*νεογνός bisyllabum esse indicatur.*” Of course Triclinius is calling attention to the occurrence of the phenomenon which I indicate more precisely by underlining.

It is to be noticed that Victorius combines the two readings in the form *καὶ τίς σε καὶ κτλ.*

In the ninth line (reckoned as above) of the seventh strophe the second dochmius is of the form *-υυ-υ-*: in the ninth line (reckoned as above) of the seventh antistrophe the second dochmius is in Venetus B and Florentinus of the form *-υ-υ-*, but in Farnesianus of the same form as in the strophic line.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1123. *πέπληγμαι* (Farn. *πέπλημαι*) δ' ὑπὸ (Farn. ὑπαὶ) *δήγματι φοινίῳ*  
 (b) l. 1134. (In Venetus B and Florentinus) *τίθη-*  
*σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐπίπνων*  
 (In Farnesianus) *δαίμων ποιεῖ ὑπερβαρὺς*  
*ἐπιπνῶν*

Hermann describes Triclinius' antistrophic reading as a “*foeda interpolatio.*” How he can talk of interpolations in so severe a strain, when he has himself just printed in his text l. 1122 in the form

*καὶ παῖς νεόγονος ἂν μάθοι,*

is not quite easy to understand; but he is evidently actuated by a positive hatred of Triclinius.

I propose to read the strophic passage thus :

*νεογνὸς ἂν ἀτραπὸν μάθοι.*  
*πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ δήγματι φοινίῳ.*

Compare Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 123 :

*ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἀτραπὸς ξύντομος τετριμμένη,*  
*ἢ διὰ θουείας.*



Cassandra has just stated that although she had been brought up by the banks of Scamander, she was like to prophesy ere long on the shores of Cocytus and Acheron. The chorus reply :

τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω ;

It is natural for them to continue : 'A child can tell the road thither, the road that knows no turning.'

In the antistrophe Schütz, because of the subsequent context, changes *κακοφρονεῖν* into *κακοφρονῶν*. I adopt this, together with Paley's *ὑπερθεν βαρὺς*, and read, as Paley reads :

καί τίς σε κακοφρονῶν τίθη-  
-σι δαίμων, ὑπερθεν βαρὺς ἐμπίτων ;

The -ὺς of *βαρὺς* is Triclinian.

## G

In the tenth line of the seventh strophe (reckoning lines as above) the second dochmius is of the form ◡◡◡◡◡◡- : in the tenth line of the seventh antistrophe (reckoning lines as above) the second dochmius is of the form ◡◡◡◡◡◡◡◡, except that Codex Farnesianus presents ◡◡◡◡◡◡◡◡. But it is to be observed that in the strophic line two short syllables have been interpolated between the third and fourth syllables in the dochmius in question.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 1124. *δυσσαγγεῖ τύχη μινυρὰ* (Farn. *μίνυρα*) *κακὰ*  
*θρεομένας*

(b) l. 1135. *μελίξειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατοφόρα* (Farn.  
*θανατηφόρα*)

How did *κακὰ* creep into the strophic line? If it did so without excuse, and as a mere gloss on *μινυρὰ*, then a good deal of evidence collected elsewhere in this book would seem to be, *pro tanto*, contradicted.

But I think there is an easy explanation. *μινυρὰ*

would be quite unintelligible to the ordinary copyist. That by itself would hardly be sufficient to cause him to expel it from the text; but *μινυρά*, which may very well at some period have been corrupted into *μεινυρά*, is immediately preceded by *-γεί τύχα*. This *-γεί τύχα* is very like *μινυρά*, and still more like *μεινυρά*. Hence a somewhat ignorant and at the same time somewhat ingenious copyist might well leave out *μινυρά* or *μεινυρά*, taking it to be a mere accidental repetition of *-γεί τύχα*, especially if it was a little smudged. *μινυρά* once omitted, it would soon be perceived that something had to be supplied, and the marginal gloss *κακά* would be misunderstood as a correctional addition, and so incorporated in the text. Finally, from some other copy, which retained the true reading, *μινυρά* would be brought in side by side with *κακά*.

Blomfield expelled *κακά*: Canter changed *δυσαγγεῖ* to *δυσαλγεί*.

In the antistrophic line, *θανατοφόρα* is impossible. Triclinius is perfectly correct in esteeming *θανατηφόρα* the true form of the word: see Lobeck's *Phrynicus*, p. 651. Only *θανατηφόρα* will not scan.

I come in various places in this tractate (e.g. Euripides, *Troades*, 1066, where *πισσόρα*, contracted from *πισσόροα*, is written *κισσοφόρα*) on difficulties arising from the copyists' ignorance of the contractions of words in *-οος*.

It seems highly probable that here we ought, for *θανατοφόρα*, to read *θανατοθρά*, the contracted form of *θανατοθρόα*. This reading will yield an echo to *θρεομένας* in the strophic line. There, Hermann, rather curiously, suggests for *μινυρά κακά θρεομένας* the emendation *μινυρά φοβερόθροα*.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1367-72 and 1387-92)

This short dochmiac chorus has evidently suffered corruption, and accommodation of metre between strophe and antistrophe has been the result: it presents no example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

## SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1411-1544)

This long chorus consists in one sense of five strophes and antistrophes, with five pendent anapaestic systems (or combinations of anapaestic systems), each anapaestic system (or combination of systems) being once repeated, not of course with syllabic correspondence, but in the way in which anapaestic systems repeat themselves: thus there are altogether ten anapaestic systems (or combinations of systems). As nothing, as far as I am concerned, turns upon the distinction between those consecutive series of anapaests which make up one system only, and those which consist of more than one system, I shall describe, for the sake of convenience in dealing with this chorus, both kinds of series alike simply as systems. I appreciate that this course might lead to error, were my subject matter other than what it is.

Further simplification is possible. It is open to us to describe as a strophe—that is to say, for the purpose of simplification—a strophe proper plus its pendent anapaestic system, whenever, but only whenever, the antistrophe of that strophe has the repetition of the strophic pendant attached to it immediately in the same way that the strophic pendant is attached to the strophe. But whenever the anapaestic pendant of a strophe is not repeated immediately after that strophe's antistrophe, then it is obviously impossible to simplify description by calling the strophe and its pendant by the general name of strophe: they must be kept distinct in nomenclature. But, on the other hand, when a strophe and its pendant (as is once the case in this chorus) are immediately followed by another strophe and its pendant, and then the whole series recurs in the form of antistrophe plus counterpart of strophic pendant, and second antistrophe plus counterpart of second strophic pendant, in that case the two strophes with their pendants and the two antistrophes with their corresponding pendants may, for every purpose which I have in view, evidently be treated as only one strophe and antistrophe; and thereby a most important simplification is effected.



In the diagrams which I shall shortly give I exhibit first of all the strophes and antistrophes, systems and repetitions of systems, with connecting curves, adopting the ordinary nomenclature, which I give in small Greek letters, but adding the simplifying nomenclature in Greek capitals.

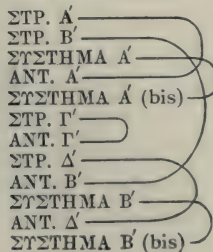
But as the curves of the first diagram are drawn to suit the ordinary nomenclature, I add a second diagram, which is purely simpliste, exhibiting therein nothing, whether as regards curves or otherwise, that is incompatible with the utmost degree of simplification to which I can attain.

I invite the reader to study these diagrams. They prove very serious tampering with the framework of the chorus.

## DIAGRAM I

		Hermann's numbering
ΣΤΡ. Α'	στρ. α'	ll. 1411-1417
ΣΤΡ. Β'	{ σύστημα α'	ll. 1418-1426
	{ στρ. β'	ll. 1427-1429
ΣΤΕΣΤΗΜΑ Α'	σύστημα β'	ll. 1430-1435
ΑΝΤ. Α'	ἀντ. α'	ll. 1436-1442
ΣΤΕΣΤΗΜΑ Α' (bis)	σύστημα β' (bis)	ll. 1443-1448
	{ στρ. γ'	ll. 1449-1456
ΣΤΡ. Γ'	{ σύστημα γ'	ll. 1457-1461
	{ στρ. δ'	ll. 1462-1464
	{ σύστημα δ'	ll. 1465-1472
	{ ἀντ. γ'	ll. 1473-1480
ΑΝΤ. Γ'	{ σύστημα γ' (bis: iisdem verbis)	ll. 1481-1484
	{ ἀντ. δ' (iisdem verbis)	ll. 1486-1488
ΣΤΡ. Δ'	{ σύστημα δ' (bis)	ll. 1489-1496
ΑΝΤ. Β'	στρ. ε'	ll. 1497-1503
	σύστημα α' (bis)	ll. 1504-1512
ΣΤΕΣΤΗΜΑ Β'	{ ἀντ. β'	ll. 1513-1515
	{ σύστημα ε'	ll. 1516-1527
ΑΝΤ. Δ'	ἀντ. ε'	ll. 1527-1533
ΣΤΕΣΤΗΜΑ Β' (bis)	σύστημα ε' (bis)	ll. 1534-1544

## DIAGRAM II



Taking the simplified diagram, the exact nature of which I trust I have sufficiently explained, it is obvious that the chorus, excluding for the moment  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$ , consists of two interlaced groups ( $\Sigma TP. A'$  to  $\Sigma \Upsilon \Sigma THMA A' bis$  inclusive, and  $\Sigma TP. \Delta'$  to  $\Sigma \Upsilon \Sigma THMA B' bis$  inclusive), these two groups, though interlaced internally, having no interlacing as between one and the other, except as regards  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$ , which interlacing I ask the reader for a moment to put on one side: it is obvious that the only other element in the chorus consists of  $\Sigma TP. \Gamma'$  and  $ANT. \Gamma'$  which come together in the middle, separating the two other portions of the chorus.

If we exclude  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$ , the chorus is perfectly symmetrical. It consists, as we have seen, of a central strophe and antistrophe, with, on each side thereof, a series of members repeated in the same order. Nothing on either side of the central strophe and antistrophe corresponds metrically (excepting always  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$ ) to anything on the other side of that central strophe and antistrophe; but the order of parts (still excepting  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$ ) is identical on both sides of the central strophe and antistrophe, identical in the fullest sense, and not reversed.

Now, there are two ways of making a complicated chorus, the analytical and the synthetical. If the analytical method be adopted, the complication is much less. The latter portion observes the order of parts which is observed by the former portion. On the synthetical method, on the other hand, the order of parts in the former portion is indeed attended to in the latter portion, but it is attended to in order to be reversed. On the synthetic method, it is possible to interlace main members far distant from one another, and to a very great extent. But on the analytic method, it is clearly impossible to interlace main members, unless the interlacing curve be drawn from the exact centre of each. If it be drawn from any other point of either of the two main members that it is desired to connect by interlacement, the inevitable result is that it must reach the other of those two members at

such a point as to produce an astigmatic effect, because *ex hypothesi*, the second of those two members has its parts arranged in the same order as those of the first, not in the reverse order.

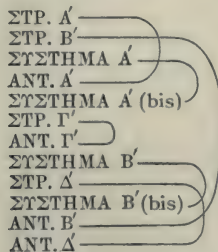
Therefore it is impossible symmetrically to interlace analytical choruses (though interlacement may take place inside their component parts, which parts may themselves be arranged not analytically but synthetically), unless indeed the interlacement be the interlacement of the exact centres of main parts.

But in this chorus, which is indeed synthetic inside its parts, but analytic as a whole, a non-symmetrical interlacement between the first and third main part has been effected by the curve which extends from  $\Sigma TP. B'$ , the second member of the first part, to  $ANT. B'$ , the second member of the third part. The result is a gross violation of harmony.

In order to make that curve artistically possible, a synthetic arrangement would be necessary. In other words the third main part of the chorus ( $\Sigma TP. \Delta'$  to  $\Sigma T\Sigma THMA B' bis$  inclusive) would have to be arranged in the reverse order to that of the first main part of the chorus ( $\Sigma TP. A'$  to  $\Sigma T\Sigma THMA A' bis$  inclusive).

The result, in that case, would be perfectly symmetrical. I give the diagram of what it would be, though it is impossible to reconstitute the chorus in such a manner.

DIAGRAM III



But, as it is, a hopeless attempt has been made to combine synthesis and analysis.

The mischief is entirely confined to  $\Sigma TP. B'$  and  $ANT. B'$



My own suggestion is—if the reader will consider, he will see that, without root-and-branch alteration of the chorus, it is impossible to suggest anything else, because any other suggestion involves difficulties similar to that from which we are attempting to escape—ΣΤΡ. Β' was originally a strophe and antistrophe, corresponding to one another, and ANT. Β' another strophe and antistrophe, corresponding to one another. It is remarkable that at the beginning both of *σύστημα α'* and of *σύστημα α' bis* (parts of ΣΤΡ. Β' and ANT. Β' respectively) Doric forms are exhibited.

This suggestion would make the chorus, as regards the relations of its main parts, analytical throughout. It is to a certain extent borne out by the fact that a considerable portion of ΣΤΡ. Β' (as compared with ANT. Β') is missing, and that much of what remains is hopelessly unintelligible. I consider that both ΣΤΡ. Β' and ANT. Β' have been rewritten, ANT. Β' throughout, but ΣΤΡ. Β' only in part, so as to leave a considerable lacuna. No doubt there has been any amount of reaction between the two.

It is quite impossible to omit ΣΤΡ. Β' and ANT. Β'. Their general contents are necessary to the sense of the chorus.

It must be remembered that this chorus is found only in Codices Venetus B, Florentinus, and Farnesianus.

### A

In the sixth line of the first strophe (I of course now depart from simplificatory nomenclature, and use the terms strophe and antistrophe in their ordinary meaning) the first syllable is a long: the sixth line of the first antistrophe has a long syllable at the beginning, which long syllable corresponds to nothing at all in the strophic line, and after that long syllable presents two shorts answering the single strophic long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1416. *πολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διὰ*; (Farnesianus  
apparently reads *διαί*)

(b) l. 1441. *μοι κόρακος ἔχθρου σταθεὶς ἐνόμως* (Farn.  
*ἐκνόμως*)

In the strophic line the old editors perceived that a connecting particle was needed, and prefixed καὶ.

The antistrophic context needs consideration. It runs (ll. 1440-42):

ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν  
μοι κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεὶς ἐννόμως (or ἐκνόμως)  
ὕμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπέυχεται.

A δαίμων has just been invoked in the vocative. We must either, with Schütz, understand the passage as referring to Clytemnestra, and read σταθεῖς' for σταθεὶς, or else take it as addressed to the δαίμων, and follow Canter in reading ἐπέυχεται for ἐπέυχεται. Porson follows Schütz, but there is a good deal to be said for Canter's view.

Hermann omits the quite unintelligible μοι, and gives κήρυκος in place of κόρακος. He reads σταθεῖς'.

κήρυκος suits καὶ πολλὰ perfectly; but it is hard to see how κήρυκος, which is a very ordinary word, can have become μοι κόρακος.

I am strongly inclined to think that the whole metre at this point is dochmiac, and that very extensive corruption has taken place. The occurrence of anomalous feet mixed up with dochmii must always engender grave suspicion.

If this suspicion be sound, the dochmius that seems to emerge most readily from the *ductus literarum* of μοι κόρακος ἐχθροῦ is κόρακος ὠμοθροῦ. This expression would suit the context very well.

I should like to read the strophic line thus:

πολύ τε τλάντος ἄς γυναικὸς διαί;

I cannot help thinking that ἄς is an improvement to the sense. It gives a Homeric flavour to a Homeric incident.

The next strophic line,

πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον,

certainly makes against it; but it can hardly be main-

tained that that line, as it stands, proceeds from the pen of Aeschylus.

This chorus very nearly reaches that point of corruption at which attempts at emendation become altogether profitless.

## B

In the third line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

I have pointed out above that the first systema and second strophe, which together make ΣΤΡ. Β', cannot, in view of symmetry, be really answered by what now appear as the first systema *bis* and the second antistrophe, which together form, as the text stands, ANT. Β'. I have mentioned the existence of Doric forms in the two systemata in question; and I have stated my opinion that, unless nearly the whole chorus is to be rewritten, ΣΤΡ. Β' must be taken to be a corruption of a strophe and antistrophe answering one to the other, and ANT. Β' of another strophe and antistrophe, answering one to the other, but not answering to the presumable strophe and antistrophe of which I think ΣΤΡ. Β' originally consisted.

In further confirmation of this view, I would adduce the extremely imperfect correspondence that exists between στρ. β' and ἀντ. β', even as they stand.

I am therefore not concerned to attempt to disprove the particular example of correspondence, which in classical metre I reject, that presents itself in these two lines. It may well embody the actual work of some transformer: and it seems hopeless to try and get back to the untransformed original.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1429. ἔρις ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς

(b) l. 1515. ἀληθεία φρενῶν πονήσει

In the strophic line Hermann makes the obvious correction of οἰζύς for οἰζύς. What ἔρις ἐρίδματος may



mean, if it means anything, is uncertain. I see no use in discussing the problem.

## C

In the first line of the third strophe the fifth syllable is a long: in the first line of the third antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts. The strophic line exhibits a redundant final short syllable, as compared with the antistrophic line.

These are the passages:

- (α) ll. 1449–50. ἡ μέγαν οἴκοις τοῖσδε  
δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνην αἰνεῖς  
(β) ll. 1473–74. ὡς μὲν ἀνάιτιος εἶ  
τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;

The strophic passage continues:

φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
-ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου.

I am disposed, after some hesitation, to agree with Hermann's note: "Scribendum esse τοῖσδ' αἴμονα monui in adnotationibus ad interpretationem Humboldtii. Sed eo nondum perfecta est emendatio: nam spondeum οἴκοις vitiosum esse arguit versus antistrophicus. Grammatici haud dubie inventum est μέγαν οἴκοις, ut metro consuleret, quum depravatam scripturam τοῖσδε δαίμονα in codice suo invenisset, cum quibus verbis construi non posse videbat μέγα. Scripsit Aeschylus

ἡ μέγα δώμασι τοῖσδ'  
αἴμονα καὶ βαρύμηνην αἰνεῖς,  
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
-ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου.

Αἴμονα θήρης in Iliade v. 49 *peritum* significare volunt: vereor ne illic quoque *ferocem* intelligi oporteat et *cruore gaudentem*, ut in Hecuba v. 91 dictum est λύκου αἴμοι χαλᾶ. *Cruentatum* significat in Aeschyli Suppl. v. 814."

In ll. 1463 and 1487 it seems to me clear that δουλίφ should be read for δολίφ.

## SUMMARY

The *Agamemnon* presents nineteen instances of the phenomenon in question, and two other examples emerge in the course of reasonable emendation. But four of the nineteen instances have some MS. authority against them (reinforced in one case by a quotation in Cramer's *Anecdota*): two examples are merely graphic: three instances are obvious miswritings: two others present themselves in passages that are recognized cruces. There remain eight cases out of the nineteen, and also the two examples that result from provisional emendation. An examination of the context in each case tends to cast grave doubt on all ten instances, though perhaps two or three are not at first sight suspicious.

## CHOEPHOROË

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 22-73)

This chorus consists of three strophes and antistrophes, and of a short epode. At several points it has, as editors recognize, been corrupted in the course of transcription so as to make some havoc of the sense. But it presents no example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

This indeed is not unnatural, seeing that the chorus has manifestly never been submitted to any extensive process of would-be correction, and that it is in the course of correction rather than that of accidental corruption that most examples of the phenomenon (I speak here without prejudice to the position that some examples of the phenomenon may be original and authentic) come into being.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 145-158)

This is a dochmiac chorus, which Hermann was the first to divide into strophe and antistrophe. The division is obvious, but Hermann's consequential emendations give us pause.

The MSS. present :

ΧΟ.	ἴετε δάκρυ καναχῆς (G κἀναχῆς)	στρ.
	ὀλόμενον ὀλομένῳ (G apparently ὀλυμένῳ)	146
	δεσπότα πρὸς ἔρυμα	
	τόδε κακῶν κεδνῶν τ'	
	ἀπόροπον ἄλγος ἀπεύχεται	
	κεχυμένων χοᾶν (G χοᾶν)· κλύε δέ μοι κλύε.	150
	σεβάσω δέσποτα ἔξ ἀμαυρᾶς (G ἀμαυρᾶς) φρενός.	
	ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ ἰώ.	152-3 ἀντ.
	τίς δορυσθενῆς ἀνῆρ	
	ἀναλυτῆρ δόμων	155
	Σκυθιτά τ' (so M, with κα superscribed: G Σκύθησ	
	τάτ') ἐν χερσῶν παλίντον'	
	ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη (first hand of G βέλει) ἑπιπάλλων (G	
	πιπάλλων) Ἄρης	
	σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν βέλη;	

A careful consideration of this text will show the reader that it presents only two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, though there is a good deal of non-correspondence. At first sight, it might appear that the last syllable of ἰώ in the first line of the antistrophe was an example; but it is obvious that something is missing at this point. It may be before ἰώ that the gap comes, or else after it. In the former case ἰώ would correspond with the last two syllables of ὀλομένῳ in l. 146: in the latter case, there is nothing to show that the missing next word did not begin with a vowel. I cannot admit or tabulate as an instance a case of merely conceivable correspondence emerging out of a lacuna, where there is nothing to show that an instance was ever intended in any stage of the text.

The two instances are these.

#### A AND B

In the sixth line of the strophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ : in the corresponding line of the antistrophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup---\cup-$ .



In the strophic line aforesaid the second dochmius is corrupt, but begins with a dactyl, which should probably be altered to a tribrach (that is to say as a merely *ad interim* emendation): in the corresponding antistrophic line the second dochmius is of the form  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ .

The lines are these :

(a) l. 150. κεχυμένων χοᾶν · κλυε δέ μοι κλυε (Porson is clearly right in accenting κλυε δέ μοι κλυε)

(b) l. 157. ἐν ἔργω βέλη ᾽πιπάλλων Ἄρης

Hermann, though his restoration is exceedingly clever, creates in the course of it three new instances of the phenomenon.

### C, D, AND E

I give his version, doubly underlining the three instances for which he and not the text is responsible.

ἴ <u>ε</u> τε δ <u>ά</u> κ <u>ρυ</u> <u>κα</u> να <u>χ</u> ές	στρ.
ὀ <u>λό</u> με <u>νο</u> ν <u>ὀ</u> λο <u>μ</u> έν <u>ω</u>	146
δε <u>σ</u> π <u>ό</u> τα π <u>ρ</u> ὸ <u>ς</u> ἔ <u>ρ</u> μα γ <u>ᾶ</u> ς	
τό <u>δε</u> κ <u>ε</u> δ <u>υ</u> όν · κ <u>α</u> κ <u>ῶ</u> ν δ'	
ἀ <u>π</u> ό <u>τ</u> ρο <u>πο</u> ν ἄ <u>γ</u> ο <u>ς</u> ἀ <u>π</u> ε <u>ύ</u> χε <u>το</u> ν	
κε <u>χ</u> υ <u>μ</u> έν <u>ων</u> <u>χο</u> ᾶν · κ <u>λ</u> υ <u>ε</u> <u>δέ</u> μοι σ <u>έ</u> β <u>α</u> ς,	150
κ <u>λ</u> ύ', <u>ὦ</u> δ <u>έ</u> σ <u>πο</u> τ', ἐ <u>ξ</u> ἀ <u>μ</u> α <u>υ</u> ρ <u>ᾶ</u> ς φ <u>ρ</u> ε <u>ν</u> ός.	
ὀ <u>το</u> το <u>το</u> το <u>το</u> το <u>ί</u> ,	ἀ <u>ν</u> τ.
ὀ <u>το</u> το <u>το</u> το <u>ί</u> <u>ἰ</u> ώ,	
τί <u>ς</u> δο <u>ρ</u> υ <u>σ</u> θε <u>ν</u> ῆ <u>ς</u> ἀ <u>ν</u> ῆ <u>ρ</u>	
ἀ <u>να</u> λυ <u>τ</u> ή <u>ρ</u> δ <u>ό</u> μ <u>ω</u> ν	155
Σ <u>κ</u> υ <u>θ</u> ικά <u>τε</u> χ <u>ε</u> ρ <u>ί</u> πα <u>λ</u> ί <u>ν</u> το <u>να</u>	
ἐν <u>ἔ</u> ργ <u>ω</u> β <u>έ</u> λ <u>η</u> <u>᾽</u> πι <u>π</u> ά <u>λ</u> λων Ἄρ <u>η</u> ς	
σ <u>χ</u> έ <u>δι</u> ά <u>τ'</u> αὐ <u>τό</u> κ <u>ω</u> πα <u>νω</u> μ <u>ῶ</u> ν ξ <u>ί</u> φ <u>η</u> ;	

As regards instance C, it is plain that Hermann has in the antistrophe neglected synapheia. He has also neglected the fact that in the MSS. the long interjection has one more syllable than he has given it. If, with the

MSS., we read not *ὄτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ* but *ὄτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ*, not only is synaphea observed but also perfect correspondence.

In respect of instance D, Hermann has made the last syllable of *ὄτοτοτοτοῖ* long before a vowel in the middle of a line. If we were to add one *οτ-* to the interjection, and treat the *-οῖ* as short, then we should secure complete conformity with the strophic line. But the strophic line itself is clearly corrupt. There is in the middle of it a short syllable too many to permit us to scan it as a dochmius. Moreover the next line begins with an unsupported cretic.

It seems to follow that *-μένω δεσπότη* is a dochmius.

Perhaps we ought to read :

*ἀπολόμενον ἀπολο-  
-μένω δεσπότη.*

In that case, in the antistrophe we should similarly have, very reasonably, to put *ἰώ* at the beginning of l. 154. The result would be :

*ὄτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ,  
ὄτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ·  
ἰώ, τίς δορυσθενῆς . . .*

But *ἀνήρ* will not complete the verse.

I agree with Paley that, for *βέλη* in l. 157, *μόλοι*, or at any rate its equivalent in sense, ought to be substituted. The interrogative *τίς* cries out for an optative verb. But I wholly disagree from Paley in his view, which Professor Sidgwick has unfortunately spread far and wide, that the optative can stand in direct questions without *ἄν*.

Therefore for *ἀνήρ* I tentatively substitute *ἄν τιτήρ*. The Doric nominative *τίτας* occurs in l. 59 of this play.

I shall not further discuss this chorus in detail, except to say that editors appear to think that the first syllable of *κεδνός* may be short.

It is manifest, quite apart from the consideration of the phenomenon I am discussing, that this chorus is far too corrupt to permit emendation of a very high degree of probability, except perhaps in one or two places. I give, for what it is worth, a restoration of my own, which

(though necessarily highly uncertain) appears to me to deal with certain points both of sense and of metre which no editor, as far as I know, has taken into consideration.

I suggest :

ἴετε δάκρυ καναχῆς	στρ.
ἀπολόμενον ἀπολο-	146
-μένω δεσπότη πρὸς ἑρεμνὰν στέγαν·	
τὸ δὲ κακὸν κενὸν τ'	
ἀπότροπον τρέπειν ἄλγος ἀπεύχεται	
κεχυμένων χοᾶν· κλύ' ὦ δεσπότη, ὦ	150
σέβας, ἔτ', εἴ ποτ', ἐξ ἄμαυρᾶς τέφρας.	
ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ,	ἀντ.
ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ,	
ἰώ, τίς δορυσθενῆς ἂν τιτήρ,	
ἀναλυτήρ δόμων,	155
Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν τόξα παλίντων' εἴ-	
-νεκ' ἐνέρων μόλοι (or perhaps πέλοι) ἑπιπάλλων Ἄρης	
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν ξίφη ;	

I half base my reading in l. 151 on Sappho's

ἄλλα τυῖδ' ἔλθ', αἶ ποτα κατέρωτα  
 τᾶς ἕμας αὖδως αἰόισα πῆλυι  
 ἔκλυες.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 312-469)

This chorus, as restored by most editors, presents no example of the phenomenon I am investigating. An examination of the MS. readings yields six examples. Of these six, two (in different inflexional cases of the same word) are due to the mistaken employment of a diaeresis, and the other four are obvious errors of one sort or another.

On the whole it may be said that this chorus furnishes strong evidence against the legitimacy of the phenomenon. The instances of it which present themselves are transparently corrupt, and are emended by general consent and not on the ground of the particular objection which I take to them. When it is seen that this chorus, apart



from two answering anapaestic systemata and a central isolated anapaestic systemata, consists of no less than ten strophes and antistrophes, and none of them very short, the absence (except as a result of admitted corruption) of examples of the phenomenon becomes a fact of considerable importance.

But the matter does not end here. This chorus presents a perhaps unequalled specimen of strophes and antistrophes symmetrically interwoven on the grand scale. I will proceed to give a diagram. The extraordinary feature about it is that—although there is plenty of corruption in detail—the text is amply sound enough to show editors at large, without a shadow of doubt, what the strophes and antistrophes really are (Schütz indeed was so much astonished at the result, that he tried to re-arrange the chorus in another order). Now, highly interwoven choruses have commonly gone to pieces to such a degree, that it is a matter of some difficulty to make out the true framework (I attempt the task several times in this tractate) and of great difficulty to restore a probable approximation to the original text. Here however there is no difficulty of that sort at all. The fact is that in a number of places in Aeschylus we have only that kind of corruption, bad as it is, which is due to *bona fide* error on the part of rather careless and rather ignorant copyists, not that more serious and far more specious corruption which has its source in deliberate alterations made by men of some little learning with a view to the improvement of texts that had already suffered perhaps serious but probably unintentional depravation. Many a play of Euripides, that presents a fair appearance on the surface, conceals festering ulcers beneath of a far graver character than the superficial, though disfiguring, scars that annoy us in the case of the elder tragedian. And the reason is that Euripides was *par excellence* the poet of the schools.

I therefore think that this chorus possesses by itself more authority than half a dozen plays of Euripides put together.

This is the diagram :

στρ. α'	}	
στρ. β'		
ἀντ. α'		
σύστημα	}	
στρ. γ'		
ἀντ. β'		
ἀντ. γ'	}	
σύστημα		}
στρ. δ'		
στρ. ε'		
ἀντ. δ'	}	
σύστημα		}
στρ. ς'		
ἀντ. ε'		
ἀντ. ς'	}	
στρ. ζ'		}
στρ. η'		
ἀντ. η'		
ἀντ. ζ'	}	
στρ. θ'		
ἀντ. θ'		
στρ. ι'	}	
ἀντ. ι'		

It will be seen that the chorus up to the end of ἀντ. ς' consists of two separate groups, viz.: στρ. α' to ἀντ. γ', and στρ. δ' to ἀντ. ς'. These two groups are parted from one another by a σύστημα of regular anapaests. But they are also bound together into a coherent whole by the occurrence in each at its central point of a subordinate σύστημα, also of regular anapaests, which two συστήματα, though of course they do not correspond syllabically one to another, are nevertheless of exactly the same length. This means of imparting unity to two groups of strophes and antistrophes appears to me to be peculiarly elegant.

After ἀντ. ς' complication gives place to simplicity, but it does so gradually. First we have the slight complexity of the occurrence of στρ. η' and ἀντ. η' within the embrace, as it were, of στρ. ζ' and ἀντ. ζ': and it is not till we come to the very end that we find two strophes and antistrophes (θ' and ι') standing side by side and without any enlacement.

Thus, as the crown of much subtle elaboration, we find a simple and unelaborate ending. This is characteristic of the best Greek art.

It is almost a waste of time to record the instances of the phenomenon under investigation which are to be found in the MSS., so plainly are they due to faults of the

copyists; but, if only for the sake of completeness, I will deal briefly with them.

## A

In the third line of the first strophe the third and fourth syllables in G are two shorts; but M presents instead of these two shorts one long, although an inter-linear correction restores in M the reading of the other MSS.: in the third line of the first antistrophe all the MSS. substitute for those two shorts one long, and at a later point in the line a redundant short syllable is introduced.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 314. τύχοιμ' ἄν ἔκαθεν (M ἄν<sup>ε</sup>καθεν) οὐρίσας  
 (b) l. 330. δίπαις τοῖς ἐπιτυμβιδίους

In the strophic line Hermann at one time read ἄγκαθεν, but reverted to ἄν ἔκαθεν on the right ground that ἄν is grammatically required. In favour of the view that ἄνκαθεν in M really includes the particle ἄν, I would lay some stress on the grave accent of the first syllable.

It is evident in the antistrophic line that ἐπιτυμβιδίους (as Hermann first saw) stands for ἐπιτύμβιος, and that the final letter of τοῖς is really (as Hermann also first saw) the accusative σ', which is required by the context. The MSS. read:

δίπαις τοῖς ἐπιτυμβιδίους  
 θρήνος ἀναστενάξει.

Hermann first read τοί σ', but afterwards δέ σ' ὄδ'. It seems to me that τοί σ' is obviously right.

This brings us back to the consideration of the strophic line. ἄν is there certainly necessary; but are we on that account compelled to disregard the authority of the first hand of M?

It seems to me that the true strophic reading is:

τύχοιμ' ἄν καθ' ἐν οὐρίσας.

This was originally suggested by Valckenaer. Liddell and Scott accept it, and assign unquestioningly to καθ' ἐν



in the passage the sense of *καθάπαξ*. It must be remembered that few copyists would write *καθ' ἔν* in two words, as the late nominative *καθεῖς*, which was very common, obscured the true construction of such expressions as *καθ' ἔν*.

I do not think that the reading *ἐπιτυμβιδίους* can be anything else than a reminiscence of *ἐπιτυμβίδιοι κορυδαλλίδες* in the Harvest Home of Theocritus. Well-known expressions have a tendency to intrude themselves wholly or partially into whatever texts offer to them even a small loophole.

## B

In the fifth line of the first strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the fifth line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are :

(a) l. 316. σκότῳ φάος ἰσοτίμοιρον

(b) l. 332. τάφος δ' ικέτας δέδεκται

*ἰσοτίμοιρον* is a *vox nihili*. Turnebus reads *ἰσόμοιρον*: Erfurdt with much more probability proposes *ἀντίμοιρον*, which word yields the required sense, and also accounts for the syllable *-τι-*. I suppose that the copyists regarded *-τίμοιρον* as an Aeolism for *-τίμορον*. But it is not very easy to see how they can have got *ἰσο-* out of *ἀν-*.

The only suggestion that I can make is that *ἀντίμοιρον* may have become unintelligible, and have been glossed for clearness' sake with *ἴσον*, that then *ἀντίμοιρον* was written *separatim* *ἀν τίμοιρον*, and that ultimately, seeing that *ἴσον* could not be a gloss either on *ἀν* or on *τίμοιρον*, it was taken to be a bungled correction (for *ἴσο*) of *ἀν*, so that *ἰσοτίμοιρον* was put into the text in consequence.

This process, though not at all improbable, is rather complicated. If *ἀντίμοιρον* is right (and it seems to be the proper word in the proper place), no less complicated explanation of *ἰσοτίμοιρον* will meet the circumstances of the case. The assumption of an arbitrary and violent alteration by the copyists is out of keeping with the

character of the text of this play. Consequently I feel pretty sure that *ισο-* is no mere desperate conjectural modification of *ἀν-*.

## C

In the sixth line of the fourth strophe the last syllable is a long (common at the end of the strophe): in the sixth line of the fourth antistrophe that syllable is replaced in G by a short and a long syllable (the long syllable being common at the end of the antistrophe, so that we have really two shorts); but in M the short syllable before the long is omitted in the text, but interlined by way of correction.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 380. *χειρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελέεται*

(b) l. 394. *κλύτε δὲ τὰ χθονίων τετιμέναι (M τετιμαι)*

It is abundantly plain that we must read, with Franz :

*κλύτε δὲ Γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί.*

## D

In the first line of the fifth strophe the second syllable is a long: in the first line of the fifth antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The following are the lines :

(a) l. 381. *ἐφυμνήσαι γένοιτό μοι*

(b) l. 405. *πεπάλαται (M πεπάλατε) δ' αὐτέ μοι φίλον κέαρ*

Turnebus, undoubtedly rightly, restores *πέπαλται*.

There is a lacuna at the end of the strophic line and also at the beginning of the succeeding line in the antistrophe, a fact which stands in the way of verifiable emendation.

## E

In the first line of the seventh strophe (a lyrical senarius) the second foot is an iamb: in the first line of

the seventh antistrophe (also a lyrical senarius) the second foot is a tribrach.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 418. ἔκοψα κομμὸν ἄρειον (Hermann rightly  
"Ἄρειον) εἴτε (Hermann with probability εἶ  
τε) κισσίαις (Robortellus and Turnebus  
rightly Κισσίας)

(b) l. 439. λέγεις πατρῷιον (so G: M πατρῷιον)  
μόρον. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπεστάτου

Porson first restored πατρῶον.

The next instance is substantially identical.

## F

In the fifth line of the eighth strophe the fourth syllable is a long: in the fifth line of the eighth antistrophe two shorts are substituted for that long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 433. ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας ἐλοίμαν (Turnebus rightly  
ὀλοίμαν)

(b) l. 438. κλύει (Turnebus rightly κλύεις) πατρῷους  
(so G: M πατρῷους δυσπαίμους: Stanley  
rightly δῦας ἀτίμους)

Porson first restored πατρῶους.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 579–638)

This chorus consists of four strophes and antistrophes.

## A

In the fourth line of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long, and in addition between the syllables which correspond to the second and third syllables of the strophic line (or else, it may be put, immediately after what in both



lines is the third syllable) the antistrophic line presents a long syllable which has nothing to answer it in the strophic line.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 598. *πυρδαῆτινα* (so M : G *πυρδαῆ τινα*) *πρόνοιαν*

(b) l. 607. *χρυσεοδμήτοισιν ὄρμοις*

The strophic context demands particular attention. It runs (ll. 595–8) :

*ἴστω δ' ὅστις οὐχ ὑπόπτερος*  
*φροντίσιν δαεῖς τὰν* (here G inserts a comma) *ἀπαιδολύ-*  
*-μας τάλαινα Θεστιᾶς μήσατο*  
*πυρδαῆτινα* (G *πυρδαῆ τινα*) *πρόνοιαν.*

Hermann most rightly (see the metre of the corresponding antistrophic line) changed *δαεῖς τὰν* into *τὰν δαεῖς*'. The reason of the corruption is that the construction is a little complicated, so that *δαεῖς*' was taken to be masculine and so quite naturally placed before *τὰν*.

*ἀπαιδολύμας* was first changed by Turnebus into *ἀ παιδολύμας*, and finally by Dindorf into *ἀ παιδολυμάς*.

We thus arrive at the reading :

*ἴστω δ' ὅστις οὐχ ὑπόπτερος*  
*φροντίσιν τὰν δαεῖς' ἀ παιδολυ-*  
*-μάς τάλαινα Θεστιᾶς μήσατο*  
*πυρδαῆ τινα πρόνοιαν.*

But it is obvious that *τινα* cannot stand after the relative *τὰν*. *ἴστω τὰν Θεστιᾶς μήσατο πυρδαῆ τινα πρόνοιαν* is not Greek, unless the words *τὰν Θεστιᾶς μήσατο* be inclosed within the equivalents of brackets. That those words are not here so inclosed is proved by the fact that after the context which I have quoted the strophe continues with a feminine participle, *καταίθουσα*, agreeing with *Θεστιᾶς*. Therefore the words *τὰν—μήσατο* are not within brackets. Therefore *τινα* is out of the question.

The scholiast interprets by the words : *ἦντινα μήσατο πρόνοιαν τάλαινα Θεστιᾶς ἢ παιδολύμας καὶ πυρδαῆς*. On the strength of this scholion both Turnebus and Victorius

read *πυρδαῖς τινα*. Hermann on the other hand writes *πυρδαῆτιν*, which accords very nearly with the reading of M. But he has *metri gratia* to alter *χρυσεοδμήτοισιν* in the antistrophe to *χρυσοκμήτοισιν*. This is violent.

I think that with no violence a strophic emendation may be proposed which will at one and the same time account for the reading of M and for the scholium, and also suit the antistrophic metre.

I believe that we should read *πυρδαήτριαν πρόνοιαν*.

As *φαρμακεύς* yields a feminine *φαρμακεύτρια*, so *πυρδαῖς* may yield a feminine *πυρδαήτρια*. Now, if *πυρδαήτριαν πρόνοιαν* was the original reading, it would very probably be altered into *πυρδαήτρια πρόνοιαν*, because of the greater simplicity of applying an adjective of such a class to a person than to a thing. But I would invite any reader to look at the context, and then to say whether an accusative rather than a nominative is not almost imperatively demanded at this point in the sentence. The exceptional quantity of the final syllable of feminines in *-τρια*, and the consequent paroxytone accent must have considerably confused the copyists. Hence I do not wonder that M presents the half-hearted *πυρδαήτινα*, and G the full-blown *πυρδαῆ τινα*.

## B

In the sixth line of the third strophe the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the third antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long. It is also to be noted that the fifth and sixth syllables of the strophic line are a short and a long, whereas the fifth and sixth syllables of the antistrophic line are a long and a short; and that it is impossible to construe the strophic line in the context.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 618. *ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δηίοις ἐπὶ κότῳ* (so M originally, but with an alteration *ἐπικότῳ*: G *ἐπὶ κότῳ*) *σέβας*

(b) l. 626. *βροτῶν ἀτιμῶθ' οἴχεται γένος*

There is a quite unique feature about the strophic context. l. 617, which runs

ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχισφόρῳ,

and which is answered by the antistrophic line (l. 625)

θεοστυγήτῳ δ' ἄχει,

and which therefore presents a startling example of the neglect of synapheia, is wholly absent from the text proper of both the codices. In M it has been added in the margin, although, as far as ink and handwriting go, it has the appearance of having been so added by the original scribe. In G it is interlineated in the ink and in the characters of the writers of scholia.

The fact that both M and G in their first state are without the line suggests that it comes to us from some source outside the main stream of our textual tradition.

On the whole, I am inclined to regard the line as authentic; but, partly owing to the repetition, but much more on account of the neglect of synapheia, I am disposed to look upon the words ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ, at the beginning of the next line, as nothing else than a partial preservation of the line that was written in.

It is fairly evident that l. 618,

ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δητοῖς ἐπὶ κότῳ σέβας,

is meant by the copyists as a *versus technicus*. If that is so, the only wonder is that l. 626 did not assume the form:

βροτῶν ἀτιμωθὲν ἀποίχεται γένος.

But medieval correctors did not pay much attention to Aeschylean texts.

The scholiast writes: ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ φοβερῷ καὶ σεβαστῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. He must, I suppose, have read for σέβας either σέβαι or σέβα (I think σέβαι would be more likely); but it is notorious that the oblique cases of σέβας are not in use.

I can only suggest that we very possibly ought to read



ἐπὶ σκότῳ σέλας, the rest of the line being apparently beyond redemption. See the next line :

τίῳ δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἐστίαν δόμων.

The emendations of the various editors appear to me to repose on no kind of basis.

It is manifest that such an example of the disputed phenomenon as this is evidentially worth nothing at all.

This chorus is like the last: the phenomenon only occurs where corruption is certain.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 770–823)

This rather complex chorus is interesting as presenting an alleged and indeed at first sight a clear, example of a genuinely lyrical mesode.

The scheme is as follows :

στρ. α'	}
στρ. β'	
ἀντ. α'	
στρ. γ'	}
μεσψδ.	
ἀντ. γ'	
στρ. δ'	}
ἀντ. β'	
ἀντ. δ'	

It will be seen that the principle of the structure is that three sets of strophes plus antistrophes (viz. στρ. α' + ἀντ. α', στρ. γ' + ἀντ. γ', and στρ. δ' + ἀντ. δ') follow consecutively, save that each strophe is separated from its antistrophe by a lyrical member. These lyrical members are necessarily three in number. The first and the last of them correspond one with another, and so constitute στρ. β' and ἀντ. β'. But owing to the unevenness of the number three the middle member has nothing with which to correspond, and so stands as an isolated mesode.

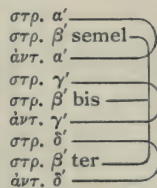
A system of anapaests might very well serve as a mesodic interruption of the chorus between στρ. γ' and ἀντ. γ': but to find a true lyrical mesode is surprising. I much doubt whether any evidence of the possibility of such a thing can be discovered, except indeed such evidence as is afforded by the text of choruses so highly corrupted

and mutilated as to afford little indication of the details of their original structure. In fact, apart from epodes and a few rare peculiarities, such as the invitatory in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, I am inclined to look with considerable suspicion on any lyric member, wherever it presents itself, that does not form part of a strophic-antistrophic arrangement.

In this chorus, it is plain from inspection that the alleged mesode follows with considerable closeness, though not, as it stands, with anything that can be called accuracy in detail, the metrical scheme of  $\sigma\tau\rho. \beta'$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau. \beta'$ .

I am therefore, on the whole, of opinion that the variations between the metre of the so-called mesode and that of  $\sigma\tau\rho. \beta'$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau. \beta'$  are, more probably than not, due to corruption; and that  $\sigma\tau\rho. \beta'$ , the mesode, and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau. \beta'$  really form a triplet of metrically identical strophes. These triplets, though extremely uncommon, nevertheless are unquestionably met with here and there in the choruses of the tragedians. They are a relic of a method of composition that was distinctly exceptional even in the works of the lyric poets, properly so called, but of which the seventh (otherwise called the eighth) Isthmian of Pindar and the seventeenth Ode of Bacchylides furnish excellent examples.

I therefore incline to emend the scheme of this chorus thus :



## A AND B

In the sixth line of the first strophe the first syllable is a long; in the sixth line of the first antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts. After the fourth syllable of the strophic line comes a long, which is answered by

nothing at all in the antistrophic line. The sixth syllable of the strophic line is a long, which long is answered by the fourth syllable, a short, of the antistrophic line: that short is variously emended into two shorts or into one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 775. διαδικᾶσαι πᾶν ἔπος

(b) l. 786. τοῦτ' ιδεῖν δάπεδον (Hermann γάπεδον: Blomfield διὰ πέδον)

In the strophic line Pauw suggested διὰ δίκας for διαδικᾶσαι, and he has been universally followed, except that Hermann reads καὶ δίκαν, on the strength of a scholion: δικαίως, κατὰ δίκαν, ὃ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον. I cannot extract from this scholion any assurance that κατὰ or καὶ ever stood in the text. I think Pauw is right. But he fails to see that διαδικᾶσαι πᾶν stands not for διὰ δίκας πᾶν but for διὰ δίκας ἄπαν. The final syllable of ἄπαν, though sometimes long, is short both in Homer and in Aristophanes.

ἄπαν in the strophic line suits Blomfield's emendation, which is necessary on grounds of sense, of διὰ πέδον in the antistrophic line. Either in that line ιδεῖν is corrupt (Blomfield suggests ἴδοι), or there is some other mistake in the neighbourhood of the line. But with that question I am hardly concerned.

As regards the opening syllables of the two lines, I do not think it is a fact that διά is ever in reality a monosyllable, nor do I consider the form ζά to be possible in the choruses of the tragedians except in compounds.

The fault lies with the word τοῦτ', which makes no intelligible sense in the context. I suspect an uncial corruption, and would read :

ταῦ γ' ιδεῖν (or ἴδοι) διὰ πέδον.

## C

In the third line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the



second antistrophe those two shorts are *prima facie* replaced by one long; but the context is highly corrupt as regards both metre and sense.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 779. δίδυμα καὶ τριπλᾶ

(β) l. 815. θροούσα (G θροούσα) πρὸς σε τέκνον πατρὸς  
αὐδᾶν (G αὐδῶν)

The antistrophic context differs but little in M and in G. M reads :

ἐπαύσας πατρὸς ἔργῳ  
θροούσα  
πρὸς σε τέκνον πατρὸς αὐδᾶν  
καὶ περαίνων ἐπίμομφαν ἄταν.

G presents the following variations: ἔπανσας for ἐπαύσας, θροούσα for θροούσα, αὐδῶν for αὐδᾶν, and ἐπίμομφᾶταν, with the symbol for *av* written above the φ, for ἐπίμομφαν ἄταν. Robertellus, if he is to be trusted, found in the codex which he used ἔσβυσας instead of ἐπαύσας.

Franz, combining emendations made by Blomfield and by Seidler, reads :

σὺ δὲ θαρσῶν, ὅταν ἦκη μέρος ἔργων,  
ἐπαύσας πατρὸς αὐδᾶν  
θροούσα τέκνον,  
πέραιν' οὐκ ἐπίμομφον ἄταν.

It is impossible to resist the conviction that this line of emendation is right; but the details are not certain. No doubt the ἔργῳ of πατρὸς ἔργῳ has replaced αὐδᾶν because of the words μέρος ἔργων at the end of the preceding line; and no doubt also this interference with πατρὸς αὐδᾶν in its proper place has caused the words πατρὸς αὐδᾶν to appear after τέκνον. But it is very difficult to see how the gloss πρὸς σε can have passed into the text before τέκνον, if θροούσα was the original reading. But if not θροούσα but θρεομένα was the true reading, it is within the bounds of possibility that πρὸς σε may have been

mistaken for a mysterious correction of a word so unfamiliar to the copyists, and so may have been interlined instead of being kept in the margin. Now any attempt to emend *θρεομένα* on the supposition that *πρός σε* contained the *ductus literarum* of the true reading could only result in *θροούσα*. I suggest that this has happened, and that, as often, we have two stages side by side in the text.

*θρεομένα* presents no metrical difficulty at all. I know that I am suggesting something very uncertain; but in the course of this tractate I seem to find repeated evidence of the desirability of paying particular and minute attention to the circumstances under which it is possible for a gloss to become incorporated in the text.

If I am right in supposing, as the metre leads me to suppose, that what is ordinarily called the mesode is in reality the second of two corresponding strophes, I am nevertheless bound to admit that it has been distorted to such an extent that I can neither search in it for examples of the phenomenon I am discussing nor propose any reconstitution with a sufficient degree of probability to justify a detailed discussion. I mention this at this point, because it is with strophe and antistrophe β', if with anything at all, that the alleged mesode corresponds.

## D

In the third line of the third strophe the first two syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the third antistrophe for those two shorts one long is substituted.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 790. *κλύετε σύμφρονες θεοί*

(b) l. 801. *πρᾶξιν οὐρίαν θέλων* (M θέλων<sup>ω</sup>)

Hermann says: "Scribendum esse κλύτε vidit etiam Dindorfius." I dare not for my own part express myself so rudely on the more or less numerous occasions when I find that editors have in practice, though not in theory, adopted my main contention. But my meaning is often the same as that which Hermann has here permitted himself to put in words.

## E

In the fourth line of the fourth strophe the second syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the fourth antistrophe for that long two shorts are substituted.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 809.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  κρεκτὸν γοήτων (G γοήτων) νόμον (G νόμων, written with contractions)

[It is to be observed that in M  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is written *in litura*, the original reading being completely erased; and also that in M the -ον of νόμον replaces an earlier -ων: both alterations seem to have been made not by the first hand.]

(b) l. 820. χάριτος ὀργᾶς λυπρᾶς, ἔνδοθεν

In the antistrophic line Blomfield alters λυπρᾶς to λυγρᾶς: Hermann adopts this, and further changes χάριτος to χάριτας.

The strophic context imperatively demands an introductory particle. Hermann reads:

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  δὲ κρεκτὸν γοατὰν νόμον.

But why should so simple an expression as  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  δὲ cause difficulty? Something so strange once stood in M that it has not been merely altered but erased *in toto*. I think that the most probable explanation is that Aeschylus wrote  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  δὲ. The Doric  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ , 'simul,' invariably gives rise to confusion, and is often read  $\theta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ . If here it was so read, the δὲ would very probably disappear, although the initial  $\theta'$  would of course be monstrous. If the first hand of M wrote  $\theta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  (or, more probably, *metri gratia*,  $\theta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ) without δὲ, I can quite well understand a revisor scratching the reading out, and substituting  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . But I can understand nothing of the kind on the assumption that  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  δὲ was the original.



## F AND G

In the sixth line of the fourth strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts, and so are the sixth and seventh syllables: for each set of two shorts the sixth line of the fourth antistrophe substitutes one long. But the latter substitution can only be called visual, as at a very early point the two lines part company as regards metre.

The lines run as follows:

- (a) l. 811. ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος ἀέξεται τόδε  
 (b) l. 822. τὸν αἴτιον δ' ἐξαπολλὺς μόρον

In the antistrophic line Turnebus, I suppose rightly, changes *μόρον* to *μόρου*. The line is the last but one in the antistrophe. The last line is altogether missing.

One strophic line is very peculiarly circumstanced. Synapheia is neglected both before it and at the end of it.

Here is the context (ll. 810–12):

τὰ δ' (G τάδ') εὔ  
 ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος ἀέξεται τόδε,  
 ἄτα (so G: but M ἄτη<sup>a</sup>) δ' ἀποστατεῖ φίλων.

In l. 810 εὔ must be short, before a vowel; but it is answered in the antistrophe by the long last syllable of *τιθείς*. Probably, with Hermann, we should elide the ε of *τόδε* in l. 811, and split ἄτα between ll. 811 and 812. But the two instances of neglect of synapheia throw some light on the state of the text.

Read:

τὰ δ' εὔ-  
 -μενῶν ἐμοὶ κέρδος αὔξει τόδ', ἄ-  
 -τα δ' ἀποστατεῖ φίλων.

Hermann suggested *αὔξει*. That *εὐμενῶν ἐμοὶ* is necessary is shown both by the hiatus after εὔ, and, as will be seen at a glance, by the antithesis required by the context.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 923-66)

This chorus, which consists almost entirely of dochmii, is so corrupt as to present various problems of an almost insoluble character, although portions of it have yielded to the brilliant emendatory efforts of Hermann.

It seems almost certain—against Hermann—that the true arrangement is as follows :

στρ. α'	}
στρ. β'	
ἀντ. α'	}
στρ. γ'	
ἀντ. β'	
ἀντ. γ'	}

There are a number of irregularities in metre, obviously due to corruption; but only two examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating. This is remarkable. Allowing for a lacuna, twenty-seven dochmii or would-be dochmii are in this chorus answered by twenty-seven other dochmii or would-be dochmii. Now it is evident, that, if a dochmius of one form may be answered *ad libitum* by a dochmius either of the same or of any other form, there arises, assuming that only a moderate amount of resolution is employed, a presumption that at least half (if not a much greater proportion) of strophic dochmii will be answered by antistrophic dochmii that furnish instances of the phenomenon in question. But instead of thirteen, or even many more, examples of the phenomenon, we have only two.

This fact is incidentally a convincing proof that the arrangement of strophes and antistrophes which I have adopted is not fallacious.

## A

In the first line of the third strophe the second dochmius is of the form ∪---∪-: in the first line of the third antistrophe the second dochmius is of the form ∪∪∪-∪-.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 941-2. *τάπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνάσσιος*  
*μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς κτλ.*
- (b) ll. 959-60. *τάχα δὲ παντελῆς χρόνος ἀμείψεται*  
*πρόθυρα δωμάτων*

In the strophe Paley reads *τάνπερ* for *τάπερ*, and *Παρνασσίας* for *Παρνάσσιος*. The latter emendation is probably right in view of the context; the former emendation is introduced in order to fit in with other emendations of a purely conjectural character, and conflicts with the metre of the antistrophic text.

In the antistrophe, Elmsley, followed by Blomfield, reads *χορὸς* for *χρόνος*. Elmsley has been attacked for this emendation. On the whole I incline to think that he is right. Only, if we read *χορὸς*, we must change *ἀμείψεται* into *μέλψεται*. *μέλπεσθαι* with an accusative can bear the sense required. See Liddell and Scott.

I conjecture that *ἀμείψεται* was written instead of *μέλψεται* because the word *ἄμ'* had been corrupted in another part of the line, had been written in as an interlineation, and had been misunderstood. My whole reading is this:

*τάχα δ' ἄμ' ἀντολᾷ χορὸς μέλψεται*  
*πρόθυρα δωμάτων.*

The intermediate corruption was *ἐπ' ἀντολᾷ*.

## B

In the fourth line of the third strophe the first dochmius is of the form  $- \cup \cup - \cup -$  (emended by Hermann into the form  $- \cup \cup - \cup -$ ): in the fourth line of the third antistrophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup - - \cup$  (emended by Hermann into the form  $\cup - - \cup -$ ).

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 951. *βλαπτομέναν ἐν χρόνοις θεῖσαν ἐποίχεται*  
 (b) l. 962. *καθαρμοῖς ἅπαν ἐλατήριον*

Hermann gives the lines thus:

- (a) *βλαπτομένα χρονισθεῖσαν ἐποίχεται*  
 (b) *καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις.*



*χροισθείσαν* is brilliant, and it is evident that the antistrophic line is rightly reconstituted. But the words immediately preceding the strophic line are *ἀδόλως δολίας*. It is manifest that these words will not conclude a dochmius. Hence, for *ἀδόλως δολίας βλαπτομέναν* I am inclined to suggest: *ἀδόλους δόλους ἐνάπτων*.

I look on *βλαπτομέναν* as a gloss on *χροισθείσαν* (*βλάπτεισθαι* is very common in such a sense), which, owing to the accidental resemblance of the *ductus literarum* of the word to that of *ἐνάπτων*, was taken to be a correction of *ἐνάπτων*.

But in this chorus I chiefly lay emphasis on the impossibility of arguing that either of the two examples of my phenomenon which are found in it possesses any serious evidential value against my case: the fact that there are only two examples is greatly in my favour.

#### SUMMARY

The *Choephoroe* presents nineteen examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, to which nineteen Hermann adds by emendation three others. Of the nineteen, three sets of two each occur within the compass of single lines, and in one case a false quantity is involved: in two instances there is some MS. authority against the phenomenon: one example occurs in a *vox nihili*: two instances are purely graphic, and one instance is almost purely graphic. Seven examples remain, of which the majority are obviously tainted with some kind of corruption:

#### EUMENIDES

The *Eumenides*, of all extant plays, bears the strongest witness to the truth of the theory which I advocate. The *Prometheus Vincitus* contains two examples only of the phenomenon which I am discussing, the *Eumenides* has

but one. And it is impossible to maintain that the *Eumenides* has been rewritten under the influence of late schools of metre. It is certainly corrupt; but the corruption is in the main extremely ancient.

### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 146-177)

In the first line of the first strophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ : in the first line of the first antistrophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup--\cup\cup$ .

The lines are these:

(a) l. 146. *ιοὺν ἰοὺν πόπαξ. ἐπάθομεν φίλαι*

(b) l. 152. *ἰὼ παῖ Διός, ἐπὶ κλοπος πέλη*

That there is some corruption in the antistrophic line is conclusively proved by the short quantity of the last syllable of *Διός*. It is to be remarked that codex Farnesianus, which, as containing the recension of Triclinius, is of far greater value than scholars inferior to Triclinius usually suppose, gives the antistrophic line as

*ἰὼ ἰὼ παῖ Διός, ἐπὶ κλοπος πέλη.*

The duplication of the *ἰὼ* is almost necessary in order to duplicate the echo of the *ιοὺν* in the strophic line.

It is difficult to suppose that the Furies or anyone else, if they began an address to Apollo with the word *ἰὼ*, would continue it otherwise than with the word *Παιῶν*.

Read:

*ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιῶν, ἐπὶ κλοπος πέλη.*

There is no difficulty in shortening an *αι* before a vowel. **ΠΑΙΑΝ** has been read **ΠΑΙΔΙ** with something unintelligible after it, so that **ΠΑΙΔΙΟΣ** came to be written.

### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 253-272)

This chorus seems to have been so much corrupted that correspondence of strophe and antistrophe can no longer be detected.

## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 304-388)

No instances.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 483-554)

No instances.

## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 770-782 and 797-809)

No instances.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 823-833 and 857-867)

No instances.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 903-1002, including regular  
anapaests)

No instances in the lyrical portions.

EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1014-1102, including regular  
anapaests)

No instances.

## SUMMARY

The *Eumenides* exhibits only one example of the phenomenon in question. That example is not only corrupt beyond all doubt, but admits also of almost certain emendation.

## FRAGMENTS OF AESCHYLUS

The extant fragments of Aeschylus afford no material for the purposes of this investigation.



## SUMMARY OF AESCHYLUS

The choruses of Aeschylus present 103 examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. Of these 103, 63 are either plainly wrong, or else, for various reasons, very highly suspect. 40 instances remain, many of which are only slightly less suspect than most of the 63. In all, only ten or twelve would fail to awaken suspicion apart from the fact that they present the peculiar scansion, the legitimacy of which I am investigating.

In addition to the 103 examples, there are five others which are due to emendation.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOPHOCLES

#### OEDIPUS TYRANNUS

##### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 151-215)

###### A

THE first strophe has its third line beginning with a spondee. For this spondee the first antistrophe substitutes a dactyl.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 153. *Θήβας ; ἐκτέταμαι, φοβερὰν φρένα δείματι  
πάλλων*

(b) l. 161. *Ἄρτεμιν, ἃ κυκλόεντ' ἀγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα  
θάσσει*

The lines are hexameters, a fact which introduces an element of confusion. It may be maintained that even choric hexameters enjoy ordinary hexametrical licence. But choric iambic trimeters are subject to lyrical rules, so that the presumption is that choric hexameters are similarly subject.

Moreover the second, third, fourth and fifth feet in both hexameters are all dactyls; a point which makes strongly for strict lyrical correspondence.

It may be observed also that the first lines of the strophe and antistrophe are also hexameters, and dactylic throughout: so too are the last lines. Add to this that the last lines but one run as follows :

ll. 156-7. ἡ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις πάλιν ἐξανύσεις χρέος·  
and ll. 164-5. εἴ ποτε καὶ προτέρας ἄτας ὑπερ ὀρνημένας  
πόλει.

These verses are manifestly cognate to hexameters, while it is plain that the lyrical correspondence between them is complete.

It will also be seen that they jointly admit a spondee into the third foot. This fact negatives the presumption that might otherwise arise from the dactylic nature of the first lines of the strophe and antistrophe, and the equally dactylic nature of the feet, after the first, in the third lines themselves, to the effect that it must be Ἄρτεμιν that is right, and Θήβας that is wrong.

On the contrary, I cannot myself conceive of any reasonable emendation of Θήβας, whereas Ἄρτεμιν could well stand for some less familiar name of the goddess, preferably a name fairly closely resembling the letters of Ἄρτεμιν.

I wish to read Ἄγραν.

See Ruhnke's learned discussion of Ἄγρα and its cognates (*Polit. Tim. Lex.* 222).

## B

In the second strophe the second line has its fifth syllable long. In the second antistrophe instead of a corresponding long syllable we find two shorts.

The lines run thus :

- (a) ll. 169-70. πῆματα· νοσεῖ δέ μοι πρόπας στόλος,  
οὐδ' ἔνι φροντίδος ἔγχος  
(b) ll. 179-80. νηλέα δὲ γένεθλα πρὸς πέδῳ θανατοφόρα  
κείται ἀνοίκτως

I believe that νηλέα is corrupt, and the restoration of an original trochaic adjective in the place of νηλέα will give, with the help of the mute and liquid in γένεθλα, the normal scansion, υ - δὲ γένεθλα.

I object most strongly to νηλέα for three separate reasons :



(1) *νηλής* is a word with a very well established meaning, and that meaning is not 'unpitied' but 'unpitying.'

(2) Granting (which I cannot grant) that *νηλέα* may mean 'unpitied,' then 'unpitied' is the last thing in the world that Sophocles would have dreamt of saying, because to say it would be to put into the line a monstrous tautology. *ἀνοίκτως* expresses the idea with the completest exactitude.

(3) *γένεθλα*, without an adjective meaning 'young,' is insufficient both as regards clearness of expression and as regards the balance required by the context. The immediately succeeding lines are :

*ἐν δ' ἄλοχοι πολιαί τ' ἐπὶ ματέρες  
ἀκτὰν παρὰ βώμιον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι  
λυγρῶν πόνων ἰκτῆρες ἐπιστενάχουσιν.*

I therefore suggest with considerable confidence that the true reading is :

*νηρὰ δὲ γένεθλα πρὸς πέδῳ θανατοφόρα κείται ἀνοίκτως.*

*νηρός* is merely the contracted form of *νεαρός*.

I believe that Hesychius actually read *νηρὰ* in this very passage, and that he was unable to understand it, but thought that, judging by the context, it meant 'lying on the ground.' Hence his remark (observe the neuter) : *νηρόν, τὸ ταπεινόν*.

I suppose that *νηλέα* arose out of a gloss on *νηρὰ*, viz. *νεαλέα*.

### C

The second strophe in its fifth line has for fifth and sixth syllables two shorts. The second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are :

(a) l. 174. *ιήϊων καμάτων ἀνέχουσι γυναῖκες*

(b) l. 185. *λυγρῶν πόνων ἰκτῆρες ἐπιστενάχουσιν*

Is it not obvious at first sight that we should read *ικετῆρες* ?

It is true that we have only for the word *ικέτηρ* the direct authority of *ικετηρίς* in the Septuagint and in the Orphic Hymns; but we have *ικέτης* by the side of *προίκτης*, if indeed *προίκτης* be from this root, and *ικτήριος* stands side by side with *ικετήριος*.

## D AND E

I now come to an emendation which I consider certain and important. It is also, I think, interesting.

The second syllable of the second line of the third strophe is a long. The third antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The seventh syllable of the second line of the third strophe is a long. The third antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

Here are the lines :

(a) l. 191. φλέγει με περιβόατος ἀντιάζων

(b) l. 205. βέλεα θέλοιμ' ἀν' ἀδάματ' (MSS. ἀδάμαστ')  
ἐνδατεῖσθαι

If I can kill two birds with one stone, I think I shall have gone far towards proving something.

I will quote at length the first five lines of the antistrophe :

Λύκει' ἀναξ, τά τε σὰ χρυσοστρόφων ἀπ' ἀγκυλᾶν  
βέλεα θέλοιμ' ἀν' ἀδάματ' ἐνδατεῖσθαι  
ἀρωγὰ προσταθέντα, τὰς τε πυρφόρους  
'Αρτέμιδος αἴγλας, ξὺν αἷς  
Λύκι' ὄρεα διάσσει.

Remembering Psalm xci. 5, 6 :

“Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night :  
nor for the arrow that flieth by day ;

For the pestilence that walketh in darkness : nor for  
the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day,”

I assert without hesitation that **ΑΔΑΜΑΤ** is a corruption of **ΑΝΑΜΑΤ**, i.e. ἀν' ἄματ', ‘by day,’ or rather ‘by day and every day.’

The line originally ran :

θέλοιμι βέλε' ἄν' ἄματ' ἄν' δατεῖσθαι.

ἄν' ἄματ' having easily become ἀδάματ', and ἄν' δατεῖσθαι having no less easily passed into the familiar ἐνδατεῖσθαι, the difficulty was to supply θέλοιμι, in the line as it stood, with its necessary ἄν without doing obvious violence to the metre. This object could only be effected by means of the transposition of θέλοιμι in the form θέλοιμ' and βέλε' in the form βέλεα. The entirely unnecessary uncontracted termination of βέλεα, where the word stands in the vulgate, is proof positive that it has been transplanted from a place in the line where the uncontracted form was metrically necessary.

## F

The fourth line of the third strophe begins with an iamb. The fourth line of the third antistrophe has, not this iamb, but a dactyl. Hence the first syllable is in the one case long, in the other short : after the first syllable we have in the one case a long, in the other two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 194. ἔπουρον εἶτ' ἐς μέγαν (L, first hand, ἔπουρον :  
L, corrected, ἄπουρον : most MSS.,  
ἄπουρον : both readings were known to  
the scholiast)

(b) l. 207. Ἀρτέμιδος αἴγλας, ξὺν αἴς

The double want of correspondence, coupled with the MS. variation between ἔπουρον and ἄπουρον, leads me to believe that both ἔπουρον and ἄπουρον are corrupt.

ἐξόριον would scan perfectly, and would make excellent sense ; but the difficulty is to see why this word, which was quite intelligible in later times, should have been corrupted either into ἔπουρον or into ἄπουρον, which latter seems indeed to be nothing more than an alteration of ἔπουρον with a view to obtain a better sense in the opinion of the innovator.



The *ν* of ἔπουρον or ἄπουρον is in particular most unlikely to have been foisted into an original ἐξόριον.

I suggest myself that ἡύπορον has given rise to the whole difficulty. The *ν* has been put before the *ρ*, and ἡπ- has in desperation (for I can hardly imagine such a corruption occurring before the archonship of Euclid) been read ἐπ-.

ll. 198-9 run thus in the MSS. :

τέλει γὰρ εἴ τι νύξ ἀφῆ  
τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἔρχεται.

They are untranslatable, and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. The construction of εἴ with the subjunctive is open to grave suspicion. The lines come between the expression of a hope that Ares may be banished into the Atlantic Ocean or into the Thracian Sea, and a prayer that Zeus may destroy Ares with his lightning. Consequently it is difficult to see what the sequence of night and day has to do with the context. I suggest that Sophocles, basing himself upon such statements as those of Pytheas, really says that the Atlantic Ocean and the Thracian Sea are places shrouded in night and never visited by the day, and says it as a reason for relegating Ares thither.

The matter is of great importance as bearing on the conclusions with regard to synapheia to which my work on this treatise has led me. l. 197 runs :

Θρήκιον κλύδωνα.

The last syllable is short, and the next line begins with the word τέλει. The antistrophe shows conclusively that the last syllable of l. 197 ought to be long. I therefore read the three lines thus :

Θρήκιον κλύδων'· ἐν  
τέλει γὰρ ἐστι νύξ, ἀφη τ'  
οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἔρχεται.

I translate, understanding ἐκεῖ, which I think it would be in accordance with Greek usage not to express: 'For

there Night is queen, and Day draws not near with his torch' (or 'with his kindling'). ἀφή, from ἄπτειν, 'to kindle,' is used by Herodotus: there is a close connexion between Herodotus and Sophocles.

I could leave the matter here: but I am not certain that τέλει itself is altogether sound. A comparison with the antistrophe will show that, if correspondence is to be complete, the first syllable of the word ought to be long. *Syllabae ancipites* are as frequent as possible at the beginning of lines; but an examination of this particular chorus seems to show that it does not admit the licence in question. Moreover, if Sophocles wrote ἐν τέλει γὰρ ἐστι νύξ, no one hearing the words sung could possibly tell without some consideration whether the meaning was ἐν τέλει γὰρ ἐστι νύξ or ἐν τ' ἔλει γὰρ ἐστι νύξ. The latter would make very respectable sense, for, although the Thracian Sea was not a marsh, the Cimmerian marsh, the traditional home of darkness, was reputed to be in its immediate neighbourhood. The difference of accent between ἐν τέλει and ἐν τ' ἔλει would vanish altogether in lyric poetry when sung: the artificial notes replace the natural accents. There is no authority for supposing that τέλει and τ' ἔλει were pronounced in two different ways. The γαλήν ὀρώ story shows only that an aspirate after an elision was not pronounced (though of course it affected a preceding mute consonant).

Callimachus twice uses τέλθος in the sense of τέλος, though a number of MSS. in either case present, in spite of the metre, the ordinary form. I think that Callimachus shows us that τέλθος was good Doric. Consequently I think it possible that Sophocles may have written:

Θράκιον κλύδων' ἐν  
τέλθει γὰρ ἐστι νύξ, ἀφᾶ τ'  
οὐκ ἐπ' ἄμαρ ἔρχεται.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 463–512)

### A AND B

I will deal first with B and then with A.

## B

The seventh line of the first strophe presents two shorts immediately before its concluding syllable. For these two shorts the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The two lines are these :

(α) l. 470. *πυρὶ καὶ στεροπαῖς ὁ Διὸς γενέτας*

(β) l. 480. *τὰ μεσόμφαλα γῆς ἀπονοσφίζων*

It is necessary to quote the context of the antistrophic line :

*φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίαν  
ἕλαν ἀνά τ' ἄντρα καὶ  
πετραῖος (this line is a notorious crux) ὁ ταῦρος,  
μέλεος μέλέω ποδὶ χηρεύων,  
τὰ μεσόμφαλα γῆς ἀπονοσφίζων  
μαντεῖα· τὰ δ' αἰὲ  
ζῶντα περιποτᾶται.*

The chief difficulty about *ἀπονοσφίζων* is that the sense requires *ἀπονοσφίζόμενος*, or its equivalent in meaning. It is true that Sophocles departs habitually and intentionally from the nicer grammatical usages of the Attic dialect in order to attain that remoteness from everyday life which is a necessary characteristic of high tragedy—a remoteness at which Aeschylus arrived by means of the use of *ρήμαθ' ἵπποβάμονα*, and which Euripides reached (if and when he reached it) by dint of the employment of *νινς* and *σφες*, together with *τειχέων περιπτυχαῖς* and the like, peppered about in the midst of essentially idiomatic Attic.

Consequently an active for a middle is nothing surprising in Sophocles; but what is surprising is to find an active for a middle when that middle is distinctly and essentially middle in obvious meaning.

It is apparent that a desiderative form of *ἀπονοσφίζομαι* would bring out the opposition between the last clause and the last clause but one of the antistrophe more forcibly than would the present participle *ἀπονοσφίζόμενος*, even were the latter metrically possible. And it must be



remembered that, in the case of desideratives, the active form is used, no matter whether the verb from which they come be middle or active.

As *κατάκειμαι*, middle, gives birth to the Homeric desiderative *κακκείοντες*, active, so *ἀπονοσφίζω* and *ἀπονοσφίζομαι* would both alike engender a desiderative of the active voice.

It is common to suppose that the only possible desiderative of verbs such as that in question, is the desiderative in *-σείω*: but I am not persuaded of the impossibility of the desiderative in *-σιῶ* (i.e. *-σιάω*).

*φενξιῶ* is the MS. reading in Eurip. *H. F.* 638. Portus corrected this to *φενξείω*, for which form, however, I have found no lexicographical authority.

If *φενξιῶ* is right, it is obtained by the addition of *-ιῶ* to the future stem. As *φεύζομαι* gives *φενξιῶ*, so *ἀπονοσφίσσομαι* would give *ἀπονοσφισιῶ*; or, whether or no the "contracted" future has anything to do with it, as *φενξοῦμαι* gives *φενξιῶ*, so *ἀπονοσφιοῦμαι* (presumably the true Attic form) would give *ἀπονοσφιῶ*.

I suggest that either *ἀπονοσφισιῶν*, or, to my mind more probably, the very strange looking form *ἀπονοσφιῶν*, ought to be read in this passage.

## A

In l. 478 the reading of the first hand of L, *πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος*, has to correspond to *φυγῆ πόδα νωμῶν* in the strophe. It is possible that Martin's emendation *πέτρας ἰσόταυρος* is right. In any case we need not concern ourselves with the obviously unoriginal *πέτρας ὡς ταῦρος* of most of the MSS., or with the instance that it presents of the phenomenon under investigation, except so far as to note the readiness of the copyists to introduce the scansion which, I contend, is really no scansion at all.

But, in view of the context following, I am rather doubtful whether any comparison of the fugitive to a bull is really appropriate. It will be observed that the poet mentions woods, caves, and rocks, but says nothing of another feature of mountain scenery at least equally im-

portant, namely, the torrents. I venture to suggest for consideration the reading :

πέτρας καὶ ἀναύρους.

This is not palaeographically so close to *πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος* as is Martin's *πέτρας ἰσόταυρος*, but the **K** of **KAI** may easily have been read **IC**, and the **AI** may have been omitted by haplography because of the **AN** immediately following. I do not think that *πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος* would have been an unlikely emendation of the resultant text. There is ample lexicographical and scholiastic authority for the use of *ἄναυρος*, 'a torrent,' as distinguished from *ἄναυρος*, the particular torrent of Jason's adventure. I am not invoking the aid of any such late idiom as gives us *euripi* and the like in Latin.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 649-697)

No instances.

### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 863-910)

#### A

The eighth line of the second strophe has for its sixth syllable a long : the second antistrophe replaces this long with two shorts.

The lines are as follows :

(a) l. 891. ἡ τῶν ἀθίκτων θίξεται (so Blaydes : MSS.  
ἔξεται) ματάζων

(b) l. 905. σὲ τάν τε σὰν ἀθάνατον αἰὲν ἀρχάν

I do not hesitate one moment in proposing *ἄνατον* in place of *ἀθάνατον*. The only question that arises is with regard to the correspondence of the short initial *a* of *ἄνατον* with the long last syllable of *ἀθίκτων*. But it is sufficiently manifest that musically *ἀθίκτων* ends in a

trochee. In the last line but one of this strophe and antistrophe we find

εἰ γὰρ αἰ τοῖαιδε πράξεις τίμαι

balanced by

κούδαμοῦ τιμαῖς Ἀπόλλων ἐμφανής

It is more probable than not that the *οι* of *τοῖαιδε* is short.

I do not think that anyone is at present able to state with exactitude the conditions under which *syllabae ancipites* were tolerated in the middle of lines, nor do I propose on this occasion to go further into this thorny question. It is sufficient that no one, so far as I am aware, would deny the metrical possibility of *ἄνατον* in this place.

#### B AND C

The ninth line of the second strophe begins with two shorts: the second antistrophe substitutes one long. After the two shorts of the strophe come two other shorts: again the antistrophe substitutes one long. One remedy will cure both ills.

The lines run thus:

(α) l. 892. τίς ἔτι ποτ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ θεῶν βέλη

(b) l. 906. φθίνοντα γὰρ Λαῖου παλαίφατα

The latter portions of both lines are largely conjectural, but fortunately I have to deal with the beginnings only.

The context of l. 906 is as follows:

φθίνοντα γὰρ Λαῖου παλαίφατα  
θέσφατ' ἐξαιροῦσιν ἤδη,  
κούδαμοῦ τιμαῖς Ἀπόλλων ἐμφανής.

This is sufficient to show that *φθίνοντα* comes at any rate very near to the meaning required, though I admit that I do not quite like the use of the active *φθίνειν* as applied to oracles, in view of the prevailing employment of this voice of the word in a physical sense.

The epic long *ι* of *φθίνοντα* seems to me to be a serious, though not an insuperable, objection to the vulgate.



Read *φθινόμενα τὰ γὰρ Λαίου παλαίφατα*, where *φθινόμενα* is strongly predicative. But this is only a stage. Sophocles wrote :

*τίς ἔτι ποτ' ἐν τοιοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ θεῶν βέλη*

and

*φθινόμενα γὰρ τὰ Λαίου παλαίφατα,*

or at least the first portions of those lines.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1086–1109)

No instances.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1186–1222)

The second line of the second strophe (l. 1205) is thus given in the MSS. :

*τίς ἐν πόνοις, τίς ἄταις ἀγρίαις*

The corresponding line of the second antistrophe runs (l. 1214) :

*δικάζει τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι*

It is obvious, both on the ground of the Greek and on that of the metre, l. 1205 is indefensible as it stands. Consequently an emendation of Hermann's has been generally adopted :

*τίς ἄταις ἀγρίαις, τίς ἐν πόνοις*

It is true that Hermann subsequently suggested another emendation, and that a few editors of less repute have also tried their hands. But it is unnecessary to consider violent alterations.

Accepting for the moment, as most editors accept, though not merely for the moment, Hermann's emendation of l. 1205, we are confronted with an example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

The two lines are :

(a) l. 1205. *τίς ἄταις ἀγρίαις, τίς ἐν πόνοις*

(b) l. 1214. *δικάζει τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι*

The first syllable of *ἀγρίαις* is long, and corresponds to the two short initial syllables of τὸν ἄγαμον.

This may, I suppose, be fairly styled the received text.

But Hermann himself would not have it. He considered that the first syllable of *ἀγρίαις* was short, and altered l. 1214 into :

δικάζει τ' ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι

The whole difficulty disappears if we keep l. 1214 as it stands in the MSS., if we treat the first syllable of *ἀγρίαις* as short, and if we transpose with Hermann, but making a minute alteration, so as to read l. 1205 thus :

τίς ἄταισιν ἀγρίαις, τίς ἐν πόνοις

### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1297–1368)

#### A AND B

In the tenth line of the second strophe the opening dochmiac foot is almost entirely resolved, so as to consist of  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup$ : the opening dochmiac foot of the tenth line of the second antistrophe runs  $-\cup\cup-\cup-$ .

It seems to be considered by editors that the first two shorts of the strophic line do not correspond with the initial long of the antistrophic line, but that the first syllable of all is *anceps*. Otherwise they would be driven, in order to obtain correspondence at all, to scan the third and fourth syllables of the antistrophic line (the two last syllables of *ἄθεος*) as metrically one long syllable. But you cannot have a *syllaba anceps* in dochmiacs.

In any case the two concluding shorts of the opening dochmiac of the strophic line correspond with one long in the antistrophic line, as the text stands.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 1340. ἀπάγετ' ἐκτόπιον ὅτι τάχιστα με

(b) l. 1360. νῦν δ' ἄθεος (so Erfurdt: MSS. ἄθλιος) μέν  
εἴμ', ἀνοσίων δὲ παῖς

I do not mean to suggest that Erfurdt scanned *ἄθεος*

as an iamb: I only mean that there is no possibility, having regard to what a dochmius is, of reconciling ll. 1340 and 1360, as they stand, without adopting the iambic scansion. Otherwise we should have a dochmius of the normal type  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  (with regular resolutions) in the strophe, but a dochmius of the rarer type  $\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  in the antistrophe.

But on the other hand I very much doubt whether  $\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$  is a dochmius at all.

I believe that l. 1360, with Erfurd's emendation, is absolutely sound, that the proper scansion of it is  $\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  (the substitution of a dactyl for the initial iamb of a dochmius being distinctly permissible), and that l. 1340 has to be brought into exact conformity.

ll. 1340 to 1343 run thus (one dochmiac foot making a line for numerical purposes):

*ἀπάγετ' ἐκτόπιον ὄτι τάχιστα με·*  
*ἀπάγετ' ὦ φίλοι τὸν ὀλέθριον μέγαν (corrupt).*

I suggest that the former *ἀπάγετ'* ought to be *ἄγετ'*. It is unnecessary to quote instances of a simple verb being repeated in a compound form. If we read *ἄγετ'* it enables us to substitute *ἐκ τόπων* for *ἐκτόπιον*. *ἀπάγετ' ἐκ τόπων* would be a puerile expression, and was probably altered on that very account to *ἀπάγετ' ἐκτόπιον*. But *τῶνδ' ἄγετ' ἐκ τόπων* is a different matter, and that is what I argue that Sophocles wrote.

#### SUMMARY

The *Oedipus Tyrannus* contains about 151 strophic and about 151 antistrophic lines, in all about 302. These 302 lines, or thereabouts (it is impossible on any existing system of numeration to secure an absolutely precise figure), present, on the highest computation, only fourteen examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.



## OEDIPUS COLONEUS

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 117-253)

This is a very complex chorus, and its arrangement is in places so unsymmetrical as to show that a portion of its framework has been tampered with, perhaps only or mainly as the result of omissions, since the time of Sophocles. It is sufficient to mention this fact. The chorus now consists of five strophes and antistrophes, with interspersed anapaestic systems. It is obvious that the first strophe consists of ll. 117-137, with its antistrophe in ll. 149-169, and that the second strophe consists of ll. 178-187 with its antistrophe in ll. 194-206, though ll. 199-202 in the second antistrophe answer to nothing in the strophe, which proceeds as if they did not exist. To find the remaining strophes and antistrophes, so as to be able to see whether our phenomenon occurs or not, is a matter of some search. But on careful inspection it becomes clear that the third strophe consists of ll. 207-210, a line having dropped out between 209 and 210, and l. 211 being either an interpolation or a corruption, as is shown by the common final syllable of the previous line and its antistrophic counterpart, which common syllable indicates the end of a system; and it also becomes clear that the third antistrophe consists of ll. 237-240. The fourth strophe will be found to consist of ll. 216-219, with its antistrophe 220-223. The fifth strophe begins at l. 228: then six lines have perished, as is proved by the antistrophe: it then resumes its course, and terminates at l. 236. The fifth antistrophe extends from l. 241 to l. 253.

This analysis accounts for the whole chorus, allowing for the interspersion of non-lyrical anapaestic systems, except that it should be added that immediately following the questionable l. 211, which adheres as a parasite to the third strophe, there occur four lines of nondescript metre. These I regard as a clumsy botching of two non-lyrical anapaestic systems.

The whole chorus will be seen to present five examples

of the phenomenon I am investigating. As the first two occur in the second strophe and antistrophe, I will begin by dealing with these, and then, before attacking the remaining three, I will set out the latter part of the chorus (l. 207 and onwards) so as to exhibit the real correspondence of the various parts.

### A AND B

The ninth and tenth lines of the second strophe run :

(a) ll. 186-7. τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστρυγεῖν  
καὶ τὸ φίλον σέβεσθαι.

The twelfth and thirteenth lines of the second antistrophe (which correspond, owing to the presence of extra lines in the antistrophe, to the ninth and tenth lines of the strophe) run

(b) ll. 205-206. τίς ὦν πολύπονος ἄγει ; τίνα  
σοῦ πατρίδ' ἐκπυθοίμαν ;

I cannot doubt that, with a diorthotes of the Laurentian MS., we ought to read τίς ὁ πολύπονος, and, with Vauvilliers, τίν' ἄν. This restores complete correspondence. I also think that σοῦ smacks of the κοινή and ought to be σὰν. An original σὰν would more fully account for τίν' ἄν becoming τίνα. The deliberative optative may well have crept in at a comparatively early date, seeing that it is characteristic of Greek writers very soon after the decline of the classical period to fail to understand the legitimate uses of the optative.

With the vulgate reading, there are two possible ways of making the lines more or less agree. We may take them thus :

(a)	τέτρ	οφ	εῦ	ἄ	φιλ	ον	ἀπ	οστ	υγ	εῖν
(b)	τίς	ὦν	πολ	ίπ	ον	ος	ἄγ	ει ;	τίν	α

In this case there is want of harmony in the second and tenth syllables only. Or we could equate them in another way :

(a) τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστρυγεῖν  
(b) τίς ὦν πολύπονος ἄγει ; τίνα

In that case we should have two instances of our phenomenon. The two shorts at the end of *τέτροφεν* would be answered by the long *ᾶν*, and the final long syllable of *ἀποστυγεῖν* would be answered by the pyrrhic *τίνα*. But then the trochee in the middle of *ἀποστυγεῖν* would be balanced by the iambic *ἄγει*. Yet I have a suspicion that this is after all the scansion intended, and that some one intentionally compensated for the shortening in the last syllable of the antistrophic line consequent on the omission of *ᾶν* by lengthening *ὄ* into *ᾶν*.

## C, D, AND E

I will now set out the chorus from l. 207.

- ΟΙ. ᾧ ξένοι,  
ἀπόπτολις· ἀλλὰ μή,  
ΧΟ. τί τόδ' ἀπεννέπεις, γέρον ;  
-----  
ΟΙ. μή μὴ μὴ μ' ἀνέρη τίς εἶμι. 210  
[μηδ' ἐξετάσῃς πέρα ματεύων.] Spurious line
- ΧΟ. τί τόδε ; ΟΙ. δεινὰ φύσις. ΧΟ. αὔδα.  
(read ΧΟ. τί τόδ' αὔ ; ΟΙ. δεινὴ φύσις. ΧΟ. ἀλλ'  
αὔδα.) Anapaests
- ΟΙ. τέκνον, ᾧμοι, τί γεγώνω ;  
(read τέκνον, ᾧμοι μοι, τί γεγώνω ;)
- ΧΟ. τίνος εἶ σπέρματος, ξεῖνε, φώνει, πατρόθεν ; 214—215  
(read τίνος εἶ πατρόθεν, ξένε, φώνει.)
- ΟΙ. ᾧμοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω, τέκνον ἐμόν ; στρ. δ'.  
ΑΝ. λέγ', ἐπίπερ ἐπ' ἔσχατα βαίνεις.  
ΟΙ. ἀλλ' ἐρῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω κατακρυφάν  
ΧΟ. μακρὰ μέλλετ' (adopt the emendation μέλλετον), ἀλλὰ  
ταχύετε (Paris Α ταχύατε : read τάχυναι).
- ΟΙ. Λαῖου ἴστε τιν' ἀπόγονον ; ΧΟ. ἰὸν ἰού. ἀντ. δ'. 220  
(read ΟΙ. Λαῖου ἴστε τιν' ἔκγονον ; ΧΟ. ἰού.)
- ΟΙ. τό τε Λαβδακιδᾶν γένος ; ΧΟ. ᾧ Ζεῦ·  
ΟΙ. ἄθλιον Οἰδιπόδαν ; ΧΟ. σὺ γὰρ ὄδ' εἶ ;  
ΟΙ. δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὄσ' αὐδῶ.



ΧΟ. ὦ ὦ ὦ. ΟΙ. δύσμορος. ΧΟ. ὦ.

ΟΙ. θύγατερ, τί ποτ' αὐτίκα κύρσει;

ΧΟ. ἔξω πόρσω βαίνετε χώρας.

ΟΙ. ἂ δ' ὑπέσχεο ποῖ καταθήσεις;

ΧΟ. οὐδενὶ μοιριδίᾳ τίσις ἔρχεται.

στρ. ε'.

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

ὦν προπάθη τὸ τίνειν· ἀπάτα δ' ἀπά-

229, 230

-ταις ἐτέραις ἐτέρα παραβαλλομέ-

-να πόνον, οὐ χάριν, ἀντιδίδωσιν ἔ-

-χειν, σὺ δὲ τῶνδ' ἐδράνων πάλιν ἔκτοπος

αὔθις ἄφορμος ἐμᾶς χθονὸς ἔκθορε,

μή τι πέρα χρέος

235

ἐμᾶ πόλει προσάψης.

ΑΝ. ὦ ξένοι

ἀντ. γ' } 237

αἰδόφρονες, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ

γεραὸν (the first diorthotes of the Laurentian adds

ἄλαον: Venetus and Paris B read γεραὸν ἄλαον)

πατέρα (my phenomenon) τόνδ' ἐμὸν

οὐκ ἀνέτλατ' ἔργων

ἀκόντων αἰόντες αὐδάν·

240

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὰν μελέαν, ἰκετεύομεν,

ἀντ. ε'.

ὦ ξένοι, οἰκτείραθ', ἂ

πατρὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦμοῦ μόνου ἄντομαι,

ἄντομαι οὐκ ἀλαοῖς προσορωμένα

ὄμμα σὸν ὄμμασιν, ὡς τις ἀφ' αἵματος

245

ὑμετέρου προφανεῖσα, τὸν ἄθλιον

αἰδοῦς κύρσαι· ἐν

ὑμῖν (read ὕμμι) γὰρ ὡς θεῶ (my phenomenon) κείμεθα

τλάμονες·

ἀλλ' ἴτε, νεύσατε τὰν ἀδόκητον χάριν (not only has

ἀδόκητον a redundant long syllable, but the final

of χάριν is impossibly long before the consonant at

the beginning of the next line. I read τὰν ἀλόχων

χάριν, and alter the next word),

πρὸς σ' ὃ τι σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι (read ἔσθ' ὃ  
 τέ σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι), 250  
 ἢ τέκνον, ἢ λόγος (Reiske, plausibly but wrongly, λέχος),  
 ἢ χρέος, ἢ θεός.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἂν ἀναθρῶν (Τ βροτόν: read οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις  
 ἂν ὑπαιθέριον βροτόν),  
 ὅστις ἂν, εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι (read ὅς, θεὸς εἰ φέροι), } 253  
 ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο (read ἂν ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο).

In l. 251 it has always been plain that τέκνον, λόγος, χρέος, and θεός are not all ἐκ σέθεν: but that τέκνον alone is in this category. Therefore the ἢ before τέκνον cannot mean 'either.' It is equally impossible to take it as meaning 'or,' because τέκνον is most certainly ἐκ σέθεν. Therefore the clause is untranslatable, and τέκνον is corrupt.

If I am right in my emendation τᾶν ἀλόχων χάριν in l. 249, exactly the same objection applies to Reiske's substitution of λέχος for λόγος.

Therefore I read l. 251 with some confidence thus:

εἴ τε πλέων λόγος, ἢ χρέος, ἢ θεός.

I translate: 'And by whatever more powerful plea may exist, be that plea a thing created, or be it the Creator.'

The corruption is early. ΕΙΤΕΠΛΕΩΝΛΟΓΟΣ would not readily pass into ΗΤΕΚΝΟΝΗΛΟΓΟΣ. But it is obvious that the similarity of the two expressions would be very close in the pre-Euclidean alphabet. I am constantly led to wonder whether that alphabet may not have remained for a long time in partial use at least as the vehicle of high literature originally composed in it.

My reading of the whole sentence is:

ἀλλ' ἴτε, νεύσατε τᾶν ἀλόχων χάριν,  
 ἔσθ' ὃ τέ σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι,  
 εἴ τε πλέων λόγος, ἢ χρέος, ἢ θεός.

We are now enabled to see that each of the three last strophic-antistrophic systems of this chorus presents one example of the phenomenon I have set out to investigate.

## C

The third line of the third strophe has for its fourth syllable a long: the third line of the third antistrophe replaces this long by two shorts. It is further to be remarked that the third syllable of the strophic line is short, of the antistrophic line long, and also that the latter line exhibits an unusual variation of reading. Probably one process, if the right process, would remove all stumbling-blocks together.

The lines are:

(a) l. 209. τί τόδ' ἀπεννέπεις, γέρον;

(b) l. 238. γεραὸν (the first diorthotes of the Laurentian adds ἄλαον: Venetus and Paris B read γεραὸν ἄλαον) πατέρα τόνδ' ἐμόν

I am inclined to suppose that ἄλαον is a corruption of Λαΐδαν, that γεραὸν is merely an uncial derivative of the -τέρα of πατέρα, which should begin the line, and that τόνδ' is the remains of a gloss on Λαΐδαν, viz. Λαΐον or Λαΐον.

Therefore I read:

πατέρα Λαΐδαν ἐμόν.

I cannot quite make up my mind whether Λαΐδαν should have an iota subscript: on the whole I think it should.

## D

The first line of the fourth strophe has for its seventh syllable a long: the first line of the fourth antistrophe substitutes for this long two shorts.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 216. ὄμοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω, τέκνον ἐμόν;

(b) l. 220. ΟΙ. Λαΐου ἴστε τιν' ἀπόγονον; ΧΟ. ἰὸν ἰού

I have suggested above that the antistrophic line should be read:

ΟΙ. Λαΐου ἴστε τιν' ἔκγονον; ΧΟ. ἰού.

In classical Greek ἀπόγονος does not mean 'son' but



'descendant,' though Hesychius seems to bear witness to an opposite later use by defining the word as meaning *υἱὸς ἢ ἔγγονος ἢ συγγενῆς*. Cyril goes further. He says that *ἀπόγονος* means *νήπιος, βρέφος, παῖς*.

In writing *ἔκγονον*, I must not be taken as doing anything other than simply conforming to the modern practice of not modifying the *κ* of *ἐκ*. By the strictly Attic rules of sandhi, *ἔκγονον* would become *ἔγγονον* (pronounced, I suppose, with two true gammas, and not with *ng* plus gamma); and so no doubt Sophocles wrote.

## E

In the second surviving line, originally the eighth line of the fifth strophe, the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the eighth line of the fifth antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are as follows:

(a) ll. 229–30. *ὦν προπάθη τὸ τίνειν· ἀπάτα δ' ἀπά-*

(b) l. 248. *ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς θεῶ κείμεθα τλάμονες*

I have already corrected the antistrophic line, so that we get the correspondence:

(a) *ὦν προπάθη τὸ τίνειν· ἀπάτα δ' ἀπά-*

(b) *ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς θεῶ κείμεθα τλάμονες*

It can hardly be doubted that we ought to read:

*ὦν προπάθη τίνειν· ἀπάτα δ' ἀπά-*

I regard the change of *τίνειν* to *τὸ τίνειν* as due partly to a desire to introduce the Attic scansion of *τίνειν*, partly to a desire to present a series of dactyls uninterrupted by spondees. But l. 247 suffices to show that there were occasional spondaic interruptions.

The lacuna of six lines, which, on purely metrical grounds, I have demonstrated to exist between ll. 226 and 227, removes the necessity for attempting to construe those two lines together, a task which has baffled the ingenuity of editors. The context and construction of *τίνειν* are unknown; but I strongly suspect the correctness

of ὦν προπάθη. In spite of current views, it remains unproved that ἄν can be omitted in tragedy in such sentences. The alleged instances are few and of doubtful authenticity. Therefore I regard as much more probable ἄν (i.e. ἂ ἄν) προπάθη.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 510–548)

A

The combined pairs of lines which open the first strophe and antistrophe respectively, run thus :

(α) ll. 510–1. δεινὸν μὲν τὸ πάλαι κείμενον ἤδη κακόν,  
ὦ ξεῖν' ἐπεγείρειν

(β) ll. 521–2. ἤνεγκον κακότατ', ὦ ξένοι, ἤνεγκον ἄκων  
μὲν, θεὸς ἴστω

It is clear that the last syllable of the second ἤνεγκον is superfluous (consequently Martin read ἤνεγκ', though he left the first ἤνεγκον), and that the long first syllable of ἄκων really answers the two short syllables of κακόν. Therefore Martin rightly changed ἄκων into ἀέκων. Mr. R. Whitelaw completed the cure by altering the first ἤνεγκον into ἤνεγκ' οὖν. So we must read :

ἤνεγκ' οὖν κακότατ', ὦ ξένοι, ἤνεγκ' ἀέκων μὲν, θεὸς ἴστω.

Though the emendation of this line is comparatively easy and the problem has been already solved, I do not think that any commentator has pointed out the principle which underlies a portion of the corruption. The influence of *versus technici* (see my remarks on the fifth chorus of the *Rhesus*) led copyists of a period somewhere about 1000 A.D. simply to count the syllables of lines without much regard to quantity. Consequently, when the second ἤνεγκ' gained a syllable and became ἤνεγκον, then, in order that the total number of syllables should remain unaffected, ἀέκων had to lose a syllable and to become ἄκων.

The next emendation will show the same principle of corruption very openly at work.

## B

In the third line of the first strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: the corresponding antistrophic line has instead one long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 512. ὄμως δ' ἔραμαι πυθέσθαι

(b) l. 523. τούτων δ' ἀνθαίρετον οὐδέν

The latter line is beyond suspicion: the former will be seen to have been deliberately corrupted, and presents an object-lesson of, I think, great value.

First let us deal with considerations of grammar and sense, and only after having done so revert to the metre. The strophic passage runs:

XO. δεινὸν μὲν τὸ πάλαι κείμενον ἤδη κακόν, ὦ ξεῖν',  
ἐπεγείρειν. 510, 511

ὄμως δ' ἔραμαι πυθέσθαι

OI. τί τοῦτο;

XO. τᾶς δειλαίας ἀπόρου φανείσας  
ἀλγηδόνας, ᾧ ξυνέστας.

Campbell quotes in support of πυθέσθαι with a genitive in the sense 'to inquire about' Sophocles, *Electra*, 317 τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῆς;

But there τοῦ κασιγνήτου is a partitive genitive after the interrogative pronoun τί. Similarly, particularly in Thucydides, we often find partitive genitives depending on clauses that take the place of nominal or pronominal substantives. Thus it would be perfectly good Greek to say: τοῦ κασιγνήτου εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. In that case, τοῦ κασιγνήτου would be a partitive genitive (equivalent in the long run to a proleptic accusative) dependent on the clause ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, as if that clause were a substantive. But no Greek could ever have said by itself: τοῦ κασιγνήτου εἶπεν—'He spoke about his brother.' Seeing that in this passage of Sophocles πυθέσθαι has after it a genitive not of the person to whom the question is put (which would call for no comment), but of the thing concerning which



information is sought, I apprehend that exactly the same principle applies as in the case of *φημί* or *εἶπον*, and that such a genitive imperatively requires the support of some substantive or quasi-substantive.

Therefore, given the passage as it stands, and given the premise that any alteration must be as slight as possible, we find that sense requires us to read :

*ὁμως δ' ἔραμαί τι πυθέσθαι.*

Observe what additional clearness this minute addition gives to the words

*τί τοῦτο ;*

In the vulgate *τοῦτο* refers to nothing in particular. It is just intelligible but in no way elegant. But on my reading it becomes precise and pointed.

Now let us turn to metre.

It will be seen that ll. 512 and 523, as they stand in the vulgate, can be equated in two completely different ways. (1) We may equate them in the way now fashionable. We may say that both alike begin with a syllable *extra metrum*, the strophic line having that syllable long, the antistrophic line having it short. And, so far, we shall be right. Next we may treat the strophic line as proceeding with a dactyl and the antistrophic with a spondee, which dactyl and spondee are considered (though not by me) legitimately to answer one another. Then we may regard the strophic line as presenting a trochee and the antistrophic line a cyclic dactyl, which strophe and cyclic dactyl are (again not by me) thought to be lawful counterparts one of another. The remaining portions of the two lines are identical in quantity. (2) We may take the view of a copyist familiar with *versus technici*, and say that after all quantity does not very greatly matter, but that the two lines each contain eight syllables. Of these eight syllables the second and the three last are of the same quantity in both lines. Even the third syllable of the strophic line may (to the copyist's mind) very well have been long like the third syllable of the antistrophic line (I point out, in my remarks on the fourth chorus of

the *Hippolytus*, that there is evidence that at some time or other the first syllable of ἔρωσ was supposed to be long). Thus we arrive at the analysis :

$$\begin{array}{l} (a) \text{ l. 512. } \cup | - | \cup | \cup | - | \cup | - | - \\ (b) \text{ l. 523. } - | - | - | - | \cup | \cup | - | - \end{array}$$

I think it will be seen that the second system of equation produced the vulgate form of the strophic line: the first unquestionably perpetuated it.

Let us hark back to our grammatical conclusion that  $\tau\iota$  has been omitted after ἔραμαι. Why was it omitted?

If it can be shown that ἔραμαι can easily and naturally be an expansion by one syllable of another and at least equally appropriate word, then we immediately have found a reason why  $\tau\iota$  should have been omitted, viz. in order to preserve intact the total number of syllables.

I look on it as almost beyond question that the line originally ran :

ἔρωσ δ' ἄρμαι  $\tau\iota$  πνέσθαι.

ἄρμαι is Doric for ἤρμαι, the perfect passive of αἶρω. Some copyist, probably about 1000 A.D., regarded the unfamiliar Doric form as a *vox nihili*, and by an obvious conjecture substituted the extremely similar ἔραμαι. He left out  $\tau\iota$  in order to preserve the number of syllables.

As the emendation I propose involves questions of principle, I may perhaps not be thought too prolix if I point out that ἄρμαι distinctly improves the sense. There is something almost brutal in the chorus saying: 'It is a terrible thing to stir up sleeping anguish, but nevertheless I greatly desire to know' etc. This sense of cruelty disappears, if we read ἄρμαι. The word suggests outside compulsion, such as that of some supernatural force. Compare l. 1328 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* :

$\tau\iota\varsigma$  σ' ἐπήρε δαιμόνων ;

## C

The fifth syllable of the fourth line of the second strophe is a long: the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 537. *μυρίων γ' ἐπιστροφὰι κακῶν.*

δευτέ-

(b) l. 544. *-ραν ἔπαισας ἐπὶ νόσφ νόσον.*

It would be easy to read in the antistrophic line *ἐκ νόσον νόσον*, but in that case not only could no sufficient cause of corruption be suggested, but also the characteristic echo of the repeated *ἐπὶ* would be lost. The real fault lies in the strophic line.

I must quote the strophic context :

XO. *σαί τ' ἄρ' εἶς' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ*

OI. *κοιναί γε πατρὸς ἀδελφεαί.*

XO. *ἰώ. OI. ἰὼ δῆτα*

*μυρίων γ' ἐπιστροφὰι κακῶν.*

The expression *μυρίων ἐπιστροφὰι κακῶν* is rather fine, but unfortunately it does not emanate from Sophocles. The *γ'* sufficiently shows that *μυρίων γ' ἐπιστροφὰι κακῶν* is a continuation of *κοιναί γε πατρὸς ἀδελφεαί* in corroboration of the chorus' exclamation : *σαί τ' ἄρ' εἶς' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ*. Therefore *ἐπιστροφὰι* must conceal some words referring to Antigone and Ismene.

We must certainly read :

*μυρίων γ' ἐπ' ἴσα τροφαί κακῶν,*

and we must put a colon after *δῆτα*.

I translate : 'Yea, equally with him nurselings of a thousand woes.'

For *τροφή* in the plural see Hesychius : *τροφοί* (Meineke rightly *τροφαί*) · *θρέμματα*. I strongly suspect that Hesychius is referring to this passage.

## D AND E

In the eighth line of the second strophe the fourth syllable is a long : in the second antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts. On one possible scansion the same lines present a second instance of my phenomenon.



The following are the lines :

(α) l. 541. ἐπωφέλησα πόλεως ἐξελέσθαι

(β) l. 548. νόμῳ δὲ καθαρός, αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον

Either the last two syllables of πόλεως are separate, in which case the long final syllable of that word is answered by the short final syllable of αἰδρις, or else they coalesce, in which event the resulting long syllable is answered by the two shorts at the end of αἰδρις, so that we have two instances of the phenomenon I am investigating, thus :—

(α) l. 541. ἐπωφέλησα πόλεως ἐξελέσθαι

(β) l. 548. νόμῳ δὲ καθαρός, αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον

Hermann cured the latter example by reading, very properly, πόλεος : but the former has hitherto remained unremedied.

The strophic context, which yields no sense at all in its later part, runs :

OI.

ἐδεξάμην

δῶρον, ὃ μήποτ' ἐγὼ ταλακάρδιος  
ἐπωφέλησα πόλεως ἐξελέσθαι.

Scholars know this passage so well, and are, I should think, so heartily sick of the interminable discussions with regard to it, that I will content myself with flinging down, without a word of argument, my own emendation.

It is this :

OI.

ἐδεξάμην

δῶρον, ὃ μήποτ' ἐγὼ ταλακάρδιος  
ὄφλημα πόλεος ὄφελον ἐξελέσθαι.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 668–719)

In the ninth line of the second strophe the sixth and seventh syllables (it is clear from inspection that there is a corruption, and that these syllables are really the fifth and sixth) are two shorts : the corresponding antistrophic line presents in their place one long.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 702. τὸ μὲν τις οὔτε νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γῆραι (so the first hand of the Laurentian, but the diorthotes altered it to γῆραι)

(β) l. 715. πρῶταισι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγυιαῖς

The last syllable of οὔτε in the strophic line is plainly superfluous, and Porson partially restored the metre by reading simply οὐ. This is apparently right; but the sense of the context has puzzled editors to such a degree that a whole crop of further emendations has arisen, none of them at all satisfactory.

The passage runs :

φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτόποιον  
 ἐγγέων φόβημα δαῖτων,  
 ὃ τᾶδε θάλλει μέγιστα χώρα, 700  
 γλαυκᾶς παιδοτρόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας·  
 τὸ μὲν τις οὔτε νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γῆραι  
 σημαίνων ἀλιώσει χερὶ πέρσας.

The accent that the original writer of the Laurentian MS. placed on γῆραι seems to indicate that for some reason he did not regard the final iota as what we term subscript, but considered the -αι as a real diphthong. Whether this be a genuine clue or not (and perhaps it is not, because γῆραι is probably the right spelling), I cannot help believing that the reading in the text is a corruption of

τὸ μὲν τις οὐ νεωρὸς οὐδὲ γῆταις  
 σημαίνων.

This in its turn must be further emended into

τὸ μὲν τις οὐ νεωρὸς οὐδὲ γάταις  
 σημαίνων.

We have here, to my mind, an instance of compensatory addition to make up for quantitative, not syllabic, subtraction. The copyist who emended νεωρὸς into νεαρὸς did not observe that νεωρὸς scanned as a trochee. He thought that the first three syllables of the combination

οὐ νεωρὸς formed a cretic. He also thought that by changing νεωρὸς into νεαρὸς he had robbed this cretic of the equivalent of one short syllable. Consequently he deliberately made restitution by writing οὔτε instead of οὐ, and so putting in a new short syllable by way of amends.

I am inclined to suspect a paronomasia in *πέρσας*. At any rate the Athenian audience must inevitably have thought of *Πέρσας*, in view of the legend, or perhaps fact, of the sprouting of the olive after its attempted destruction under Xerxes.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 833–843 and 876–886)

No instances.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1044–1095)

In the eleventh line of the first strophe the third syllable is a long: the corresponding antistrophic line replaces this long with two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1054. ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν (alii ὀρειβάταν)

(b) l. 1069. -πυκτήρια φάλαρα πώλων<sup>ἀμ-</sup>

These two passages, jointly and severally, present a complicated but not a very difficult problem.

The whole latter portions of strophe and antistrophe run thus:

στρ.

. . . . .

οὐ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη

1050

θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα

κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσση βέβακε

προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν·

ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν (so the Laurentian, with the note γρ. ὀρειβάταν: so also the majority of MSS., but two present ὀρειβάταν in the text)



Θησέα καὶ τὰς διστόλους 1055  
 ἀδμηήτας ἀδελφὰς  
 αὐτάρκει τάχ' ἐμμείξειν βοᾷ  
 τούσδ' ἀνὰ χώρους.

ἀντ.

ἀλώσεται· δεινὸς ὁ προσχώρων Ἴδρης, 1065  
 δεινὰ δὲ Θησειδᾶν ἀκμά.  
 πᾶς γὰρ ἀστράπτει χαλινός,  
 πᾶσα δ' ὀρμᾶται κατ' ἀμ-  
 -πυκτήρια φάλαρα πώλων  
 ἄμβασις, οἷ τὰν ἵππιαν 1070  
 τιμῶσιν Ἄθάναν  
 καὶ τὸν πόντιον γαιάοχον  
 Ἴρέας φίλον υἷον.

Apart from all question of the correspondence which I impugn, it is self-evident that l. 1054 must be corrupt either in one or the other of the forms which it assumes or else in both. It does not seem probable that the reading *ἐγρεμάχαν* can have sprung from the reading *ὄρειβάταν*: the reverse also appears equally unlikely.

l. 1055 is hardly less certainly corrupt. As Dindorf and others have seen, the word *καὶ* is not wanted, the meaning being that Theseus is about to surround (*ἐμμείξειν*, transitive) the two maidens with the shout of battle, not that Theseus and the two maidens are about to mingle (*ἐμμείξειν*, intransitive) in the shout of battle; which latter statement indeed would naturally imply that they were going to do so as enemies. Moreover the short alpha of *Θησέα* raises grave suspicion.

In l. 1068 *κατ'*, as it stands, seems utterly meaningless; while in l. 1069 *φάλαρα* is generally regarded as a gloss on *ἀμπυκτήρια*, though no doubt the copyist responsible for the present reading meant *ἀμπυκτήρια* to be taken as an adjective.

It is interesting to observe in what sort of surroundings we not unfrequently find the examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

Because of the varying scansions of the two rival readings of the strophic line 1054, it is desirable to obtain

(as far as possible) from the antistrophic passage the true scheme of metre.

It is absolutely contrary to the whole of the experience derived from the consideration in this treatise of a very large number of suspected passages to entertain the notion that *φάλαρα* (l. 1069) is a mere gloss. Glosses—and on this I insist—did not intrude themselves into the texts of lyrical or tragic poets except under special circumstances, as, for example, when words in the text had the same *ductus literarum* as the gloss in the margin, so that the gloss was taken not as a gloss but as a correction, or when there was a gap in the metre, and the gloss was supposed to be not a gloss at all, but the missing complement.

I admit that here *φάλαρα* is not original: I even grant that it may well have been a gloss. But if it was a gloss, it got into the text because there was already there something that closely resembled it, of which it was wrongly considered to be a correction.

Fortunately, if we look at the sense, and write in plain Greek what the lines must necessarily mean, we shall see that we have reconstituted the *ipsissima verba* of Sophocles, and we shall also see exactly how the present text arose.

Read :

πάσα δ' ὀρμᾶται κατ' ἀμ-  
-πυκτῆρας χαλάσασα πώλων  
ἄμβασις.

*κατ'* stands in tmesis. By haplography *χαλάσασα* became *χαλασα*. There was a gloss on *ἀμπυκτῆρας*, viz. : *φάλαρα*. This gloss was taken as a correction of *χαλασα*. Consequently *φάλαρα* was substituted for *χαλασα*. Finally *ἀμπυκτῆρας* was changed into *ἀμπυκτήρια* in order to make sense, *ἀμπυκτήρια* being intended as an adjective.

In the strophic lines 1054 and 1055 we get exactly the scansion of the restored antistrophic lines, minus one long syllable, if we read both *ὄρειβάταν* and *ἐγρεμάχαν*, expelling the highly suspect *Θησέα καὶ* in order to make room for the latter. Let us read for the time being :

ἐνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ὄρειβάταν -  
ἐγρεμάχαν τὰς διστόλους κτλ.

Everything becomes absolutely plain, if we assume that the long syllable missing after *ὄρειβάταν* is *ἄνδρ'*.  
Read :

ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ὄρειβάταν ἄνδρ'  
ἐγρεμάχαν τὰς διστόλους κτλ.

*ὄρειβάταν ἄνδρ' ἐγρεμάχαν* became by haplography *ὄρειβάτανδρ' ἐγρεμάχαν*. This was very naturally read :

*ὄρειβάταν γρ. ἐγρεμάχαν*.

Some, but not all, the copyists obeyed this direction. Others preferred *ὄρειβάταν* : while some preferred it so much, that when they found a copy containing *ἐγρεμάχαν*, they went the length of adding *γρ. ὄρειβάταν*. Thus time had his revenge.

It will be seen that *ἄνδρ'* makes excellent sense. The *man* goes to rescue the *maidens*.

I am not aware that anyone has yet pointed out that sense requires both *ὄρειβάταν* and *ἐγρεμάχαν*. Theseus could not properly be called *τὸν ὄρειβάταν* alone : it was not his habit to walk mountains. Neither could he well be called *τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν* : it was not his habit to stir up battle, but his thoughts were rather fixed on such matters as the *συνοίκισις*. But, with the verbal force of the *-βάταν* of *ὄρειβάταν*, *ἐγρεμάχαν* is here used in the same way as adjectives in such phrases as *ἔρχομαι θαλάσσιος*. *τὸν ὄρειβάταν ἄνδρ' ἐγρεμάχαν* means 'the man who hath gone upon the mountains to awaken battle.'

It is to be noted that though *Θησέα* is very probably a gloss, it, if so, came into the text not as such, but because it was mistaken for a marginal addition of the true reading of the lacuna caused by obedience to the *γρ.* which had its origin in the *δρ* of *ἄνδρ'*. Probably the *καὶ* after *Θησέα* was interpolated by some copyist who totally misunderstood the passage.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1211-1248)

The twelfth line of the strophe begins with two short syllables : the corresponding antistrophic line substitutes one long.



The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1222. *ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀναπέφηνε*  
 (β) l. 1235. *γῆρας ἄφιλον, ἵνα πρόπαντα*

It is to be observed that not only do these lines present this instance of my phenomenon but also there is a discrepancy in quantity in the last syllables of the lines immediately preceding them. It would indeed be possible to cure all metrical defects by reading *λυγρὸς* for *ἄλυρος* (which may conceivably have been done at some stage of the text), but it is clear that *ἄλυρος* is required, if we consult the context. Consequently there is no remedy except some such violent transposition as that of Martin's (which I shall shortly mention). But violent transpositions require special justification. I think I can give it.

It is advisable that I should set out the whole strophe and antistrophe. But I must not be taken to acquiesce in the soundness of the portions which I do not correct.

The strophe and antistrophe run :

ΧΟ. ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους	στρ.
χρήζει τοῦ μετρίου παρείς	
ζῶειν, σκαιοσύναν φυλάσ-	
-σων ἐν ἐμοὶ κατάδηλος ἔσται.	
ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακρὰι	1215
ἡμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ	
λύπας ἐγγυτέρω, τὰ τέρ-	
-ποντα δ' οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ὅπου,	
ὅταν τις ἐς πλεον πέση	
τοῦ θέλουτος· οὐδ' ἔπι κοῦρος ἰσοτέλεστος,	1220
Ἄϊδος ὅτε μοῖρ' ἀνυμέναιος	
ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀναπέφηνε,	
θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν.	
μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-	ἀντ.
-κᾶ λόγον· τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῆ,	1225
βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἦ-	
κει πόλυ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα (read ταχίστα).	
ὡς εὐτ' ἂν τὸ νέον παρῆ	
κούφας ἀφροσύνας φέρου,	
τίς πλάγχθη πολύμοχθος ἔ-	1230

-ξω ; τίς οὐ καμάτων ἔνι ;  
 φόνοι, στάσεις, ἔρις, μάχαι,  
 καὶ φθόνοι· τό τε κατάμεμπτον (various MSS.,  
 including L, κατάπεμπτον) ἐπιλέλογχε  
 πύματον ἀκρατὲς ἀπροσόμιλον  
 γήρας ἄφιλον ἵνα πρόπαντα  
 κακὰ κακῶν ξυνοικεῖ.

1235

Martin brings ll. 1221 and 1222 into harmony with the antistrophe by reading :

ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀννόμενιος  
 μοῖρ' ὄτ' Ἀΐδος ἀναπέφηνε.

I consider that he is very largely right in his transposition. In showing special cause for transposition in the passage, I shall also show cause for modifying his reading.

Violent transposition of this kind is only justifiable on the hypothesis that something has so seriously interfered with the ancient copyists' capacity to recognize that the words scanned in their original order, as to have caused those copyists to re-arrange the order of the words in order to arrive at a more or less plausible scansion. It is difficult to see what that something can have been, unless it was an interpolation that threw the whole strophic-antistrophic sequence out of joint. It seems to me that we have real indications of such an interpolation in this strophe, and that the interpolation is of an absolutely unique character.

In ll. 1215-8 the chorus state that the pleasures of life (τὰ τέρποντα) fail in old age, and then add (ll. 1219-20) :

ὅταν τις ἐς πλέον πέση  
 τοῦ θέλοντος.

The Laurentian gloss on τοῦ θέλοντος is ἀντὶ τοῦ μετρίου, τοῦ ἱκανοῦ. This, in other words, is τοῦ ἐν μεσότητι ὄντος. Rejecting Musgrave's τοῦ σθένοντος and Reiske's τοῦ δέοντος, the former as unsupported by the gloss, the latter as remote from the *ductus literarum*, I read τοῦ φείλοντος (i.e. τοῦ ὀφείλοντος). The impersonal ὀφείλει is good literary Doric, as is proved by Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 6.

In the latter half of l. 1220 it is customary to read :

ὁ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος,

and to make the words agree with θάνατος in l. 1223.

I much doubt whether, even in such a passage as this, any Greek would have called Death ἐπίκουρος, 'an auxiliary.' Certainly the copyists could not understand it. I also entirely dispute the grammar of ὅτε ἀναπέφηνε, apparently in the sense of ὅταν ἀναπεφήνη. I suggest that the original had no protasis with ὅτε at all.

In l. 1223 the use of ἐς τελευτάν for 'at the end' is Hellenistic at the best. Apparently words have been omitted which would have the effect of making the real sense 'Death, that brings all things to their end.'

I will first state what I wish to read in the strophe, and then explain the way in which I account for the corruptions.

I suggest :

ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακρὰι	1215
ἀμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ	
λύπας ἐγγυτέρω, τὰ τέρ-	
-ποντα δ' οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ὅπου,	
ὅταν τις ἐς πλέον πέσῃ	
τούφείλοντος· ἀναπέφηνε δ' ἰσοτέλεστος	1220
ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀνυμέναιος	
μοῖρ' Ἄϊδος ὃ τ' ἄγων ἅπαντα	
θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν.	

The mention of τὰ τέρποντα recalls the philosophy of Epicurus: the mention of their failure in old age recalls the sad story of his lingering illness and death. The mention of ἐς πλέον τούφείλοντος recalls Aristotle at once.

My contention is that at the end or in the immediate neighbourhood of l. 1220 some annotator wrote the two words: Ἐπίκουρος, Ἀριστοτέλης.

Now a mere adscript, recognized as such, could hardly have crept into the text: but Ἀριστοτέλης is so similar to ἰσοτέλεστος, that some copyist took the whole επικουροσαριστοτέλης to be meant as a correction of ἰσοτέλεστος. He



did not accept all of it (for that would have made sheer nonsense), but he adopted it so far as to read :

ἀναπέφηνε δ' ἐπίκουρος  
 ἰσοτέλεστος ἄλλυρος ἄχορος  
 ἀνυμέναιος μοῖρ' Ἄϊδος ὃ τ' ἄγων ἅπαντα  
 θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν.

This had afterwards to be re-arranged in order roughly to suit the antistrophe. Owing to the intrusion of ἐπίκουρος, something had to be struck out. The apparently extra-metric words ἄγων ἅπαντα were selected for jettison. Indeed I strongly suspect they were read as ἀγωγή πάντα, 'the passage is a mass of transpositions.' ὃ τ' was rather ingeniously turned into ὅτε, which was made to serve as the relative of a protasis invented for the occasion.

From ἀναπέφηνε δ' onward my readings correspond syllable for syllable with the antistrophe; but τοῦφείλοντος does not.

At that point the antistrophe is corrupt. The MSS. read :

τίς οὐ καμάτων ἔνι ;  
 φόνοι, στάσεις, ἔρις, μάχαι,  
 καὶ φθόνος· τό τ' κτλ.

τοῦφείλοντος is thus answered by καὶ φθόνος τό τ'. Because of the anticlimax Faehse reads :

φθόνος, στάσεις, ἔρις, μάχαι,  
 καὶ φόνοι,

and Jebb follows him, although the strophe proves that the final syllable of ἔνι must be left short.

Two passages in St. Paul's Epistles must be consulted. In Romans i. 29 we read : μεστοὺς φθόνου, φόνου, ἔριδος, δόλου, κακοηθείας. In Galatians v. 19-21 we have a list of the works of the flesh in these words : φανερά δέ ἐστιν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις, φθόνοι, φόνοι (some MSS. omit φόνοι), μέθαι, κῶμοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις.

The passage in the *Oedipus Coloneus* is so similar to

that in the Galatians, that (whether or no *φόνοι* in that place is actually from the hand of St. Paul) we may reasonably suppose that it is from the Galatians that *καὶ φθόνος* comes into the Sophoclean text.

I am somewhat inclined to read :—

*φόνοι, στάσεις, ἔρις, μάχαι τ'  
αἴθονται.*

I may justly be charged with extensive alteration of this strophe. My plea is one of confession and avoidance. Though the strophe differs but little from the antistrophe, the difference is of the most vital nature, and can in no way be removed without far-reaching changes. When one is moving in a region of uncertainty, one can only make the best of such guidance as can be obtained. I lay no stress at all on the emendations I have suggested or on my reasons for suggesting them: I do lay the greatest stress on the fact that no instance of my disputed phenomenon that is to be found in a passage so obviously depraved as this, is worth, from the point of view of evidence, the paper upon which it is written.

### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1447–1499)

#### A

The fifth line of the first strophe ends in a long syllable: the first antistrophe substitutes two syllables, which are really a short and a long, but which may conceivably have been thought at some period to be two shorts.

The lines with their immediate context are these:

- (a) ll. 1451–2. *μάτην* (Heimsoeth, perhaps rightly,  
*ματᾶν) γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀξίω-*  
*-μα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι*
- (b) ll. 1466–7. *ἔπτηξα θυμόν. οὐρανία*  
*γὰρ ἀστραπή φλέγει πάλιν*

I include this instance, because it is just possible that at one stage of corruption, antecedent to the formation of

our present text, the neuter plural *οὐράνια* may have been read in an adverbial sense.

It is quite impossible to permit synizesis of iota in Greek. Consonantalization of iota is equally impossible. Even if it were possible, it would make the previous syllable long in this case, like the first syllable of the Latin *abiēte*.

In Homer there are two adverbs in *-αξ*, *μουνάξ* and *εὐράξ*. The latter is interpreted by Tzetzes (in his note on Lycophron, l. 920) as meaning *ἐκ πλαγίου*. By the side of the Epic *μουνάξ* we must assume an Attic *μονάξ*. From *μονάξ* was formed the adjective *μοναχός*, cases of which used as adverbs (viz. the locative *μοναχῆ* and the genitive *μοναχοῦ*) occur in Plato. It is proved that the strictly adjectival use of *μοναχός* never wholly ceased in classical times by the emergence of the word in Aristotle and its common use in Christian Greek. If the adjectival use of *μοναχός* had not been inherited from the past, Aristotle could no more have written *μοναχός* on the strength of *μοναχῆ* and *μοναχοῦ* than he could have written *πανταχός* on the strength of *πανταχῆ* and *πανταχοῦ*. *πανταχός* had died in prehistoric times: *μοναχός* had not.

But if there was a word *μοναχός*, there surely must also have been a word *εὐραχός*, meaning much the same as *πλάγιος*. So *εὐραχός* could be appropriately used to describe the apparently slanting motion of so-called forked lightning. Therefore I suggest as a conceivable possibility:—

*ἔπταξα θυμόν. εὐραχὰ  
γὰρ ἀστραπὰ φλέγει πάλιν.*

The actual existence of a feminine *εὐραχάν* may be gathered from an entry in Photius and the *Etymologicum Magnum*: *Εὐράχαντες, ἤκουτες· ραχίας γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς τραχεῖς καὶ παρήκοντας τόπους*. I suggest: *Εὐραχάν, παρήκουσαν* ('slanting'). *ραχίας γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς τραχεῖς καὶ παρήκοντας τόπους*. For this use of *παρήκειν* compare Xenophon, *Cyn.* 4. 1 *πλευρὰς εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκούσας*.

Suggested emendations of *οὐρανία* are *ὄμβρία* (Bergk), *οὐρανοῦ* (Bothe), *οὐρία* (Elmsley), *αἰθρία* (Meineke), and *ἀργία* (Wecklein).



## B

In the ninth line of the first strophe the second syllable is short: Canter, on the supposed strength of a scholium, made this short into two shorts, and his alteration has been generally accepted: for the one short or two shorts the first antistrophe has one long.

The lines, with context, are these:—

(a) ll. 1453–5. ὀρά ὀρά ταῦτ' ἀεὶ χρόνος  
 ἐπεὶ μὲν ἕτερα,  
 τάδε πῆματ' (so L) αὔθις αὔξων ἄνω,  
 or τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἡματ' (so B and Vat.) αὔθις  
 αὔξων ἄνω,  
 or τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμαρ (Canter) αὔθις  
 αὔξων ἄνω  
 (The scholium runs: πολλὰ μὲν  
 αὔξων παρ' ἡμαρ)

(b) ll. 1468–70. τί μὰν ἀφήσει τέλος; δέδεια (so L:  
 most MSS. δέδια)  
 τόδ' (so L and most MSS.: T and  
 Farn. not τόδ', but δ')· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἄλιον  
 ἀφορμᾷ ποτ' οὐδ' ἄνευ ξυμφορᾶς

It does not seem to me that the scholiast read παρ' ἡμαρ: he was only paraphrasing the ἐπ' ἡματ' of two MSS.

For ἐπεὶ in l. 1454 Hartung reads στρέφων, Meineke ἐφείς, and Wecklein ἐπέχων. Surely the metaphor is from a pair of scales, and we ought to read ῥέπων, with a transitive signification. ῥέπομαι is used as passive in Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 405, and both ἐπιῤῥέπω and καταῤῥέπω are employed as transitives, the latter in *Antigone*, 1158.

If we accept ῥέπων, we are necessarily thrown back on the Laurentian reading of the next line, with only a slight alteration, viz. :—

τὰ δὲ πτώματ' αὔθις αὔξων ἄνω.

The concrete use of πτώμα, apart from its meaning 'a dead body,' is vouched for by Phrynichus.

Nauck rightly restored the antistrophe:—

τί μὰν ἀφήσει τέλος ; δέδοι-  
-κα δ'. οὐ γὰρ ἄλιον  
ἀφορμῇ ποτ' οὐδ' ἄνευ ξυμφορᾶς,

except that he accepted F. W. Schmidt's conjecture of ἀθρήσω for ἀφήσει, a conjecture based on the fact that the first hand of L has simply ἀφήσ. This may be right or wrong: I should be going too far afield were I to discuss it.

### C, D, AND E

The fourth line of the second strophe consists of a pseudo-dochmius and a true dochmius. The pseudo-dochmius is of the scansion - ∪ ∪ - - - : the true dochmius is of the scansion - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -.

The fourth line of the second antistrophe consists of two true dochmi, each of the scansion ∪ - - ∪ -. Hence there are two examples of my phenomenon, and a third instance is presented on one reading mentioned below.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1480. ἴλαος, ᾧ δαίμων, ἴλαος, εἴ τι γᾶ

(β) l. 1494. Ποσειδωνίῳ (the MSS. vary between  
Ποσειδαονίῳ, Ποσειδαωνίῳ, and Ποσειδωνίῳ)  
θεῷ τυγχάνεις

We have come into the very thick of a set of corrupted dochmiacs. Certain restoration is impossible; but some slight degree of probability in emendation may be attained, if we consider the strophe and antistrophe as a whole. They run (it is no use complicating the matter by quoting non-Laurentian readings):

στρ.

ἔα, ἔα, ἰδὸν μάλ' αὐθις ἀμφίσταται  
διαπρῦσιος ὄτοβος.

ἴλαος, ᾧ δαίμων, ἴλαος, εἴ τι γᾶ 1480  
ματέρι τυγχάνεις ἀφθεγγὲς φέρων.

ἐναισίου δὲ συντύχοιμι,  
 μηδ' ἄλαστον ἄνδρ' ἰδὼν  
 ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμί πως·  
 Ζεῦ ἄνα, σοι φωνῶ.

1485

ἀντ.

ἰώ, παῖ, βᾶθι, βᾶθ', εἴτ' ἄκραν  
 ἐπιγύαλον \* \* \* \* \*  
 Ποσειδαωνίῳ θεῷ τυγχάνεις  
 βούθυτον ἐστίαν ἀγιάζων· ἴκου.  
 ὁ γὰρ ξένος σε καὶ πόλισμα  
 καὶ φίλους ἐπαξιοῖ  
 δικαίαν χάριν παρασχεῖν παθῶν.  
 ἀτίσσ' ὦ ἄναξ.

1491-2

1495

Incorporating emendations of others, and adding several of my own, I propose to read :

στρ.

ἔα, ἰδοὺ μάλ' αὐθις ἀμφίσταται  
 διαπρύσιος ὄτοβος.  
 ἴλαος, ὦ μέδων, ἴλαος, εἴ τι γᾶ  
 ματέρι τυγχάνεις ἀφεγγῆς φέρων.  
 ἐναισίου δὲ σοῦ τύχοιμι,  
 μηδ' ἄλαστον ἄνδρ' ἰδὼν  
 ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμί πως·  
 Ζεῦ ὦνα, σοὶ φωνῶ.

1480

1485

ἀντ.

ἰὼ ἰώ, πρόβαθ', ἴθ', εἰ καὶ μακρὰν  
 περὶ γυᾶλ' ἀλὶ δροσέρ'  
 εἰναλίῳ θεῷ ἴπ' ἀόνι τυγχάνεις  
 βούθυτον ἐστίαν ἀγίζων, ἰκοῦ.  
 ὁ γὰρ ξένος σε καὶ πόλισμα  
 καὶ φίλους ἐπαξιοῖ  
 δικαίαν χάριν παρασχεῖν παθῶν.  
 ἀτίσσ', ἀτίσσ', ὦναξ.

1491-2

1495

My contention is that opposite l. 1494 was written



the word Ποσειδῶνι, intended as a gloss on εἰναλίῳ θεῶ, and that this gloss was misinterpreted as a correction of three words, which, taken together, very much resemble the uncontracted form Ποσειδάωνι. These three words are δροσέρ' . . . 'π' ἄονι. Consequently some copyist imagined that the element δροσέρ' had got out of its place. Therefore he altered 'π' ἄονι to Ποσειδῶνι, omitting δροσέρ'. But the assumed original 'π' ἄονι caused variants, Ποσειδάωνι and Ποσειδάωνι. I consider the transposition of θεῶ and the change of Ποσειδῶνι into the adjectival form of the name to have been deliberate later alterations in the interest of metre.

In l. 1477 the omission of one εἶα is due to J. H. H. Schmidt. In l. 1481 ἀφεγγές is the reading of the second hand of L, and is also the reading of Paris A. In l. 1482 the change of συντύχοιμι into σοῦ τύχοιμι was made by Cobet. In l. 1491 the second ἰώ is an addition of Hermann's. In l. 1493 Wecklein first changed ἐπιγύαλον into περὶ γύαλ'. In l. 1495 ἀγίζων is the reading of the diorthotes of L, and is also found in several other MSS. In l. 1495 ἰκοῦ and in l. 1498 παθῶν are generally read.

## EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1556–1578)

### A, B, AND C

The beginning of the sixth line of the strophe has been manifestly corrupted. The MSS. vary, but L's reading has some resemblance to the metre of the antistrophic line. It begins with a long answered by two shorts, and goes on with two shorts answered by a long. The last syllable but one of the strophic line is a long: this the antistrophic line replaces by two shorts. But this last instance is merely graphic.

The lines run:

- (a) l. 1561. μήτ' ἐπιπόνω μηδ' ἐπὶ βαρναχεῖ (so L:  
other MSS. μήτ' ἐπίπονα and μήποτ'  
ἐπίπονα)
- (b) l. 1572. ἀδάμαστον φύλακα παρ' Ἄιδα (for ἀδάμα-  
στον two MSS. have ἀδάμαντος)

It is obvious that, even if the disputed phenomenon be allowed, the first portions of the lines will not correspond. As to the last portions, Elmsley removed all difficulty (as far as any existed) by reading "Αἶδα instead of Ἀΐδα.

It is hardly worth while to discuss instances of my phenomenon that are manifestly of not the slightest value as evidence of the permissibility of the correspondence.

No doubt in the antistrophe we ought to accept Brunck's ἀδάματον for ἀδάμαστον. In the strophe I accept Wecklein's elegant emendation ἄπονα for μήτ' ἐπίπονα. I think that μήτ' ἐπίπονα was a gloss that was misunderstood as a correction.

But a considerable difficulty arises. l. 1560 ends with the word λίσσομαι. Its antistrophic counterpart (l. 1571) ends with the words ἐξ ἄντρων. It may be most gravely doubted whether the short middle syllable of λίσσομαι is capable of being answered by the long middle syllable of ἐξ ἄντρων. But if, with Wecklein, we make l. 1561 begin with a vowel, we create an additional irregularity at the end of the previous line. Consequently either λίσσομαι or ἐξ ἄντρων must be emended.

I am not at all sure that the best way out of the difficulty might not be to leave λίσσομαι, and for ἐξ ἄντρων to read ἔκγραθον. The word would be apt enough in reference to Cerberus, and would be absolutely certain to pass into ἐξάγραθον.

## NINTH CHORUS (ll. 1670–1750)

### A

The second syllable of the third line of the first strophe is a long: the third line of the first antistrophe replaces this long by two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 1672. ἄλαστον αἶμα δυσμόρου στενάξειν  
 (b) l. 1699. ὀπότε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον

I think that the antistrophic line admits of an emendation both necessary and certain.

It is from the context that the clue is to be derived. ll. 1671-2 run :

οὐ τὸ μὲν, ἄλλο δὲ μὴ, πατρὸς ἔμφυτον  
ἄλαστον αἶμα δυσμόροιον στενάζειν.

The corresponding antistrophic lines (1698-9) are :

καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδαμὰ (MSS. μηδαμῆ) δὴ τὸ φίλον φίλον,  
ὅποτε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον.

Brunck, altering l. 1698, read :

καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδαμὰ δὴ φίλον ἦν φίλον,  
ὅποτε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον.

Heimsoeth changes ὅποτε to ἔως, and there are other violent conjectures.

Surely the true reading must be :

καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδαμὰ δῆτα φίλον φίλον  
ὦπτ', εἴ γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον.

I do not think that this reading necessarily involves a corruption due to the use of the pre-Euclidean alphabet. A copyist might utterly fail to understand ὦπτ', and might substitute ὅποτε, etc., by way of emendation.

The rarity of δῆτα in the sense of δῆ would amply account for δῆ τὸ.

## B

What, on a superficial inspection, appear to be the fifteenth and sixteenth lines of the first strophe and antistrophe, together form a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. In the strophe the fifth foot of the tetrameter is a trochee : in the antistrophe it is a tribrach.

These are the lines :

(a) ll. 1684-5. νύξ ἐπ' ὄμμασιν βέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ ἦ τιν'  
ἀπίαν

(b) ll. 1711-2. πῶς με χρῆ τὸ σὸν τάλαιναν ἀφανίσαι  
τοσόνδ' ἄχος



It is noticeable that the Laurentian MS. in 1685 reads  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ , as also does Paris A. Later MSS. give  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ .

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  certainly here means 'distant,' and this is the only passage where the word in that sense has its first syllable long. But (putting the sense on one side) we know from l. 1303 of this play that  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  can be used in ordinary trimeters. Therefore  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  here is no indication that the line is Doric.

In fact we are dealing with absolutely ordinary trochaic tetrameters written in the tragic variety of Attic and incorporated in the midst of a strophic-antistrophic chorus, but not in the strictest sense forming part of it. ll. 1711-2 are not really the antistrophic counterpart of ll. 1684-5. They only simulate so being.

Aristophanes writes his choruses (*exceptis excipiendis*) in Attic. These choruses present a strophic-antistrophic structure, but it is not the Doric structure. They are of various kinds; but often they make no attempt to answer a long by a long only: two shorts are equally permissible.

In fact the real strophe and antistrophe exist only where the composition is not merely choric but also lyric, and therefore written in Doric. Attic and tragic-Attic compositions were often choric in nature, and further they were not infrequently thrown into a form which presents great analogies to the true strophe and antistrophe of lyric poetry. But they were not subject to lyric rules.

Of absolutely fixed and set metres the dochmiac, the hexameter and the really lyrical iambic trimeter alone were lyrical, alone had to be written in Doric, and alone were subject to the exigent rules of antistrophic correspondence.

No emendation is required.

### C

In the eighteenth line of the first strophe the fourth syllable is a long: for this long the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

Here are the lines in question, together in each case with the line immediately preceding :

(a) ll. 1686-7. γὰν ἢ πόντιον κλύδων' ἀλώμεναι βίου  
 δύσοιστον ἔξομεν τροφάν

(b) ll. 1713-4. ἰὼ· μὴ (so L : so also T, but with *οι*  
 written over μὴ) γὰς ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν  
 ἔχρηζες, ἀλλ'  
 ἔρημος ἔθανες ὠδέ μοι

Wecklein is clearly right in reading l. 1713 thus :

ὦμοι, γὰς ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν ἔχρηζες, ἀλλ'.

In l. 1714 I unhesitatingly propose *ânes*, 'thou didst wane' or 'thou didst pass away' for *ἔθανες*. See my discussion of the 105th line of the eleventh (otherwise the tenth) Olympian Ode.

Strictly speaking, I might now leave this passage ; but I wish to propose further alteration.

ἔρημος *ânes* ὠδέ μοι

is no proper antithesis to

γὰς ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν ἔχρηζες.

Moreover, ὠδέ μοι is singularly weak, and μοι is difficult in the context.

I propose :

ὦμοι, γὰς ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν ἔχρηζες, ἀλλ'  
 ἐρεμνὸς *ânes* οὐδαμοῖ.

I translate : 'Alas, it was thy prayer to die in a strange land, but now thou hast passed away by a dark road into nothingness.'

I cannot approve the accentuation *ἔρημος* either in the lyrical or the non-lyrical portions of tragedy. The older *ἐρήμος* should be read. But we must remember that in lyrics all accents are absolutely meaningless. The Greek accent was certainly tonic, and consequently had to be abandoned altogether in compositions sung to a tune. Really lyrics ought to have marked over them quite other musical notes than those which we are accustomed to call accents.

## D AND E

In the third line of the second strophe we have a dactyl followed by two iambs: in the third line of the second antistrophe we have a dactyl followed by an anapaest and an iamb. Gleditsch emends the antistrophic anapaest into a tribrach, and so produces an instance of my phenomenon.

In the fourth line of the second strophe we have a dactyl followed by three iambs: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe we have a spondee (containing an instance of my phenomenon) followed by three iambs.

The passages run thus:

- (a) ll. 1725-6. AN. ἡμερος ἔχει με. ΙΣ. τίς;  
AN. τὰν χθόνιον ἐστίαν ἰδεῖν.
- (b) ll. 1739-40. XO. καὶ πάρος ἀπεφεύγετον (Gleditsch  
reads ἀπεφύγετον)  
σφῶν τὸ μὴ πίτνειν κακῶς.

Gleditsch's full readings are:

- (a) AN. ἡμερος ἔχει μέ τις. ΙΣ. τίς οὖν;  
AN. τὰν χθόνιον ἐστίαν ἰδεῖν.
- (b) XO. καὶ πάρος ἀπεφύγετον. AN. τί δή;  
XO. σφῶν τὸ μὴ πίτνειν κακῶς.

Hermann and Bergk go on more or less similar lines. I propose, as remedying all the trouble:

- (a) AN. ἡμερός γ' ἔχει με. ΙΣ. τίς γάρ;  
AN. τὰν χθόνιον ἐστίαν ἰδεῖν.
- (b) XO. καὶ πάρος πεφεύγετον. AN. τί;  
XO. σφωῖτερα μὴ πίτνειν κακῶς.

## F

In the ninth line of the second strophe the first syllable is a long: the ninth line of the second antistrophe replaces this long with two shorts.



The lines are :

- (α) l. 1731. *ΙΣ. καὶ τὸδ' ὡς* AN. *τί τὸδε μάλ' αὐθις* ;  
 (β) l. 1744. AN. *μόγος ἔχει.* XO. *καὶ πάρος ἐπέι*  
 (*Wunder ἐπέιχε*)

Read :

- (α) *κᾶτι τὸδ' ὡς* AN. *τί τὸδε μάλ' αὐθις* ;  
 (β) *μόχθος ἔχει.* XO. *καὶ πάρος ἐπέιχε.*

## G

In the eleventh line of the second strophe the fourth syllable is a long : the eleventh line of the second antistrophe has instead of this long two shorts.

These are the lines :

- (α) l. 1733. *ἄγε με, καὶ τὸτ' ἐνάριξον* (Elmsley with his usual insight *ἐπενάριξον*)  
 (β) l. 1746. *μέγ' ἄρα πέλαγος ἐλάχετόν* (Elmsley most soundly *ἐλαχέτην*) *τι*

I cannot imagine how editors have allowed themselves to tolerate *καὶ τὸτ'* in the sense of *καὶ εἶτα*. *τότε* in Greek never means 'afterwards.'

Read in the strophe :

*ἄγε με, κατ' ὄπα δ' ἐπενάριξον.*

The word *ὄπα* is almost necessary in order to account (by haplography) for the loss of the *ἐπ-* of *ἐπενάριξον*.

As far as investigation into instances of my phenomenon has carried me, I should say that the final portion of the *Oedipus Coloneus* (upon which grave doubts have been cast) is perfectly genuine, and has only suffered quite superficial, though no doubt sufficiently troublesome, corruption.

## SUMMARY

The *Oedipus Coloneus* exhibits somewhere about 203 strophic-antistrophic lines, the counterparts of which are

in existence (and a few more, of which the counterparts have been lost), that is to say, a total of something like 406 lines available for the purposes of this investigation. In spite of considerable corruption only twenty-eight examples of our phenomenon present themselves, and many of these are singularly suspicious.

### ANTIGONE

#### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 100–154)

No instances.

#### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 332–375)

In the second line of the second strophe the ninth syllable is a long. For this long the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 355. φρόνημα καὶ ἀστυνόμους ὀργὰς ἐδιδάξατο καὶ  
δυσαύλων

(b) l. 366. τέχνας ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδ' ἔχων ποτὲ μὲν κακόν,  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἔρπει

For ὀργὰς (V reads ὀρμὰς) editors of more daring than discretion have proposed ἀγορὰς, ἀρετὰς, ἀρχὰς and ὀρχμὰς. ὀργὰς is here used in its true lyric sense, and if my discussions of Pindaric readings prove anything, they prove that ὀργή is not a bandit that goes about robbing other words of their just rights: *tout au contraire*.

To my mind ποτὲ is the intruder. There is another reading, ποτὲ; but this may be neglected, as ἃ μὲν—ἃ δέ, ποτὲ μὲν—ποτὲ δέ and the like have a strong tendency to replace the demonstrative forms.

I suggest that the true reading is νῦν μὲν. Compare Aristophanes, *Ranae* 291 :

ποτὲ μὲν βούς, νυνὶ δ' ὀρέύς, ποτὲ δ' αὖ γυνή.

This sense of *νῦν μὲν* would, I submit, have been unintelligible in post-classical times.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 582-625)

In the fifth line of the first strophe the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The following are the lines:

(a) l. 589. Θρήσσαισιν ἔρεβος ὕφαλον ἐπιδράμη πνοαῖς

(b) l. 600. ρίζας δὲ τέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις

Is not *ὕφαλον* almost or altogether unintelligible? It is the surface, not the depths, to which the context points.

I propose to read *ἔρεβος ἐφ' ἄλιον δράμη πνοαῖς*.

### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 781-800)

The fourth line of the strophe ends in a spondee preceded by a dactyl: for the dactyl the antistrophe substitutes four shorts.

The lines are:

(a) l. 788. καὶ σ' οὐτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς

(b) l. 796. νύμφας, τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς

We are treading here on very classic ground; but even this chorus, "Ἐρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, κτλ., has by no means escaped corruption.

The context in the antistrophe is:

νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἴμερος εὐλέκτρον  
 νύμφας, τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς  
 θεσμῶν ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίξει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα.

It does not need argument to show that *τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς θεσμῶν* is an impossible expression.

The only variant is *παρέδρος* (Doric for *παρέδρους*), which the scholiast mentions side by side with the existing reading; but it is interesting to observe that L originally had in the middle of *πάρεδρος* the letters *ργ*, which were afterwards altered to *δρ*.



I suggest that *πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς* is a corruption of *ἀρχὸς ἀναρχος*. The meaning I take to be that Love, himself subject to no law, gives laws which override in practice the moral order itself; 'for when Aphrodite begins her sport, nothing can stand against her.'

*ἀναρχος* would easily pass into *ἐν ἀρχαῖς*.

Temporibus recentioribus *ἀρχός* 'latrinam' significavit. Quid si addidit ineptior aliquis glossema *ἀφεδρών*? Per contrarium, glossema *ἀρχός*, nomini *ἀφεδρών* additum, apud MSS. Neophyti extare testatur Ducangius. Hac ratione -εδρ- in textum irrepere vel facillime poterat.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 806-882)

Owing, I suppose, to the fact that any copyist, however ignorant of Doric, was thought good enough to transcribe a nominally Attic tragedy, the choruses are often such a welter of confusion, that it is difficult to present any emendation with that clearness and precision which are necessary to approximate conviction. I now, however, approach a passage in which I am about to propose a correction which at least is uninvolved, clear-cut and definite.

The seventh line of the second strophe has for its sixth syllable a long: the second antistrophe presents, instead of this long, two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 848. πρὸς ἔργμα τυμβόχωστον ἔρχομαι τάφου  
ποταινίου  
(b) l. 868. πρὸς οὖς ἀραῖος, ἄγαμος, ἄδ' ἐγὼ μέτοικος  
ἔρχομαι

The words *ἀραῖος ἄγαμος* are translated 'accursed, unwedded.' Both adjectives are of course feminine. This is the only place in which *ἀραῖος* ('accursed') appears as of two terminations.

The familiar rule to the effect that compound adjectives are of two terminations only ought to be supplemented by a corollary stating that all adjectives felt to be

derivative (with the exception of adjectives in *-ικός*, and possibly a few other classes) may be at option declined with two terminations.

*ἀγαθός*, *κακός*, *φίλος* are non-derivative, and in sound passages no one ever saw their masculine forms employed in a feminine sense. *φίλιος* on the other hand is derivative, and therefore varies between two and three terminations. We might even infer from Thomas Magister that *φιλία* is hardly quite Attic. Thomas writes: *φίλιος ἀγρός ὁ φιλικός· καὶ φίλιος πόλις· Θουκυδίδης δὲ φιλία πόλις λέγει.*

Accordingly *ἀραιός* in the feminine presents in itself no difficulty. But it is to be observed that in the case of those adjectives which, unlike *φίλιος*, were normally of three terminations, and only occasionally confined to two, the masculine form in the feminine sense was for the most part employed in order to avoid a jingle of terminations. Here however the reverse is the result. *ἀραιός*, *ἄγαμος* and *μέτοικος* all end in *-ος*.

It so happens that a sentence in Aristotle's *De Mundo* contains (perhaps accidentally, perhaps by way of reminiscence) both the elements necessary for the reconstitution of the passage (*De Mundo* iv. 4): *ἔστι δε ὀμίκλη μὲν ἀτμώδης ἀναθυμίασις τις ἄγονος ὕδατος, ἀέρος μὲν παχυτέρα, νέφους δὲ ἀραιότερα. ἀραιότερα* in Aristotle is from *ἀραιός*, 'rare,' 'unsubstantial.'

In Sophocles we must read:

*πρὸς οὓς ἀραιὸς ἀτμὸς ἄδ' ἐγὼ μέτοικος ἔρχομαι.*

Translate: 'Unto whom I must go, an unsubstantial wraith, that I may dwell a stranger in their land.'

It is almost unnecessary to point out the facility with which **ΑΤΜΟΣ** would pass into **ΑΓΑΜΟΣ**.

As to the breathing of *ἀραιός* I confess myself in doubt. As far as I can understand Eustathius, he seems to say that *ἀραιός*, when of two terminations, has a smooth breathing, but that the feminine, when used in early Greek, was *ἀραιά*. His words are: *ἀραιή δασύνουσι οἱ παλαιοὶ πρὸς διαστολήν τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἀραιοῦ.* Perhaps we ought to read: *ἀραιή δασύνουσι οἱ παλαιοὶ πρὸς διαστολήν τοῦ ψιλῶς ἀραιοῦ.* Even so, the evidence would not be

conclusive: grammarians are very fond of drawing distinctions.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 944–987)

A

According to the generally received reading, the third line of the second strophe presents immediately before the  $\cup\cup-$ , with which it closes, two short syllables: for these two short syllables the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The following are the lines:

- (*a*) l. 970. Σαλμυδησσός, ἔν' ἀγγίπολις Ἄρης  
 (*b*) l. 981. ἄ δὲ σπέρμα μὲν ἀρχαιογόνων

It will be observed that the two lines as they stand are perfect specimens of the ordinary anapaestic dimeter acatalectic, except that the former line violates the somewhat recondite rule (probably unknown to the ancient "restorer"), which forbids the placing of an anapaest immediately after a dactyl. Of course the rest of the chorus is in no sense anapaestic.

It seems to me that the uncorrupted metre in the strophe is preserved by L<sup>2</sup>, the Vatican, and a few other MSS., which read:

Σαλμυδησσός, ἔν' ἀγγίπολις Ἄρης.

I suggest that in the antistrophe ἀρχαιογόνων should be altered into a form that corresponds exactly with ἀγγίπολις Ἄρης, viz. ἀρχαιογενέων.

Apart from the MS. reading in this passage, ἀρχαιογενής has as good authority as ἀρχαιόγονος, though neither occurs elsewhere in strictly classical Greek.

B

The seventh line of the second strophe is a lyric iambic trimeter of the scansion  $\cup\cup\cup|\cup-|\cup-|\cup-|\cup-|\cup-$ . The corresponding line in the antistrophe runs



υ υ υ υ | υ - | υ - | υ υ υ υ | υ - | υ - . The fourth foot in the former case is an iamb, in the latter a tribrach.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 974. ἀλαδὸν ἀλαστόροισιν ὀμμάτων κύκλοις

(b) l. 985. Βορεὰς ἄμπεπος ὀρθόποδος ὑπὲρ πάγου

In l. 985 ὀρθόπους πάγος seems to me an incredible expression. It was the Boread and not the hill that was ὀρθόπους, and consequently I propose to read ὀρθόπους in the nominative. Neither do I think that there is any reference to a hill in the passage. To my mind ὑπὲρ πάγου is merely an alteration of ὑπερπαγῆς. The gods had 'reared her form to stately height.' Wordsworth's poem presents a real parallel.

Compare Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 16), speaking of an infant: εἰ μὲν εὐπαγὲς εἶη καὶ ῥωμαλέον.

I suppose that some copyist read ὑπὲρ παγῆς *separatim*, and in the interests of grammar "corrected" παγῆς into πάγου.

Βορεὰς ἄμπεπος ὀρθόπους ὑπερπαγῆς

seems to me to be a line entirely free from any possible objection, which is far more than can be said for the vulgate reading.

#### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1115–1154)

No instances.

#### EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1261–1347)

##### A

The second dochmius of the fifth line of the first strophe begins with an unresolved iamb: the corresponding dochmius in the first antistrophe begins with an iamb resolved into a tribrach.

The lines run thus :

(a) l. 1264. θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλίους

(b) l. 1287. προπέμφτας ἄχην, τίν᾽ θροεῖς λόγον ;

For *ἐμφυλίου* I suggest *ὀμοφυλίου*. Only *ὀμόφυλος*, not *ὀμοφύλιος*, is known to exist; but the existence of *ἐμφύλιος* by the side of *ἔμφυλος* is a complete justification for *ὀμοφύλιος* by the side of *ὀμόφυλος*.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the second omicron of *ὀμοφυλίου* would have a distinct tendency to disappear in copying owing to its identity in form with the circle of the adjacent  $\phi$ .

## B

I now come to a thoroughly and admittedly corrupt passage.

The seventh line in the first strophe runs:

l. 1266. *ἰὼ παῖ, νέος νέφ ξὺν μόρφω,*

whereas in the corresponding line of the antistrophe the MSS. read:

l. 1289. *τί φῆς ὦ παῖ· τίνα λέγεις μοι νέον λόγον;*

All sorts of emendations have been proposed. As the lines stand, *νέος νέφ* is answered by *παῖ τίνα λέγεις*, a long syllable being echoed by two shorts.

It is indeed possible in the context to construe the masculine *τίνα* (omitting *λόγον*), but it is very awkward.

I suggest that *τίνα* is simply a mistake for *τί νῦν*, and I wish consequently to read in the antistrophe:

*τί φῆς, παῖ; τί νῦν λέγεις μοι νέον;*

The alteration of *τί νῦν* into *τίνα* necessitated, almost, the unmetrical addition of *λόγον*.

The line, as I read it, corresponds exactly with the strophe.

It possesses another advantage. *ἰὼ παῖ* is answered by the exact metrical equivalent *τί φῆς, παῖ*, with the word *παῖ* in precisely the same place in both lines. The insertion of *ὦ* in the vulgate has a doubly destructive effect. It deprives the repetition of *παῖ* of its proper symmetry, and it disturbs metre by making the long

syllable  $\omega$  answer to the short initial syllable of *νέος*, a phenomenon very strange in such a position.

### C, D, E, AND F

In the second strophe the third line consists of two dochmiac feet. The scheme is as follows:—

υ-υυυυυ|υυυ-υ-

The corresponding line of the second antistrophe on the other hand resolves its dochmii in a different way, the scheme being:

υυυ-υ-|υυυυυυ-

The lines are these:

(*a*) l. 1273. θεὸς τότ' ἄρα τότε μέγα βάρος μ' ἔχων

(*b*) l. 1296. τίς ἄρα, τίς με πότμος ἔτι περιμένει;

It is clear that four examples of the phenomenon that I am investigating, when produced in the short compass of two corresponding dochmiac lines, are either (if they resist reasonable emendation) a destruction of my theory, or else (if they can all four be emended with one touch) a strong confirmation of it.

I think that I can give the touch required.

Read:

(*a*) l. 1273. θεὸς τότ' ἄρα τότε μέγα βάρος ἔμ' ἔχων

(*b*) l. 1296. τίς ἄρα, τίς ἔμε πότμος ἔτι περιμένει;

The scheme of both lines alike is:

υ-υυυυυ|υυυυυυ-

There seems to be some sort of spell about dochmiacs, which prevents editors for the most part from moving freely in their presence. In reality much more is known about dochmiacs than about most other lyric metres. The dochmiac metre should be a help rather than a hindrance to the seeker after true readings.



## G

In the fourth strophe the last syllable but two of the second line is a long: the antistrophe substitutes two shorts (in the usually received version: the MSS. substitute an iamb).

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1318. ἐμᾶς ἀρμόσει ποτ' ἐξ αἰτίας

(β) l. 1340. ὄς, ὦ παῖ, σέ τ' οὐχ ἐκὼν κατέκτανον (MSS. κατέκτανον)

Hermann's *κάκτανον* is almost certain.

## H, I, AND K

The fourth line of the fourth strophe runs:

l. 1320. ἐγώ, φάμ' ἔτυμον· ἰὼ πρόσπολοι,

while the corresponding line of the antistrophe runs in L:

l. 1342. ὄπᾱ πρὸς πρότερον ἴδω· πᾱ καὶ θῶ· πάντα γὰρ

Some MSS. read *πότερον*.

There is a tendency on the part of editors to eject *ὄπα*. Jebb's reading presents three instances of the phenomenon that I have been engaged in investigating.

He reads:

(α) l. 1320. ἐγώ, φάμ' ἔτυμον· ἰὼ πρόσπολοι

(β) l. 1342. πρὸς πότερον ἴδω, πᾱ κλιθῶ· πάντα γὰρ

Each of these lines consists of two dochmiac feet; but I imagine that anyone who supports the readings of Jebb and his brother authorities will be hard put to it to justify either of the dochmii (in l. 1342) — — — — — or — — — — —. To my apprehension the latter of these is not a dochmius at all, and the former, if a dochmius, is not such a dochmius as is used by Greek lyrical writers. I much question whether Greek lyrical writers (at least in the conventional dochmiac metre) ever permitted the dochmius to assume any other form than — — — — — or — — — — —, or

resolutions of those two types; nor could, I think, the initial dactyl of the latter type be resolved.

I believe that l. 1320 is sound.

In l. 1342 I propose to read :

ὄπα τέρμονᾶ προῖδω· πάντα γὰρ.

The reading of the Laurentian MS. is a combination of the real προῖδω, disguised as πᾶ καὶ θῶ, with a gloss on τέρμονα προῖδω. This gloss, which was designed to explain the compound προῖδω, ran (I suggest) πρὸ τέρμον' ἴδω: and this was in its turn disguised as πρότερον ἴδω.

## L

In the fifth line of the fourth strophe L reads :

l. 1322. ἄγετέ μ' ὅτι τάχος, ἄγετέ μ' ἐκ ποδῶν,

and in the fifth line of the fourth antistrophe

l. 1344. λέχρια τὰδ' ἐν χεροῖν, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ κρατί μοι.

Erfurdt's reading in the strophe is generally adopted :

(α) l. 1322. ἄγετέ μ' ὅτι τάχιστ', ἄγετέ μ' ἐκ ποδῶν,

and Brunck's emendation in the antistrophe :

(b) l. 1344. λέχρια τὰν χεροῖν, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ κρατί μοι.

Hence we have an example of our phenomenon.

Of course it is necessary to emend both lines in order to make them scan as dochmiacs at all; but in the strophe the emendation has not been carried far enough.

ὅτι τάχος cannot be a gloss on ὅτι τάχιστ', because ὅτι τάχιστ' needed no gloss.

What it is a gloss on, is ὡς τάχιστ'. ὡς in this sense was unintelligible in late times. ὡς τάχιστ' restores the right correspondence.

## SUMMARY

The *Antigone* presents some 169 strophic and antistrophic lines, in all about 338. This total contains seventeen examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

## AJAX

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 172-200)

No instances.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 221-232 and 245-256)

No instances.

## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 348-429)

## A AND B

The first and second lines of the first strophe and antistrophe are regular dochmiac lines. The second dochmius of the first line runs in the strophe  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ , in the antistrophe  $\cup--\cup-$ . The first dochmius of the second line runs in the strophe  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ , in the antistrophe  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$ . Hence there arise two instances of the correspondence which I question. It will be seen that the second instance is in large measure a repetition of the first.

The lines are these :

(a) ll. 348-51. φίλοι ναυβάται, μόνοι ἐμῶν φίλων,  
μόνοι ἔτ' ἐμμένοντες ὀρθῶ νόμῳ

(b) ll. 356-9. γένος ναῖας ἀρωγὸν τέχνας,  
 ἄλιον (MSS. ἄλιαν) ὄσ (v.l. ὄστ') ἐπέβα,  
ἐλίσσων πλάταν

The limitations within which the Epic practice of allowing a long vowel or diphthong to stand, shortened, *in hiatus* in thesis is permitted in the chorus of Attic tragedy, have not been accurately ascertained; but it seems extremely doubtful whether *οι* at any rate is permissible before *ε*. Strict Attic unites the combination by crasis into *ου*. *μοί ἐστι* becomes *μοῦστι*. I do not suggest that in lyrics, at least, if anywhere, *μόνοι ἐμῶν* would actually become *μόνοῦμῶν* or that *μόνοι ἔτ'* would pass into



μόνοῦτ' : but it seems to me that the theoretical possibility of crasis would operate strongly to prevent the collocation.

I desire to read :

- (a) φίλοι ναυβάται, μόνοι μου φίλων,  
μόνοι τημελοῦντες ὀρθῶ νόμφ.  
(b) γένος ναΐας ἀρωγὸν τέχνας,  
λίμναν ὅστ' ἔβας ἐλίσσων πλάτα.

μον is governed by τημελοῦντες. The use of τημελεῖν with the genitive, instead of the accusative, is well authenticated.

The copyists thought that μον was possessive, and consequently substituted, with great propriety, the Attic ἐμῶν. A copyist who knew enough Attic to detect what he considered idioms of his own common dialect in classical texts, was always a source of very insidious danger.

τημελοῦντες is obviously almost identical with ἔτ' ἐμμένοντες.

άλίαν is much more right than the modern "correction" ἀλίον. It preserves the *ductus literarum* of λίμναν. μν does not necessarily make position.

The τ' of ὅστ' is the source of the ἐπ- of ἐπέβας.

I suggest that

λίμναν ὅστ' ἔβας ἐλίσσων πλάτα

was actually known to Virgil in that form. See *Aeneid* iii. 208, "torquent spumas."

### C

The ninth line of the third strophe begins with two shorts : the third antistrophe replaces them with a long.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 403. ὀλέθριον αἰκίζει  
(b) l. 420. εὐφρονες Ἀργείοις

I do not think that we need hesitate in following Hermann, who reads εὐφρονες.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 596-645)

No instances.

## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 693-718)

No instances.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 879-960)

## A

The first lines of the strophe and antistrophe are regular dochmiac lines. The second dochmius of the strophic line is of the structure  $\cup - \cup \cup \cup -$ , whereas the corresponding dochmius of the antistrophic line runs  $\cup - - \cup -$ .

The lines are as follows :

- (a) l. 879. τίς ἂν δῆτά (MSS. δῆ) μοι, τίς ἂν φιλοπόνων  
 (b) l. 925. ἔμελλες, τάλας, ἔμελλες χρόνω

The whole passage runs :

τίς ἂν δῆτά μοι, τίς ἂν φιλοπόνων  
 ἄλιαδᾶν ἔχων ἀύπνους ἄγρας,  
 ἢ τίς Ὀλυμπιάδων θεᾶν, ἢ ῥυτῶν  
 Βοσπορίων ποταμῶν,  
 τὸν ὠμόθυμον εἴ ποθι  
 πλαζόμενον λεύσσω  
 ἀπίοι ;

The invocation of the Olympian *goddesses* conclusively demonstrates that *ἄλιαδᾶν* ('sons of fishermen') is a mere mistake for the feminine *ἄλιάδων* ('marine goddesses'). Indeed there is a reading *ἄλιαδῶν*, which may conceivably be a corruption not of *ἄλιαδᾶν*, but of *ἄλιάδων*.

If *ἄλιάδων* be not read, there is no imaginable reason for the invocation of the Olympian goddesses rather than the Olympian gods, and the word 'Olympian' itself loses nearly all its point.

Therefore I propose to make a beginning by reading :

τίς ἂν δῆτά μοι, τίς ἀμφιστόνων  
 'Αλιάδων—.

This of course involves the consequence that the masculine ἔχων is corrupt.

Every principle of emendation forbids a radical and violent change into ἔχουσ'. It seems to me that ἔχων is a corruption of λεχῶν.

Therefore I desire to read the passage thus :

τίς ἂν δῆτά μοι, τίς ἀμφιστόνων  
 'Αλιάδων λεχῶν ἂν' αὐτμὰς ὑγράς.

I translate: 'Would, ah would that some one of the Daughters of the Deep, that sigh around me, looking through the damp vapours that shroud her bed, or that one of the Goddesses of Heaven, or of the sweet waters that meet Bosphorus,' etc.

This reading suits the antistrophe. I do not think that the changes will be thought unnecessarily violent by those who agree with my contention that the existing text is absolutely nonsensical.

There are two objections to it which I have not yet mentioned. φιλοπόνων is not really an appropriate word: sailors do not love toil, but endure because they must, as Theocritus, for instance, fully realizes. Next, ἔχων ἀύπνουσ ἄγρας is not a possible expression, except in the sense 'holding a sleepless quarry.' But here it has to mean 'sleeplessly engaged in fishing.' I do not for one instant believe that Sophocles permitted himself to string together more or less euphonious words without regard to precision of meaning.

The most substantial objection that can be brought against my reading is the fact that αὐτμή has always elsewhere a diaeresis, except in Hesiod, *Theogony*, 862 :

αὐτμῆ θεσπεσίη καὶ ἐτήκετο, κασσίτερος ὡς,

where αὐτμῆ is another reading.

But if αὐτμῆ is a fictitious variation of ἀτμῆ in Hesiod, αὐτμὰς may equally well be a fictitious variation of ἀτμὰς



here. At any rate, whether *αὐτμὰς* be original or not, the *υ* must certainly have at one stage been in the word in order to produce *ἀύπνους*.

It will be observed that what I read, viz. :

‘Αλιάδων λεχῶν ἀν’ αὐτμὰς ὑγρὰς

is in complete metrical agreement with the Laurentian version of the corresponding antistrophic line, viz. :

στερεόφρων ἄρ’ ἐξανύσσειν κακὰν.

## B

The seventh line of the strophe, immediately after an initial cretic, presents a syllable which may be either long or short, followed by two shorts. The corresponding line of the antistrophe, immediately after an initial cretic, presents, in lieu of the indeterminate syllable plus two shorts, a trochee.

An attempt has been made to scan the indeterminate syllable as long, and to treat the two shorts of the strophe as balanced in some mysterious way by the one short of the antistrophe. But it does not need argument to show that the framers of the existing text regarded the indeterminate syllable as short, and the long syllable in the antistrophic line as corresponding to this assumedly short syllable together with the short syllable immediately succeeding it.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 887. ἀπύοι ; σχέτλια γὰρ

(b) l. 933. οὐλίφ σὺν πάθει

It is interesting to observe, that, whereas *οὐλίφ σὺν πάθει* has every mark of authenticity, the strophic line comes to us with very bad credentials.

In the Laurentian MS. the last syllable after *ἀπύ-* has been erased, and *-οι* added, apparently by a different hand, in the erasure. Then comes a small gap. After the gap there is another erasure, this time of a word of not more than five letters in length. The erasure is incomplete,

as it leaves unobliterated a rough breathing and acute accent over what was once the initial vowel of the erased word. After the second erasure comes *σχέτλια γὰρ*.

Γ, whose readings demand some respect, presents not *ἀπύοι* but *ἀπύει*.

Following the guidance of the unerased aspirate (implying a vowel) in L, we see readily that the form which has given rise both to *ἀπύοι* and to *ἀπύει* can be nothing else than *ἀπύσει*' (i.e. *ἀπύσειε* elided).

The substitution in L (on the strength of *ἀν* in l. 879) of *ἀπύοι* for the apparently unmetrical and ungrammatical future indicative *ἀπύσει*, for so the optative *ἀπύσει*' must have been read, caused the aspirated word beginning with a vowel, of not more than five letters length, to be erased, and a word substituted which begins with a consonant, and which suits the copyist's notions of correspondence with the antistrophe.

It is to be noted that the original erased vocalic word, being not more than five letters long, was in all probability a trochee and not a tribrach. Of course there are many tribrachs of less than five letters, but there are an overwhelmingly greater number of trochees.

Yet I do not think that the Laurentian MS. read a trochee: neither do I think that the reading of the Laurentian MS. was the true reading, though much nearer to it than the pure invention *σχέτλια*.

If the Laurentian had not first corrupted the original reading, so that the passage became difficult to translate, I doubt whether *σχέτλια* would ever have made its appearance.

In view of the paucity of trochees and tribrachs at once aspirated and bearing an acute accent on the initial vowel, and in view of the much more marked paucity of such words of that kind as would suit (however roughly) the meaning of the passage we are discussing, I am driven to conjecture that the erased word in L is *ἄγια*.

A sort of sense can be extracted out of *ἄγια* by forcing the meaning 'accursed.' But if L really read *ἄγια*, then it would almost inevitably follow that *ἄγια* must be a corruption of an original *αἰνὰ*.

Sophocles is the one tragedian who uses *αἰνός* in his lyrics. See l. 706 of this play.

Read :

*ἀπύσει' ; αἰνὰ γὰρ.*

#### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1185–1222)

No instances.

#### SUMMARY

The *Ajax* contains approximately 151 strophic and 151 antistrophic lines, about 302 in all. These lines furnish five instances of the correspondence under discussion. I do not think that it can be said that any one of the five instances is of such a character as to lend any real support to the view that the correspondence is legitimate. Two of them occur in manifestly corrupt passages, one can be cured by a diaeresis, and the two remaining, which are in effect one, offer also a suspicious hiatus, and, as I have shown, are susceptible of very facile emendation.

#### ELECTRA

#### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 125–250)

#### A AND B

The fifth lines of the first strophe and first antistrophe are lyrical iambic trimeters. In the strophe the second foot is an iamb : in the antistrophe it is a tribrach. In the strophe of the third foot is a tribrach : in the antistrophe it is an iamb.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 126. *κακᾶ τε χειρὶ πρόδοτον ; ὡς ὁ τάδε πορῶν*

(β) l. 143. *ἐν οἷς ἀνάλυσίς ἐστιν οὐδεμία κακῶν*

I propose to cure the double discrepancy by means of



a single transposition in the antistrophic line. I read as follows :

ἔνεστιν οἷς ἀνάλυσις οὐδεμία κακῶν.

I contend that prepositional compounds have a tendency to be glossed in the MSS. by equivalents of a discrete character. I have suggested in my comment on *Antigone* 1342 that an original *τέρμονα προίδω* was glossed *πρὸ τέρμον' ἴδω*, which in its turn passed into *πρότερον ἴδω*.

### C, D AND E

The fourth lines of the second strophe and of the second antistrophe are lyric hexameters. In the strophe the second foot is a dactyl, in the antistrophe a spondee. In the strophe the third foot is a spondee, in the antistrophe a dactyl. In the strophe the fourth foot is a spondee, in the antistrophe a dactyl.

The lines are as follows :

(α) l. 158. οἶα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα

(β) l. 178. μήθ' οἷς ἐχθαίρεις ὑπεράχθεο μήτ' ἐπιλάθου

It seems to me fairly obvious that Sophocles wrote :

οἶα ζῶει Χρυσόθεμις τε καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα.

I believe that *ζῶει* was placed after *Χρυσόθεμις* in order to give to the line the usual epic caesuras. *τε* had then to be omitted, because grammar forbids its retention in the altered order of the words.

It is only natural that ordinary epic usage should infect to some extent the comparatively few lyric hexameters with which copyists had to deal.

### F AND G

The ninth lines of the second strophe and of the second antistrophe are, as they stand, iambic trimeters catalectic. In the strophe the second foot is an iamb, in the antistrophe a tribrach. In the strophe the fourth foot is an

iamb, in the antistrophe presumably a tribrach (the last two syllables consist of the word *θεός*).

The lines are these :

(a) l. 163. βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν Ὀρέσταν

(b) l. 183. οὐθ' ὁ παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θεός ἀνάσσων

But it is manifest that there is some rather deep-seated corruption.

βήματι must have a causative sense, and come not from βαίνω but from βιβάζω. τάνδε γᾶν is well-nigh impossible, because the word γᾶ has occurred just before. I quote the strophic context :

ὄλβις, ὄν ἄ κλεινὰ  
γᾶ ποτὲ Μυκηναίων  
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Διὸς εὐφροῖ  
βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν Ὀρέσταν.

It seems to me to be in the highest degree probable that βήματι is a mistake for φήμα. I need not labour the palaeographical similarity of the two words; but I may pause to point out that, if the evidence of the papyrus of Bacchylides holds good for the Doric of Sophocles, φήμα not φάμα would be the true form, because otherwise there would be Doric alphas in two successive syllables of the same word.

τάνδε γᾶν I regard as a mere interpolation. ἔρχομαι (of which ἔμολον is a tragic aorist) is by itself pure Attic for 'I come home.' A late copyist would not appreciate this fact.

Consequently it seems natural to read the strophic line thus :

φήμα μολόντ' Ὀρέσταν.

Nothing more is wanted for the sense, and the line is an excellent iambic dimeter catalectic.

If we turn to the antistrophe we are conscious of a certain heaviness. θεός seems to be an entirely unnecessary explanatory addition. Compare the unmetrical addition of θεός in a similar passage, viz. Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 56, which

I have discussed in the course of section D of my remarks on the second Olympian Ode.

Perhaps it is not hypercritical to find the two articles in *ὁ παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα* a trifle prosaic. I suggest that the words are a gloss.

I wish to read, in strict conformity with the metre of the restored strophic line :

*οὐθ' Ἀχέροντ' ἀνάσσω.*

I translate : 'Nor he that ruleth Acheron.'

There are two reasons which would operate in the direction of corrupting this expression.

First, it is notorious that the crasis of *ὁ* with a succeeding alpha was a phenomenon that copyists could not understand.

Secondly, I make *ἀνάσσω* govern an accusative. This anomaly is, I submit, quite in the Sophoclean manner : Sophocles was always innovating in small points of grammar. But it must have baffled the copyists.

In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* 904 Sophocles writes *Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἀνάσσω*. In the context of that passage it looks to me very much as if *πάντ'* was a direct accusative after *ἀνάσσω*, and not an accusative of respect or the like ; but, be that as it may, we find the passive *ἀνάσσεσθαι* not only in Sophocles, but also in Homer, Theocritus, Callimachus, and other writers. The Homeric use would by itself be a sufficient basis to enable Sophocles to build thereon the use of the active *ἀνάσσω* with an accusative of the external object.

In cases where the text itself is unintelligible to the copyist, he is likely to assume that glosses are meant for corrections.

## H AND I

The eighth syllable of the tenth line of the second strophe is a long : the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The second syllable of the eleventh line of the second strophe is a long : the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.



The lines run as follows :

## H

- (α) l. 164. ὄν γ' ἐγὼ ἀκάματα προσμένουσ', ἄτεκνος  
(β) l. 185. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν ὁ πολὺς ἀπολέλοιπεν ἤδη

## I

- (α) l. 165. τάλαιν' ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν οἴχνῳ  
(β) l. 186. βίωτος ἀνέλπιστος, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄρκῳ

Very few readers are likely to be quite satisfied with the two lines of the antistrophe :

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν ὁ πολὺς ἀπολέλοιπεν ἤδη  
βίωτος ἀνέλπιστος, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄρκῳ

It is extremely difficult to attach to ἀνέλπιστος a meaning at the same time linguistically possible and suitable to the context. Neither is it clear what ὁ πολὺς βίωτος means.

Let me quote sufficient both of strophe and antistrophe to exhibit the surroundings of H and I.

## στρ.

- ἄλβιος, ὄν ἄ κλεινὰ  
γᾶ ποτὲ Μυκηναίων  
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Διὸς εὐφροσι  
φήμα μολόντ' Ὀρέσταν [*sic ego : vide ante*].  
ΗΛ. ὄν γ' ἐγὼ ἀκάματα προσμένουσ', ἄτεκνος,  
τάλαιν' ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν οἴχνῳ.

## ἀντ.

- οὔτε γὰρ ὁ τὰν Κρίσαν  
βούνομον ἔχων ἀκτὰν  
παῖς Ἀγαμεμνονίδας ἀπερίτροπος,  
οὔθ' Ἀχέροντ' ἀνάσσωσι [*sic ego : vide ante*].  
ΗΛ. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν ὁ πολὺς ἀπολέλοιπεν ἤδη  
βίωτος ἀνέλπιστος, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄρκῳ.

Corruption has gone so far, that certain emendation seems quite impossible; but I will try to do my best.

It is abundantly manifest that Apollo and Pluto are the gods of Crissa and Acheron to which the antistrophe refers. It is true (see Lycophron) that Zeus was worshipped under the name "Agamemnon." But that does not make *παῖς Ἀγαμεμνονίδας* a possible equivalent of Apollo in this passage. Consequently we are driven to accept Kramm's reading *τοῖς Ἀγαμεμνονίδαῖς*.

A little consideration suffices to show that Electra ought to reply to the consolations of the chorus by stating that Apollo and Pluto have both failed her.

In l. 185 I can hardly doubt but that *ὁ πολὺς ἀπολέλοιπεν* is a corruption of *Ἀπόλλων λέλοιπεν*. There is no play on the words in what I conceive was the original text. But I suppose that a copyist introduced a play by writing *Ἀπόλλων ἀπολέλοιπεν*. Then a further play (reminiscent of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus) was added by the insertion of a gloss on *Ἀπόλλων*, viz. *ἀπολλύς*. Hence *ὁ πολὺς ἀπολέλοιπεν*.

The next line is far more puzzling. *βίωτος* is needed in order to give a substantive to the corrupt *ὁ πολὺς* in the depraved text; but *βίωτος* seems to me to be nothing more than a corruption of *αἰστος*, through an intermediate stage *αιστος*. I take *ἀνέλπιστος* to be in essence this same *αἰστος*. *ἤδη* seems to me to conceal "*Αἰδης δ*".

Consequently I read, very tentatively:

*ἀλλ' ἔμ' ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων λέλοιπεν, Ἀἰδης δ'  
ἄϊστος· οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀρκῶ.*

I translate thus: 'Nay, Apollo hath failed me: the Unseen God is afar in his world of shadows; and I have no more strength.'

I account for what seems to me to be the repetition of *ἄϊστος* under two different disguises in l. 186 by the assumption of a marginal or interlinear correction of one of the two corruptions.

In the strophe *ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν* is a similar double presentation, plus emendatory insertions, of an original *ἀν' ἄρον*. Electra would naturally haunt the shore, waiting

for her brother's ship to come home. *ἄτεκνος* is indelicate. Surely we should read *ἄτ' ἔκνους*.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that I make no pretence to be able to restore the original, when the text has gone so hopelessly astray as in the present passage; but I have done what I have been able with possibilities and probabilities, and therefore I venture to set out the two sets of lines, as I read them, embodying an alteration in the strophe of *ἀκάματα* into *ἀκάμας*. Forms of *ἀκάμας* have elsewhere been similarly corrupted.

στρ.

ὄλβιος, ὃν ἄ κλεινὰ  
 γὰ ποτὲ Μυκηναίων  
 δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Διὸς εὐφρονη  
 φήμα μολόντ' Ὀρέσταν.

ΗΛ. ὃν γ' ἐγὼ ἀκάμας προσμένουσ', ἄτ' ἔκνους,  
 τάλαιν' ἀν' ἄον' οἰχυνῶ.

ἀντ.

οὔτε γὰρ ὁ τὰν Κρίσαν  
 βούνομον ἔχων ἀκτὰν  
 τοῖς Ἀγαμεμνονίδαις ἀπερίτροπος  
 οὔθ' Ἀχέροντ' ἀνάσσων.

ΗΛ. ἀλλ' ἔμ' ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων λέλοιπεν, Ἄιδης δ'  
 ἄϊστος· οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀρκῶ.

## K

The first two syllables of the fourth line of the third strophe are two shorts. The third antistrophe replaced them with one long.

The lines are as follows:

- (a) l. 196. γενύων ὠρμάθη πλαγά  
 (b) l. 216. ἐμπίπτεις οὔτως αἰκῶς

I see no difficulty in reading *ἐν*πίπτεις. I imagine that the disappearance in tragic chorus of many compounds differing slightly from the ordinary forms is due



to nothing whatever except the fact that there have been no surrounding circumstances sufficient to preserve them.

## L

The fifth and sixth syllables of the sixth line of the third strophe are two shorts: the third antistrophe substitutes one long.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 198. δεινὰν δεινῶς προφυτεύσαντες

(b) l. 218. σῆ̄ δυσθύμῳ τίκτουσ' αἰεὶ

The Laurentian MS. originally had προφητεύσαντες and Γ retains that reading. I take this as an indication that the original was φιτεύσαντες. It is unnecessary to point out the confusion between φῖτεύω and φῦτεύω.

## M

The seventh line of the third strophe has a long third syllable: the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines run as follows:

(a) l. 199. μορφάν, εἴτ' οἶν θεὸς εἴτε βροτῶν

(b) l. 219. ψυχῆ̄ πολέμους· τὰ δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς

I do not think that we ought to hesitate to read for πολέμους the much more appropriate word παλμούς. A glance at a dictionary will show that παλμός suits ψυχῆ̄ admirably. I take ψυχῆ̄ not as locative in sense but as *dativus incommodi*.

## N AND O

The ninth line of the third strophe ends ∪∪-∪∪ (the last word being ἀμέρα before a vowel at the beginning of the next line): the third antistrophe substitutes ---. Hence there are two instances of the correspondence which I dispute.

The lines run as follows :

(a) l. 201. ὦ πασᾶν κείνα πλέον ἀμέρα [ἐλθοῦσ' at  
beginning of next line]

(b) l. 221. δεινοῖς ἠναγκάσθην, δεινοῖς

But in the antistrophe the MSS. read :

ἐν δεινοῖς ἠναγκάσθην, ἐν δεινοῖς.

However, I do not think that the MS. reading really affects the metre. It seems to me that the repeated ἐν has its origin in each case in a superscribed εν, which was written with the intention of correcting each of the two words δεινοῖς into δέννοις. δέννοις ('by reproaches') would make sense; but whether it is the original reading or no, I should be sorry to say.

I take the corruption to be in the strophe.

The passage runs :

ὦ πασᾶν κείνα πλέον ἀμέρα  
ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα δὴ μοι.  
ὦ νύξ, ὦ δειπνων ἀρρήτων  
ἔκπαυλ' ἄχθη.

The only MS. variation is an original ἀμερᾶν (altered to ἀμέρα) in the Laurentian.

The strangeness of the comparative πασᾶν πλέον in conjunction with the superlative ἐχθίστα is apparent at first sight. The double expression is perfectly grammatical, but at the same time it distinctly savours of tautology. ἐχθίστα must be a superlative. In form it might be a verbal from ἐχθίζομαι: but no verbal from ἐχθίζομαι is known to exist.

It is plain that, with strict correspondence, ἀμέρα will in no part of the strophic line suit the scansion of the antistrophic line, which consists entirely of long syllables. Moreover a little consideration shows that no word for 'day' is wanted in the strophic line. νύξ comes in the next line but one. ἀμέρα has to refer to exactly the same period of time as νύξ. Consequently the antithesis of 'day' and 'night' is wholly artificial, and unworthy of Sophocles.

It seems to me that the true meaning of ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα has been missed. A reference to *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1357-8

οὔκουν πατρός γ' ἂν φονεὺς  
ἦλθον,

will show that ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα δὴ μοι can very well mean: 'that has come to be most loathsome in my eyes.' The chorus has just been speaking of the murder of Agamemnon,

εἴτ' οὖν θεὸς εἶτε βροτῶν  
ἦν ὁ ταῦτα πράσσω.

I suggest that Electra replies, brushing aside all veils beneath which the chorus has discreetly hidden the name of the murderess:

ὦ πασᾶν κείνα παντόλμων  
ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα δὴ μοι.

Compare *Choëphoroe* 430 *δαῖτα πάντολμε μάτερ.*

It is comparatively unimportant whether this emendation is right or wrong. What is important is that I should carry my readers with me to the point of admitting that the vulgate is so suspicious that no confidence can be placed in its metre.

## P AND Q

In the fourteenth line in the third strophe the fourth and the ninth syllables are each of them long: these long syllables are replaced in the third antistrophe by two shorts in either case.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 206. θανάτους αἰκεῖς διδύμαιν χειροῖν  
(b) l. 226. τίνοι γάρ ποτ' ἄν, ὦ φιλία γενέθλα

The context of the antistrophic line is this:

τίνοι γάρ ποτ' ἄν, ὦ φιλία γενέθλα,  
πρόσφορον ἀκούσαιμ' ἔπος,  
τίνοι φρονοῦντι καίρια;





*καθοπλίσασα* had been in the original text we might very probably expect some such gloss as *κατὸ ὀπλίσασα*.

On the assumption that *καθοπλίσασα* is a gloss on *ἀπολακτίσασα* it would not be difficult for it to creep into the text. The general run of the letters of the two words, in spite of differences at places, is so similar that a slight obliteration of a very small portion of *ἀπολακτίσασα* would cause a copyist to regard *καθοπλίσασα* not as a gloss but as a correction.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1232–1286)

No instances.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1384–1397)

No instances.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1398–1441)

No instances.

SUMMARY

In all, Sophocles' *Electra* contains approximately 142 strophic and 142 antistrophic lines, making a grand total of about 284. These 284 lines furnish seventeen instances of the phenomenon I am investigating. But it is exceedingly remarkable that sixteen out of these seventeen instances are to be found in the first chorus.

It looks as if we had here a still stronger instance of what I have referred to in my comparison of the Olympians, Pythians, Nemeans and Isthmians *inter se*. The scholiastic metricians appear to have tackled the beginning of the *Electra* but to have left the rest of the play severely alone. I would suggest that this tends to show that just the beginning of the *Electra* was at one period read in the schools; but that it was considered too difficult a book to teach *in extenso*.

## TRACHINIAE

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 94–140)

No instances.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 205–224)

This chorus is not antistrophic, so that it can furnish no instances.

## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 497–530)

No instances.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 633–662)

In the third lines of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 649. χρόνον, πελάγιον, ἴδριες οὐδέν

(b) l. 657. πρὶν τάνδε πρὸς πόλιν ἀνύσειε

It would be very easy to read ποτὶ instead of πρὸς: but is the strophic line sound?

Here is the context :

ὄν ἀπόπτολιν εἴχομεν παντᾶ,  
 δυοκαιδεκάμηνον ἀμμένουσαι  
 χρόνον, πελάγιον, ἴδριες οὐδέν.

πελάγιον has to agree with ὄν, i.e. Hercules (I write 'Hercules,' not 'Heracles,' deliberately, because I am writing in English, and 'Hercules' is the English name of the person in question); whereas it would certainly be more obvious to take it as agreeing with χρόνον. Indeed the insertion of πελάγιον between the subordinate clauses δυοκαιδεκάμηνον ἀμμένουσαι χρόνον and ἴδριες οὐδέν is so harsh



that I wonder that editors have tolerated it. It is the reversion to the nominative in ἴδριες οὐδέν that jars most. After the accusative πελάγιον one naturally expects another accusative, not a nominative.

Moreover the use of πελάγιον can only be justified on the assumption that the chorus believed that Hercules spent a whole year at sea. Neither did he do so, nor had the chorus any reason to suppose that he did so. ὑπερπόντιον (cf. *Antigone* 785), 'oversea,' would have suited the facts.

It is one thing to show reason for regarding a passage as corrupt, another thing to emend the passage.

There seem to me to be two possible ways in either of which πελάγιον may have come into being:—

(1) The original reading may have been πελιδναί, 'pale.' Sophocles uses this word, Pollux tells us, of Tyro. Elsewhere (see Stephanus) πελιδνός is corrupted into πελιανός, which fact goes a long way to show that πελιδναί has claims upon our consideration in this passage.

(2) It would be possible to read

ὄν ἀπόπτολιν εἶχομεν παντᾶ (though surely these words are jargon),

δυοκαιδεκάμηνον ἀμμένουσαι  
χρόμον πελαργῶν, ἴδριες οὐδέν.

I should translate:

'Whom we saw not at all in our land, while we waited for the storks' hoarse sound, that sound which is not heard again till twelve full months be past; and nothing knew we of his fate.'

According to the *Etymologicum Magnum* πελαγός was another form of πελαργός. If there is anything in the conjecture which I suggest, the existence of πελαγός may have assisted the corruption.

I cannot believe that Sophocles wrote πελάγιον, and my objection is not based on metrical grounds. I have no decided opinion as to what he did write. Perhaps on that point the data are insufficient to enable us to arrive at anything like approximate certainty.



ἀντ.

πῶς ὄδ' ἂν ἀέλιον ἕτερον ἢ τὰ νῦν ἴδοι,  
δεινοτατο μὲν ὕδρας προστετακῶς  
φάσματι; μελαγχαίτα ἄμμυγά νιν αἰκίζει  
νέσου θ' ὑπο φοῖνια δολόμυθα κέντρ' ἐπιζέσαντα.

δεινοτατο was originally in L δεινοτατω.

It seems to me clear that νέσου is not, as apparently all editors assume, a corruption of Νέσσου, but of νόσου, and that this νόσου should properly be read at the end of the previous line. This enables us to add to the unique and incomplete expression of the strophe ὁ μὴ λεύσσων the necessary words τὸ φῶς.

ὕδρας φάσματι is nonsense in the context, and in any case, if κέντρα is likewise taken to mean the hydra's venom, there is an impossible tautology. But νόσου removes this tautology. Sophocles, I maintain, is speaking of two separate things, the hydra's poison, and the madness working in the brain of Hercules.

Consequently, with complete metrical correspondence, I propose to read the two passages thus :

στρ.

δωδέκατος ἄροτος, ἀναδοχὰν τελεῖν πόνων  
τῷ Διὸς αὐτόπαιδι· καὶ τὰδ' ὀρθῶς  
ἔμπεδα κατουρίζει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὴ λεύσσων τὸ φῶς  
ἔτι ποτ' ἔτ' ἐπίπονον ἔχοι θανὼν λατρείαν;

ἀντ.

πῶς ὄδ' ἂν ἀέλιον ἕτερον ἢ τὰ νῦν ἴδοι,  
δεινοτάτῳ μὲν ὕδρας προστετακῶς  
πλάσματι; μελαγχόλου δ' ἄμμυγά νιν αἰκίζει νόσου  
πυρόφρονα θολερόνοα κέντρ' ἐπιζέσαντα.

πυρόφρονα and θολερόνοα are metaphors from fire and water respectively. I suggest that the poet is really comparing Hercules' maddened brain to a cauldron seething over a fire.

It is unnecessary to do more than point out the palaeographical similarity that exists between ΝΕCOTΘΥΠΟΦΟ-



**ΙΝΙΑΔΟΛΟΜΥΘΑ** and **ΝΟΣΟΥΠΤΡΟΦΡΟΝΑΘΟΛΕΡΟΝΟΑ** : but I may be permitted to emphasize the extraordinary ease with which the final **ΟΝΟΑ** might pass into **ΟΝΘΑ**, the **ΝΘΑ** of which would very easily be "corrected" into **ΜΥΘΑ**.

The various attempts on the part of editors of undoubted learning to restore the antistrophe seem to me to have been failures one and all, and failures because they have not been based on the assumption that Sophocles writes sense and logic. At the utmost the editors appear to credit him with a vague and indistinct meaning looming still more vague and indistinct through a mist of half-meaningless words.

That kind of writing is no doubt a characteristic of many inferior lyrics in modern languages; but I venture to think that the ancient Greeks had a far different conception of the purpose and methods of lyric poetry.

Gleditsch's insertion of *πόνων* after *ἐπίπονον* is certainly very ingenious; but, putting questions of metre on one side, I would ask what real meaning *πόνων* can have in the passage.

## B

The sixth and seventh syllables of the third line of the second strophe are two shorts: the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 845. *γνώμας μολόντ' ὀλεθρίαις* (Triclinius *ὀλεθρίαισι*) *ξυναλλαγαῖς* (Wunder *συναλλαγαῖς*)  
 (b) l. 856. *ἰὼ κελαινὰ λόγχα προμάχου δορός*

An attempt has been made to alter the antistrophic line, but for my own part, I can see nothing suspicious about it.

On the other hand, *ὀλεθρίαισι συναλλαγαῖς* is in the context decidedly obscure. The passage runs thus:

*τὰ μὲν οὐ τι προσέβαλε· τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου  
 γνώμας μολόντ' ὀλεθρίαισι συναλλαγαῖς  
 ἢ που ὀλοὰ στένει.*

As Sophocles is obviously contrasting the woes that Deianira had brought on herself with those that resulted from her meeting with Nessus, there cannot be much doubt that Nauck's emendation *αὐτῇ* in lieu of *οὗ τι* is right, or rather that Blaydes' further emendation *αὐτὰ* is right; unless indeed the dative *αὐτᾷ* (which Jebb mentions *obiter* as a possibility) be preferred.

But, as opposed to *αὐτά* or *αὐτᾷ*, *ὀλεθρίαισι συναλλαγῆς* is a trifle weak. It is true that *ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου* is sufficient to mark the opposition, but *συναλλαγῆς* without some more definite adjective than *ὀλεθρίαισι* to back it up does not necessarily mean 'at the meeting (with Nessus)', but might mean, as Jebb points out (though he takes no exception to *ὀλεθρίαισι*) 'by a reconciliation,' or 'by conjunctures.' Each of these renderings has its supporters.

This ambiguity, which must have been an ambiguity even to an Attic Greek, is removed, if, for *ὀλεθρίαισι*, we read *ὀθνεῖαισι*.

I translate: 'at the meeting with the stranger.'

The adjective *ὀθνεῖος* is in classical Greek Euripidean and Platonic. The fact that Euripides and Plato alike affect the use of this distinctly un-Attic word seems to me to imply that it had a literary history now unknown to us. If Sophocles, who is somewhat of a neologist, employed the word in this passage and (as may well have been the case) in one or two of his lost plays, we should have just the kind of history that is needed. Within due limits the use of a word by Euripides is tangible proof that it was used by one or more of his tragic predecessors. When Plato falls into line with Euripides, the case seems to me to be a little strengthened.

But I doubt whether many critics would venture in any case to affirm that it is impossible or even demonstrably improbable that Sophocles should have used the word.

Hermann's conjecture is *στρυγαῖσι*, Wunder's *οὐλῆαισι*. My suggestion is much more conservative than Hermann's and appreciably more so than Wunder's. Unless I am mistaken, I have also shown that it removes a blemish of style, which both of them have left in effect as they found it.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 878–895)

No instances.

## SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 947–970)

The seventh line of the second strophe begins with an anapaest: the seventh line of the second antistrophe begins with a spondee.

The lines are as follows:

(a) l. 959. *ἐπεὶ ἐν δυσάπαλλάκτοις ὀδύνας*

(b) l. 968. *αἰαῖ, ὄδ' ἀναύδατος φέρεται*

The MSS. vary between *αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ* and *αὶ αὶ αἰ αἰ*.

I am inclined to think that this fact points to the probability that the *ἐπεὶ* of the strophe is corrupt. If so, the true reading has perished.

But on the assumption that *αἰ αἰ* (*bis*), not *αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ* (*quater*), ought to be read in the antistrophe, the text presents no real instance of our phenomenon, because *ἐπεὶ ἐν* can be scanned *ἐπεὶ 'ν* by prodelision, and *αἰαῖ* can have the first syllable short.

The example is valueless.

This chorus presents an instance of a metrical anomaly, similar to others that I have discussed elsewhere; but by accident not coming strictly within the four corners of my investigation.

The eighth line of the second strophe runs:

l. 960. *χωρεῖν πρὸ δόμων λέγουσιν.*

The eighth line of the second antistrophe runs:

l. 969. *τί χροῖ, θανόντα νιν ἠ καθ'.*

The two lines are glyconic, and the dactyl comes in different places.

But if the reader will refer to the context of the strophic line, he will see that *πρὸ δόμων* is hardly intelligible.



I suggest that it is a mere mistake, under the influence of Eur. *Hec.* 59, for the intransitive *προδόντα*.

This obvious alteration secures complete correspondence.

### EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1004–1043)

#### A

The fourth and fifth syllables of the second line of the second strophe are two shorts: the second antistrophe replaces these two shorts by one long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1008. ἀπολείς μ', ἀπολείς

(b) l. 1029. διολούσ' ἡμάς

For ἀπολείς μ', ἀπολείς, I suggest ἀπολείς μ' ἀπλῶς, with a play on words similar to that in ll. 1028–9 *δειλαία διολούσ'*.

#### B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, AND N

Interwoven with the fabric of this chorus occur at intervals three sets of consecutive hexameters, each set containing five lines.

There being three sets of hexameters, it seems impossible to treat them as strophe and antistrophe of the ordinary tragic type. Neither does it seem possible to treat them as strophe, antistrophe, and epode; because the third set does not appear in detail to resemble the first set less than does the second set.

The whole phenomenon is most exceptional; but I am inclined to regard the three sets of hexameters as three non-antistrophic strophes, more or less after the model of a small minority of the Pindaric odes (cf. Eur. *Cycl.* ll. 495–518).

It is absolutely plain that the hexameters as they stand do not present dactyl for dactyl or spondee for spondee.

Excluding the fifth and sixth feet, which are naturally constant, we ought on the doctrine of chances (anyone

can work out the sum) to have exact correspondences of feet in all three sets, as against instances of non-correspondence in one of the three sets, in the proportion of one to three, if, that is, Sophocles was writing hexameters pure and simple without regard to exact correspondence. But we actually find, including two doubtful readings, that correspondences stand to non-correspondences in the proportion of two to three.

This mathematical result is highly interesting; but its value as evidence is much reduced when it is further stated that the total number of actual correspondences against non-correspondences is eight against twelve, whereas the ideal number would be five against fifteen.

The totals are too small in consequence to permit us to draw from them any very cogent conclusions. At the same time, the irregularity of proportion must be allowed its due weight, however small that weight may be.

It would seem that we are confronted by the alternative of supposing on the one hand that originally correspondent verses have been corrupted wholesale, or of supposing on the other hand that Sophocles is treating hexameters as if they were trochaic tetrameters or regular anapaestic dimeters. It is common to find correspondence, but not syllabic correspondence, between the members of various sorts of non-lyrical compositions. But I gravely doubt whether it was lawful to embellish a tragedy with hexameters other than lyrical, though Comedy was certainly not subject to the same restriction.

I cannot believe that Sophocles has made any jettison of lyric metre in the present series of passages.

First let me set out the three hexametrical series as they stand.

## 1

- 1010 ἤπταιί μου, τοτοτοί, ἤδ' αὐθ' ἔρπει. πόθεν ἔστ', ὦ  
 πάντων Ἑλλάνων ἀδικώτατοι ἀνέρες, οὓς δὴ  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν (Ἴ ἐμὶ πόντωι) πόντῳ κατὰ τε δρῖα πάντα  
 καθαίρων  
 ὠλεκόμαν ὁ τάλας· καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῷδε νοσοῦντι  
 οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἔγχος τις ὀνήσιμον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει;

## 2

- 1018 ὦ παῖ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, τοῦργον τόδε μεῖζον ἀνήκει  
ἢ κατ' ἐμὴν ῥώμαν, σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε, σοὶ τε γὰρ ὄμμα  
(Jebb, apparently rightly, σοὶ γὰρ ἐτοίμα)  
ἐμπλεον (Meineke ἐς πλέον) ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σφύζειν.

ΤΛ. ψάνω μὲν ἔγωγε,  
λαθίπονον δ' ὀδύναν (Musgrave ὀδυνᾶν) οὔτ' ἐνδοθεν  
οὔτε θύραθεν  
ἔστι μοι ἐξανύσαι βίотου (Musgrave βίотου)· τοιαῦτα  
νέμει Ζεύς.

## 3

- 1031 ἰὼ Παλλὰς (Dindorf ὦ Παλλάς, Παλλάς), τόδε μ' αὖ  
λωβᾶται. ἰὼ παῖ,  
τὸν φύσαντ' (Campbell φύσαντ' without τὸν) οἰκτείρας  
ἀνεπίφθονον εἴρυσον ἔγχος,  
παῖσον ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ κληῖδος (edd. παῖσον ἐμᾶς ὑπὸ  
κληῖδος), ἀκού δ' ἄχος, ᾗ μ' ἐχόλωσεν  
σὰ μάτηρ ἄθεος, ἂν (edd. τὰν) ὧδ' ἐπίδοιμι πεσοῦσαν  
αὐτῶς, ὧδ' αὐτῶς, ὥς μ' ὤλεσεν. ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων.

At the end of the third hexametrical period the MSS. begin a choric passage in other metre with the words: ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄιδας. Consequently editors transpose thus:

αὐτῶς, ὧδ' αὐτῶς, ὥς μ' ὤλεσεν. ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄιδας,  
ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων.

I will postpone the discussion of the scansion of ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων in its transposed position to the next section (Section O), where I shall give reasons for thinking that it is improbable, if not impossible, where the editors wish it to stand.

Meanwhile I will for the moment confine myself to the same unmetrical words at the conclusion of the last hexameter, viz. ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων.

I suggest that these are not in any sense due to a transposition, but are simply a corruption of:

[αὐτῶς ὧδ' αὐτῶς, ὥς μ' ὤλεσεν], ὤλεσεν αὐτὰ ἱματίῳ.



I regard *ιματίω* as an inept but not unnatural gloss on the adverb of manner, *ώς*. **αυταιματιωι** would easily become **αυθαιμων**.

It will be observed that the variations of reading between the editors and the MSS. do not affect the syllabic correspondence of metre (apart from this special instance) except twice.

In the first line of the third series, the general reading  $\delta$  Παλλάς, Παλλάς, stands for the MS. *ἰὼ Παλλάς*. Personally I should prefer the dactylic opening of Παλλάς, *ἰὼ Παλλάς*.

In the second line of the third series the MSS. present *τὸν φύσαντ'*. There Campbell's simple *φύσαντ'* seems to me preferable to Dindorf's dactylic *τὸν φύτορ'*.

But there is really a third instance, which seems to be of metrical importance.

In the third line of the third series *παῖσον ἐμᾶς ὑπὸ κληῖδος* is assumed to be a mere graphic correction of *παῖσον ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ κληῖδος*.

But surely the right reading is *παῖσον ὑπὸ κληῖδος μ'*.

This reading does not bring the third line of the third series into exact conformity with the third line of the first series. It brings it into conformity with the third line of the second series; but then the third line of the second series is in any case corrupt. It leaves it out of conformity with the third line of the first series; but look at the suggestive Laurentian reading of that line.

I will now exhibit a conspectus of the scansion of the lines, not departing from more or less received readings.

#### First line

First series.	--	* - - -	* - -	* - -	- - -	- -
Second series.	--	- -	- -	- - -	- - -	- -, or - , before succeeding vowel.
Third series.	--	- -	- - -	- -	- - -	- -

#### Second line

First series.	*	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -
Second series.	- - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- , plus hiatus : manifestly corrupt.
Third series.	- -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -

## Third line

First series.	-υυ	<sup>*</sup> - <sup>*</sup>	<sup>*</sup> -υυ	<sup>*</sup> -υυ	--υυ	--
Second series.	-υυ	--υυ	--	--	--υυ	--υ
Third series.	-υυ	--υυ	--υυ	--υυ	--υυ	--

## Fourth line

First series.	<sup>*</sup> -υυ	--υυ	--	--υυ	--υυ	--υ
Second series.	-υυ	--υυ	--	--υυ	--υυ	--υ
Third series.	--	--υυ	--	--υυ	--υυ	--υ

## Fifth line

First series.	<sup>*</sup> --	<sup>*</sup> --	<sup>*</sup> -υυ	<sup>*</sup> -υυ	--υυ	--
Second series.	-υυ	--υυ	--υυ	--	--υυ	--
Third series.	--	--	--	--υυ	--υυ	--

I have marked with asterisks the positions of doubtful correspondence.

I can hardly bring myself to think that the identities in length of the final syllables of the various lines, as shown in the above table, can be accidental. It is this that in my mind turns the scale against the hypothesis that Sophocles here abandoned syllabic correspondence.

The exceptions to the correspondence of the final syllables are possibly three in number.

The first line of the second system ends with *ἀνήμεϊ*, before *ἦ* at the beginning of the next verse: the second line of the second system ends (according to Jebb's very able emendation) with *ἐτοίμᾱ*, before an epsilon at the beginning of the next line. I do not think these two instances of hiatus need surprise us in a context so manifestly corrupt.

More important is the third line of the same system, which ends with *ἔγωγέ*, though the last syllable should be long.

*λαθίπονον δ' ὀδύναν* begins the next line. *λαθίπονον ὀδύναν . . . βίοντου* makes no sense. Musgrave was wrong in reading *λαθίπονον δ' ὀδυνᾶν βίοντου*. The obvious

correction (taking the metre of ἔγωγε into account) is τλασίπονον δ' ὀδύναν . . . βιότου. The τλ make position.

As these passages form a very special branch of the investigation I am pursuing, and have little reference, except indeed by way of *a fortiori* argument, to the rest of my subject, I will proceed without further argument to furnish a possible reconstitution.

## 1

1010. ἦπται ἐμοῦ, οἱ οἴ, ἅ δ' αὖθ' ἔρπει· πόθεν ἔστ', ὦ πάντων Ἑλλάνων ἀδικώτατοι ἀνέρες, οὓς δὴ πόλλ' ἐνὶ πόντου ἀφρῶ κατά τε δρία πάντα καθαίρων ὠλεκόμαν ὁ τάλας· καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῷδε νοσοῦντι μὴ οὐ πῦρ, μὴ οὐκ ἔγχος τις θνάσιμον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψη.

## 2

1018. ὦ παῖ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, τοῦτ' ἔργον μείζον ἀνήκει τὰς ἀμᾶς ῥόμας, σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε, σοὶ γὰρ ἐτοίμα κὰς πλέον ἢ δεῖ. ἐμοῦ ἀτίεις; ΤΛ. αἴτω μὲν ἔγωγε· τλασίπονον δ' ὀδύναν οὐτ' ἔνδοθεν οὔτε θύραθεν ἔξεστιν μὴ ἔξαντλησαι, ὅτῳ οἰκτρὰ νέμει Ζεὺς.

## 3

1031. Παλλάς, ἰὼ Παλλάς, νῦν μ' αὖ λωβᾶται· ἰώ, παῖ, φύσαντ' οἰκτίρας ἀνεπίφθονον εἴρυσον ἔγχος, παῖσον ὑπὸ κληῖδος μ'· ἀκέου δ' ἄχος ᾧ μ' ἐχόλωσεν σὰ γενέτειρ' ἄθεος, τὰν ᾧδ' ἐπίδοιμι πεσοῦσαν αὐτως, ᾧδ' αὐτως, ὡς μ' ὤλεσεν, ὤλεσεν αὐτά.

About θνάσιμον for ὀνήσιμον, at any rate, there appears to me to be a very high degree of probability. Also I have not much doubt as to ἔξεστιν μὴ ἔξαντλησαι.

But I am well aware that there is no cogency in my treatment as a whole. I can only ask such readers as have the time at their disposal to work through these hexameters for themselves, and, after so doing, to judge whether or no the assumption of strict correspondence throws light on what previously was dark.



## O

In the first line of what is ordinarily called the third strophe the second syllable, according to the ordinary reading, is a long. For this long the MSS. substitute two shorts in the antistrophe.

The lines are these:—

- (a) l. 1023. L ὦ παῖ παῖ, ποῦ ποτ' εἶ; τᾶδε με τᾶδέ με  
 R ὦ παῖ, ὦ παῖ, ποῦ ποτ' εἶ; τᾶδε με τᾶδέ με  
 Seidler and other edd. ὦ παῖ ποῦ ποτ' εἶ;  
 τᾶδέ με τᾶδέ με
- (b) l. 1041. ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄιδας, εὔνασον εὔνασόν μ'

As we have previously seen, editors put ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄιδας, at the end of the preceding hexameter, taking from that line the words ὦ Διὸς ἀνθαίμων to begin the strictly choric line. Seidler led the way in this.

I have already conjectured that ὦ Διὸς ἀνθαίμων stands for ὄλεσεν αὐτὰ ἱματίῳ, and that ὄλεσεν αὐτά is the proper ending of the hexameter.

I also contend that ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄιδας is absolutely uncorrupt.

ὦ Διὸς ἀνθαίμων, in the place where Seidler puts it, necessitates the strophic reading ὦ παῖ ποῦ ποτ' εἶ. But there is not merely the grave doubt whether παῖ and Διός can be metrically equivalent: the second syllable of ἀνθαίμων has to correspond with the short ποτ'. It is a matter of great difficulty to approximate to a statement of the circumstances under which a syllable may be *anceps*; but assuredly it awakes grave suspicion to find that a purely conjectural emendation combines in close proximity the two phenomena of a long equalling two shorts and of a long equalling one short. The result is a practical abnegation of metre.

It seems to me that the fault lies wholly in the strophe.

I read the whole strophe thus:

ὦ παῖ, ὄπου ποτ' εἶ, τᾶδέ με τᾶδέ με  
 πρόσλαβε κουφίσας· ἔ' ἔ, ἰὼ δαίμων.

I suggest that the Laurentian MS. contains an emended reading, and that Cambridge R is nearer the original. R's second  $\acute{\omega}$   $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}$  followed by  $\pi\omicron\upsilon$  seems to me to be merely a diplography of  $\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ .

Let me repeat that, as far as I have ascertained, a lawful dochmius consists either of an iamb plus a cretic, in which case any amount of resolution is permitted; or else of a dactyl plus a cretic, in which case neither four shorts nor two longs may be substituted for the dactyl.  $\acute{\omega}$   $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\omicron\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}$  is a dochmius:  $\acute{\omega}$   $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\omicron\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}$  is not.

The remedy of transposition is no doubt needed now and then. I suppose that in the vast bulk of Greek literature instances of almost every conceivable kind of corruption are to be found. But there are common diseases and there are rare diseases, and it is the part of a prudent physician, when symptoms present themselves which are equally characteristic of a usual and of an unusual ailment, to exhibit first those remedies which are appropriate to the more ordinary malady.

It is especially unlikely that the copyists should have transposed two phrases, when the result of the alleged transposition is to make utter havoc of the familiar hexametrical metre.

#### SUMMARY

In the *Trachiniae* there occur approximately 185 lines that can be divided between strophes and antistrophes, including fifteen lines that seem to fall into three, as opposed to the usual two, sets of corresponding series. These 185 lines (or thereabouts) present eighteen instances of my phenomenon. But of the eighteen instances twelve occur in the fifteen lines just mentioned, which are hexameters. The whole eighteen seem to be accounted for on the supposition that copyists were well acquainted with the permissible equivalences of epic and iambic verse.

## PHILOCTETES

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 135-218)

No instances.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 391-402 and 507-518)

## A AND B

In the third line of the strophe the second syllable is a long, and the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts: for the long the antistrophe substitutes two shorts and conversely for the two shorts it substitutes a long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 395. σὲ κᾰκεί, μᾰτερ πότνι, ἐπηυδώμαν

(b) l. 510. εἰ δὲ πικρούς, ᾠναξ, ἔχθεις Ἀτρείδας

I will first reconstitute the lines, and then explain briefly how I suppose the corruptions, which I assume, arose.

(a) πότνι ἐπηυδώμαν κᾰκεί σε μᾰτερ

(b) εἰ δὲ πικρούς, ᾠναξ, ἔχθεις Ἀτρείδας

The process of corruption of the strophic line was, I contend, as follows:

κᾰκεί σε was read as one word, κᾰκείσε. It is very possible that learned scholiasts may have justified κᾰκείσε by the κᾰτέρωτα of Sappho's

αἴ ποκα κᾰτέρωτα

τᾰς ἔμας αἴδως ᾰίτμισα, πῆλυι

ἔκλυες.

Then, in order to correct this mistake, in the dexter margin was written σὲ κᾰκεί μᾰτερ, showing that κᾰκείσε should be read as two separate words, and that the σὲ referred to μᾰτερ.



Next, note and text became one line :

σὲ κάκει μᾶτερ πότνι' ἐπηυδώμαν κάκεισε μᾶτερ

Finally the concluding *κάκεισε μᾶτερ* was omitted, as unmetrical and meaningless; and the vulgate assumed its present form.

In the antistrophic line *ἀναξ* was changed to *ἄναξ* in order to suit the corrupted strophe.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 676–729)

No instances.

### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 827–864)

No instances.

### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1081–1217)

#### A AND B

In the second line of the first strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts : in the first antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

In the same second line of the first strophe the seventh syllable is unmistakably a short; but in the first antistrophe it is replaced by two shorts, so that for some inscrutable reason the short of the strophe must, if any pretence of metre is set up, be treated as a quasi-long.

The lines are as follows :—

- (a) l. 1082. θερμὸν καὶ παγετώδες, ὡς σ' οὐκ ἔμελλον  
ἄρ', ὦ τάλας
- (b) l. 1103. καὶ μόχθῳ λωβατός, ὅς ἤδη μετ' οὐδενὸς  
ὑστερον

There are two Greek words, *παγετώδης* and *πηκτώδης*. It is obvious on *a priori* grounds that Sophocles could use either at will, although as a matter of fact I can only find *πηκτώδης* once, and that in very late Greek (see Stephanus).



## D AND E

In the second strophe the second line is a glyconic of the type --|---|---|---, whereas in the second antistrophe the second line is a glyconic of the type --|---|---|---. A distinguished editor remarks :

“This example—where there is no doubt about the reading, either in the strophe or in the antistrophe—proves that the antistrophic correspondence of glyconic verses did not necessarily require the dactyl to occur in the same place.”

Such observations darken counsel.

The fourth and fifth syllables of the strophic line are two shorts: in the antistrophic line they coalesce into one long.

The seventh syllable of the strophic line is a short, which (if a semblance of metre is to be preserved) must be treated as a long, because in the antistrophic line it is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1124. *πόντου θινὸς ἐφήμενος*  
 (β) l. 1147. *ἔθνη θηρῶν, οὖς ὄδ' ἔχει*

The three opening lines of the antistrophe are as follows :—

*ὦ πταναὶ θῆραι χαροπῶν τ'  
 ἔθνη θηρῶν, οὖς ὄδ' ἔχει  
 χῶρος οὐρεσιβότας.*

It is almost inconceivable that Sophocles wrote *θηρῶν* after *θῆραι* in the preceding line, especially when we consider that *θηρῶν* is as much the genitive of *θῆραι* as it is of *θῆρες*. No such rule as that which (whether real or pretended) gives *χρήστης* a genitive plural *χρήστων*, to distinguish it from *χρηστῶν*, the gen. plur. of *χρηστός*, applies in this case.

I read :

*χαροπῶν θ'  
 ἔλλῶν ἔθνε', ὄδ' οὖς ἔχει.*

I believe that the θ' did the mischief. θ' ἔλλῶν was



read *θελλῶν*, which was subsequently "corrected" into *θηρῶν*. This reading necessitated the insertion of a word meaning 'and.' Consequently *τ' ἔθνη θηρῶν* was the result. Then, in order to keep the line a glyconic, though not a glyconic of the same kind, *ὄδ' οὖς* had to be altered to *οὖς ὄδ'*.

All this is not mere conjecture. There is evidence (*valeat quantum*) to show that Hesychius read: *χαροπῶν θ' ἔλλων*, or at least *χαροπῶν τ' ἔλλων*. The *Lexicon de Spiritibus* tells us that *ἔλλός*, 'a deer,' is aspirated.

Hesychius' words are: *ἔλλον, ἀγαθόν, γλαυκόν, χαροπόν, ἐνθαλάττιον, ταχύ, ἄφωνον, ὑγρόν, ἔλαφον νεογνόν*.

I have not found any other passage to which Hesychius can be referring.

## F

In the fifteenth line in the second strophe the sixth and seventh syllables are two shorts: in the corresponding line of the second antistrophe they are answered by one short, which must somehow or other do service as a long.

Of course I could dismiss this kind of instance as not being an example of what I am investigating; but I do not wish to shut out consciously anything that by any stretch might be said to fall within the just purview of the examination which I have attempted.

The lines run thus:

(a) l. 1138. *μυρί' ἀπ' αἰσχροῶν ἀνατέλλονθ' ὄσ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν  
κάκ' ἐμήσατ' Ὀδυσσεύς*

(b) l. 1161. *μηκέτι μηδενὸς κρατύνων ὅσα πέμπει βιόδωρος  
αἶα*

For *Ὀδυσσεύς* Ziel very ingeniously reads *οὔτις*, which is almost certainly right in view of the *Οὔτις* of the *Odyssey*.

It will be observed that the strophic and antistrophic lines contain the further anomaly that the long first syllable of *αἰσχροῶν* is answered by the trochee which is made up of the first two syllables of *μηδενός*.

It will also be observed that the line preceding the strophic line in question contains the words *αἰσχροῶς ἀπάτας*,

so that it is next door to impossible that ἀπ' αἰσχροῶν should be sound. Besides ἀπ' αἰσχροῶν cannot really be translated.

A form of αἰσχος is not open to the charge of being a repetition of the same word. The Greeks were satisfied with slight variations.

I propose to read in the strophe a line which makes sense, and which exactly suits the antistrophic metre, viz. :

μυρία μ' αἰσχε' ἀμφιτείνανθ', ὄσ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν κάκ' ἐμήσατ'  
οὔτις.

#### SUMMARY

The *Philoctetes* has approximately 113 strophic, and 113 antistrophic lines, in all about 226. These 226 lines present, on the highest computation, only eight instances of our phenomenon. Of these eight instances six occur in three lines. Four out of the eight occur in lines the reading of which any sensible scholar would suspect on other grounds.

I could not wish for a much stronger confirmation of my views.

It is obvious to me that the *Philoctetes* was never used in the schools to the same extent as several of the other plays of Sophocles. Otherwise we should have had our instances doubled.

#### FRAGMENTS OF SOPHOCLES

The extant fragments of Sophocles afford no material for the purposes of this investigation.

#### SUMMARY OF SOPHOCLES

The extant writings of Sophocles present in all a grand total of about 2043 lines in strophes and antistrophes (the total being divided almost equally between

strophes and antistrophes, but not quite, as there is some tripartite arrangement). There are 107 examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. In other words, an instance occurs, speaking roughly, once in every nineteen lines.

Considering the corruption of the choric text, and the fact that ordinary copyists in postclassical times unquestionably regarded the phenomenon as legitimate, I think that this average is entirely consistent with the assumption that its occurrence is invariably due to some kind of depravation.



## CHAPTER VII

### EURIPIDES

#### HECUBA

THIS play must be considered in conjunction with the *Orestes* and the *Phoenissae*.

The *Hecuba* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Marcianus 471 (known as A), Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Marcianus 468 (known as F), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (which I call B (2)), and in MSS. of inferior importance.

Sixteen lines are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.

Moreover use, though not very free use, of the play is made by the compiler of the *Christus Patiens*.

The *Hecuba* long ago attained, and still holds, a unique position as the play deemed suitable above all others for use in schools; consequently it has supplied no small part of the material that is the stock-in-trade of interpolators and forgers: it has also left its legitimate mark on literature.

A play, or indeed any literary work whatever, may in the course of time become subject to the influence of one of two widely divergent sorts of corruption.

In the one case carelessness and lack of skill on the part of copyists, who have not the eyes of the literary world sufficiently fixed upon the result of their labours to keep

them moderately accurate, may produce by slow degrees a text remarkably unlike the original prototype, and, in places, so unintelligible that even the most incompetent transcriber is now and then tempted to insert a conjectural emendation of his own. But on the whole the corruption is due not to misapplied attention, but to inattention. A fate of this kind has befallen, in greater or less degree, several of the plays of Euripides, treated as wholes, so far, that is to say, as the choruses are concerned, and parts of most of his plays. The process finds its culmination in the *Helen*.

In the other case attention, not inattention, is to blame. Certain selected plays are so well known and so habitually read, that it is difficult for the text to become seriously depraved as a result of mere errors of transcription. But it is in the case of these very plays that corruption is found most rampant. They are edited, they are modified, they are "improved," they are adapted, partly by excision but chiefly by interpolation, to the tastes and requirements of various ages and of various stages. The best scholars of successive centuries try their hands upon them. Slight errors, when they do creep in by accident, are ruthlessly corrected according to the best expert knowledge of the day. The result is that the ultimate state of the text is far more different from the actual writing of Euripides than in the case of the plays that are corrupted through inattention: and sound emendation is rendered overwhelmingly more difficult, because we have to deal no longer with naked mistakes but with sophistications skilfully tricked out in an imitation of the trappings of the original author. The *Hecuba*, the *Orestes*, and the *Phoenissae* are the three plays of Euripides that have been treated in the manner I have described. Always the most popular of his writings, they are preserved in a plethora of manuscripts; but the preservation is nothing like as effectual as the preservation of those plays which exist in two manuscripts only. And, of the three plays in question, the *Hecuba* has been for ages the most widely popular. The results are disastrous. But in the *Hecuba* we come across a quite special kind of corruption. In my remarks

on the second chorus I shall suggest that this play has suffered from a great amount of intentional compression of its lyrical elements.

In the case of these three plays it is not easy as a rule to rely on the possibility of exposing non-original passages by pointing to faults of diction. Over and over again, it is true, the diction breeds suspicion in the mind of a reader tolerably familiar with Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian Greek; but the suspicion seldom hardens into such a shape as to admit of its expression as a logical argument. But nevertheless there are cases here and there where the Greek offends sufficiently to be pilloried. But, luckily for us, all except the most elementary knowledge of the principles of constructing a chorus vanished at a very early date. In particular it was forgotten that interlaced strophes and antistrophes had to be arranged so as to form a symmetrical whole. Moreover, the limitations on the use of the epode, limitations which as yet have only very partially been re-ascertained, but which certainly confine the use within narrow limits, passed out of memory to such an extent that *συστήματα* abound all over the choruses of interpolators. Hence it is not in practice a matter of much difficulty to detect the presence of interpolation; but it is often a matter of impossibility to say exactly where interpolation begins and ends, especially when it is a question of interpolation *versus* ordinary corruption.

To speak generally, wherever there are strong grounds for suspecting interpolation, such grounds, for instance, as an asymmetric disposition of strophes and antistrophes, we find also a free use of the phenomenon I am investigating, in fact a much freer use than is ordinarily to be found even in very corrupt deprivations of passages which Euripides himself really wrote. Therefore in the *Hecuba*, the *Orestes*, and the *Phoenissae*, I feel fully justified in adducing the examples of the phenomenon in question (in the *Hecuba* they are practically confined to the first chorus) as types of late error proceeding from insufficient acquaintance with the true rules of lyrical composition.



## FIRST CHORUS

(Interwoven with a series of anapaests which extend from l. 59 to l. 215).

First of all we have regular anapaests extending from l. 59 to l. 72. But these anapaests mix up Doric and Attic forms, and the first foot of l. 63 is a proceleusmatic, a foot which my investigation of anapaests at large does not lead me to regard as a legitimate possibility.

Then we have what seems to be a strophe, beginning with a hexameter, but continuing in a disputed manner.

At l. 79 anapaests begin again, and continue to l. 89. These anapaests also are written partly in Attic, partly in Doric. The ordinary rules are observed.

Next comes what is obviously the antistrophe to the strophe above mentioned.

Then follow (ll. 93-97) more anapaests, of the ordinary scansion but Doric in form.

Up to this point Hecuba has been speaking.

Then the Chorus delivers a long series of regular Attic anapaests, stretching from l. 98 to l. 153.

After this Hecuba delivers herself of a number of lines (154-76), which are all Doric, nearly all anapaestic, but capricious as to the observation of the ordinary rule of diaeresis, and intermittently patient of catalexis. Either we ought to divide this passage into a second strophe and antistrophe (in which case I should suspect that a good deal of diaeresis is due to corrupt assimilation to ordinary anapaests), or else we should obelize it as spurious.

There follows (ll. 177-96) a Doric dialogue between Polyxena and Hecuba. This dialogue, with its general disregard of diaeresis, is evidently meant to be strictly lyrical; but it does not admit of division into strophe and antistrophe. It is either spurious, or at best a violent perversion of something that Euripides wrote.

It is followed (ll. 197-215) by a speech in the mouth of Polyxena, which, while Doric in dialect, seems to be a compromise between ordinary anapaests and lyrical anapaests. I perceive no trace of strophe and antistrophe. I am at a loss whether to suppose that it is a perversion



of an Euripidean original (probably in that case consisting of ordinary anapaests, and therefore written in Attic), or to take it as an addition by another hand: the general run of the metre inclines me to the latter view.

As a result of this conspectus, it appears that I have to deal with one strophe and antistrophe. It is impossible to be sure, but I am disposed to think that the strophe and antistrophe are simply a portion of very extensive interpolations, and that they are modelled on the hexametrical lines which follow the anapaests of the parodos of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

The strophe and antistrophe, on the most probable computation, present six examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

#### A, B, C, D, E AND F

The first line of the strophe is a dactylic hexameter, with its first foot a dactyl, and its third foot a spondee: the first line of the antistrophe is a dactylic hexameter, with its first foot a spondee, and its third foot a dactyl.

The second line of the strophe is a dactylic hexameter, with its second foot a spondee, and its fourth foot a dactyl: the second line of the antistrophe is a dactylic hexameter, with its second foot a dactyl, and its fourth foot a spondee.

The third line of the strophe consists of three long syllables, wholly unanswered in the antistrophe and making no sense. The fourth line of the strophe is answered by the third line of the antistrophe. In the fourth line of the strophe the first two syllables are two shorts, and the eighth and ninth syllables are also two shorts: for each set of two shorts the third line of the antistrophe substitutes one long.

The strophe and antistrophe run thus:

(α) ll. 74-77. ἦν περὶ παιδὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ σωζομένου κατὰ  
 Θρήκην  
 ἀμφὶ Πολυξείνης τε φίλης θυγατρὸς δι'  
 οὐείρων 75  
 εἶδον γὰρ  
φοβερὰν ὄψιν ἔμαθον ἐδάην

(b) ll. 90–92. *εἶδον γὰρ βαλιὰν ἔλαφον λύκου αἴμονι*  
*χαλᾱ* 90  
*σφαζομέναν, ἀπ' ἐμῶν γονάτων σπασθεῖσαν*  
*ἀνάγκα*  
*οἰκτρῶς· καὶ τόδε δεῖμά μοι*

It is possible to follow Hartung in simply omitting *εἶδον γὰρ* in the strophe. He also omits *ὄψιν ἔμαθον*, on the ground, partly, I suppose, that *ὄψιν* is a mere repetition of an *ὄψιν*, which is the antecedent to the *ἦν* of l. 74. I quite agree that the repeated *ὄψιν* indicates corruption, but I cannot accept Hartung's treatment. He does not account for the corruptions he supposes.

I propose tentatively to read the strophe thus :

*ἦν περὶ παιδὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ σφζομένου κατὰ Θρήκην*  
*ἀμφὶ Πολυξείνης τε φίλης θυγατρὸς δι' ὀνείρων (? δι'*  
*ὄνειρον),*  
*εἶδωλον φοβερὸν, δάην.*

I think that *εἶδωλον* has produced *εἶδον γὰρ*, partly by confusion with l. 90. *ὄψιν* and *ἔμαθον* are glosses on *εἶδωλον* and *δάην* respectively, but were understood not as glosses but as supplied omissions. The reason that they were so misunderstood is that *εἶδον γὰρ* was clearly superfluous, and was thought to be itself an interpolation. l. 77 was too short to match l. 92 unless the glosses were added. With the glosses added, and also with a free use of the phenomenon which I am disputing, the two lines fit one another. What wonder, then, that the glosses were misunderstood as supplied omissions?

My reading removes the two examples of the phenomenon which occur after the hexameters, but it leaves two examples in each of the two hexameters. On the assumption that the passage is unauthentic, the result is what might naturally be expected. Instances of the disputed phenomenon would much more readily find a place in hexameters written by a forger than in lines of an obviously lyrical character. It is worth noting that the forms of the strophic hexameters are Attic or Epic, not Doric. The antistrophic hexameters, on the other

hand, have been Doricized. The most probable conclusion, to my mind, is that we ought to Atticize or Epicize the antistrophic hexameters. I would read *χηλῆ, σφαζομένην,* and *ἀνάγκη.*

I consider that the occurrence of the non-Doric forms in the strophe is a matter of real importance, and tends to show a non-Euripidean origin. Of course it is possible that the antistrophe is genuine, and that the strophe is not.

#### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 444-483)

This chorus, which consists of two strophes and antistrophes, presents no example (except a purely graphical example) of the phenomenon under investigation. But I am by no means assured that, at any rate as it stands, it is the chorus which Euripides wrote as the second chorus of the *Hecuba*. It presents too many analogies to the fifth chorus of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

ll. 458-61 are virtually a repetition of ll. 1099-102 of the *Iphigenia*. In the chorus of the *Iphigenia* Greek maidens are bewailing their slavery in a barbarian land: in this chorus Trojan maidens are bewailing their prospective slavery in Greece. It is natural that in the hands of somewhat unscrupulous redactors, one chorus should borrow from the other.

If the scope of this book were different from what it is, I should like to linger over this point. In my treatment of the *Iphigenia* chorus, I take the view that that chorus is a restoration to more or less classical metre of a paraphrase in *versus politici*. If that is so, this chorus might possibly help one back to the actual Euripidean text of part of the passage which was paraphrased.

This second chorus takes us into a particular lyrical atmosphere which is quite different from that of the first chorus, but which is that of the remaining choruses of the play. In the first chorus we found six instances of the disputed phenomenon in close proximity: in the rest of the play, except for one graphical omission of a diaeresis in this chorus, we find no examples at all. This difference between the first and the following choruses is merely



typical of a general difference not so much of accidents as of substance. The non-iambic lines (of which at any rate a certain number are Attic anapaests) in which the first chorus, whatever its exact limits, occurs, are 157 in number. In the whole of the rest of the play we find only 191 lyrical and 3 anapaestic lines, in all 194 lines that are not tragic dialogue.

The conclusion seems to be that as regards the first chorus alone, with its adjacent anapaests, the *Hecuba* presents signs of the inflation to which the *Phoenissae*, and in a less degree the *Orestes*, appear to have been subjected; but that the rest of the choruses have been submitted to a process of pruning, with I know not what incidental alterations. The pruners were manifestly much stricter metricians than the inflators. It may reasonably be suspected that they were members of the same school which reduced the *Prometheus Vincetus* (if indeed those scholars are right who think that that play has been recast) to its present form.

Seeing that the *Hecuba* was for a very long period the play which was chiefly taught to the young, I regard this pruning process as extremely natural. Even to-day one is familiar with editions of plays of Euripides, for the use of junior forms, in which the lyrical passages are deleted because of their excessive difficulty. I think that an approach to this is the real truth with regard to the greater part of the *Hecuba*.

The graphical example of the disputed phenomenon in this chorus, which I have mentioned above, is as follows.

In the fifth line of the second strophe the first foot is a dactyl: in the fifth line of the second antistrophe the first foot is a spondee, which spondee, however, may by the superscription of a diaeresis be converted into a dactyl.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 470. δαιδαλέαισι ποικίλλουσ'

(b) l. 479. Ἀργείων· ἐγὼ δ' ἐν ξεί-

-να

Editors generally, and, I think, rightly, read Ἀργείων. Perhaps some careful scholars may be led to dispute this

reading by the fact that Liddell and Scott are silent as to the existence of a form of the word bearing the diaeresis. But Choeroboscus (quoted in Dindorf's Stephanus) says: Ἄργεῖος, οἱ Αἰολεῖς Ἄργεῖος λέγουσι διιστῶντες τὸ ι. That is enough: a diaeresis in Aeolic is in such a case sufficient authority for Doric.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 629-657)

This chorus consists of a strophe and antistrophe and an epode.

It presents no example of the phenomenon under discussion.

Although the chorus is carefully composed and attains to a high standard of elegance, I feel almost sure that it is not, as it stands, the work, or at least the undoctored work, of Euripides. The laws of synapheia are twice violently broken, once at the end of l. 630 as compared with the end of l. 639, and once at the end of l. 641 as compared with the end of l. 632. Neither of these breaches of synapheia can possibly be cured except by a process of rewriting. A little less suspicious, but nevertheless calculated to provoke questioning, is the language (*circa* l. 645) employed concerning the judgement of Paris. It is singularly reminiscent both of the second chorus of the *Andromache* and of the fourth chorus of the *Helen* (at least if my restorations, which were made prior to my turning to this chorus, are approximately correct).

### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 684-721)

This chorus, which consists of dochmiac and other lines, mixed up with iambic dialogue, cannot be reduced to strophe and antistrophe. Several of the dochmii are of very faulty construction.

### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 905-952)

(ll. 905-938 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

We have here two strophes and antistrophes and an epode. The chorus presents no example of the disputed phenomenon. I hardly think that this fact is so much due to an accurate preservation of the original text, as to careful revision by bygone scholars of considerable enlightenment; but of course it is possible that no instance ever crept in. The neglect of synapheia at the end of l. 909 as compared with the end of l. 918 shows that there has been some amount of rewriting. But the rewriting, in that case, must have been intelligent. At the end of l. 918 there is a full stop. Now a full stop does not justify a breach of synapheia; but the rewriter may easily have thought the opposite, and there is no breach of synapheia elsewhere.

The chorus in its essentials (it is the famous *σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατὴρ Ἰλιάς*) is unquestionably Euripidean, and indeed ranks among the very finest lyrical efforts of the poet. That such a chorus should have been retained in no way militates against my general view of the choruses of the *Hecuba*. So exceptionally a fine piece of writing as this is could not be removed or very materially altered even in an elementary school-book without depriving the *Hecuba* of one of its most famous gems; and this no editor would be likely to attempt.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1024–1034)

This chorus consists of a series of dochmii, interrupted towards the end by a single iambic trimeter. There is no possibility of reduction to strophe and antistrophe. I suspect condensation of a longer original.

#### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1056–1106)

This chorus consists of two speeches of quite unequal length by the blinded Polymestor, separated by three tragic trimeters (the last of which is obviously interpolated, as editors recognize) in the mouth of the chorus.

There are evidently no strophes and antistrophes, and indeed it would appear to be impossible for a newly-



blinded man to execute, with any regard to scenic propriety, a choric dance.

This consideration leaves me in a great state of uncertainty as to the proper treatment of the passage. It is certainly Doric, and the metre is partially dochmiac. Conceivably Euripides may have here departed from dramatic tradition so far as to introduce Doric poetry which is not lyrical, as he introduces an aulodic nome in the *Orestes* (see my discussion of the *Orestes* 1369-1502). The heavily spondaic metre of the first two lines of the chorus (ll. 1056-7),

ὄμοι ἐγώ, πᾶ βῶ,  
πᾶ στῶ, πᾶ κέλσω ;

makes for some such supposition, reminding one of Terpander's

Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά,  
πάντων ἀγήτωρ,  
Ζεῦ, σοὶ σπένδω  
ταύταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν.

In that case, conformably with the Terpandrian metre, we should have to adopt the Terpandrian, and not the post-Terpandrian, structure.

The ἀρχή would extend from l. 1056 to l. 1069, the κατατροπή from l. 1070 to l. 1084, the ὀμφαλός from l. 1088 to l. 1098, and the σφραγίς from l. 1099 to l. 1106. The technical division would admirably suit the natural division based upon the sense. But I hesitate to assume without very strong proof that we have here a genuinely Euripidean nome written in the style of Terpander.

#### SUMMARY

The *Hecuba* presents seven examples of the phenomenon in question. One of the instances is merely graphic: the other six occur in three sets of two to a line.

## ORESTES

This play must be considered in conjunction with the *Hecuba* and the *Phoenissae*.

This is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MSS. authority. It is contained in Codex Marcianus 471 (known as A), Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Marcianus 468 (known as F), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (which I call B(2)), and in MSS. of inferior importance.

Moreover portions of it are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century. Also, a few lines exist in a papyrus fragment of somewhere about the first century A.D.

Add to this the fact that use, though not very free use, of the play is made by the compiler of the *Christus Patiens*.

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 140-207)

(This chorus is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

Although the *Orestes* belongs to the privileged class of Euripidean plays which have manuscript authority apart from C and B (or B(2)), and indeed, with the *Hecuba* and the *Phoenissae*, is a member of a sort of special triumvirate, nevertheless its text, as far at least as the choruses are concerned, is in a highly unsatisfactory state. For my own part I am tempted to think that the apparent superiority of the text of the *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Troades* and *Rhesus* is to a large extent superficial and fallacious. No doubt the readings in these plays are less crude than the readings in the other group; but crudity and comparative authenticity are not always opposites. There is such a thing as plausible and smooth, but at the same time destructive, correction.

One of the features of the choruses of the *Orestes* is the presence of unusually bold additions to the Euripidean text. Editors have noticed various instances of this fact, but they have hardly recognized the persistence with which the treatment has been applied.

The second line of the first strophe of the first chorus runs at present (l. 141):

τιθείτε, μὴ κτυπέετε, μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος  
(v.l. ψοφέετε, μὴ κτυπέετε, μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος).

This is obviously an iambic trimeter: but Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who quotes not merely the line but the passage, writes simply:

τιθείτε, μὴ κτυπέйт',

and continues at once with the next line, which is dochmiac, and begins with a vowel. It is plain that the line as it now stands has been doctored with the help of l. 137:

χωρεíte, μὴ ψοφέετε, μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος.

Whether Dionysius' *τιθείτε* should be altered to *τίθετε* (so Porson) or to the singular *τίθει*, we will leave for the moment an open question.

Let us turn to the corresponding line of the antistrophe (l. 154). It now runs:

τίνα τύχαν εἶπω; τίνα δὲ συμφοράν;

Either *τίνα τύχαν εἶπω*; or *τίνα δὲ συμφοράν*; must be an interpolation designed to suit the metre of the corrupt strophic line. As *τίνα δὲ συμφοράν*; will by itself make no sense in the context, we are driven to regard

τίνα τύχαν εἶπω;

as the remnants of the real original.

But the words have been moved about in order to suit what at one time or another must have been read in the strophe:

τίθετε, μὴ κτυπέйт' (or ψοφέйт') κτλ.

Yet the first syllable of *εἶπω* is made to serve as the



middle syllable of the cretic of a dochmius, and that although the corresponding strophic syllable is short. This substitution in dochmiu of --- for - - - is a familiar trick of rather late copyists.

Therefore we arrive by exclusion at

*τιν' εἶπω τύχαν;*

as the only possible dochmiac arrangement of the words.

This shows us that in the strophic line we must read not *τίθετε* but *τίθει*. The alternation between the singular and the plural presents in the context no real difficulty, but may well have presented a meticulous difficulty to transcribers.

Again, in the fourth line of the second strophe (l. 169) the chorus say :

*εὔδειν μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα.*

As this is in answer to a reproach from Electra: 'By thy uproar thou hast awakened him from sleep,' it is obvious that the words are meaningless. At best they can be translated: 'Nay, I fancied he was asleep' (a grotesque rejoinder): but they would more properly mean: 'Nay, I fancied I was asleep.'

Clearly we must read something dochmiac of the sense :

*μάλ' εὔδει μὲν οὖν.*

Indeed I can think of no other words that will both scan, yield the required meaning, and serve as the basis of the present text. I am half inclined to think that *ἔδοξα* is the result of some such marginal note as *δόχμιος*.

Be that as it may, let us look at the corresponding antistrophic line :

*πρόδηλος ἄρ' ὁ πότημος.*

This must be a deliberate alteration and expansion, so as to agree with the corrupt strophe, of what Euripides wrote.

The only Greek words that I know that seem to suit the circumstances and the metre are :

*πρόδηλον τέκμων.*

Yet once more. In the eighth line of the second strophe (l. 173) the chorus are made to remark :

*ὑπνώσσει,*

and Electra continues :

*λέγεις εὔ.*

The division of the line between the chorus and Electra is a mere bungling attempt to make sense, as is proved by the fact that the chorus speaks the whole of the antistrophic line. A more original version must have been :

ΧΟ. *ὑπνώσσει. λέγεις εὔ.*

This Kirchhoff and others actually read. But Electra had never said that Orestes was asleep. On the contrary, she has just been rating the chorus for awakening him, and has ended by ordering them out of the house. Moreover the word *εὔ* is an impossible metrical superfluity, and the previous line ends with a diphthong that has to be kept long, so that the initial vowel of *ὑπνώσσει* is an offence.

It seems to me that we should read :

ΧΟ. *τί; κνώσσει γ' ἔτ' εὔ.*

I translate: 'What? why, he is still sound asleep.' This is sense and metre.

Let us turn to the antistrophic line (l. 194) :

ΧΟ. *δίκα (v.l. δίκαια) μέν, καλῶς δ' οὔ.*

Here I cannot doubt but that *οὔ* has been added in order to match the end of the corrupt strophic line.

I suggest that we most probably should read :

*δίκα νιν καλεῖς.*

This alteration involves the change of *ὁ Φοῖβος* in l. 191 to *ὦ Φοῖβ'*, and consequential emendations; but these seem to me in any case metrically necessary.

I think that I have sufficiently explained the sort of atmosphere which in my opinion pervades the text of the Orestean choruses. It is not an atmosphere in which either critic or emender can move with freedom or with

certainty; but it is an atmosphere favourable to the development of more or less rank metrical growths. Therefore I ask the reader to discount beforehand the authenticity of such instances of the phenomenon I am investigating as may present themselves in the course of this particular play.

In this chorus the phenomenon in question appears twice decisively (instances B and C), and once in a disguised form (instance A).

## A

The second line of the first strophe appears in the guise of an iambic trimeter: the second line of the first antistrophe consists of a pseudo-dochmius plus a dochmius, the latter of the type  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ . With the help of a slight emendation, suggested by Elmsley, but probably with a result less original than our existing strophic text, though almost certainly a stage necessary to account for the existing antistrophic reading, the last three feet of the trimeter can be made into a dochmius of the type  $\cup--\cup-$ . Hence we discover a disguised instance of the phenomenon that is our subject matter.

The lines are:

(a) l. 141.  $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$  (v.l.  $\psi\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ ),  $\mu\eta$   $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\mu\eta\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$   
 $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$

(Elmsley reads at the end:  $\mu\eta$   $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$   $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ )

(b) l. 154.  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\upsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ ;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ;

With the fortunate assistance of Dionysius, I have shown above (other commentators have gone a good portion of the way) that the true readings are:

(a)  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\mu\eta$   $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau'$

(b)  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$   $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\upsilon$ ;

$\mu\eta\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$   $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  is an interpolation:  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ; is an interpolation made to match, with an example of the questionable phenomenon included in it. But it must have been made to match not  $\mu\eta\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$   $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  but  $\mu\eta$   $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$   $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . That fact seems to argue that some one



tried to put back the false strophic trimeter into dochmiac form. The attempt can only be inferred from the anti-strophic line. But what a vista is opened out by the disclosure of an effort to reduce even interpolations into a classically metrical shape, and that shape a dochmiac shape! Most editors, even those who are thought unduly suspicious, attach an exaggerated authority to the *litera scripta* of respectable codices. They forget that emendation is not a new art. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

## B

In the sixth line of the first strophe the final dochmius is of the impossible form  $\cup - - - -$ ; in the sixth line of the first antistrophe the final dochmius is of the form  $\cup \cup \cup - \cup -$ . Hence there is not only a divergence in the last halves of the dochmii, but in the first portions we have an iamb answered by a tribrach.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 145. λεπτοῦ δόνακος, ὦ φίλα, φώνει μοι  
 (b) l. 158. ὕπνου γλυκυτάταν φερομένῳ χάριν

As I am about to attempt a reconstitution of the chorus as a whole, and as the strophic reading is merely a portion of a much more general corruption, I refer the reader to what I shall shortly say. Meanwhile I will content myself with tabulating what I propose to read, viz. :

- (a) δόνακος, ὦ φίλα, φονιά μοι νοεῖς ;  
 (b) γλυκυτάταν τὰ νῦν φερομένῳ χάριν

## C

In the fourteenth line of the second strophe the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup \cup \cup - \cup \cup \cup$ , and the second dochmius is mutilated in such a way as to be represented now by only four short syllables; in the fourteenth line of the second antistrophe, as it stands at present, we have an exactly identical consecution of syllables, except that

the solitary long of the initial dochmius of the strophic line is replaced by two shorts. But it must be observed that the first of these two shorts is common as regards quantity both in Doric and in tragic Attic, so that there is even *prima facie*, in view of the mutilated second dochmius, some ground, independently of the particular thesis which I am supporting, for regarding the syllable as long, and the want of correspondence as having arisen in the mass of subsequent shorts. Nevertheless it is sufficiently manifest that on the existing reading, as it stands, the syllable is short.

The lines are as follows :

(a) l. 179. τὸν Ἀγαμεμνόνιον ἐπὶ δόμον

(b) l. 200. ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονέκυες, ὀλόμεθα

As in the case of B, and for the same reasons, I will for the moment do no more than mention my suggested emendations :

(a) τὸν Ἀγαμεμνόνιον ἐπίδρομος δόμον

(b) ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονέκυ', ὀλόμεθ', ὦ κάσις

Porson first proposed the dual, but he made transpositions.

The instances B and C are of such a kind that I cannot deal with them in detachment from the larger contexts in which they occur, nor indeed have I any desire to do so. Usually speaking, corruption moves, no doubt on lines which exhibit innumerable variations, but still in certain well-known directions, and within limits which, though wide, can with the help of a little critical experience be determined with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. Consequently the lines and limits of reasonable emendation may as a rule be for the most part taken for granted. But the choruses of the *Orestes* seem to me, as I have already indicated, to possess a textual history of an abnormal character, and therefore I make no apology for proceeding to deal with this chorus as a whole in order to obtain light as to the nature of the corruptions which it exhibits.

It runs :

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σῖγα σῖγα, λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης 140 στρ. α'  
 τιθείτε (B ψοφεῖτε for τιθείτε), μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μηδ'  
 ἔστω κτύπος.

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ἀποπρὸ βᾶτ' (A ἀποπρόβατ') ἐκέισ', ἀποπρό μοι κοίτας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰδού, πείθομαι.

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ἂ ἂ σύριγγος ὅπως πνοὰ λεπτοῦ 145  
 δόνακος, ὦ φίλα, φώνει μοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἴδ', ἀτρεμαῖον (v.l. ἀτρεμαῖαν) ὡς ὑπόροφον (v.l.  
 ὑπόφορον) φέρω  
 βοάν.

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ναὶ οὔτως.  
 κάταγε κάταγε, πρόσιθ' ἀτρέμας, ἀτρέμας ἴθι·  
 λόγον (B inserts δ') ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὃ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ  
 ποτε. 150  
 χρόνια γὰρ πεσὼν (v.l. ἐμπεσὼν) ὄδ' εὐνάζεται.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πῶς ἔχει ; λόγου μετάδος, ὦ φίλα. ἀντ. α'

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

τίνα τύχαν εἶπω ; τίνα δὲ συμφοράν ;  
 ἔτι μὲν ἐμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει. 155

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τι φῆς ; ὦ τάλας.



## ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ὄλεις, εἰ βλέφαρα κινήσεις ὕπνου  
 γλυκυτάταν φερομένῳ χαράν (a corrector of E χάριν).

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ (B and c omit ὦ) μέλεος ἐχθίστων θεόθεν  
 ἐργμάτων, 160  
 τάλας (C ὦ τάλας: F ὦ τάλας) φεῦ μόχθων.  
 (Seidler first assigned φεῦ μόχθων to Electra.)

## ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ἄδικος ἄδικα τότ' ἄρ' ἔλακεν ἔλακεν, ἀπό-  
 -φονου ὄτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι Θέμιδος ἄρ' ἐδίκασε  
 φόνου ὁ Λοξίας ἐμᾶς ματέρος. 165

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὄρᾱς; ἐν πέπλοισι κινεῖ δέμας. στρ. β'

## ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

σὺ γάρ νιν, ὦ τάλαινα,  
 θωύξασ' (with a note in A γρ. καὶ ἐλάσασ') ἔβαλες  
 ἐξ ὕπνου.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

εὔδειν μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα.

## ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

οὐκ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀπ' οἴκων 170  
 πάλιν ἀνὰ πόδα σὸν εἰλίξεις  
 μεθεμένα κτύπου;

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὕπνώσσει.

## ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

λέγεις εὔ.  
 πότνια (C ὦ πότνια) πότνια νύξ,  
 ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων (Cod. Hierosol. πολυστόνων) 175  
 βροτῶν,

ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μόλε μόλε κατάπτερος  
τὸν Ἀγαμεμόνειον (a corrector of E writes *ι* above  
the *ει*) ἐπὶ δόμον.

ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγέων ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς 180

διοιχόμεθ', οἰχόμεθα (ABcC' διοιχόμεσθ' οἰχόμεσθ').  
κτύπον ἠγάγετ'· οὐχὶ σῖγα

σῖγα φυλασσομένα

στόματος (C διὰ στόματος) ἀνακέλαδον (A ἀνὰ κέλαδον)  
ἄπο λέχεος ἤ- 185

-συχον ὕπνου χαρὰν παρέξεις (AFcC' insert *ῶ*) φίλα;

### ΧΟΡΟΣ

θρόει τίς κακῶν τελευτὰ μένει. ἀντ. β'

### ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

θανεῖν· τί δ' ἄλλο (F adds γ' εἴποις: *ε γ' εἴπω*, and  
reads τίγ' for τί δ');

οὐδὲ γὰρ πόθον ἔχει βορᾶς.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρόδηλος ἄρ' (ABF ἄρ') ὁ πότμος. 190

### ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ἐξέθυσ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἡμᾶς

μέλεον ἀπόφονον αἷμα δούς

πατροφόνου ματρός (ματέρος ABF).

### ΧΟΡΟΣ

δίκαια μέν, καλῶς δ' οὔ.

### ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

ἔθανες ἔθανες, ῶ 195

τεκομένα (the second hand of F adds *με*) μάτερ, ἀπὸ  
δ' ὄλεσας

πατέρα τέκνα τε (C omits *τε*) τάδε σέθεν ἀφ' αἵματος  
ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονέκυες ὀλόμεθα (B ὀλόμεθ' ὀλόμεθ' ἰσο-  
νέκυες). 200

σύ τε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς, τό τ' (E τὸ δ') ἐμὸν οἴχεται  
 βίου τὸ (F τὸ) πλέον μέρος ἐν στοναχαῖσί (A στονά-  
 χεσι: C στονάχαις) τε καὶ γόοισι (ABF γόοις)  
 δάκρυσί τ' ἐννυχίοις.  
 ἄγαμος, ἔπιδ', ἄτεκνος ἄτε βίοτον ἄ  
 μέλεος ἐς τὸν αἰὲν ἔλκω χρόνον.

205

On l. 194 a scholiast writes :

δίκα ἐνταῦθα γράφε, μὴ δίκαια.  
 οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς.

This is a couplet in the iambic trimeter catalectic metre, with "technical" licences.

I have not mentioned absurd distributions of parts among the characters: I am afraid I have overburdened the text with variant readings, even as it is.

#### NOTES

l. 140. It is obvious that *σίγα σίγα* will not begin a dochmius. The Attic genitive *ἀρβύλης* seems to indicate that the existing reading is only a poor attempt to restore to dochmiac form what had previously been corrupted into an iambic trimeter. I suggest *σίγα σύ, σίγα*. I suppose that, in order to suit *σίγα σίγα*, an antistrophic *πῶς ἄρ' ἔχει*; has been altered to *πῶς ἔχει*.

ll. 145-6. As these lines stand, they mean nothing. With *φωνεῖ* for *φώνει*, they would mean that the *δόναξ* accompanying the chorus sounds to Electra as shrill as if it were a *σύριγξ*. The expression of such a sentiment is impossible for two reasons. In the first place, the orchestral accompaniment is not mentioned by the actors in a tragedy; it is a conventional unreality, and no more to be referred to in the course of the play than is the presence of the audience. From this accompaniment must be distinguished an accompaniment of another kind, as for instance if one of the *dramatis personae* were a flute-player, and if he came upon the stage blowing his flute. An example of this kind is to be found in the music and odours, half of heaven, half of earth, which float round



the Oceanides in the *Prometheus Vincetus*. These are appropriately mentioned (for they are no mere conventional adjunct of the theatre) by Prometheus (ll. 115–6):

τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής,  
θεόσυτος, ἢ βρότειος, ἢ κεκραμένη;

But there is nothing of the sort here. In the second place, Electra herself here takes part in equal degree with the chorus in the lyric song and dance. Consequently her own utterances must be as much accompanied by the *δόναξ* as those of the chorus. Therefore it is absurd to represent her as objecting in a lyric song accompanied by the *δόναξ* (as to the possibility of this see below) to the fact that the songs of the chorus also are accompanied by the same *δόναξ*. For my own part, I consider that an original *σὺ ῥηγνῦσ'* has become *σύριγγος*, and that, to suit *σύριγγος*, the passage has been somewhat clumsily recast.

Against any such reading I bring the further objection that there can be no question of a *δόναξ* accompaniment at all. The mere existence of ordinary strophe and antistrophe proves practically, if not theoretically, that the accompaniment was on the lyre.

ll. 148–9. *ναὶ οὕτως* will not scan, and is not poetry but prose. Editors have seen that *κάταγε κάταγε* is a nautical metaphor. I wonder that they have not seen that *ναὶ* conceals *ναί*, which completes the metaphor. But *ναὶ κάταγε*, with nothing to soften it, would be an intolerably harsh metaphor under the circumstances. Read: *ναῖ τοι κάταγε κάταγε*, 'bring, bring thy bark—I speak in proverbs—to the quay.'

ll. 157–9. *κινήσεις* will not scan, and it seems to me well-nigh monstrous to suppose that the expression *κινεῖν βλέφαρα* can be used of a person who by mere noise and without physical contact causes another person's eyes to open. Moreover, in any case, to 'stir,' 'move,' or 'rouse' eyelids is a strange way of speaking. I think it is a question of rousing not Orestes' eyelids, but Orestes himself. Therefore I read:

ὀλεῖς, κἄν ἐλαφρὰ κινήσῃς ὕπνου  
γλυκυτάταν τὰ νῦν φερόμενον χάριν.

I suggest that *κινῆς* became *κινήσεις* because the meaning of *φερόμενον* was misunderstood. It was thought to be passive ('being carried') and not middle ('winning'). Consequently an *εἰς* had to be inserted to complete the sense. Ultimately the real voice of *φερόμενον* was again recognized, and *κινῆς εἰς ὕπνου . . . φερόμενον χάριν* became *κινήσεις ὕπνου . . . φερόμενον χαράν*. This involved an alteration of *κᾶν* to *κεῖ* or *εἰ*. Either of these metrically necessitated *βλέφαρα* for *ἐλαφρά*. Hence *φερομένῳ βλέφαρα* made *κεῖ* meaningless, so that *εἰ* alone remained possible. I regard the omission of *τὰ νῦν* as due to haplography.

The rest of the alterations that I make have either been already explained or else are such as to call for no explanatory comment. Several of the latter class are no doubt very uncertain: what seems to me certain is that the existing text is impossible.

I tentatively reconstruct the chorus thus:

- ΧΟ. σῖγα σύ, σῖγα, λεπτόν ἵχνος ἀρβύλας                      140    στρ. α'  
τίθει· μὴ κτυπεῖτ'.
- ΗΛ. ἀποπρὸ βᾶτ' ἐκείσ', ἀποπρό μοι. κοεῖτ' ;
- ΧΟ. ἰδού, πείθομαι.
- ΗΛ. μᾶ μᾶ·  
σὺ ῥήγνυσ' ὅπως πνοὰν ἐπτάπνου                      145  
δόνακος, ὦ φίλα, φόνιά μοι γοεῖς ;
- ΧΟ. ἴδ', ἀτρεμαῖον ὡς ὑπόροφον φέρω  
βοάν. ΗΛ. ναῖ τοι  
κάταγε κάταγε, πρόσιθ' ἀτρέμας, ἀτρέμας ἴθι·  
λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὅ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ ποτε.                      150  
χρόνια γὰρ πεσὼν ὄδ' εὐνάζεται.
- ΧΟ. πῶς ἄρ' ἔχει ; λόγου μετάδος, ὦ φίλα.                      ἀντ. α'  
τίν' εἶπω τύχαν ;
- ΗΛ. ἔτι μὲν ἐμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει.                      155
- ΧΟ. τί φῆς ; ὦ τάλας.
- ΗΛ. ᾄ ᾄ·  
ὀλεῖς, κᾶν ἐλαφρά κινῆς ὕπνου  
γλυκυτάταν τὰ νῦν φερόμενον χάριν.
- ΧΟ. μέλεος ἔχθεται θεόθεν ἐργμάτων,                      160  
τάλας. ΗΛ. φεῦ μύγων.  
ἄδικος ἄδικα τότ' ἄρ' ἔλακεν ἔλακεν, ἀπό-

- φονον ὄτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι Θέμιδος ἄρ' ἐδίκασε  
φόνον ὁ Λοξίας ἐμᾶς ματέρος. 165
- ΧΟ. ὄρᾶς; ἐν πέπλοισι κινεῖ δέμας. στρ. β'
- ΗΛ. σὺ γάρ νιν, τάλαιν', ἐθώυξας ἔκ τ'  
ἔβαλες ἐξ ὕπνου.
- ΧΟ. μάλ' εὔδει μὲν οἶν.
- ΗΛ. οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμῶν ἀπ' οἴκων πάλιν ἀνὰ πόδα σὸν 170  
ἐλίξεις κενοῦ μεθεμένα κτύπου;
- ΧΟ. τί; κνώσσει γ' ἔτ' εὔ.
- ΗΛ. πότνια πότνια νύξ,  
ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν, 175  
ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μόλε μόλε κατάπτερος  
τὸν Ἀγαμεμνόνιον ἐπίδρομος δόμον.  
διὰ γὰρ ἀλγέων ὑπό τε συμφορᾶς 180  
οἰχόμεθ', οἰχόμεθα.  
τί κτύπον ἤρατ'; οὐχὶ σίγ' οὐχὶ σίγ'  
ἐλασσομένα στόματος ἄρα κέλαδον  
ἀπὸ σὺ λιγέος ἀσύχων ὕπνου χάριν 185  
παρέξεις, φίλα;
- ΧΟ. θρόει, τίς κακῶν τελευτὰ μένει. ἀντ. β'
- ΗΛ. θανεῖν τοι θανεῖν· τί δ' ἄλλ'; οὐδὲ γὰρ  
πόθον ἔχει βορᾶς.
- ΧΟ. πρόδηλον τέκμωρ. 190
- ΗΛ. ἐξ ἄρ' ἔθυσας, ὦ Φοῖβε, νέον ἀπόφονον  
ἐφ' αἶμ' αἶμα δοὺς πατροφόνου μάτας.
- ΧΟ. δίκᾳ νιν καλεῖς.
- ΗΛ. ἔθανες ἔθανες, ὦ 195  
τεκομένα με μάτερ, ἀπὸ δ' ὄλεσας  
πατέρα τέκνα τε τάδε σέθεν ἄφ' αἶμ' ἄγοντ'.  
ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονέκυ' ὀλόμεθ', ὦ κάσις. 200  
σύ τε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς, τό τ' ἐμὸν οἴχεται  
πλειότερόν γε μέρος  
ἐν στοναχαῖσι καὶ γόοισίν τε δά-  
-κρυσίν τ' ἐννύχοις. ἄγαμος, ἐπίδειτ', ἄτε- 205  
-κνος ἄρα βίοτον ἅ μέλεος ἐς τὸν αἰ-  
-ἐν ἔλκω χρόνον.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 316–347)

(This chorus is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest. ll. 338–44, together with their music, are preserved in a



fragmentary condition in a papyrus of about the first century A.D.)

This dochmiac chorus does not present by any means as extensive a corruption as does the first chorus. But at the same time it exhibits numerous traces of having been edited in accordance with an erroneous theory of dochmiac scansion. There are many examples in it of the substitution of three longs for the cretic of the dochmius. One of these, *συμβάλλει* in l. 336, was got rid of by Porson. He, to the improvement of the sense and with the support of an MS. reading *συμβάλει*, substitutes *συμβαλεῖ*.

The chorus presents six instances of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring; but the evidential value of this somewhat large number is lessened almost to vanishing point by the fact that four of the instances are produced by the way in which two consecutive dochmii in the antistrophe correspond to two consecutive dochmii in the strophe. There is hardly any surer proof of corruption than the accumulation of a quantity of abnormalities, even if the abnormalities are not positively irregular, within the compass of one or two lines.

### A

In the seventh line of the strophe the second dochmius is of the irregular form --- ∪ -: in the seventh line of the antistrophe the second dochmius is of the equally irregular form ∪ ∪ ∪ ---.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 322. *ταναὸν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ' αἵματος*  
 (β) l. 338. *ματέρος αἶμα σᾶς, ὃ σ' ἀναβακχέει;*

The strophic context is this:

*μελάγχρωτες Εὐμενίδες, αἶτε τὸν  
 ταναὸν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ', αἵματος  
 τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον.*

Paley suggested that for *αἶτε τὸν* we should read

αἰ πτερὸν. Porson read ἀμπάλλεθ'. I propose to combine these two improvements, and to read :

μελάγχρωτες Εὐμενίδες, αἰ πτερὸν  
ταννέθειρον ἀμπάλλετ' ἐφ' αἵματος,  
τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον.

'O black-hued Furies, that poise on vibrant wings of wide-spread plumage over blood out-shed, ye that exact retribution and that avenge murder.'

I suspect a reminiscence of Bacchylides' use of the word ἔθειραν as denoting the plumage of an eagle (*Ode* v. 29). I have discussed at some length the forms of the compounds of ἔθειρ and of ἔθειρα under heading D of the second Olympian Ode of Pindar.

But if one admits that αἶτε τὸν ταναὸν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ' is a corruption of αἰ πτερὸν ταννέθειρον ἀμπάλλετε (with or without elision), then some note of space must be introduced. It would be useless to describe the Furies as simply poisoning: where they poise is what matters. Therefore I put an ἐφ' before αἵματος, and the comma after αἵματος. I do not think that **ΑΜΠΑΛΛΕΤΕΦ** is unlike **ΑΜΠΑΛΛΕΣΘ**.

Of course I am chiefly influenced by metrical considerations.

If I have emended l. 322 correctly, it is a simple matter to restore l. 338. There Porson substituted ἀναβακchioῖ for ἀναβακχεύει. After consulting the lexicon with some care, I have come to the opinion that this emendation is certain, unless Euripides employed some verbal derivative of Βάκχος of which we have elsewhere no trace. It is true that ἀναβακchioῦν does not occur, but καταβακchioῦσθε is found in the *Bacchae* (l. 109). A form in κατα- is good evidence of a form in ἀνα-.

But it is not enough to follow Porson, although he is generally a great deal more in the right than most modern editors are disposed to admit. A transposition of the dochmii is also necessary.

Read :

ὃ σ' ἀναβακchioῖ, ματέρος αἶμα σᾶς ;

This reading has a twofold advantage. It echoes *αἵματος* by *αἶμα* in the same place in the line, and it yields a fine climax.

No doubt transposition is a remedy not to be lightly applied. But the *Orestes* has been deliberately altered more than most plays, and indeed in any play there would be a temptation to the copyist (who presumably had little eye for a climax) to change the position of a relative clause that stood in front of the logical antecedent to the relative.

It is very evident that the antistrophic context is extremely corrupt. However, I do not think that it would help my argument were I to attempt the somewhat lengthy task of dealing with it.

## B

In the thirteenth line of the strophe the first dochmius is of the type  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ : in the thirteenth line of the antistrophe the first dochmius is of the type  $\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---}$ .

These are the lines:

- (α) l. 328. οἶων, ᾧ τάλας, ὀρεχθεῖς ἔρρεις  
 (β) l. 344. λάβροις ὀλεθρίοισιν ἐν κύμασιν

The strophic context runs:

φεῦ μόχθων,  
 οἶων, ᾧ τάλας, ὀρεχθεῖς ἔρρεις,  
 τρίποδος ἄπο φάτιν, ἂν ὁ Φοῖβος  
 ἔλακεν ἔλακε, δεξάμενος ἀνὰ δάπεδον  
 ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί.

φεῦ μόχθων is an unmetrical phrase that seems to have captivated the copyists. Compare l. 161 of this play. The rest of that context is so very like this, containing as it does *τάλας*, an *ἔλακεν* repeated as here, and the expression *ἐπὶ τρίποδι*, that no one can wonder that the corruption *φεῦ μόχθων* also appears in both passages.

I am disposed to regard *οἶων* here as exclamatory, and the beginning of the sentence. I think *φεῦ μόχθων* is a pure interpolation, partly designed with a view to give



οἶων an antecedent. If, as in l. 161, we were to emend to *φεῦ μόγων*, we should be carrying the resemblance between the two passages to a positively absurd point.

But οἶων itself seems to me to be a corruption of οἶαν, caused no doubt by the proximity of ὀρεχθεις. I would read (except that the second of the lines and its antistrophic counterpart obviously require considerable emendation in the interest of metre):

οἶαν, ὦ τάλας, ὀρεχθεις ἔτρεις  
 τρίποδος ἄπο φάτιν, ἂν ὁ Φοῖβος  
 ἔλακεν ἔλακε, δεξάμενος ἀνὰ δάπεδον  
 ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί.

I see no reason why ὀρεχθεις should not be used absolutely to denote the posture of a suppliant (as distinguished from ὀρέξασθαι: ὀρεχθῆναι is said in the *Helen*, l. 1328, of a suppliant, though there it governs a genitive): but I admit that the word bears a suspicious likeness to 'Ορέσθ'.

In any case, I see no ground to suspect ὦ τάλας.

That being so, let us turn to the antistrophic line. The context of that runs:

ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὧς  
 τις ἀκάτου θοᾶς τινάξας δαίμων  
 κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν πόνων, ὧς πόντου  
 λάβροις ὀλεθρίοισιν ἐν κύμασιν.

The metre shows that there is any amount of corruption here.

I suppose that ὧς πόντου is an inept interpolation to balance *φεῦ μόχθων*. It seems impossible to deal effectively with the passage as a whole, if only for the fact that just before *φεῦ μόχθων* the strophic counterpart has gone hopelessly to pieces. But the very enormity of the corruptions renders worthless the example of the phenomenon that I am discussing.

Possibly the ὧς of the interpolated ὧς πόντου has destroyed a genuine ὧς at a later point. Therefore it would be possible to read:

λάβροις ὧς ὀλεθρίοις κύμασιν.

I think most readers will on consideration feel an objection to the juxtaposition of the two adjectives *λάβρους* and *δλεθρίοισιν* without any word to separate them. The insertion of *ὡς* would remove this stylistic difficulty.

This passage is partially preserved in a papyrus fragment, which cannot well be much later than the first century A.D. The papyrus exhibits not only the text but also the music.

Unfortunately the text is so much mutilated as to leave us in doubt whether or no it originally contained the majority of the metrical anomalies which the passage now presents. It contained *ὡς πόντου*, or rather *ὡως πόντου*. In it *κατολοφύρομαι* preceded *ματέρος*. This latter peculiarity fits in well with the suggestion I have already made that we ought to read :

ὃ σ' ἀναβακχιοῖ, ματέρος αἶμα σᾶς ;

A transposition may easily, at one stage, have extended to words to which the supposed rationale of the transposition did not properly apply.

The papyrus (which has been annotated at length by both Wessely and O. Crusius) runs, so far as it can be deciphered :

$\begin{array}{cccccc} \ddot{\pi} & \rho & \varsigma & & \rho' & \phi \pi \\ \text{ΦΥΡΟΜΑΙΖΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ} \\ \text{Ζ} & & & & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{ΑΚΧΕΥΕΙΖΟΜΕΓΑΣ} \\ \ddot{\pi} & \rho & \varsigma & & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{ΣΕΜΒΡΟΤΟΙΣΖΑΝΑ} \\ \varsigma & \rho & \ddot{\pi} & \varsigma & \rho \acute{\zeta} & \phi' \varsigma \\ \text{ΣΑΚΑΤΟΥΘΘΑΣΤΙΝΑ} \\ \phi' & \pi & \rho & \ddot{\pi} & & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{ΚΑΤΕΚΛΥΣΕΝΩΩ} \\ \text{ΝΩΩΩΩΩΣΠΟΝΤ} \\ & & \acute{\zeta} \rho \acute{\zeta} & & \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot & \phi \\ \text{Ι} & \varsigma & \rho \nu \zeta & & \phi \\ \text{Ι} & \Sigma \text{ΙΝ} & & & & \end{array}$

It will be observed that, by a strange coincidence, the molossian endings of the two dochmii, *τινάξας δαίμων* and *κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν*, are represented by lacunae in the papyrus. The molossian dochmius *ὃ σ' ἀναβακχεύει* is

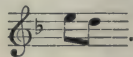
there, so far as *-ακχέυει* is concerned; but that is evidence of nothing, seeing that at the date of the papyrus any diphthong could easily be shortened *ante vocalem*.

The point of real interest is the papyrus treatment of the molossian dochmius *πόνων ὡς πόντου*.

If this dochmius is (as I maintain) faulty, its fault consists in the fact that the short syllable of the final cretic has been converted into a long. We should therefore, whether I am right or wrong in supposing the dochmius in question to be faulty, expect that the papyrus, in its musical treatment of the final molossus, would assign to it in some way or other the length of a cretic, or, in other words, would apply to it a process of irrational correction.

But, when we come to facts, we find that exactly the opposite has occurred. Instead of irrational correction we are confronted with irrational protraction. We have before us, instead of *ὡς*, the writing *ὡως*, emphasized with musical marks which leave no doubt as to the disyllabic scansion of the word.

This is surely as much as to say that whoever put the music of the passage into its papyrus form, was unable to fit the words *πόνων ὡς πόντου* to the dochmiac measure, and therefore had by resolution to make the best of them in another way.

It seems to me almost impossible that Crusius should be right in assigning to *ὡως* the value . The

duplication of the omega seems to me to be a most unnatural method of indicating such a scansion. *ὡως* would be less unnatural. When the Athenians felt the need of writing their own contracted *ὀρῶ* in such a form as would make it fit into places in epic poems where the uncontracted *ὀράω* had originally stood, they wrote not *ὀρώω*, but *ὀρόω*. As far as I can see, the principle of so-called Homeric epectasis ought to apply equally to epectasis that is not Homeric. *ὡως* naturally implies --. So much for the first syllable of *ὡως*. With regard to the second syllable, I entirely fail to understand on what principle Crusius gives it the value of a quaver: it is



as long as a syllable can possibly be, seeing that (even if the word be scanned *óος*) the next word begins with a consonant.

The reader must beware of supposing that the music of the papyrus fragment is any more likely to have escaped corruption than the verbal text. It is necessary that, wherever verbal corruption disturbed the metre, the music should be adapted to the resultant new metre. In addition to this we have to bear in mind the possibilities of faulty transcription of the music itself. No one would maintain that the score of a piece of modern music of any length could be copied out some dozen times in manuscript without errors creeping in. The ancient Greek method of expressing music graphically seems to me to lend itself much more easily to corruption.

And do not let anyone suppose that early papyri are immune from grave error.

### C, D, E AND F

The fifteenth line of the strophe is composed of two dochmii, of the type  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$ ,  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ : the fifteenth line of the antistrophe is composed of two dochmii of the type  $\cup\cup-\cup\cup$ ,  $\cup\cup-\cup-$ . Thus there are here four examples of the phenomenon which is the subject of my investigation.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 330. ἔλακεν ἔλακε, δεξάμενος ἀνὰ δάπεδον

(b) l. 346. ἕτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ θεογόνων γάμων

This does not appear to be a case for emendation. The true antistrophic line has utterly perished, together with two others.

After saying that great prosperity is not an abiding possession, but that it is liable to be stript away like the sail of a ship, the chorus continue:

τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον ἄλλον  
 ἕτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ θεογόνων γάμων  
 τὸν ἀπὸ Ταντάλου σέβεσθαι με χρή;

There is a complete *non sequitur* of sense, the language is awkward to a degree, and in addition we have four examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating crowded together in one line, a proportion which not even its defenders can reasonably justify.

Porson cast doubt on the passage as it stands. I will go a little further, and denounce it either as an out and out interpolation, or at least as so complete a distortion of the original as to be no better than an interpolation. I see no profit in discussing it further.

But I will point out that the anapaests which follow it seem to be, some of them at least, in much the same case. They begin

καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς ὄδε δὴ στείχει,  
Μενέλαος ἄναξ, πολλῇ ἀβροσύνη  
δῆλος ὀράσθαι  
τῶν Τανταλιδῶν ἐξ αἵματος ὄν.

But those lines were known, in at any rate something very like their present form (the text of Dion is uncertain), to Dion Chrysostom *circa* 50 A.D. It may be the fact that some of the main corruptions of the *Orestes* had found their way into the text before his time.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 807–843)

In the seventh line of the strophe the first foot is a dactyl: in the seventh line of the antistrophe for this dactyl appears, by patent corruption, a third paeon.

These are the lines:

- (a) l. 813. ἤλυθε Τανταλίδαις  
(b) l. 825. θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφὶ φόβῳ

Among various attempts at correction, the only one that can be said to commend itself in some degree is that of Kirchhoff, who reads *δεινὰ* for *θανάτου*. He supposes that *θανάτου* is an explanatory note appended to *φόβῳ*. But I entertain two objections to his emendation. In the first place I consider it most unlikely that a note explaining what was the obvious object of the fear should

have been appended, especially when the construction of ἀμφὶ was much more the point calling for a note: in the second place, supposing that a note θανάτου actually existed, it would argue more than usual fatuity on the part of a copyist, if he so far misunderstood the meaning of the note as to suppose it to be a correction of δεινὰ, assuming, for the sake of argument, that δεινὰ was in the text.

On the whole, I am disposed to think that there is no means of recovering with approximate certainty what Euripides wrote: but of various possibilities that have floated through my mind I much prefer

θῆλυ γὰρ ἀμφὶ φόβῳ  
 Τυνδαρίς ἰάχησε τάλαι-  
 -να.

I think that θῆλυ might yield θανάτου without the aid of any gloss, especially in virtue of its final υ. I do not suggest that θῆλυ means 'with a woman's cry,' though that would doubtless here be its connotation as distinguished from its denotation. On the contrary, I should assign to it the same kind of meaning as appears in θῆλυς ἐέρση (*Odyssey* v. 467 and *Scutum* 395). I think we have an exact parallel in *Odyssey* vi. 122:

ὡς τέ με κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς αὐτή.

There, as it seems to me, θῆλυς literally means 'fresh,' 'shrill,' or the like; but from the context, not from its own properties, it is tinged with something of its own alternative meaning.

Is there such a thing as a sort of transposed echo, not of sense but of sound? If so, θῆλυ is such an echo of ἦλυθ-.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 960-1012)

The chorus begins with an obvious strophe and antistrophe, which take us as far as l. 981. After this point no strophic anti-strophic correspondence can, with the text as it stands, be traced. The last few lines are



dactylic. The passage which extends from l. 982 to l. 1012 is much too long for an epode. I suspect some violent distortion of an original strophic-antistrophic arrangement, coupled very likely with interpolation. The lines which I have described as dactylic (and they can be nothing else, if they are genuine) look remarkably like attempts at anapaestic dimeters perpetrated in ignorance of anapaestic rules. That I am justified in gravely suspecting the integrity of the latter portion of the chorus, is proved by the extraordinary state of the text of the six lines, evidently either a genuine but corrupted anapaestic passage or else a forged would-be anapaestic passage, which come immediately afterwards. They run thus :

XO. καὶ μὴν ὄδε σὸς ξύγγονος ἔρπει  
 ψήφῳ θανάτου κατακυρωθεῖς,  
 ὃ τε πιστότατος πάντων Πυλάδης  
 ἰσάδελφος ἀνήρ, ἰθύνων 1015  
 νοσερὸν κῶλον Ὀρέστου  
 ποδὶ κηδοσύνῳ παράσειρος.

As it stands, the chorus presents two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

### A

The second line of the strophe is a lyrical iambic trimeter with tribrachs in the third and fourth feet and an iamb in the fifth foot : the second line of the anti-strophe is a lyrical iambic trimeter with tribrachs not only in the third and fourth feet, but also in the fifth foot.

These are the lines with their contexts :

- (a) ll. 960-2. κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν, ὦ Πελασγία,  
 τιθείσα λευκὸν ὄνυχα διὰ παρηίδων,  
 αἵματηρὸν ἄταν
- (b) ll. 971-3. βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν, οὔχεται τέκνων  
 πρόπασα γέννα Πέλοπος, ὃ τ' ἐπὶ μακαρίοις  
 ζῆλος ὢν ποτ' οἴκοις

In order to clear away the prejudice which causes many scholars to see nothing unnatural in a lyrical trimeter in a strophe being answered in the antistrophe by another lyrical trimeter of not quite the same scansion, I think it will be sufficient to set out the lyrical trimeters which occur in this passage. It will be noticed that syllabic correspondence is carefully observed, through various complications of resolutions, in every foot of every such line, except in the fifth foot of the two lines with which we are dealing.

l. 960 is exactly answered by l. 971 :

960. *κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν, ὦ Πελασγία*

971. *βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν, οἴχεται τέκνων*

l. 963 is exactly answered by l. 974 :

963. *κτύπον τε κρατός, ὃν ἔλαχ' ἄ κατὰ χθονός*

974. *φθόνος νιν εἶλε θεόθεν, ἃ τε δυσμενής*

l. 966 is exactly answered by l. 977 :

966. *σίδарон ἐπὶ κάρα τιθεῖσα κούριμον*

977. *ἔθνη πολύπονα, λεύσσεθ', ὡς παρ' ἑλπίδας*

Hence, apart from, but in corroboration of, the general metrical principles on which I chiefly rely, we possess special and, so to speak, local evidence, which tends very strongly to show that either *παρηίδων* or *μακαρίοις* is corrupt.

I incline to the opinion that

ὄ τ' ἐπὶ μακαρίοις  
ζῆλος ὢν ποτ' οἴκοις

is an alteration, probably by way of correction, of

ὄ τ' ἐπικαιρίοις  
ζῆλος ὢν ποτ' οἴκοις.

*ἐπικαίριος*, in the sense 'important,' 'influential,' seems to me to go excellently with the idea of *ζῆλος*. This use of the word is rather common in Xenophon. See for example *Cyropaedia* iii. 3. 12, and *Anabasis* vii. 1. 6.

It is generally assumed that the non-Attic influence

at work in the style and diction of Xenophon was the result of his prolonged absence from Attica. I do not think that this was the case. He seems to me on the other hand to have deliberately rejected the Attic vernacular, perhaps because of his aristocratic sympathies, as a literary vehicle. I believe that he felt himself to be following in large measure the traditions of Thucydides. In other words, I regard him as having refused to discard the leaven of Ionism which at one time had been thought an ingredient necessary to Attic, if the latter was to rise to the dignity of serious literature. But it is precisely this same Ionic flavour which does more than anything else to distinguish the dialect of tragedy from the dialect of later Attic prose. Therefore I do not think that I am doing anything out of the way in suggesting that a typically Xenophontean word should be read in Euripides.

## B

In the sixth line of the strophe the second syllable is a long: in the sixth line of the antistrophe this long is replaced by what, if any kind of correspondence is to be preserved, must be regarded as two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 965. *ιαχείτω* (Porson *ιακχείτω*) δὲ γὰ Κυκλωπία  
 (b) l. 976. *ἰὼ ἰώ, πανδάκρυτ' ἔφαμέρων*

Porson seems to have been right in regarding *ιαχείτω* as impossible. Antipater and Nonnus unquestionably used *ιαχείν*. But in classical Greek *ιαχείν* conceals either *ιακχείν* or *ἀχείν* (Doric for *ἠχείν*). Elmsley (on *Heraclidae* 752) appears to have been the first to point out the confusion between *ιαχείν* and *ἀχείν*.

It may well be doubted in any case whether *ιακχείτω* is the true reading here; but the doubt is much increased when we observe that l. 964 (which by the way is extremely corrupt) ends in the MSS. with the word *θεά*. The last syllable of *θεά* is shown by the antistrophe to be long. Consequently, instead of *ιακχείτω*, we desiderate a word beginning with a consonant. This fact seems to me



enough to destroy the little evidence that exists in favour of our having here an actual case of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring.

I would suggest that in this passage *ιαχείτω* conceals neither *ιακχείτω* nor the simple *ἀχείτω*, but the compound *διᾶχείτω*. *διαχείτω* in its turn I regard as an explanatory substitution of the third for the second person of the imperative.

I would read the strophic and antistrophic lines thus, looking on the latter as having been deliberately altered to suit (more or less) the strophe :

- (α) *διάχει δέ, γᾶ Κυκλωπία*  
 (β) *ἰώ, πανδάκρντ' ἐφαιμέρων*

Of course this emendation is extremely conjectural. To upset the validity of the phenomenon in this case it is not necessary to proceed to the length of emendation.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1246–1310)

This is an exceedingly corrupt dochmiac chorus. It begins with a strophe and antistrophe, the latter ending at l. 1285. I do not think that either the strophe or the antistrophe would be acknowledged by Euripides as they now stand; but the manifold corruptions have for the most part been so skilfully treated by the unknown emenders of some bygone age that the strophe and antistrophe have been brought into fairly close agreement, and in fact present only two instances of the phenomenon which is the subject of my investigation.

I have no doubt but that the rest of the chorus, if that part be genuine at all, originally consisted of another strophe and antistrophe; but it is now a mere welter of unmetrical feet, among which true dochmii *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.

#### A AND B

The first two lines of the strophe consisted originally, I suppose, of three dochmii: at present they consist of

the following syllables,  $\cup - \cup \cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup - | \cup \cup \cup - - -$ .  
 The first two lines of the antistrophe, which also I naturally suppose to have been once dochmiac, now run,  
 $\cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup \cup (v.l. -) | \cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup - \cup - - -$ .

The lines are these :

- (a) ll. 1246-7. *Μυκηνίδες ᾧ φίλοι,*  
*τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων*
- (b) ll. 1266-7. *ἐλίσσετέ νυν βλέφαρα (v.l. βλέφαρον)*  
*κόραισι, διάδοτε διὰ βοστρύχων πάντη*

The scansion, it is manifest, is ridiculously unclassical. More grotesque still is the notion of using the pupils as instruments with which to twist the eyelids. If any one thinks that these two examples of the disputed phenomenon tend to do anything except to discredit it, I admit myself unable to find any common ground on which to argue with him.

It does not appear to me that the existing text approximates sufficiently to anything that Euripides can possibly have written, to afford a real foothold for even the most daring emender.

Hermann was somewhat strongly of opinion that ll. 1247 and 1267 are corrupted senarii. Accordingly he read

*τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ Πελασγὸν Ἀργείων ἔδος,*

and

*κόραισι δίδοτε βοστρύχων πάντη δία.*

I object rather strongly to his accentuation *δία*: but quite apart from that I find considerable difficulty in supposing that trimeters can have been converted into pseudo-dochmii. The reverse process would not be so surprising. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that he may be right.

ll. 1246 and 1266, if they retain any vestiges of their original shape, are most astonishing. As they stand, they are dochmii preceded by an anacrusis. This is almost as startling as if one were to light on a lyrical hexameter

preceded by an anacrusis (but see Stesichorus' *Helen*, fr. 26, l. 2).

Not as an emendation, but as a mere guess, based as far as may be on the *ductus literarum*, at what Euripides may possibly have written, I venture to put forward :

- (a) Μυκηνίδες, ἰώ,  
τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ τόδε Πελασγῶν ἔδος
- (b) ἐλίσσεται· ἐλαφραῖς  
κόραισι δίδετε διαὶ βοστρύχων

It must not be supposed that I stand alone in my suspicions, or more than suspicions, of the text of the choruses of this play. Editors have not formulated their views; but apart from formulation they have indicated them quite sufficiently by their readiness to resort to the most violent emendations. What they do not appear to have grasped is the fact that given as much corruption as they generally assume, it follows that the choric text of this play can nowhere be regarded as even moderately trustworthy.

#### SIXTH CHORUS

(ll. 1353–1502, with an outlying antistrophe,  
ll. 1545–1553)

(This chorus, except ll. 1353–62 and 1548–53, is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest.)

It is necessary to examine this chorus with some care. It will ultimately be seen to exhibit no instance, except apparently as the result of interpolation, of the phenomenon which I am investigating, and that as regards the great bulk of it for a very peculiar and sufficient reason.

It begins with a passage (ll. 1353–68) of mixed dochmii and iambic trimeters. There is here in reality a strophe and an antistrophe. That fact has been disguised by the occurrence of a slight interpolation in the strophe, and still more by a serious later interpolation (ll. 1361–5) of a more or less dochmiac set of lines, which are exceedingly feeble in sense, and contain metrical impossibilities of the most glaring character.



The real strophe and antistrophe, with their iambic pendants, run thus in the existing text :

ΧΟ. *ἰὼ ἰὼ φίλαι,  
κτύπον ἐγείρετε, κτύπον καὶ βοὰν  
πρὸ μελάθρων, ὅπως ὁ πραχθεὶς φόνος  
μὴ δεινὸν Ἀργεῖοισιν ἐμβάλη φόβον, 1355  
βοηδρομήσαι πρὸς δόμους τυραννικούς,  
πρὶν ἐτύμως ἴδω τὸν Ἑλένας φόνον  
καθαιμακτὸν ἐν δόμοις κείμενον,  
ἧ καὶ λόγον του προσπόλων πυθώμεθα·  
τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἶδα συμφοράς, τὰς δ' οὐ σαφῶς. 1360*

It is obvious that in l. 1354 the word *ὅπως* can readily be dispensed with, as *μή* by itself in the final sense is quite regular after an imperative. If we suppose that *ὅπως* is a more or less late addition, and that *πρὸ μελάθρων* has been prefixed to it for metrical reasons, that is to say, in order to manufacture a dochmius, we find that strophe and antistrophe fit perfectly, thus :

ΧΟ. *ἰὼ ἰὼ φίλαι, κτύπον ἐγείρετε, στρ.  
κτύπον καὶ βοὰν, ὁ πραχθεὶς φόμος  
μὴ δεινὸν Ἀργεῖοισιν ἐμβάλη φόβον, 1355  
βοηδρομήσαι πρὸς δόμους τυραννικούς,  
πρὶν ἐτύμως ἴδω τὸν Ἑλένας φόνον ἀντ.  
καθαιμακτὸν ἐν δόμοις κείμενον,  
ἧ καὶ λόγον του προσπόλων πυθώμεθα·  
τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἶδα συμφοράς, τὰς δ' οὐ σαφῶς. 1360*

It is worthy of notice that, although the dochmiac line, 1358, which closes the system, has its sense running on into the succeeding tragic trimeter, nevertheless its last syllable is common. It is usually very difficult to get evidence on points of this kind.

The main portion of the chorus is that which begins at l. 1369 and ends at l. 1502. In the words of Paley, "The introduction of a Trojan eunuch, as the narrator of events done within the house, and that too in verses so irregular as to be without parallel in the extant tragedies, was a bold device on the part of the poet." It is manifest that no amount of ingenuity can reduce this long passage

into strophic-antistrophic form. Hermann indeed thought that he detected signs of a sort of partial correspondence; but his argument was based on little more than the fact that cretics occur at more than one point. He suggested the existence not of strophes and antistrophes, but of something more or less similar of a lax and indeterminate nature.

But the real truth is declared by Euripides himself on the very face of the document. In ll. 1384-6 the eunuch expressly states:

στένω  
 ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον  
 μέλος βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ.

Now, although very little is known of the *ἀρμάτειον μέλος*, it is absolutely certain that it was not lyrical at all, but aulodic. Plutarch (*Mor.* 1133 E) is precise in ascribing the invention of it either to Olympus, a pupil of Marsyas, or to *τινας ἀρχαίους αὐλητὰς Μυσοῦς*. He also tells us that Stesichorus of Himera employed this genre, "borrowing it neither from Orpheus, nor from Terpander, nor from Archilochus, nor from Thaletas, but from Olympus." Therefore it is evident that we have here not a lyrical chorus but an aulodic nome. From which it follows that we must not look for strophes and antistrophes. On the contrary, we have to inquire whether the Olympian nome in the hands of Euripides was made up only of *ἀρχή*, *κατατροπή*, *ὀμφαλός* and *σφραγίς*, or whether it had received the Terpandrian additions of *μεταρχή*, *μετακατατροπή* and *ἐπίλογος*.

The song of the eunuch is divided into six portions, separated from one another by trimeters in the mouth of the chorus. It is fairly evident that these six portions are really the seven divisions of the developed Terpandrian nome, the *σφραγίς* and the *ἐπίλογος*, as being closely connected in sense, not being divided from one another by an iambic line. The *ἐπίλογος* begins at l. 1498:

τὰ δ' ὕστερ' οὐ κάτοιδα (? *κατοῖδα*: vid. Sch. ap. Eur. *Alc.* 807).

The *ἀρχή* (ll. 1369-79) contains 88 syllables. The

μεταρχή (ll. 1381–93) contains 116 syllables. Hence we see in ἀρχή and μεταρχή a rough approximation to one another in point of length, which may be considered remotely similar to the relation between lyrical strophe and antistrophe.

In like manner the κατατροπή (ll. 1395–1424) contains 284 syllables, and the μετακατατροπή (ll. 1426–50) 245 syllables. These approximate equalities are especially interesting to observe, if only because of the fact that the extant portion of the *Persae* of Timotheus does not begin until too late a point in the nome to afford us any information on such matters.

The ὀμφαλός (ll. 1452–72) consists of 222 syllables.

The σφραγίς (ll. 1474–97) has 300, and the ἐπίλογος (ll. 1498–1502) 60.

Piecing together Plutarch's statement (which he brings in as if it were a well-known fact) that Stesichorus employed the ἀρμάτειος νόμος, and Stesichorus' own statement in his *Oresteia* that he was employing the Φρύγιον μέλος (fr. 37), we may reasonably, in view of the Asiatic origin of the ἀρμάτειος νόμος, assume that Stesichorus' *Oresteia* was a nome of that character.

One fragment (fr. 42) of the *Oresteia* runs thus :

τᾷ δὲ δράκων ἐδόκησεν μολεῖν κέρα βεβρωτῶμένος ἄκρον·  
ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη.

The occurrence of a complete pentameter seems to me significant. It is just like the occurrence in the eunuch's song of all sorts of fixed lines of a formal type.

The Euripidean passage exhibits one striking example of what, on the strength of Timotheus' *Persae*, we must conclude to have been a trick or mannerism of the aulodic poets, at any rate of those among them who were influenced by the Asiatic tradition. That is to say, in both Euripides and Timotheus we have introduced a foreigner expressly and explicitly speaking as such.

Timotheus writes (ll. 157–60) :

ὃ δ' ἀμφὶ γόνασι περιπλεκεῖς  
ἐλίσσῃθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἐμπλέκων



Ἄσιάδι φωνᾶ διάτορον  
σφραγίδα θραύων στόματος,  
Ἰάονα γλῶσσαν ἐξιχνεύων.

And then he goes on to put into the mouth of his Persian as desperate an example of pidgin Greek as ever fell from the lips of an Aristophanic Scythian. Surely in high poetry—and Timotheus' *Persae* is meant to be high poetry—such a proceeding can only be justified on the ground of recognized tradition.

Let us turn to the *Orestes*. There tragic propriety naturally triumphs over aulodic licence, but nevertheless we find the Phrygian chattering throughout in a way that has struck most editors as ludicrous, and in particular—though this is not ludicrous—we read (ll. 1395–7):

αἴλινον αἴλινον ἀρχὰν θανάτου  
βάρβαροι λέγουσιν, αἰαῖ,  
Ἄσιάδι φωνᾶ.

I cannot regard as a mere coincidence the occurrence in both poems of the identical words Ἄσιάδι φωνᾶ. But then I do not understand how it can be denied that the song of the eunuch is demonstrably an aulodic nome.

I agree that an aulodic nome is a most singular feature to introduce into an Attic tragedy. But Euripides tells us in so many words that he is introducing it.

Of course, what I have said elsewhere as to the Doric dialect being a guarantee of lyrical construction, has no bearing whatever on aulodic compositions. Those compositions stand altogether outside the sphere of poetry with which this tractate is concerned. Owing to an extraordinary innovation on the part of Euripides I have been compelled briefly to discuss what is in reality as remote from my natural subject matter as is the metrical scheme of the *Divina Commedia* or of a play of Shakespeare.

It is possible that in the *Hecuba* we have a Terpendrian nome (see my remarks on the seventh chorus of that play).

At the end of the aulodic song we come first to three tragic trimeters in the mouth of the chorus, and then to

a series of thirty-six trochaic tetrameters, interrupted however after the thirty-first tetrameter by a set of mixed dochmii and tragic trimeters which are manifestly intended as the antistrophe to an earlier supposed strophe, viz. to ll. 1353-68, which lines, I have shown some reasons to think, consist in reality partly of a strophe and antistrophe with iambic pendants, and partly of interpolations.

The outlying antistrophe I regard as a forgery from beginning to end, and I also regard as forgeries the five trochaic tetrameters which immediately precede it.

What disposes me most strongly to charge forgery is the fact of the complete want of symmetry displayed by placing the so-called antistrophe not immediately at the end of the Phrygian's song, which position would harmonize with the position of the alleged strophe immediately in front of that song, but at some distance off in the middle of a set of tetrameters. What confirms me in my opinion is the diction and metre of the passage.

Here are the lines, together with the preceding tetrametrical speech of Orestes and the subsequent tetrameters uttered by the chorus :

### ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι σὴν καθαιμάξαι δέρην·  
 οὔτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν σύ γ' εἶ.  
 τοῦ δὲ μὴ στήσαι σε κραυγὴν οὐνεκ' ἐξῆλθον δόμων·  
 ὄξυ γὰρ βοῆς ἀκούσαν Ἄργος ἐξεγείρεται. 1530  
 Μενέλεων δ' οὐ τάρβος ἡμῖν ἀναλαβεῖν εἶσω ξίφους·  
 ἀλλ' ἴτω ξανθοῖς ἐπ' ὤμων βοστρύχοις γαυρούμενος·  
 εἰ γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐπάξει τοῖσδε δώμασιν λαβῶν  
 τὸν Ἑλένης φόνον διώκων, καμὲ μὴ σώζειν θέλη (v.ll.  
 σώσει θανεῖν and σώση θανεῖν),  
 σύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν Πυλάδην τε τὸν τάδε ξυνδρώντά μοι, 1535  
 παρθένον τε καὶ δάμαρτα δύο νεκρῶ κατόψεται.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ ἰὼ τύχα, ἕτερον εἰς ἀγῶν' ἀντ.  
 ἕτερον αὖ δόμος  
 φοβερὸν ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας πίπτει.

τί δρῶμεν ; ἀγγέλλωμεν ἐς πόλιν τάδε ;  
 ἢ σίγ' ἔχωμεν ; ἀσφαλέστερον, φίλαι. 1540  
 ἴδε πρὸ δωμαίων ἴδε προκηρύσσει  
 θοάζων ὄδ' αἰθέρος ἄνω καπνός.  
 ἄπτουσι πεύκας, ὡς πυρώσοντες δόμους  
 τοὺς Τανταλείους, οὐδ' ἀφίστανται φόνου.  
 τέλος ἔχει δαίμων  
 βροτοῖς τέλος ὅπα θέλη. 1545  
 μεγάλη δέ τις ἂ δύναμις· δι' ἀλαστόρων  
 ἔπεσεν ἔπεσε μέλαθρα τάδε δι' αἱμάτων  
 διὰ τὸ Μυρτίλου πέσημ' ἐκ δίφρου.  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων δόμων πέλας  
 ὀξύπου, ἦσθημένον που τὴν τύχην ἢ νῦν πάρα. 1550  
 οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοιτε κληῖθρα συμπεραίνοντες μοχλοῖς,  
 ὦ κατὰ στέγας Ἄτρεῖδαι. δεινὸν εὐτυχῶν ἀνήρ  
 πρὸς κακῶς πρᾶσσοντας, ὡς σὺ νῦν, Ὀρέστα, δυστυχεῖς.

At the end of this section I will proceed to tabulate the instances, such as they are, of the phenomenon I am investigating. Meanwhile I will state what I propose to read, and some of the reasons for my proposal.

I read :

#### ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι σὴν καθαιμάξαι δέρην·  
 οὔτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν σύ γ' εἶ.  
 τοῦ δὲ μὴ στησαί σε κραυγὴν εἶνεκ' ἐξήλθον δόμων·  
 ὀξὺν γὰρ βοῆς ἀκούσαν Ἄργος ἐξεγείρεται.  
 Μενέλεων δ' οὐ τάρβος ἡμῖν ἀναλαβεῖν εἴσω ξίφους.

#### ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων δόμων πέλας  
 ὀξύπου, ἦσθημένον που τὴν τύχην ἢ νῦν πάρα.  
 οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοιτε κληῖθρα συμπεραίνοντες μοχλοῖς,  
 ὦ κατὰ στέγας Ἄτρεῖδαι. δεινὸν εὐτυχῶν ἀνήρ  
 πρὸς κακῶς πρᾶσσοντας, ὡς σὺ νῦν, Ὀρέστα, δυστυχεῖς.

Among the positive advantages of this arrangement may be mentioned the fact that it provides us with two mutually balancing series of five tetrameters apiece, and



also, I think, the fact that the placing of the line in which the chorus speak of *καὶ τόνδε Μενέλεων* immediately after the line in which Orestes speaks of Menelaus brings together statements otherwise much too widely separated in point of space, and by so doing imparts vigour to the passage.

But there is also a wealth of negative arguments which impel me to excise what I have excised.

In l. 1532, strong and picturesque as that line is, *ἴτω* appears to be used in an unclassical sense. Seemingly it can only mean 'let him go': sense requires 'let him come.' Paley, in support of *ἴτω*, quotes *Phoenissae* 521:

*πρὸς ταῦτ' ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανα.*

But there the meaning is surely something like: 'Forth, fire: forth, falchion!'

In ll. 1533-4 the change of construction involved in beginning with *εἰ γὰρ ἐπάξει* and continuing with *κάμῃ μὴ σώζειν θέλη* is, I think, unparalleled. I can only regard the various readings as attempts to remove a solecism. But in Byzantine Greek there would be no solecism at all in the words. In that style subjunctives, without *ἄν*, may be used as mere equivalents of indicative futures. Hence, I suppose, a number of false readings in tragedy, and *ὄπα θέλη* a little below (l. 1545).

The general sense of ll. 1533-6 clashes with that of 1531. Orestes has just expressed his readiness to measure swords with Menelaus. It is ridiculous, in this particular context, for him to go on to say that his reason for not dreading Menelaus' approach is that he has it in his power to kill Hermione as well as Helen.

The clumsiness of l. 1535 has frequently been remarked. *Πυλάδην* in a tetrameter could easily be brought in with the help of a tribrach, without recourse to an anapaest in the middle of the line.

In l. 1536 *παρθένον τε καὶ δάμαρτα* has really to mean 'not only his wife but also his daughter.' Would not *δάμαρτά τε καὶ παρθένον* be the Greek for this?

In the same line δύο νεκρὸν κατόψεται is a quotation from the *Hecuba*, l. 45,

δυοῖν δὲ παίδων δύο νεκρὸν κατόψεται.

It must be remembered that the *Hecuba* was specially well known to Byzantine scholars.

To come to the dochmiacs, in l. 1537 we have a glaring and impossible hiatus after τύχα.

In l. 1538 it is extremely difficult to assign a reasonable sense to the words ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἀτρείδας. If they go with ἀγῶν, they are extremely inelegant, because the δόμος and the Ἀτρείδαι are one and the same thing. On the whole I rather suspect that the scholiast is right in taking δόμος ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἀτρείδας as equivalent to ὁ τῶν Ἀτρείδων οἶκος. But it would be ridiculous to pretend that the idiomatic uses of ἀμφί of which this would be a somewhat violent extension can date back to the time of Euripides.

In l. 1541 ἴδε προκηρύσσει is not a dochmius, and hardly seems susceptible of emendation.

In l. 1542 αἰθέρος ἄνω seems to be a quotation of αἰθέρος ἄνω in l. 1092 of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. There αἰθέρος ἄνω is a palpable corruption of some kind (see Jebb's note). Indeed I can discover no reason for supposing that αἰθέρος ἄνω could bear the meaning 'high in the heaven.' Of course it could very well mean 'above the heaven,' which would make nonsense here. Liddell and Scott quote γῆς ἤκουτ' ἄνω in *Hercules Furens* 616, as an instance of ἄνω with the genitive in a partitive sense; but a reference to the context will show that it is not a question of Hercules 'rising in the world' but of his coming on to the surface of the earth from the lower regions. Liddell and Scott also quote Aeschines 32. 42 μικρὸν προαγαγὼν ἄνω τῶν πραγμάτων. I agree that that passage employs τῶν πραγμάτων in a partitive sense, but the genitive appears to me to depend directly on μικρὸν προαγαγὼν and ἄνω, as far as the construction goes, to be a superfluity. As a matter of fact Aeschylus actually employs ἄνω in the sense 'high up in' not with the genitive but with the dative. He writes (*Niobe*, *Fr.* 146): οὐρανῷ κυρῶν ἄνω.

In l. 1545 τέλος ἔχει δαίμων is not a dochmius, the expression τέλος ἔχει βροτοῖς is not really intelligible on the assumption that ἔχει has any one of its classical meanings, and ὅπα θέλη seems to me to be merely an example of the Byzantine use of the subjunctive.

In l. 1546 strophic correspondence demands that we should substitute, with Seidler, ἀλάστορ' for ἀλαστόρων: this is an emendation of a corruption, and has no bearing on the question of authenticity.

Similarly, in the next line we must read with most editors ἔπεισ' ἔπεισε for ἔπεισεν ἔπεισε. It is noteworthy that most MSS. present ἔπαισεν ἔπαισε. I hardly think that at any time a composer of a pseudo-classical passage could have penned ἔπαισεν in the sense of ἔπεισεν. Therefore the corruption seems to indicate a sufficient antiquity for the lines to admit of their having been subjected to the usual orthographic vicissitudes.

In ll. 1546-8 the triple διά is intolerable. It is enough in itself to brand the passage as spurious.

These various considerations are no doubt of various degrees of weight; but taken in conjunction they appear to me to constitute a case on which I may rely with some confidence. I am afraid that in matters of this sort it is hopeless to attempt any line of argument that is not to a large extent subjective; and subjective argument is necessarily an imperfect weapon. But I think it a mistake not to use it when occasion demands.

The instances of the phenomenon into the validity of which I am inquiring that present themselves on a comparison of the so-called strophe with what I regard as its forged antistrophe are two in number.

### A

In the sixth line of the alleged strophe the second dochmius is of the form ∪--∪≡: in the sixth line of the antistrophe the second dochmius is of the form ∪∪∪--∪≡.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 1358. καθαιμακτὸν ἐν δόμοις κείμενον  
 (b) l. 1542. θαάζων ὄδ' αἰθέρος ἄνω καπνός





## SUMMARY

The *Orestes* exhibits fourteen examples of the phenomenon under discussion, and two others naturally emerge in the course of emendation. Of the fourteen instances, one is manifestly corrupt, and four others present themselves within the compass of a single line. The nine which remain over, and the two which result from emendation, are in various ways open to the suspicion that they are non-original.

## PHOENISSAE

This play must be considered in conjunction with the *Hecuba* and the *Orestes*.

The *Phoenissae* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Marcianus 471 (known as A), Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Marcianus 468 (known as F), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (which I call B (2)), and in MSS. of inferior importance.

The Jerusalem palimpsest contains ll. 808-74 and 1599-1698.

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 103-192)

This chorus consists of a dialogue between Antigone and the Pedagogue. Antigone speaks in various metres, including the dactylic hexameter and the iambic trimeter, but chiefly in what are obviously meant for dochmii, but nevertheless present at every point the wildest irregularities: the Pedagogue talks in trimeters.

There is no possibility, that I can see, of a division into strophe and antistrophe. If there were a possibility, it would be most surprising, because at the beginning of the chorus Antigone is mounting a staircase or ladder leading to a tower, and during the rest of the chorus she is observing from the top of the tower the army beneath.

Under the circumstances a choric dance is impossible on the part of Antigone or of the Pedagogue, and the Phoenician women have not yet come upon the stage.

Why then, if there is no question of dancing, should Antigone express herself in Doric dochmii? In the *Orestes* I have endeavoured to show that one chorus is not lyric at all but aulodic. No solution of the kind is here of any avail. Aulodic dochmii are unknown; and, even if they were not, the divisions of this passage are altogether dissimilar from the divisions either of a prae-Terpandrian or of a Terpandrian nome.

The argument of Aristophanes the Grammarian (I think that argument has received a long addition from another hand, but I am about to quote from the earlier and presumably genuine portion) says: Τὸ δρᾶμά ἐστι μὲν ταῖς σκηνικαῖς ὄψεσι κάλλιστον ἐπεὶ καὶ παραπληρωματικόν. ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῶν τειχέων Ἀντιγόνη θεωροῦσα μέρος οὐκ ἔστι δράματος, καὶ ὑπόσπουδος Πολυνείκης οὐδενὸς ἕνεκα παραγίγνεται, ὃ τε ἐπὶ πᾶσι μετ' ὠδῆς ἀδολέσχου φνυγαδευόμενος Οἰδίπους προσέρριπται διὰ κενῆς.

Although Aristophanes does not say or openly suggest that the παραπληρώματα come from another hand than that of Euripides, nevertheless μέρος οὐκ ἔστι δράματος is a strong expression.

If Euripides included in a δρᾶμα something that was not a μέρος δράματος, then possibly our existing text at this point is a corrupted version of what he wrote. I prefer to believe that Euripides in his δράματα only included μέρη δραμάτων.

It has been often noticed that the abnormal length of the *Phoenissae*—1766 lines—is in itself an indication tending to show that non-Euripidean additions have been made to the play.

Euripides died B.C. 406: Aristophanes wrote circa B.C. 260. An interval of between a hundred and a hundred and fifty years is amply sufficient to account for considerable interpolations, especially if the interpolations are in the nature of σκηνικαὶ ὄψεις, for which, I suppose, the professional play-actor has always entertained a special fondness.



Stobaeus almost certainly knew the passage, as he quotes (ll. 198-201) the conclusion of the iambic speech at the beginning of which the Pedagogue advises Antigone to return inside the house. But as Stobaeus probably lived somewhere about seven hundred years after the time of Aristophanes the Grammarian, his evidence would be of very secondary importance, could we only be quite sure of the genuineness of the argument attributed to the earlier writer.

### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 202-260)

This chorus, which is manifestly genuine and rises in parts to the higher level of the Euripidean lyric, presents six instances of the correspondence that is under discussion. Five of these instances occur in close proximity; and I hope to show that four of the five can be banished to the improvement of the sense and by means of very slight emendation.

#### A, B, C, D, E AND F

In the first line of the first strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the first line of the first antistrophe the second and third syllables are a short and a long, combining by synizesis.

In the fifth line of the first strophe the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts: in the fifth line of the first antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

In the seventh line of the first strophe the ninth and tenth syllables are two shorts: the seventh line of the first antistrophe substitutes for these two shorts one long.

In the eighth line of the first strophe the sixth syllable is a long: for this long the eighth line of the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts (one MS. presenting a totally unmetrical reading).

In the ninth line of the first strophe the fifth syllable is a long, and the seventh and eighth syllables two shorts: in the ninth line of the first antistrophe instead of the

long there appear two shorts, and instead of the two shorts a long.

Whatever the reader may think as to the occasional admissibility of the phenomenon I am investigating, I believe that my argument, or rather the simple enumeration of facts, which I have endeavoured to let speak for themselves, has long ago reached such a point that it is unnecessary for me to insist any further on the impossibility of such a collocation of instances as that with which we are confronted in this passage.

It seems desirable that I should set out the first strophe and antistrophe at full length. They run thus :

ΧΟ. Τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσ' ἔβαν	στρ. α'
ἀκροθίνια Λοξία	
Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου	
Φοίβῳ δούλα μελάθρων,	205
ἴν' ὑπὸ δειράσι νιφοβόλοις	
Παρνασοῦ (v.l. Παρνασσοῦ) κατενάσθην,	
Ἴόνιον κατὰ πόντον ἐλά-	
-τα πλεύσασα περιῤῥύτων	
ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων	210
Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς	
ἰππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ	
κάλλιστον κελάδημα,	
πόλεως ἐκπροκριθεῖσ' ἐμᾶς	ἀντ. α'
καλλιστεύματα Λοξία.	215
Καδμείων δ' (F omits δ') ἔμολον γᾶν,	
κλεινῶν Ἀγηνοριδᾶν	
ὁμογενεῖς (A has the note γρ. καὶ συγγενεῖς) ἐπὶ	
(A ἐπι) Λαίου	
πεμφθεῖσ' ἐνθάδε πύργους.	
ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι χρυσοτεύ-	220
-κτοῖς (AΕ χρυσεοτεύκτοῖς : F χρυσεοτύκτοῖς) Φοίβῳ	
λάτρει ἐγενόμαν (First hand of F γενοίμαν).	
ἔτι δὲ Κασταλίας ὕδωρ	
περιμένει (B ἐπιμένει) με κόμας ἐμᾶς (ABE ἐμᾶς)	
δεῦσαι παρθένιον χλιδᾶν	
Φοιβείαισι (F Φοιβίαισι) λατρείαις.	225

In l. 214 Musgrave changes πόλεως into πόλεος (probably we should read πόλιος).

The chorus came from a Phoenician island, but from what Phoenician island there is nothing in the existing text to indicate. They are made to say that they passed *ὑπέρ* (which presumably must mean 'by' or the like) the 'unharvested plains of Sicily.' I dispute this use of *ὑπέρ*, and I maintain that 'unharvested plains' is an expression that any Greek would have considered nonsense unless applied to the sea.

Consequently in ll. 209–10 I do not hesitate to change *ἐλάτα* into *ἐκ γὰς*. This alteration makes sense of *Σικελίας*, and explains what Phoenician island it was from which the chorus had sailed.

This seems to me, on palaeographical grounds, perhaps the earliest corruption that I have noticed. For *ἐκ γὰς* to have become *ἐλάτα* it is necessary to assume a text which preserved Attic sandhi and sloped the top stroke of the gamma downwards. In other words, **ENAC** was, I believe, misread as **ELATAI**.

*περιρρύτων ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων* remains unintelligible. It would be possible to suggest *περιρρύτων ὑπὲρ εὐκαρποτάτων πέδων*, and to translate 'an offering on behalf of the most fruitful, sea-girt plains.' Compare Hippocrates p. 288. 49 *χώρη εὐκαρποτάτη*. The objection to this emendation is that, contrary to a dictum of Elmsley's (on *Bacchae* 585), one would be venturing to employ *πέδον* in the plural. Therefore I propose *περιρρύτων ὑπὲρ εὐκαρποτάτων πεδίων* (to be translated as above) in the strophe, and *ὑδατος* for *ὑδωρ* in the antistrophe. The actual MS. reading, which necessitates that the first syllable of *ὑδωρ* should be long, harks back to a purely Epic quantity.

The change of *ἀκαρπίστων* to *εὐκαρποτάτων* involves a further alteration in the antistrophe; but the alteration is in the direction of sanity. It makes it necessary to read *ἔτι δ' αὖ* instead of *ἔτι δὲ*.

This is a matter of considerable importance. The world of editors has been content to assume that the chorus of Phoenician women *en route* from some Phoenician island or other, after passing Sicily on the way to their



destination, namely Delphi, actually got to Thebes before they got to Delphi, and had never been at Delphi at all at the time of the action of this play. Whatever lines elsewhere make in favour of this view I unhesitatingly condemn as forgeries inserted in ignorance of the rudiments of geography. The chorus must have reached Delphi before they came to Thebes; and therefore *ἔτι δ' αὖ* makes far better sense than *ἔτι δέ*. Moreover this recognition of geographical fact removes all objection to the MS. reading *κατενάσθην* in l. 207. Hermann's widely accepted emendation *κατενάσθη* (which was made solely on the ground that the chorus had not yet reached Delphi) will not scan: the next line begins with a vowel.

In l. 221 (and the sense of this line is germane to the point I have just discussed) the only moderately plausible emendation that has been suggested for *λάτρεις ἐγενόμαν* is the transposition *γενόμαν λάτρεις* (Nauck). But this is open to the fatal objection that the last syllable of *λάτρεις* would be short before the vowel at the beginning of the next line: nor is it easy to see why two such words should have been transposed.

It is clear to me that we ought to read *λάτρεις ἐπλόμαν*. **ΕΠΛΟΜΑΝ** and **ΕΓΕΝΟΜΑΝ** are strikingly similar.

One instance of the phenomenon alone now remains unemended. I cannot attack it as light-heartedly as I have attacked its four companions: it is by no means so manifest an impostor. Nevertheless "noscitur a sociis." In l. 206 the expression *ὑπὸ δειράσι νιφοβόλοις* is, at any rate at first sight, not calculated to arouse suspicion, while the antistrophic line (218) appears to be unassailable. But I am not sure that 'snow-beaten' is a reasonable epithet to apply to the *δειράδες* of Parnassus. The mountain itself is some 8000 feet in height. The normal snow-line in the 39th latitude is about 8750 feet above sea-level. Although, as a matter of fact, there is a good deal of snow, even in summer, on some of the very highest portions of Parnassus, nevertheless the *δειράδες* are so very much beneath the level of either of the peaks that it seems strange to speak of them as *νιφόβολοι*. At best the description could only be true for a very short part of the

winter months. Moreover the Greeks had very little of the modern affectation of admiration of sublimity divorced from comfort—witness Theocritus' Harvest-home. I do not think that the chorus would have dwelt on so repellent a feature of their new home as the uncomfortable snows upon the hills, especially seeing that they were Sicilians and that, compared with Etna, Parnassus is little better than a mole-hill: one might as readily expect to find a Syracusan expressing astonishment at the size of Athens. On the whole, though I confess that metre is my chief reason, I should like to substitute for *νιφοβόλοις* a word of much the same appearance but of a distinctly more genial significance. It seems to me that the *ν* and the *φ* are the dominant letters of the first portion of the word, and that the *-λοις* at the end is probably original. Adhering to this *ductus literarum*, and restricting myself to epithets connected with things sacred to Apollo, I venture to coin the compound *δαφνοχλοῖς*, 'green with bays,' which I think would exactly suit the context, and also be extremely likely to pass into *νιφοβόλοις*. But I must not be taken as suggesting anything more than a possibility which appeals to myself personally. When I attempt highly conjectural emendation of this kind, I am under no sort of illusion as regards the extreme precariousness of the tentative results. But I do not think that that precariousness is a sufficient reason for leaving matters alone.

Let me now give the strophe and antistrophe as I should like to read them. But first I must interpose the observation that I regard the enjambement of strophe and antistrophe as impossible, and that consequently I follow Nauck in putting a full stop at the end of l. 213, omitting the full stop at the end of l. 215, and also omitting the δ' in l. 216.

XO. Τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσ' ἔβαν ἀκροθίνια Λοξία Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου Φοίβῳ δούλα μελάθρων, ἕν' ὑπὸ δειράσι δαφνοχλοῖς	στρ. α'    205
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Παρνασοῦ κατενάσθην, Ἴόνιον κατὰ πόντον ἐκ γᾶς πλεύσασα περιρῥύτων ὑπὲρ εὐκαρποτάτων πεδίων	210
Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς ἰππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ κάλλιστον κελάδημα. πόλιος ἐκπροκριθεῖς' ἐμᾶς	ἀντ. α' 215
καλλιστεύματα Λοξία Καδμείων ἔμολον γᾶν, κλεινῶν Ἀγηγοριδᾶν ὁμογενεῖς ἐπὶ Λαῖου πεμφθεῖς' ἐνθάδε πύργους. ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι χρυσοτεύ-	220
-κτοῖς Φοῖβῳ λάτρις ἐπλόμαν. ἔτι δ' αὖ Κασταλίας ὕδατος περιμένει με κόμας ἐμᾶς δεύσαι παρθένιον χλιδὰν Φοιβείαισι λατρείαις.	225

## F

In the ninth line of the second strophe the third syllable is a long: in the ninth line of the second antistrophe, what are apparently two shorts (the two first syllables of *θεόθεν*) stand in place of this long.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 247. κοινὸν αἶμα, κοινὰ τέκεα  
(b) l. 258. καὶ τὸ θεόθεν · οὐ γὰρ ἄδικον

It is quite arguable, on the analogy of *θεός* and its declensional cases, that *θεόθεν* may be a trochee. But I am by no means persuaded of the possibility of this scansion in tragedy. In real Doric it would be difficult to set bounds to the use of synizesis, in cases, that is to say, where the fundamental laws of the Greek language render synizesis possible. But the Doric of the tragedians is another matter; and I am not disposed without clear proof to admit that the convention with regard to the substantive *θεός* could be extended to the adverb *θεόθεν*.



The strophe, at the point where we are concerned with it, seems to me to run awkwardly. The whole sentence is :

κοινὸν αἶμα, κοινὰ τέκεα  
τᾶς κερασφόρου πέφυκεν Ἴου̅ς.

*αἶμα* and *τέκεα*, under the circumstances, cannot well be differentiated in meaning. Of the two words *αἶμα* is somewhat the more forcible, so that the result is in a way a combination of hendiadys and anticlimax. By itself this combination would perhaps only show us that we were dealing with a passage which did not exhibit to us Euripides at his best. But when to the combination is added the bewildering variation between the singular and the plural number, I think that we are justified in supposing that we have not the *ipsissima verba* of the poet.

I strongly suspect an early corruption, and that we ought to read

κοινὰ δίδυμα κοινὰ τέκεα  
τᾶς κερασφόρου πέφυκεν Ἴου̅ς.

**ΚΟΙΝΑΔΙΔΥΜΑ** and **ΚΟΙΝΟΝΑΙΜΑ** have a strongly marked palaeographical similarity.

But it is chiefly the balance of the sentence on which I rely. The use of the adjective *κοινός*, and especially its use twice over, demands the use of a balancing adjective of the contrary signification, such as *δίδυμος*. The mere fact that *τέκεα* is in the plural is not sufficient to balance the repeated *κοινός*. And even such slight balance as the plural *τέκεα* may afford is weakened well-nigh to vanishing point by the inartistic use of the singular *αἶμα*.

I do not engage with any relish in this kind of stylistic criticism: the path presents too many pitfalls. But I think that in this particular instance I have a fairly clear case.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 293-354)

That at any rate some part of this chorus is of considerable antiquity is proved by the fact that Plutarch (*De Exilio* 606) quotes, and quotes in its present form,

one of the most intolerable passages which it contains (ll. 347 *et seq.*). There the difficulties are of expression and construction. But throughout the chorus we are continually confronted with metrical impossibilities. A great part of the metre is evidently intended to be dochmiac. I seem to trace the work of two different hands. There are a good many quite correct dochmii, and dochmii that are very nearly correct: on the other hand there are a quantity of lines that can only by courtesy be described as dochmiac at all.

There may, for all I know, be a substratum of Euripides underlying the composition: but, if so, it is impossible to separate it from the non-Euripidean elements that have been imposed upon it.

Strophe and antistrophe are discernible at one point only. Hermann perceived that ll. 304–9 are a strophe, and ll. 310–16 the antistrophe to that strophe; but the second hand seems to have been at work here, for a good deal of emendation is necessary in order to make the strophe and antistrophe harmonize in detail.

This strophe and antistrophe, in addition to other divergencies, present three examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. I am inclined to think that these examples may well be part of the passage as it was originally written. The language of the context cannot have proceeded from the pen of Euripides.

### A, B AND C

In the fourth line of the strophe the last syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts. In the sixth line of the strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts, and the seventh syllable is a long: in the sixth line of the antistrophe instead of the two shorts we have a long, and instead of the long two shorts.

Here are the strophe and antistrophe as they stand in the MSS.:

ὠ τέκνον,

χρόνῳ σὸν ὄμμα μυρίαίς ἐν ἀμέραις

στρ.

προσεῖδον· ἀμφίβαλλε μα- } 306  
 -στὸν ὠλέναισι ματέρος,  
 παρηίδων τ' ὄρεγμα βο-  
 -στρύχων τε κνανόχρωτα χαί-  
 -τας πλόκαμον, σκιάζων δέραν ἀμάν.  
 ἰὼ ἰώ, μόλις φανείς } 310 ἀντ.  
 ἄελπτα κἀδόκητα ματρὸς ὠλέναις.  
 τί φῶ σέ; πῶς ἄπαντα  
 καὶ χερσὶ καὶ λόγοισι πολυ-  
 -έλικτον ἄδονὰν ἐκεῖ-  
 -σε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο περιχορεύ- } 315  
 -ουσα τέρψιν παλαιᾶν λάβω χαρμονᾶν;

I do not think it is necessary for my purpose to enter on a discussion of various emendations proposed by Hermann and others.

The non-classical nature of the passage is sufficiently proved by the expression ἀμφίβαλλε μαστὸν ὠλέναισι ματέρος. Editors try to make this mean 'Embrace with thy arms thy mother's breast,' but as ἀμφίβαλλε also governs βοστρύχων κνανόχρωτα χαίτας πλόκαμον (an extraordinary accumulation of synonyms), it is almost impossible to translate otherwise than 'Put thy breast around thy mother's arms.'

Though I follow Hermann in regarding the above as a strophe and antistrophe, nevertheless the existing correspondence is so imperfect that I am not surprised at Nauck and others not accepting that view.

Even supposing that we have here a corruption of the genuine work of Euripides (which personally I can hardly suppose for a moment), no one could use as evidence examples of a metrical phenomenon extracted from the midst of so depraved a context.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 638-689)

This is a chorus of quite a different character from the last. Up to the end of the first antistrophe it is a fine piece of vigorous writing, and, save for a few stupid corruptions, is unmistakably the work of Euripides. The



first strophe and antistrophe present five instances of the metrical phenomenon into which I am inquiring. Of these, one disappears on the adoption of an almost purely graphical remedy, two others vanish together as soon as we remove a solecism of a non-metrical character, and the two left can be dealt with very easily.

## A

In the fifth line of the first strophe the first syllable is a long : in the fifth line of the first antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 642. *χρησμόν, οὐ κατοικίσαι*  
 (b) l. 661. *πολυπλάνοις ἐπισκοπῶν*

In the antistrophic passage corruption of a familiar kind has crept in. The copyists have objected to dividing a word between two lines. We now read :

*χλοερά δεργμάτων κόραισι  
 πολυπλάνοις ἐπισκοπῶν.*

We ought to read :

*χλοερά δεργμάτων κόραις πο-  
 -λυπλάνοις ἐπισκοπῶν.*

## B AND C

In the eighth line of the first strophe the ninth and tenth syllables are two shorts : in the eighth line of the first antistrophe for these two shorts is substituted one long.

In the ninth line of the first strophe the first and second syllables are two shorts : in the ninth line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

Here are the lines with their contexts :

- (a) ll. 643-648. *(οὐ κατοικίσαι)*  
*πεδία μὲν τὸ θέσφατον  
 πυροφόρα δόμων ἔχρησε,*

καλλιπότημος ὕδατος ἵνα τε 645  
 νοτὶς ἐπέρχεται γνίας  
 Δίρκας χλοηφόρους  
 καὶ βαθυσπόρους γνίας (ABFC  
 γνίας: bc χώρας).

- (b) ll. 662–667. ὃν ἐπὶ χέρνιβας μολὼν  
 Κάδμος ὤλεσε μαρμάρῳ,  
 κρᾶτα φόνιον ὀλεσίθηρος  
 ὠλέναις (F, rightly, ὠλένας) δικῶν  
 βολαῖς, 665  
 δίας ἀμάτορος  
 Παλλάδος φραδαῖσι.

In l. 643 Musgrave emended *μὲν* into *μιν*. Hermann altered *μιν* to *νιν*. I suppose Hermann was right; but it is by no means easy to obtain clear proof of the soundness of some of the canons which are nowadays taken for granted by all or nearly all of us *γωνιοβόμβυκες*.

In l. 644 Valckenaer was the first to perceive that *δόμων* conceals *Ἄόνων* (manifestly an uncial corruption); but he unfortunately spoiled his otherwise brilliant emendation by reading the whole line thus:

χρήσε πυροφόρ' Ἄόνων.

Kirchhoff put the matter right by proposing

πυροφόρ' Ἄόνων ἔχρη.

In l. 646 Hermann convincingly changes *γνίας* into *ρύτᾱς*.

Hermann also omits the *καὶ* at the beginning of l. 648, thus making ll. 647–8 into a lyrical trimeter.

In l. 663 Hermann changes *ὤλεσε* to *ὄλεσε*. If the first syllable of *Ἄόνων* in l. 644 can be short, he is probably right. But there is no trace of such a quantity elsewhere, and I am not sure that it is safe to argue from the fact of Euripides shortening long alpha before epsilon and iota that he felt himself at equal liberty to shorten it before omicron. At any rate the matter is improved. If the alpha must be long, then it is almost certain that we ought to read not *ὄλεσε* but *ὄλεσσε*.

In l. 665 *δικὸν* is certainly corrupt, because the same participle occurs again in l. 668. Paley curiously suggests *τεμὸν*, "as some accounts made Cadmus to kill the dragon with a sword." But this account does not. Surely we ought to read *κιχὸν*. Compare *Iliad* x. 370 *σε δουρὶ κιχήσομαι*.

As in l. 667 the termination by no means corresponds with the termination of l. 648, Hermann transposes and reads *φραδαῖσι Παλλάδος*. Thus ll. 666–7 form a lyrical trimeter corresponding to that which Hermann makes up out of ll. 647 and 648. I think that his treatment is correct, and that the insertion of *καὶ* at the beginning of l. 648 caused an inversion in the antistrophe designed to preserve as far as possible the corrupted strophic metre.

Now that we have arrived at a fairly clear view of the strophic and antistrophic passages as a whole, it becomes possible to discuss the two instances of the questionable phenomenon. The fault is manifestly in the strophe.

*καλλιπόταμος ὕδατος ἵνα τε  
νοτὶς ἐπέρχεται ῥυτᾶς  
Δίρκας χλοηφόρους βαθυσπόρους γίας,*

is not possible Euripidean Greek. It is out of the question to give *τε* the meaning of 'and.' *ἵνα τε* is evidently the epic adverb of place. Compare *Iliad* xx. 478–9 :

*Δευκαλίωνα δ' ἔπειθ', ἵνα τε ξυνέχουσι τένοντες  
ἀγκῶνος, τῇ τόν γε φίλης διὰ χειρὸς ἔπειρεν.*

Valckenaer proposed *ἵνα γε*, which, if anything, is rather worse than *ἵνα τε*.

I am of opinion that *ἵνα τε νοτὶς* is a mere corruption of *ἀντλος οἷς*. The *οἷς* became unintelligible, when its antecedent *Ἄδωνων* was corrupted into *δόμων*. The copyists did their best to make sense while preserving as much as they could of the *ductus literarum*.

Not only does this emendation remove both examples of the phenomenon I am discussing, and, together with those examples, the really monstrous epic usage, but it also introduces a pertinent allusion to the artificial system of irrigation which prevailed in the neighbourhood of



Thebes. I understand *ἀντλος* to mean 'pumped water' as distinguished from water flowing in natural channels. Compare Plato, *Timaeus* 79 A *οἶον ἐκ κρήνης ἐπ' ὄχετους ἐπὶ τὰς φλέβας ἀντλοῦν αὐτά.*

Dicaearchus in his prose account of Thebes (§ 12) informs us that the subterranean supply of water through pipes at Thebes was attributed to Cadmus himself. I think this fact makes strongly in favour of the reading which I suggest.

Thebes is still remarkable among Greek towns for its water-taps. Even the trees in the main street are living stand-pipes.

#### D AND E

In the twelfth line of the first strophe, the first and second syllables are two shorts, and the sixth and seventh syllables are also two shorts: in the twelfth line of the first antistrophe one long is in each case substituted.

The lines together in each case with the line immediately following are these:

(a) ll. 649–50. *Βρόμιον ἔνθα τέκετο* (c *τέκετο bis*: C  
*τέτοκε*) *μάτηρ*

*Διὸς γάμοισι*

(b) ll. 668–9. *γαπετεῖς δικῶν ὀδόντας*  
*ἐς βαθυσπόρους γύας*

Seeing that the meaning of the first syllable of *γαπετεῖς* is to a large extent repeated in the word *γύας*, and seeing more particularly that l. 670 continues *ἐνθεν ἐξανήκε γᾶ*, I consider that there are substantial stylistic grounds for emending *γαπετεῖς*.

*διαπετεῖς δικῶν ὀδόντας,*

'flinging the fangs broadcast,' would, I think, be much more vigorous. It is true that the adjective *διαπετής* is only preserved in Hippocrates, who writes (*De Corde*, p. 269. 44): *ὕμενες ὀκοῖον ἀράχαι διαπετέες ζώσαντες πάντη τὰ στόματα.* But the existence of *γαπετής* itself, together with *ἀναπετής*, *Διυπετής*, *Διοπετής*, *δυσπετής*, *εὐπετής*, *περι-*

πετής, προπετής, ὑπερπετής, etc., is quite sufficient to guarantee διαπετής as a word that Euripides would not have shrunk from using.

It is evident that τέκετο μάτηρ is corrupt, if only because the middle should be used not of the mother but of the father, and also that there is some sort of lacuna. τέτοκε may be dismissed as savouring of a late use of the perfect.

Hermann reads :

Βρόμιον ἔνθ' ἔτικτε παρθέ-  
-νος κόρα Διὸς γάμοις.

Metrically this suggestion is excellent. But the reason why the κόρα in question was burnt was exactly because she was not a παρθένος.

There exist no sufficient materials for filling up the lacuna otherwise than in a most tentative manner. I am disposed to lay stress on the ΑΤΗ of μάτηρ, which letters are, I suggest, a corruption of the ΑΓΗ of Ἀγηγορίς.

Oppian (*Cyn.* iv. 237) writes :

νηπίαχον γὰρ Ἰακχον Ἀγηγορίς ἔτραφεν Ἰνώ.

If Ino was Ἀγηγορίς, so also was her sister Semele. And I think that the allusion to the Phoenician grandfather, Agenor, and not to Cadmus himself, would be especially appropriate in the mouth of the Phoenician chorus, as indicating a claim on their own part to kinship with Bacchus. Moreover I do not understand how Oppian comes to describe Ino as Ἀγηγορίς, unless he found the epithet applied to her or to one of her sisters in the ancient classics. There is nothing whatever in the context to make Oppian's use of Ἀγηγορίς in any way natural. My contention is that he was copying a passage where it was natural.

Therefore I think it well within the bounds of possibility that Euripides may have written :

Βρόμιον ἔνθ' ἔτικτ' Ἀγηγο-  
-ρίς κόρα Διὸς γάμοις.

After the end of the first antistrophe the chorus in

our texts continues for fourteen more lines. Hermann saw that these fourteen lines consist of a second strophe and antistrophe; but neither he nor anyone else has been able to bring the earlier portions of the strophe and antistrophe into conformity, though the ends run all right. The sense is weak throughout, and the piece concludes with the platitude :

*πάντα δ' εὐπετῇ θεοῖς.*

I think that we probably have in these lines a forged addition to the chorus, composed originally with only an imperfect adherence to strophic-antistrophic correspondence, and at a later date intentionally mangled by metricians who saw that as a strophe and antistrophe it would not do, and therefore determined to obliterate what correspondence existed, not indeed entirely, but to a sufficient extent to make the production pass muster as an epode.

As the piece stands, it is only in one line of the strophe and antistrophe that it can be said to present examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

#### F AND G

In the fourth line of the second strophe the first, second and third syllables are three shorts: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe these three shorts are answered by two longs. If we apply the rules of strophic-antistrophic correspondence, we must, I suppose, take the first syllable as common, and the second and third syllables of the strophic line as answered by the second syllable of the antistrophic line.

In the strophic line just mentioned the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the corresponding antistrophic line those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The latter portions of the two lines do not fit one another.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 679. *ἐκάλεσ' ἐκάλεσα βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ*

(b) l. 686. *πάντων ἄνασσα, πάντων δὲ Γᾶ τροφός*



As I suppose myself to be dealing with an intentional and far-reaching distortion of lines not the work of Euripides at all, and very likely in their original form admitting the phenomenon which I have under discussion, there seems to be no use in attempting any kind of emendation.

If by any chance the existing text is a corrupt version of something that Euripides wrote, then an inspection of the passage will show conclusively that depravation has gone to such lengths that it is absolutely impossible to recover the original, and that no feature of the passage whatever can in any degree be relied on as evidence of Euripidean usage.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 784–833)

(ll. 808–33 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

This is a remarkably fine chorus, conceived in a much higher mood than is usual with Euripides, and appropriately couched in dactylic, and indeed very largely in hexametrical, metre. The diction is lyrical in the more ornate sense. Here and there the continuity of sense is broken in upon by serious and manifest corruption; but the corruption is so intermittent that the ode as a whole is not gravely affected. The metre in particular remains for the most part intact, and the result is that we have preserved to us an excellent object-lesson in the true principles which govern the construction of dactylic and hexametrical lyric poetry.

Paley remarks with great justice: "The metre, which is almost entirely dactylic, and is composed with studied antithetical accuracy, admits only here and there a spondee, chiefly in a proper name, though carefully maintained in the antistrophic foot." The pity is that he does not proceed to draw the true deduction from his observations—namely, that it is corruption and corruption only that is responsible in any lyrical ode by any classical author for the appearance of a spondee corresponding to a dactyl, or of a dactyl corresponding to a spondee.

By a fortunate chance the corruptions that have affected the text of this chorus have produced one example only of the phenomenon which I am investigating, or, technically speaking, perhaps two examples—to be on the safe side I will deal with both of them.

### A AND B

In the fifteenth line of the strophe, which is a tetrameter, all the feet are dactyls, except that the first is a spondee, and that the third ends with the word *θεός* before a vowel, so that, although the third foot is presumably a dactyl, it might be argued that it is a spondee: in the fifteenth line of the antistrophe (or rather in what would be the fifteenth line of the antistrophe, were the line not preceded by a short lacuna), which is a tetrameter catalectic, only the second foot is a dactyl, not only the first foot but also the third foot being a spondee.

The fact that the antistrophic line is catalectic shows that something has gone so far wrong as to justify me in describing this example of the disputed phenomenon as merely technical.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 798. ἡ δεινά τις Ἔρις θεός, ἂ τάδε  
 (b) l. 815. οὐδ' οἱ μὴ νόμιμοι παῖδες

In the next line of the strophe the last syllable is a long : the corresponding antistrophic line substitutes two shorts, and there is metrical redundancy earlier in the verse.

These are the lines (with the next lines) :

- (a) l. 799. μήσατο πῆματα γᾶς βασιλεύσιν,  
 Λαβδακίδαις πολυμόχθοις  
 (b) l. 816. ματρὶ λόχενμα, μίασμα πατρός· ἡ δὲ συν-  
 -αίμονος (v.l. σύναιμον) ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν

Hence, putting A and B together, we have the consecutive antistrophic reading :

οὐδ' οἱ μὴ νόμιμοι παῖδες  
 ματρὶ λόχενμα, μίασμα πατρός· ἡ δὲ συν-  
 -αίμονος ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν.

This is obviously nonsense as it stands. The attempts at emendation have been rather wild. Personally I attach considerable importance to the appearance of the Attic  $\eta$  instead of the Doric  $\acute{\alpha}$ . Largely on that ground I propose, with the utmost tentativeness, to read :

εἴθ' ὑμήν νιν ἔνειμεν ἐπ' Ἀίδι,  
ματρὶ λόχευμα μιᾷ, παρὸς ἧ συν-  
-αίμονος ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν.

In the strophe I would substitute βασιλεύσι for βασιλεύσω.

By the 'common Mother' I mean (I am not rash enough to write 'Euripides means') Earth. I translate: 'To dwell in the womb of the common Mother.' λοχεύεσθαι can signify not only 'to be brought to birth,' but also 'to be borne in the womb' (see the metaphorical use in Aristoph. *Pax* 1014). At any rate my suggestion is not more improbable than various others which have been made, and I claim for it one merit which none of the others seem to possess, namely that (at least as far as I can see) it is palaeographically possible. I hold that even great uncertainty ought not to deter one from doing the best one can with a passage.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1019-1066)

This chorus consists of a strophe and antistrophe of considerable length. The text appears for the most part in a reasonably sound condition; but the extreme end of the antistrophe has become rather seriously corrupt, and just at this point occurs the sole instance of the phenomenon with which I am concerned.

In the twenty-third line of the strophe the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts: in the twenty-third line of the antistrophe, for these two shorts is substituted one long.

These are the passages :

(α) ll. 1041-42. ὁπότε πόλεος ἀφανίσειεν  
ἡ πτεροῦσσα παρθένος τιν' ἀνδρῶν



(b) ll. 1065-66. ὄθεν ἐπέστυτο τάνδε γᾶν  
 ἀρπαγαῖσι δαιμόνων τις ἄτα

To cure the want of correspondence between the end of the word ἀφανίσσειν and γᾶν, editors have applied two distinct treatments. Porson leads one school with the emendation ἀφανίσει', Hermann the other with the alteration γαῖαν. Hermann to-day holds the field; but personally I follow Porson. I do not think that there would be very much likelihood of γαῖαν, *obstante metro strophico*, passing into γᾶν. On the other hand, ἀφανίσει' would almost certainly be changed to ἀφανίσσειν. I can see no ground for the common belief that the epsilon of optative third persons in -ειε is insusceptible of elision in Attic. The epsilon in question must, one can only suppose, have exactly the same origin as every other epsilon of the third person singular; and I fail completely to see why, as ἔτυψε is subject to elision, τύψειε should not equally be so subject. The fact that letters of different characters precede the two epsilons appears to me to be altogether irrelevant to the issue. I am of opinion that the sole reason why elided forms such as τύψει' are not fairly plentiful in the text of standard authors is the circumstance that in post-classical times such forms were mistaken for indicative futures, a mistake which must in many instances have involved a considerable amount of consequential tampering with the context. Similar results occur sometimes in the case of elided third persons singular of the imperfect indicatives of verbs with a stem ending in a vowel. For example, if I am right, in the 1472nd line of the *Helen* (see my discussion of that passage) δίσκευ' has been corrupted into δίσκουν. There, as here, it is a question of elision at the end of a choric line.

I do not think it can well be denied that ἀρπαγαῖσι in the antistrophic passage needs an objective genitive. Therefore I somewhat confidently propose to read ἀρπαγαῖσι δαμοτᾶν for ἀρπαγαῖσι δαιμόνων. I believe that the reader will on reflection agree with me that this change may almost be called necessary.

But if we make it, we leave τις ἄτα as the whole

subject of the verb. Such an expression is barely Greek. ἄτα τις would be the correct expression; but in ἄτα τις the word τις would have no idiomatic meaning: it would simply be the rough equivalent of the indefinite article. On the other hand τις ἄτα has all the appearance of being the latter half of a complex subject beginning with an adjective, in which τις is inserted idiomatically. In δαιμόνων τις ἄτα, δαιμόνων plays the part of such an adjective, but plays it rather inefficiently. δαιμονία τις ἄτα would be much better, as far as sense goes. In any case, we have removed δαιμόνων.

It seems to me to follow logically that for τάνδε we ought to substitute a nominative feminine adjective agreeing with ἄτα, in order to give τις a basis on which to repose.

Taking the cue from the sense of rapidity inherent in ἐπέσυτο, and paying strict attention to the *ductus literarum* of τάνδε, I suggest that we should read:

ὄθεν ἐπέσυτο ταχέα γᾶν  
ἀρπαγαῖσι δαιμότων τις ἄτα.

Seeing that ὠκέα exists by the side of ὠκεία, I see no reason why Euripides should not have written ταχέα.

I have considered the possibility of an alternative system of emendation in this passage. At first sight its simplicity seems to recommend it, and I have hesitated a good deal before finally abandoning it. The reason why I definitely reject it is that it necessitates the assignment to ἐπέσυτο of a transitive sense. It would produce the reading:

ὄθεν ἐπέσυτο ταχυστάταν  
ἀρπαγεῦσι δαιμόνων τις ἄταν.

But as I write, my hesitation begins to return.

#### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1284-1307)

The chorus consists of a strophe and antistrophe, mostly dochmiac, but also partly anapaestic, and partly iambic.

After initial interjections, the chorus starts off with three anapaestic monometers, exhibiting the diaeresis proper to regular anapaests, but written in the Doric dialect. In the antistrophe one of the anapaests in the second monometer is replaced by a spondee.

After the monometers we have two dochmii, preceded by a tribrach, then some dochmiac attempts which it is difficult to analyze, then two short iambic lines, and finally a strophic line which seems to be meant to consist of two dochmii, and an antistrophic line which may also be meant to consist of two dochmii, but which also, owing to the presence of a common syllable, may be scanned as a highly resolved lyrical trimeter.

All this, and especially the presence of the anapaests, tends to show that we are dealing either with a monstrously corrupted version of a Euripidean original, or else—and, I think, more probably—with an interpolation.

The chorus presents two instances of the phenomenon under discussion.

## A

In the second line of the strophe the second anapaestic monometer has an anapaest as its second foot: in the second line of the antistrophe the second anapaestic monometer has a spondee as its second foot.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 1285. τρομερὰν φρίκα τρομερὰν φρέν' ἔχω

(β) l. 1297. διδυμοὶ θῆρες, φόνιαι ψυχαί

There is no possibility of emendation, at least of a kind that affects the metre. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the correspondence, such as it is, is due to the original composer of the lines. He was indeed in a difficulty. Having elected to employ ordinary anapaests as a lyric vehicle, and never having seen any ordinary anapaests so employed, he naturally enough fell into the error of supposing that he had the same kind of liberty, as if he were composing non-lyrical anapaests.



That was an error; but his chief and initial error lay in fancying that ordinary anapaests, with their strict rules of diaeresis, could be used in lyric poetry at all.

## B

In the fourth line of the strophe we have a tribrach followed by two dochmii, of which the first is of the type  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$ : in the fourth line of the antistrophe we have a tribrach followed by two dochmii of which the first is of the type  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ .

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 1287. ἔλεος ἔλεος ἔμολε ματέρος (MSS. plerumque  
ματρὸς) δειλαίας  
(b) l. 1299. πέσεια πέσεια δαί' ἀντίχ' αἰμάξενον

Here again I do not propose to offer any emendation. If Euripides wrote the real original, his writing has been so greatly overlaid as to have been for my purposes displaced. But I think that more probably I am dealing with a pure interpolation. In either case, the occurrence of the phenomenon in its surroundings makes, if anything, in favour of the attitude which I take with regard to it.

## EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1340–1351)

At this point, a series of trochaic tetrameters having just ended, we have a mixture of dochmiacs and senarii. Not only are there signs that the dochmii have been tampered with, but also correspondence has been disturbed to such an extent that it is impossible to indicate the position of strophe and antistrophe—assuming, that is, that the passage is genuine, and, consequentially, that a strophe and antistrophe once existed.

## NINTH CHORUS (ll. 1485–1581)

This chorus may be divided into two approximately equal halves. The first half consists of a long speech by

Antigone, the second half of a series of much shorter speeches by Oedipus and Antigone.

Considerable uncertainty exists with regard to the proper arrangement into strophes and antistrophes; but it is evident that the beginning of Antigone's long speech is a strophe, which finds its antistrophe in almost the whole of the much shorter speech of Antigone which ends the chorus, and most editors agree that there is a strophe in the very heart of Antigone's long speech, which finds its antistrophe in the whole of the first speech of Oedipus.

This kind of arrangement is essentially unclassical. If a strophe is only part of a speech, the antistrophe must also be only part of a speech: wholes must be answered by wholes, and parts by parts. And it is not enough to answer a part by a part, if the result is that the surplus portions are not equal. You cannot take twenty lines out of a choric speech of twenty-three lines, and make those twenty lines into the antistrophe to twenty lines out of another choric speech of twenty-five lines.

Therefore I draw the conclusion that at any rate some of the strophic-antistrophic arrangement at present discernible is either not the original strophic-antistrophic arrangement, or else has at least suffered from alterations of a character affecting the divisions of speeches.

But there is reason to suppose that the end of this play differs materially in its present form from the form in which Aristophanes the grammarian read it; and even that form, so at least we have already seen ground to suspect, was not a form due to the pen of Euripides.

Aristophanes tells us that *ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μετ' ᾠδῆς ἀδόλεσχου φυγαδεύμενος Οἰδίπους προσέρριπται διὰ κενῆς*. But in our present text it is not at all a lengthy or prolix ode that ushers Oedipus into banishment: indeed it is not an ode at all, but a lyrical dialogue of forty-eight lines (ll. 1710–57). This chorus, on the other hand, is *ἀδόλεσχος*. I strongly suspect that in Aristophanes' time the two choruses made one whole, and that the intermediate remarks of Creon, some of which are necessary to the sense, were a portion of the chorus, and not couched in trimeters. This supposition would have the advantage

of relieving Euripides of the responsibility of the prodigious stichomythia which extends from ll. 1646–1706.

Roughly speaking, the result of these considerations is that I regard all that portion of the ninth chorus that succeeds the long speech of Antigone as either interpolated, or else as so much cut about as to be little better than an interpolation. Antigone's first speech was, I think, answered by a speech of Oedipus of equal length. Antigone's speech is much too long to form one strophe. Consequently I suspect a cross division. Probably the first half of Antigone's speech was answered by the second half of Oedipus', and *vice versa*. Then probably came some choric, most naturally dochmiac, interposition from Creon, in which he gave orders for the banishment of Oedipus. Then Oedipus delivered himself of the *ᾠδὴ ἀδόλεσχος* (and note that *ἀδόλεσχος* in subclassical Greek is only a polite word for 'long' as applied to a speech or song), and then perhaps came a final dialogue between Antigone and Oedipus, of which the existing tenth chorus is a very considerable distortion.

There is necessarily some guesswork about this view; but the metrical impossibility of the ninth chorus as it stands is patent, and Aristophanes' statement ought not to be neglected. I suppose, on my theory, that it was the exaggerated *ἀδολεσχία* of the choric ending of the play which led to its being rewritten. Perhaps also that rewriting may have been partly prompted by direct evidence not now accessible to us, but accessible 1500 or 2000 years ago, to the effect that the text read by Aristophanes differed from the text written by Euripides.

Under these circumstances I shall not do more than exhibit the instances of the phenomenon I am discussing that occur in the existing text of the ninth chorus as divided into strophes and antistrophes by the best scholars.

Hermann marks off ten strophes and antistrophes, together with four unanswered *συστήματα*. Nauck, following Hermann in a sense, indicates four strophes and antistrophes, and leaves the rest of the chorus as a *rudis indigestaque moles*.



As compared with the first strophe, the first antistrophe presents ten examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. Seeing that I look upon this antistrophe as probably composed by some editor considerably later than Euripides, later, I suggest, than Aristophanes the grammarian, in order to match the strophic lines, this number of instances is not at all surprising, and there is no occasion to have recourse to emendation.

## A

In the first line of the first strophe, a dactylic tetrameter, the second foot is a dactyl: in the first line of the first antistrophe, the second foot is a spondee.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1485. οὐ προκαλυπτομένα βοτρυχώδεος

(b) l. 1570. ἠῦρε δ' ἐν Ἡλέκτραισι πύλαις τέκνα

## B

In the third line of the first strophe, a dactylic tetrameter catalectic, the first foot is a dactyl: in the third line of the first antistrophe the first foot is a spondee.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 1487. παρθενίας τὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις

(b) l. 1573. λόγχαῖς κοινὸν ἐννάλιον

## C

In the fifth line of the first strophe, a dactylic pentameter catalectic, the third foot is a spondee: in the fifth line of the first antistrophe the third foot is a dactyl.

The lines run thus:

(a) l. 1489. αἰδομένα φέρομαι βάκχα νεκύων

(b) l. 1574. μαρναμένους ἐπὶ τραύμασιν, αἵματος

*αἵματος* seems to be written to match not *βάκχα νεκύων* but *βάκχα νεκρῶν*, but in any case there is a neglect of

synapheia, as the next antistrophic line begins with a vowel.

### D AND E

In the sixth line of the first strophe, a lyrical anapaestic dimeter (I am speaking conventionally, and imply nothing as to whether the line is or is not really a dactylic tetrameter catalectic with a base), the second and third feet are anapaests: in the sixth line of the first antistrophe the second and third feet are spondees.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 1490. *κράδεμνα* δικούσα κόμας ἀπ' ἐμᾶς  
 (b) l. 1575. ἤδη ψυχρὰν λοιβὰν φουίαν

### F, G, H AND I

In the seventh line of the first strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts, the seventh and eighth are two shorts, the ninth is a long, and the tenth and eleventh are two shorts: in the seventh line of the first antistrophe for each of the aforesaid sets of two shorts is substituted one long, and for the long first aforesaid are substituted two shorts.

The lines are of the following form :

- (a) l. 1491. *στολίδα* κροκέεσσαν ἀνείσα τρυφᾶς  
 (b) l. 1576. ἂν ἔλαχ' Ἄιδας, ᾠπασε δ' Ἄρης

It would be possible, if it were worth while, to read Ἄιδας.

That the first syllable of Ἄρης should be long is an argument, though certainly not a conclusive argument, against the genuineness of the antistrophe, but it would be no argument at all in the case of Sophoclean lyrics or even Aeschylean senarii.

### K

In the composite line, a dactylic hexameter, made up of the ninth and tenth lines of the first strophe, the fifth foot is by emendation a very odd-looking spondee: in the

corresponding line of the first antistrophe the fifth foot is a dactyl.

Here are the lines :

- (α) ll. 1493-4. ὦ Πολύνεικες, ἔφυσ ἄρ' ἐπώνυμος, ὦμοι μοι,  
Θῆβαι (Hermann ὦ μοι Θῆβαις)
- (β) l. 1578. σαρκὸς ἔβαψεν, ἄχει δὲ τέκνων ἔπεσ'  
ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν

At the extreme end the correspondence of strophe and antistrophe breaks down, but not in such a way as to afford examples of the phenomenon under discussion.

Immediately after the first strophe (or rather those lines which the existing text turns into a first strophe) come a very short strophe and antistrophe of three lines each, recognized both by Hermann and by Nauck. I think it is undeniable that the true intention of the present text is to exhibit a strophe and antistrophe at this point, and almost equally undeniable that the present text departs widely from anything that Euripides may have written. I can hardly doubt but that the second strophe and antistrophe form together a portion of a strophe the antistrophe to which has been eliminated.

Taking the second strophe and antistrophe as they stand, I find that they exhibit one example of the disputed phenomenon.

## L

In the first line of the second strophe the fourth syllable is a long : in the fourth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1498. τίνα προσφδόν
- (β) l. 1501. ἀνακαλέσομαι (v.l. ἀνακαλέσωμαι)

After the second antistrophe comes what Hermann calls *σύστημα α'*. It certainly has nothing to balance it, even approximately, and it is difficult to see what can be made of it except on the assumption that it is part of a strophe the antistrophe to which is not in our possession.



At the end of *σύστημα α'* Hermann and Nauck part company. Hermann asserts that ll. 1508–18 (he numbers them 1513–24) consist of a third strophe and antistrophe. Nauck does not recognize the existence of the alleged strophe and antistrophe.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that Hermann is in a sense right. There is too much correspondence for accident; but there is far too little for persistent design. I strongly suspect that we have some kind of conflation of what Euripides originally wrote (which was strophic to an antistrophe now lost) with a strophic-antistrophic perversion of the original text.

On Hermann's arrangement, which involves a good deal of emendation, we have two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, one of which he alters, but leaves the other.

#### M AND N

In the fourth line of Hermann's third strophe the two first syllables are shorts (he emends them into one long): in the fourth line of Hermann's third antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

In the last line of Hermann's third strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: in the last line of Hermann's third antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The alleged strophe and antistrophe run thus:

<i>ἰώ μοι, πάτερ,</i>	
<i>τίς Ἑλλὰς ἢ βάρβαρος ἢ</i>	
<i>τῶν προπάρουθ' εὐγενετῶν ἕτερος</i>	1510
<i>ἔτλα κακῶν τοσῶνδ'</i>	
<i>αἵματος ἀμερίου</i>	
<i>τοιιάδ' ἄχεα φανερά;</i>	
<i>τάλαιν' ὡς ἐλελίξει (v.l. ἐλελίξω).</i>	
<i>τίς ἄρ' ὄρνις ἢ δρυὸς ἢ ἐλάτας</i>	1515
<i>ἀκροκόμοις ἀμφὶ κλάδοις</i>	
<i>ἔζομένα μονομάτορος ὄδυρμοῖς</i>	
<i>ἐμοῖς ἄχεσι συνωδός;</i>	

Some of this is unintelligible. In the intelligible

portion it seems difficult to understand the point of the remark about a bird, and in particular to see why stress is laid on the possibility of the bird's perching on one of two specified kinds of trees. One is inclined to think that corruption has gone very deep.

Hermann makes up the passage thus (I give his own numbering):

στροφὴ γ'

ιὸ μοι,  
 τίς Ἑλλὰς ἢ βάρβαρος ἦ  
 τῶν πρόπαρ εὐγενετᾶν 1515  
 ἄλλος (the MSS. present not ἄλλος but ἕτερος)  
 ἔτλα κακῶν τόσωνδ'  
 αἵματος ἀμερίου  
 τοιάδ' ἄχεα φανερά; \* \*

ἀντιστροφὴ γ'

τάλαινα,  
 τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ὄρνις ἐλελί- 1520  
 -ζει δρυὸς ἢ ἐλάτας  
 ἀκροκόμοις ἀμφὶ κλάδοις  
 ἐξομένα μονομά-  
 -των ἐμοῖς ἄχεσι συνφodός;

Hermann and Nauck agree that there next follows a strophe (Hermann calls it *στροφὴ δ'*, Nauck *στροφὴ γ'*): but they do not agree as to its length. They both find the antistrophe (and inevitably, as the text stands) in the first speech of Oedipus. But, whereas Hermann divides Oedipus' speech between his fourth and his sixth antistrophe, and ends his fourth strophe so as to suit that division, Nauck, much more elegantly (and rightly as regards the existing text), makes the whole of Oedipus' first speech his third antistrophe, and consequently carries his third strophe to a point beyond the end of the fourth strophe of Hermann.

What Nauck treats as the end of his *στροφὴ γ'*, Hermann presents under the name of *σύστημα β'*.

In Nauck's arrangement of the end of his third strophe and antistrophe, which arrangement does not attempt to

bring the passages even into approximate harmony, it is possible on the assumption of considerable lacunae to assert that there occurs one example of the phenomenon I am discussing.

## O

In the sixth line of Nauck's third strophe the sixth and seventh syllables are two shorts, and two longs follow: in the sixth line of Nauck's third antistrophe for those two shorts a long is substituted, and the two longs are absent.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1524. τίν' ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ χαῑτας

(b) l. 1544. νέκυν ἔνερθεν ἦ̄

Nauck leaves the rest of Antigone's long speech unanalyzed. Hermann, after his σύστημα β', goes on with a στροφὴ ε' and an ἀντιστροφὴ ε' of two lines each.

## P

In the first line of Hermann's fifth strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the first line of Hermann's fifth antistrophe, for these two shorts one long is substituted. I think Hermann is right, as the text stands, in assuming that its true intention is to present a strophe and antistrophe at this point. But they are very comical little things.

They run thus (Hermann's numbering):

στροφὴ ε'

ματρὸς ἐμᾶς διδύμοισι γάλα-  
-κτος παρὰ μαστοῖς,

1535

ἀντιστροφὴ ε'

ἦ̄ πρὸς ἀδελφῶν οὐλόμεν' αἰ-  
-κίσματα δισσῶν (most MSS. read not δισσῶν but  
νεκρῶν);

Editors have observed the strangeness of the phrase γάλακτος μαστοῖς, but, so far as I know, no one has pointed



out the absurdity of the underlying idea. None of Jocasta's children were babes in arms at the time of the action of this play. Personally I suspect that ΓΑΛΑΚΤΟΣ is an uncial duplication of ΜΑCΤΟΙC.

After ἀντιστροφή ε' Hermann places σύστημα γ', and then winds up Antigone's long speech with στροφή σ', consisting of three lines. His ἀντιστροφή σ' is the conclusion of Nauck's ἀντιστροφή γ'.

After the end of the first speech of Oedipus (we are now I suspect in a non-Euripidean portion of the play) Hermann and Nauck agree, and with every reason, in taking the second speech of Antigone as a strophe, and the third speech of Antigone as its antistrophe. Nauck calls these the fourth strophe and antistrophe, Hermann the seventh strophe and antistrophe. The MSS. present two examples of the disputed phenomenon. I suppose that they are as genuine as anything else in this part of the chorus.

## Q

In the first line of Nauck's fourth strophe (Hermann's seventh strophe) the last syllable is a long: in the first line of Nauck's fourth antistrophe (Hermann's seventh antistrophe) this long is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines:

(α) l. 1546. δυστυχῆς ἀγγελίας ἔπος οὔσει

(β) l. 1555. οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνειδέσιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χάρμασιν

## R

In the third line of the strophe aforesaid the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the antistrophe aforesaid those two shorts have a long substituted in their place.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1548. φάος οὐδ' ἄλοχος, παραβάκτροις

(β) l. 1558. ξίφεσιν βρίθων (there is a manifest lacuna)

The speech of Oedipus, which occurs between the

second and third speeches of Antigone, is left by Nauck unclassified; but Hermann regards it as *στροφὴ η'*, and finds its antistrophe in the speech of Antigone which begins with the words *δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας*. But he treats the words *δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας* themselves as not forming part of the antistrophe. Nauck leaves the alleged antistrophic passage unclassified.

Hermann's arrangement, which seems to be what the existing text really intends, involves four examples of the phenomenon we are discussing, of which, however, Hermann banishes one by emendation.

### S, T, V AND X

In the second line of Hermann's eighth strophe, apparently in theory a dactylic tetrameter, all the feet are spondees: in the second line of Hermann's eighth antistrophe the first, second, and third feet are dactyls.

In the third line of Hermann's eighth strophe, apparently in theory a dactylic tetrameter, the second foot is a dactyl, which Hermann changes by emendation into a spondee: in the third line of Hermann's eighth antistrophe the second foot is a spondee.

The alleged strophe and antistrophe run thus in the MSS. (Nauck's numbering):

#### ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ

ὦμοι ἐμῶν παθέων· πάρα γὰρ στενάχειν τάδ',  
 ἀϋτεῖν (v.l. καὶ τάδ' ἀϋτεῖν). 1551  
 τρισσαὶ ψυχὰι ποῖα μοῖρα,  
 πῶς ἔλιπον φάος, ὦ τέκνον, αὔδα.  
 . . . . .

#### ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

(δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας.)  
 εἰ τὰ τέθριππά γ' ἐς ἄρματα λεύσσων 1562  
 ἀελίου τάδε σώματα νεκρῶν  
 ὄμματος ἀγαῖς σαῖς ἐπενώμας.

Hermann reads :

ΟΙΔΙΠΟΤΣ

στροφὴ ἡ'

ὦ μοι ἐμῶν παθέων, πᾶρ' ἀντεῖν.

τρῖσαι ψυχὰι ποία μοίρα

πῶς ἔλιπον φῶς (the MSS. present not φῶς but φάος),

ὦ τέκνον, αὔδα.

. . . . .

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας,

ἀντιστροφὴ ἡ'

εἰ τὰ τέθριππά γ' ἔθ' ἄρματα λεύσσων

ἄελίου τάδε σώματα νεκρῶν

ὄμματος ἀνγαῖς σαῖς ἐπενώμας.

After the third speech of Antigone Hermann, with considerable probability, claims to have discerned a very short ninth strophe and antistrophe. He has to insert an  $\omega$  to produce uniformity, and he has also to include in the antistrophe, indeed to make the antistrophe chiefly consist of, the δι' ὀδύνας ἔβας mentioned just above. In a classical composition such a division of a speech would be monstrous: but I think Hermann is right here. Only he did not see that his own treatment—the only treatment that appears to answer—presupposes a non-Euripidean text.

Hermann, after his ἀντιστροφὴ ἡ', gives a σύστημα δ' of two lines.

After the end of this σύστημα or supposed σύστημα we come to the concluding speech of Antigone. The latter part of this is clearly, as is said above, in the existing text the antistrophe to the first strophe. But the three first lines of the speech stand outside that antistrophe. Nauck leaves these lines alone: Hermann prints them as four, and divides them into his tenth strophe and antistrophe.



The MS. reading, disregarding inferior variants, is :

## ANTIGONH

δάκρυα γοερά φανερά πᾶσι τιθεμένα, 1567  
 τέκεσι μαστὸν  
 ἔφερεν ἔφερεν ἰκέτις ἰκέταν ὀρομένα.

## Y

Hermann's arrangement involves one example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

In Hermann's emended version of the first line of his tenth strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts : in the first line of Hermann's tenth antistrophe one long replaces those two shorts.

Hermann reads :

## ANTIGONH

στροφὴ ἰ'

δάκρυα, δάκρυα γοερά, γοερά  
 φανερά πᾶσι τιθεμένα,

ἀντιστροφὴ ἰ'

τέκεσι μαστὸν ἔφερεν, ἔφερεν 1580  
 ἰκέτις ἰκτορ' ὀρομένα.

I venture to ask for careful consideration of this chorus. It is not any particular theory, whether of my own or of others, to which I would chiefly draw attention. It is to the chorus itself, and to the insuperable difficulty, experienced by every editor, of dealing with it satisfactorily by the help of any of the methods that are properly applicable in the case of a classical composition. The instances of the phenomenon I am investigating that occur in this chorus occur in the midst of such a welter either of outrageous corruption, or, as I think, of interpolation, that I make bold to say that sound reason peremptorily forbids the use of them as permissible evidence.

## TENTH CHORUS (ll. 1710-1757)

I have already suggested that the senarii which separate the ninth and the tenth choruses are not the work of Euripides. Various editors have objected to odd portions here and there. To my mind a convincing proof that at any rate some of the lines are not genuine is to be found in the use (ll. 1590-1) of *εἶπε*, in the sense not of 'commanded' but 'said' with an infinitive. But further than that I cannot in any way reconcile the genuineness of the lines with the statement of Aristophanes the grammarian.

This last chorus appears to me to fall equally under suspicion, though I do not pretend to suggest whether it is an adaptation of something that Euripides wrote, or an entirely new composition.

ll. 1751 and 1752 are extremely significant. They run :

ΟΙ. ἴθ' ἀλλὰ Βρόμιος ἵνα τε ση-  
-κὸς ἄβατος ὄρεσι μαινάδων.

These words can only mean : 'Go to that place at any rate where Bromius is and where upon the mountains is the untrodden shrine of the Maenads.'

In the context, the idiomatic *ἀλλά*, 'at any rate,' is, unless I am mistaken, quite meaningless; and it is surprising to find it used without a preceding *γε*. I am inclined therefore to suppose that *ἀλλά* is not here the idiomatic *ἀλλά* at all, but the ordinary *ἀλλά*, 'but' or 'nay,' put by a clumsy solecism second in the sentence, perhaps on the analogy of what it is possible to do with the Latin *sed*.

But if *ἀλλά* offends, *ἵνα τε* offends yet more. We have to suppose an ellipse of the first *ἵνα*, and to read the sentence in our minds as if it ran :

ἴθ' ἀλλ' ἵνα Βρόμιος ἵνα τε ση-  
-κος ἄβατος ὄρεσι μαινάδων.

Such expressions as *Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις* afford no excuse for violence of this kind. It seems to me

probable that the *iva τε* of l. 645 (see my discussion of that line) was taken, in violation of any real possibilities of sense, as meaning 'and where,' with a previous *iva* supposed to have been understood, and that the fancied construction has been imitated here.

Hermann has taken a great deal of trouble with this chorus, and comes to the conclusion that it consists of a strophe and antistrophe with a subordinate strophe and antistrophe, and also anomoeostrophic passages, inside and interrupting the course of the main strophe, and another strophe and antistrophe and also other anomoeostrophic passages inside and interrupting the course of the main antistrophe, but not in identically the same positions as the elements interrupting the course of the main strophe.

His final note (in his edition of the *Phoenissae*) runs :

"Hujus carminis compositio, de quo dixi in Elem. doctr. metr. p. 761, rectius exposita est in Epitome p. 295, relictis tamen quae nova cura indigerent. Constat strophæ atque antistrophæ, quæ modo aliis numeris, modo antistrophicis aliis interpellantur. Illorum versuum qui stropham atque antistropham interpellant, initia longius ab sinistris marginibus removi, appositis numeris systematum, ex quibus numeris statim quæ inter se respondeant, quæque careant responsione, nosci potest. Mira hæc nobis compositio videatur necesse est, et cujus ratio impeditior sit, quam ut a theatro animadverti potuerit. At aliter opinor de ea re sentiremus, si noti nobis modi essent hujus cantici. Neque enim dubitandum videtur, quin strophæ illa atque antistrophæ alios habuerint modos, quam isti versus, quibus interpellantur, ita ut qui audiebant statim animadverterent, ubi a principali modo ad alios modos cantus abiret, et ubi rursus in relictum cursum reverterentur."

Adhering entirely to Hermann's arrangement, I should prefer to use different language from that which he employs. An interrupted strophe can better be described as a series of strophes, and an interrupted antistrophe as a series of antistrophes.

If we employ this principle of nomenclature, which however is not Hermann's, though I retain absolutely





an amphibrach, which amphibrach Hermann by a minute change alters into a tribrach: the first line of the first antistrophe is a lyrical iambic trimeter, of which the second and third feet are tribrachs, and the fourth and fifth feet iambs.

These are the lines (I adhere to Hermann's numbering throughout this chorus):

(a) l. 1720. ἴθ' εἰς φυγὰν τάλαιναν ὄρεγε χεῖρα (Hermann  
χέρα) φίλαν

(b) l. 1751. ποθεινὰ δάκρυα παρὰ φίλαισι παρθένοις

I can see no reason to dispute Hermann's strophic reading. With his slight emendation both the strophic and the antistrophic line appear almost beyond question to be in the form in which they were originally written. The fact that this form involves four instances of the disputed phenomenon is strong cumulative evidence to the effect that we are dealing with a non-classical composition. Those readers who have followed the evidence presented in any forty or fifty pages of this book will, even if they do not agree with my conclusion that the phenomenon is altogether inadmissible, at least assent to the proposition that it does not present itself four times over within the compass of a single line—that is to say, if the line be genuine.

### E AND F

In the third line of the first strophe, which is an iambic trimeter catalectic, the third and fourth feet are iambs: in the first antistrophe the second and third lines have become transposed, but if with Hermann we restore them to their obvious order, then in the real third line of the first antistrophe the third and fourth feet are seen to be tribrachs.

The lines run thus:

(a) l. 1722. ἔχων ἔμ' ὥστε ναυσίπομπον αὔραν

(b) l. 1753. λιποῦσ' ἄπειμι πατρίδος ἀποπρὸ γαίας

Here we have more cumulative evidence. E and F

are not so strong a combination as A, B, C and D; but much the same may be said in either case.

The second strophe and antistrophe present two examples of the phenomenon.

### G AND H

In the first line of the second strophe, which is an iambic dimeter, the first two feet are iambs: in the first line of the second antistrophe, which is an iambic dimeter, the first two feet are tribrachs.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1723. ἰδὸν πορεύομαι, τέκνον

(β) l. 1726. γενόμεθα γενόμεθ' ἄθλῳαί (Porson in pursuance of his famous canon changed ἄθλῳαί into the necessary ἄθλοῖ)

Exactly the same can be said as of E and F.

The third strophe and antistrophe are difficult to follow, chiefly because of lacunae in the strophic passage; but they present in reality two instances of the disputed phenomenon.

### I

In the second line of the third strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the second line of the third antistrophe is substituted one long.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1732. τᾶδε τᾶδε πόδα τίθει

(β) l. 1755. εἰς πατρός γε συμφοράς

The strophic reading is not quite certain; but it would be a waste of time to linger over the passage.

### K

In the last line of the third strophe the first syllable is a long: the last line of the third antistrophe substitutes for this long two shorts.



Here are the lines :

(a) l. 1737. *δεινά, δείν' ἐγὼ τλάς*

(b) l. 1760. *σκότια* (so Hermann for *σκοτία*) *γᾶ καλύψω*

Here again it seems to me that we have not the work of Euripides.

The fourth strophe and antistrophe (I have already attacked the Greek of the antistrophe) present four examples of the phenomenon under discussion.

### L, M, N AND O

This strophe and antistrophe consist of two short lines each. In the first line of the fourth strophe, which is an iambic dimeter, the second foot is an iamb: in the first line of the fourth antistrophe, which is also an iambic dimeter, the second foot is a tribrach. In the second line of the fourth strophe, which is an iambic dimeter, the first foot is an iamb, the second foot is an iamb, and the third foot is a tribrach: in the second foot of the fourth antistrophe, which is also an iambic dimeter, the first foot is a tribrach, the second foot is a tribrach, and the third foot is an iamb. Thus the ordinary conventions, even if they be nothing more, of lyrical correspondence are to a striking extent not so much violated as reversed.

The strophe and antistrophe run thus :

(a) ll. 1741-2. *ὄδ' εἰμὶ μούσαν ὄς ἐπὶ καλ-  
-λίνικον οὐράνιον ἔβαν*

(b) ll. 1765-6. *ἴθ' ἀλλὰ Βρόμιος ἵνα τε ση-  
-κὸς ἄβατος ὄρεσι μαινάδων*

It appears to me that the combined argument from language and from metre suffices to show that this passage is not classical.

The fifth strophe and antistrophe yield only two examples of the phenomenon in question.

## P AND Q

In the first line of the fifth strophe the first syllable is a long, and the sixth syllable is a long: for each of these longs the first line of the fifth antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 1745. Σφιγγὸς ἀναφέρεις ὄνειδος ;  
 (β) l. 1770. ιερόν ὄρεσιν ἀνεχόρευσα

l. 1769 ends with the word *θίασον*, and in order to improve the metre of that line various transpositions have been proposed, which affect l. 1770, but not so as to produce additional examples of the disputed phenomenon. I see no reason to suppose that this strophe and antistrophe are any more original than their neighbours.

The sixth strophe and antistrophe do not quite correspond as they stand in the MSS., but they present no example of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

Throughout the *Phoenissae* we have been breathing an atmosphere charged with suspicion; but towards the end it has become apparent, at least to me, that we have come into a region where the ordinary principles of lyrical metre cannot be applied.

I think that the conclusion is that the more favourite the play, the more open it lay to interpolation and intentional alteration. And of all Greek plays the *Phoenissae*, with the solitary exception of the *Hecuba*, had by far the greatest vogue.

## SUMMARY

The *Phoenissae* seems to exhibit (the identification of strophe and antistrophe is not always certain) fifty-six examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, and three more result from emendation. Of the fifty-six, four present themselves within the compass of one line, three sets of three each within the limits of single lines, and no less than eight sets of two each within identical limits:

two examples are plainly corrupt, and one instance is contradicted by some MS. authority. The remaining twenty-four examples and the three that result from emendation are unable to establish a claim to originality. The leading textual feature of the *Phoenissæ* is the interpolation which characterizes it.

### MEDEA

The *Medea* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*), and, as regards its first forty-two lines only, in Codex Marcianus 468 (known as F); also in MSS. of inferior importance.

The first chorus is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.

Moreover use, though not very free use, of the play is made by the compiler of the *Christus Patiens*.

### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 148-183)

(This chorus is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

Superficially these lines consist of a strophe, sung by the chorus (ll. 148-159), of a series of regular anapaests, divided unequally between Medea and the Nurse (ll. 160-172), and an antistrophe again sung by the chorus (ll. 173-183). But the apparent strophe and antistrophe both begin with two regular anapaestic dimeters followed by a regular anapaestic monometer; which anapaests in both cases follow immediately on other anapaests, regular, and without antistrophic correspondence.



The regular anapaests that apparently form part of the strophe scan thus :

— ∪ ∪ — — — — —  
 ∪ ∪ — — — — —  
 — — — — —.

Those that apparently form part of the antistrophe run as follows :

— ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ —  
 — — — — — — — — — — —  
 — — — — —.

It is true that, if the anapaests were inside the strophe and antistrophe, they would supply two cases for investigation ; but it is also true that the beginnings of strophe and antistrophe proper coincide with the endings of the regular anapaestic systems.

It is easy to confuse the results of the Greek fondness for balance of numbers, which may be observed right and left even in the lengths of iambic speeches, with the essentially different, though no doubt parallel, results of the application of antistrophic law.

The chorus proper in this instance supplies no examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

#### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 409–444)

No instances.

#### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 627–662)

The third and fourth lines of the first strophe together make up a dactylic hexameter, but a hexameter that lacks the final short syllable of the third foot. Porson inserts a short syllable to cure the at any rate *prima facie* defect.

The third and fourth lines of the first antistrophe together make up a hexameter, dactylic indeed except as regards the third foot, but with that foot a spondee.

Hence, if Porson is right, we have an example of my phenomenon : if the MSS. are right, we have an instance of another phenomenon.

The lines are these :

(a) ll. 629–30. οὐδ' ἀρετὰν παρέδωκαν | ἀνδράσιν· εἰ δ'  
ἄλλῃς ἔλθοι

Porson reads: παρέδωκαν ἐν ἀνδράσιν

(b) ll. 637–38. μηδέ ποτ' ἀμφιλόγους ὀργὰς ἀκόρεστά  
τε νείκη

It is incredible that Euripides should have written ll. 629–30, as they stand, with the intention of composing a hexameter. It is, however, not incredible that either by design or more probably by accident he should have placed in immediate consecution two lines of the kind which many scholars think were historically the origin of the hexameter. But in that case he has been guilty of extraordinary carelessness in writing in the antistrophe a hexameter pure and simple, without so much as a caesura at the point of junction.

Therefore I am disposed to sweep all considerations of prehistoric scansion on to the dustheap, to accept Porson's metre in the strophe, and to make a consequential emendation in the antistrophe, namely *ὄαρους* for *ὀργὰς*. Unless I am mistaken, *ὄαρους* much improves the sense; and I am not here ousting an example of the lyrical *ὀργά* ('mood'), but of the ordinary *ὀργή* ('anger'), as is proved by the accompanying word *νείκη*.

But, although I accept Porson's metre, I do not accept his reading. Here is the strophic context :

ἔρωτες ὑπὲρ μὲν ἄγαν ἐλθόντες οὐκ εὐδοξίαν  
οὐδ' ἀρετὰν παρέδωκαν ἀνδράσιν· εἰ δ' ἄλλῃς ἔλθοι  
Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεὸς εὐχαρῖς οὕτω.

It is plain that in the apodosis of the latter of the two sentences *ἔστι*, not *ἂν εἴη*, is understood. Therefore, seeing that neither a superlative nor a verb of obligation is present, the *εἰ ἔλθοι* of the protasis is open to much suspicion. We should expect *εἰάν* ἔλθῃ. Add to this the fact that *ἄλλῃς*, 'enough,' connotes (whatever it may denote) the exact opposite of the sense required. Alleged similar uses of *ἄλλῃς* do not breed in my mind the slightest

conviction. Not 'enough,' but 'just enough' (i.e. 'enough and no more') is the expression we want. In the protasis *ἀνδράσιν* and *ἐν ἀνδράσιν* are alike unnecessary: the *παρ-* of *παρέδωκαν* supplies quite sufficiently the place of a dative object or of its approximate equivalent.

On the strength of these reasons combined, and also on the strength of the *ductus*, I unhesitatingly read:

ἔρωτες ὑπὲρ μὲν ἄγαν ἐλθόντες οὐκ εὐδοξίαν  
οὐδ' ἀρετὰν παρέδωκαν· ἐὰν δ' ὅσον εἰς ἄλλης ἔλθῃ  
Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεὸς εὐχαρῖς οὕτω.

That *εἰς ἄλλης* is good Greek is proved by Theocritus, *Id.* xxv. (written in the Epic dialect), ll. 15-17:

ἐπεὶ μελιγδέα ποίην  
λειμῶνες θαλέθουσιν ὑπόδροσοι εἰαμεναί τε  
εἰς ἄλλης.

But, after *ὅσον* and in view of the meaning, it would, I think, be justifiable in this passage on the strictest Attic standards.

I wonder whether the Theocritean passage was written in the Euripidean margin, and, if so, whether *ὑπόδροσοι* helped to change *ἐὰν δ' ὅσον* into *ἀνδράσιν*. The ends of the two hexameters are not dissimilar.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 824-865)

We come here to a crucial example.

I will set out in full the first strophe and antistrophe.

824. Ἐρχεῖδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι, στρ. α'.  
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱερὰς  
χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἀποφερβόμενοι
830. κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ (v.l. αἰεὶ) διὰ λαμπροτάτου  
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποθ' ἀγνὰς  
ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι (v.l. λέγουσι Μούσας)
835. ξανθὰν Ἀρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι·  
τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἀπὸ (v.l. ἐπὶ) Κηφισοῦ ῥοᾶς (MSS.,  
except one corrector, ῥοαῖς) ἀντ. α'.  
τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν ἀφυσσαμέναν



- χώραν καταπνεύσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων  
 840. ἠδὺπνόους αὔρας· ἀεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλομέναν  
 χαίταισιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων  
 τᾷ σοφίᾳ παρέδρους πέμπειν ἔρωτας,  
 845. παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς.

It is clear that the two initial shorts of σοφίαν in l. 830 are answered by the one initial long of αὔρας in l. 840.

Mr. Verrall, in view both of the metrical anomaly and of the strange grammar of the antistrophe, reads in ll. 839-40 :

χώραν καταπλεύσαι μετρίοις ἀνέμων  
 ἠδὺπνόοις ὀάροις.

I agree that something is wrong with the antistrophe ; but I see no reason for going beyond a very slight alteration, namely :

χώραν καταπνεύσαι μετρίαις ἀνέμων  
 ἠδὺπνόοις αὔραις.

Heliodorus' καταπνεῖν τόπον εὐωδία, when coupled with analogy, is amply sufficient authority for the use of the verb with the accusative and dative.

As to ὀάροις, I have shown myself no enemy of the word in question ; but I see no reason for it here.

In fact I think that the long first syllable of αὔρας or αὔραις is perfectly genuine, whereas σοφίαν in the strophe is almost certainly corrupt.

The MSS. make the chorus say that 'the sons of Erechtheus feed on the most famous wisdom of the holy, unravaged land, ever moving delicately though the bright, clear air.'

This combination of metaphor and plain fact, especially when the metaphor comes first, is surprising in point of taste.

The substantive with which κλεινοτάταν agrees ought surely to be some word denoting or connoting the fruit of the Morian olive. Then ἱερᾶς χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' would bear its natural meaning, namely the Athenian Acropolis.

I should say this quite apart from any consideration of the εὐίππου, ξέγε, chorus in the *Coloneus*. But, with

that chorus in existence, I fail to see how it is possible to maintain that this chorus is not in part modelled upon it. Therefore I find hardly room for doubt.

What then was the word which *σοφίαν* has supplanted?

Perhaps the scholiast gives us a clue. His note is: οὐτω εἶπεν, ὡς ἀναγκαίως αὐτοῖς οὔσης τῆς παιδείσεως, καθάπερ ἄλλης τροφῆς.

Is *παιδείσεως* really a gloss on *σοφίαν*? I am half inclined to doubt it. It would be more natural as a gloss on *παιδείαν*. But whether or no there was once a reading *παιδείαν*, afterwards altered *metri gratia* to *σοφίαν*, is not very material.

In either case I suggest that the truly original reading was *εἶαν*, 'food.'

*εἶα*, meaning *χόρτος*, is catalogued both in Hesychius and in Suidas, and is also mentioned, somewhat confusedly, in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

The fact that the word does not occur in Liddell and Scott seems to have blinded English scholars to its existence. I have little doubt that in l. 129 of the *Troades* for *Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν* (of the papyrus-plant) we ought to read *Αἰγύπτου παίδων εἶαν*.

#### FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 976–1001)

According to the MSS., the second line of the first strophe begins with a long syllable: the second line of the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts, and later omits a long syllable.

The lines are these:

- (a) l. 977. οὐκέτι · στείχουσι γὰρ ἐς φόνον ἤδη  
[πέπλου οἱ πέπλων in previous line]
- (b) l. 984. χρῦσεότευκτον στέφανον περιθέσθαι

Elmsley has here, as often elsewhere, proposed an emendation that no later scholar has bettered, and I read with him:

πέπλου

χρῦσότευκτόν τε στέφανον περιθέσθαι.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1251-1292)

So far the *Medea* has been fairly free from corruption, but now, as we approach the end of the play, we begin to breathe a vitiated atmosphere. It is significant that instances of the phenomenon which forms the subject of my investigation are here, as usual, accompanied by other phenomena no less suspicious.

The chorus is dochmiac. I am not prepared to say that it consists entirely of a series of dochmiac feet. It certainly does not do so, as it stands. But I am not sure that, were I editing the play, I should admit anything except strict dochmiac feet and perhaps an occasional unsupported cretic.

l. 1255 runs in the MSS. :

σᾶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσέας γονᾶς

The corresponding antistrophic line is l. 1265 :

δειλαία, τί σοι φρενῶν βαρὺς

Whatever the corruption, there seems to be here no example of our phenomenon.

Seidler emended the strophic line into :

τᾶς σᾶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσέας γονᾶς,

and Paley follows him. Paley's note is : " Here a resolved dochmius is answered by a pure one, followed by an iambic dipodia."

What sort of a dochmius Seidler and Paley imagine the series ---∪∪- to be, I am at a loss to imagine.

A genuine dochmius is to be found in the MS. reading

σᾶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσέας γονᾶς.

Let me mark the quantities :

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —  
σᾶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσέας | γονᾶς.

But the difficulty of this reading is that it leaves an



isolated iamb after the dochmius. Therefore I suggest as far preferable :

$\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   
*σᾶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσείας γονᾶς.*

The isolated cretic is fairly regular (probably not in Euripides himself, but, at any rate, in the form which his text assumed in quite early times).

An immediate reconstruction of the antistrophic line on this basis is easy. Read :

$\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\bar{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\bar{\quad}$   
*δείλαιε, τί φρενῶν | σοι βαρῦς.*

For the Euripidean use of *δείλαιος* with short *αι* see Euripides, *Supplices* 279. For *δείλαιος* feminine see *Corpus Inscriptionum* 6296-7 (I rely on Liddell and Scott for the reference: Dindorf's Stephanus gives no instance).

We now come to an instance of our phenomenon.

The seventh and eighth syllables of the sixth line of the first strophe are two shorts: the first antistrophe substitutes one long. It is observable that the dochmiac scansion breaks down.

The passages are these :

- (a) l. 1256-7. ἔβλασταν, θεοῦ (θεῶν Musurus) δ' αἷμα  
 (so B, but corrected from αἵματι, and  
*BC: Eabcd αἵματι) πίτνειν*  
*φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων*
- (b) l. 1266-7. χόλος προσπίτνει, καὶ δυσμενῆς  
*φόνος ἀμείβεται*

The probable meaning of the strophic words is: 'There is reason for fear that the blood of a god will be shed by men.' *πίτνειν* by itself is far from clear, especially in view of the fact that *αἷμα* may mean either 'blood' literally or 'issue.' The addition of *χαμαὶ* would give clearness to *πίτνειν*, and would determine the sense of *αἷμα*. The word would have a tendency to drop out after *αἷμα*.

I therefore propose :

- (a) ἔβλασταν, θεοῦ δ' αἷμα χαμαὶ πίτνειν  
*φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων.*

In the antistrophe I very doubtfully follow Weil in reading :

(b) *χόλος προσπίτνει, καὶ ζαμενῆς φόνου  
φόνος ἀμείβεται*

I am tempted to wonder to what extent the constant recurrence in antistrophes of forms of words which have occurred in the same portions of their strophes may be due to copyists running their eyes constantly back to the strophe in order to make sure of metrical correspondence. It is permissible to doubt whether *πίτνειν* and *προσπίτνειν* are both genuine. The similarity of *φόβος* and *φόνος* is not altogether free from suspicion. Anyone who will read a number of tragic choruses, keeping his eyes open for such similarities, is bound to admit that there is a great deal in Professor Bury's theory of echoes; but there may also exist widespread corruption of the kind that I have indicated.

Before parting with this chorus and with the *Medea*, I wish to point out the proper strophic and antistrophic divisions of the choric portions of the passage which contains ll. 1271–91. Otherwise these lines might wrongly be taken as exhibiting examples of the phenomenon which I impugn.

1271 ΠΑ. α'. οἰμοι, τί δράσω; ποῖ φύγω μητρὸς χέρας; }	Non-choric.
1272 ΠΑ. β'. οὐκ οἶδ', ἀδελφὲ φίλτατ'. ἀλλύμεσθα γάρ. }	
1273 ΧΟ. ἀκούεις βοᾶν ἀκούεις τέκνων;	στρ. β'.
1274 ἰὼ τλᾶμον (τλῆμον BC), ὦ κακοτυχὲς γύναι. }	
1275 παρέλθω δόμουσ; ἀρήξαι φόνον }	στρ. γ'.
1276 δοκεῖ μοι τέκνοισ. }	
1277 ΠΑ. α'. ναί, πρὸς θεῶν, ἀρήξαι· ἐν δέοντι γάρ. }	Non-choric.
1278 ΠΑ. β'. ὡς ἐγγυὸς ἦδη γ' ἐσμὲν ἀρκύων ξίφουσ. }	
1279 ΧΟ. τάλαιν', ὡς ἀρ' ἦσθα πέτροσ ἢ σίδα- }	στρ. δ'.
1280 -ροσ, ἅτισ τέκνων δν ἔτεκεσ }	
1281 ἀροτον αὐτόχειρι μοῖρα κτενεῖσ. }	ἀντ. β'.
1282 μίαν δὴ κλύω μίαν τῶν πάροσ }	
1283 γυναικ' ἐν φίλοισ χέρα βαλεῖν τέκνοισ, }	Non-choric.
1284 Ἴνῶ μανείσαν ἐκ θεῶν, ὅθ' ἡ Διὸσ }	
1285 δάμαρ νιν ἐξέπεμψε δωμάτων ἀλη. }	ἀντ. γ'.
1286 πίτνει δ' ἅ τάλαιν' ἐσ ἄλμαν φόνω }	
1287 τέκνων δυσσεβεῖ,	Non-choric.
1288 ἀκτῆσ ὑπερτεῖνασα ποντίας πόδα, }	
1289 δυοῖν τε παίδων ξυμφανοῦσ' ἀπόλλυται. }	ἀντ. δ'.
1290 τί δῆτ' οὖν γένοισ' ἂν ἐτι δευρόν; ὦ }	
1291 γυναικῶν λέχοσ πολύπονον,	
1292 ὄσα δὴ (C δὲ) βροτοῖσ ἐρεξασ ἦδη κακά. }	

It will be seen that this division secures complete

conformity between strophes and antistrophes. It leaves the four sets of iambic couplets without any further syllabic correspondence than that which is secured by the ordinary laws of the non-choric trimeter. And this is as it should be. If any reliance can be placed in the MSS., the Attic forms ἦ (l. 1284), ἄλη (l. 1285), and ἀκτῆς (l. 1288) guarantee the non-choric character of the iambs. These Attic forms are not a little remarkable in view of τλᾶμον (l. 1274), σίδαρος (l. 1279), ἄτις (l. 1280), ἄ (l. 1286), and ἄλμαν (l. 1286). They are inexplicable, I think, unless the iambic lines are in strictness outside the chorus. I must again urge that equality of length does not by itself indicate any relation of strophe and antistrophe between metrical periods as such, but only between metrical periods of a genuinely lyrical character.

The whole of the lyrical part of the passage I have set out consists of an uninterrupted series of absolutely regular dochmiac feet, with the sole exception that the second lines of the fourth strophe and antistrophe (ll. 1280–91),

-ρος, ἄτις τέκνων ὄν ἔτεκες,

and

γυναικῶν λέχος πολύπονον,

consist of a dochmius plus four short syllables. The possibility of this combination is in the highest degree doubtful.

I rather incline with Seidler to read ὄν for ὄν. But that is not sufficient. Mr. Verrall's ὄν ἔτεκες ἔτεκες will not scan, as the last syllable of the second ἔτεκες is short before a vowel. Therefore I propose to duplicate τέκνων, and to read in the strophic line :

-ρος, ἄτις τέκνων τέκνων ὄν ἔτεκες.

This seems to me to involve a similar duplication in the antistrophic line ; where I would read

γυναικῶν λέχος λέχος

followed by that form of πολύπονον which has its first syllable long and is appropriate to tragic chorus. I have



elsewhere expressed a doubt whether *πολυ-* compounds can be used in Doric lyrics, and whether *πολλο-* forms ought not to be read. But that is a small point.

### SUMMARY

The *Medea* presents three examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, and one other instance has been added by emendation. But of the three examples, one has some MS. authority against it, one is hardly more than graphic, and one only gives cause for serious consideration.

### HIPPOLYTUS

The *Hippolytus* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Laurentianus 33. 2 (Nauck's *C*), Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*), and, as regards ll. 1-1234, in Codex Marcianus 471 (known as A); also in MSS. of inferior importance.

A minute portion of the play is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.

Moreover use, though not very free use, of the *Hippolytus* is made by the compiler of the *Christus Patiens*.

### FIRST CHORUS (ll. 58-72)

Although the chorus proper, which does not enter till l. 121, consists of the married women of Troezen, at this point we find a subsidiary chorus. Hippolytus in three lyric lines calls on his merry men to hymn the goddess of the chase, and in response they sing a short choral ode.

I give the passage as it stands:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

ἔπεσθ' ἄδοντες ἔπεσθε  
τὰν Διὸς οὐρανίαν  
60 Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ μελόμεσθα.

ΘΕΡΑΠΟΝΤΕΣ

πότνια πότνια, σεμνοτάτα, Ζανὸς γένεθλον,  
χαῖρε χαῖρέ (χαῖρε semel ABCabcdC) μοι, ὦ κόρα  
65 Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμι καὶ Διός,  
καλλίστα πολὺ παρθένων,  
ἃ μέγαν κατ' οὐρανὸν  
ναίεις εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν,  
Ζανὸς (Ζηνὸς ABB) πολύχρυσον οἶκον.  
70 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ καλλίστα,  
καλλίστα τῶν κατ' Ὀλυμπον  
παρθένων (C θεῶν for παρθένων), Ἄρτεμι (C omits  
Ἄρτεμι).

Other MSS. and Paley assign the last three lines (χαῖρέ μοι κτλ.) to Hippolytus. Weil rejects them altogether.

Weil reads also:

ἃ μεγάλην κατ' οὐρανὸν  
ναίεις εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν.

Cobet, instead of ἃ μέγαν, reads αἰγληέντα.

Wecklein, incorporating and correcting Cobet's emendation, reads:

αἰγλαέντα κατ' οὐρανὸν  
ναίουσ' εὐπατέρεια  
Ζανὸς πολύχρυσον αὐλάν.

I venture to think that these distinguished scholars have fixed their attention somewhat too exclusively on language as distinct from metre.

Weil is no doubt right in rejecting ll. 70-2. They are a mere paraphrase, imperfectly reduced to choric form, of ll. 65-9.

But it seems to have escaped observation that

*πότνια πότνια, σεμνοτάτα, Ζανὸς γένεθλον,*

is also an interpolation. *Ζανὸς γένεθλον* is said over again, two lines later, in the words *καὶ Διός*, and seems to have been put in because of the *τὰν Διός* in the invitatory. Moreover the effect of *χαῖρε χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ κόρα* is much weakened, unless it stands at the very beginning of the respond.

Hence (subject to further necessary alterations) we obtain :

- |     |   |                                |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| V.  | <i>ἔπεσθ' ἄδοντες ἔπεσθε<br/>τὰν Διὸς οὐρανίαν<br/>Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ μελόμεσθα.</i>  |                                |
| Rz. | <i>χαῖρε χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ κόρα<br/>Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμι καὶ Διός,<br/>καλλίστα πολὺ παρθένων,<br/>ἧ μέγαν κατ' οὐρανὸν<br/>ναίεις εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν,<br/>Ζανὸς πολύχρυσον οἶκον.</i> | <i>στρ.<br/><br/><br/>ἀντ.</i> |

The rudiments of antistrophic correspondence are plainly discernible. No instance of my phenomenon is presented; but indirectly I shall strengthen my position, if I succeed in making the antistrophe completely correspond with the strophe, and that without violence or arbitrary emendation.

The scholiast remarks :

*τὴν καλλίστην τοῦ πατρὸς Διὸς αὐλήν.*

This cannot be a note on *εὐπατέρειαν* only. *τὴν καλλίστην* clearly shows that for *καλλίστα* the scholiast read an accusative. *εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν* is nonsense. The cases of *καλλίστα* and *εὐπατέρειαν* must be transposed. It is not enough, with Wecklein, to alter *εὐπατέρειαν* only.

But if we substitute an accusative for *καλλίστα*, it is well-nigh impossible to read anything other than

*κάλλιστον πολὺ παρθενῶνων.*



Strophe and antistrophe almost immediately fall into correspondence. Read :

χαῖρε χαῖρέ μοι, κόρα	στρ.
Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμι καὶ Διός,	
κάλλιστον πολὺ παρθενῶνων	
ἃ μέγαν κατ' οὐρανὸν	ἀντ.
ναίεις, εὐπατέρει', ἀν' αὐλ-	
-ἄν Ζανὸς πολυχρύσου οἴκου.	

Two points strike me.

*κάλλιστον πολὺ παρθενῶνων* must have been intended as an oblique reference to the Athenian Parthenon, and Hippolytus must in consequence have been, though very indirectly, presented to the Athenian audience as giving to the goddess of the chase the honour due to the goddess of wisdom. The Parthenon was dedicated in 438 B.C. The second edition of the *Hippolytus* was produced in 429 B.C. It therefore seems reasonable to assign the chorus to the first edition.

The lines beginning *χαῖρέ μοι, καλλίστα* were composed either after the corruption had taken place; or else in lieu of the rest of the ode in order to avoid what might be taken as a slight to the Parthenon. But they cannot be from Euripides' second edition: they are clearly interpolated.

### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 121–170)

The fifth and sixth syllables of the seventh line of the second strophe are two shorts: the second antistrophe replaces these two shorts by one long.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 145–7. σὺ δ' ἀμφὶ τὰν πολύθηρον  
 Δίκτυνναν ἀμπλακίαις  
 ἀνίερος ἀθύτων πελάνων τρύχει
- (b) ll. 155–7. ἧ ναυβάτας τις ἔπλευσεν  
 Κρήτας ἔξορμος ἀνήρ  
 λιμένα τὸν εὐξεινότατον ναύταις

Professors Mahaffy and Bury translate ἀνίερος ἀθύτων

πελάνων 'unholy through unperformed sacrifices.' But I take it that the words must mean 'without the holiness of unsacrificed offerings.' The negative *a-* of ἀθύτων can only be justified on the assumption that ἀθύτων is predicative; in which case the literal translation would be: 'Without the holiness of offerings, because the offerings are unsacrificed.' It is surely questionable whether Euripides ever complicated his diction to such an extent.

Weil reads ἄθυτος ἀνίρων πελάνων. Metrically this is unimpeachable, but ἀνίρων is open to exactly the same grammatical objection as ἀθύτων.

There is another and more fatal exception to be taken both to the vulgate reading and to that of Weil. Phaedra has remained fasting for three days (see ll. 135-8), and the chorus are now speculating as to the cause of her aberration. On grounds both of metre and sense Lachmann's οὐ γὰρ in l. 141 and οὐδ' in l. 145 (for σὺ γὰρ and σὺ δ' respectively) must be adopted. But the chorus cannot really say that the madness is not the result of sacrifices to Dictynna left unoffered by Phaedra, because at that point they have to say something else which has disappeared.

The whole strophic passage (with Lachmann's emendations) runs :

οὐ γὰρ ἔνθεος, ᾧ κούρα,  
 εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἶθ' Ἑκάτας  
 ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων  
 φοιτᾶς, ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας.  
 οὐδ' ἀμφὶ τὰν πολύθηρον  
 Δίκτυνναν ἀμπλακλαῖς  
 ἀνίερος ἀθύτων πελάνων τρύχει.

In other words the chorus detail a list of various forms of madness, and conclude that Phaedra is suffering from none of them. Why? Obviously because her symptoms are of a different nature. The word τρύχει by itself does not bring this out; but if before τρύχει, in lieu of ἀνίερος ἀθύτων πελάνων, we substitute an expression meaning 'owing to distaste for food,' the sense becomes at once complete.

Two such expressions *sautent aux yeux* :

ἄνερος ἀθίκτων πελάνων,

and

ἄνερος ἀθύμων πελάνων,

meaning 'without desire for the untouched (*or* distasteful) food.'

ἔρος is not a common word; but see l. 337 of this very play :

ὦ τλήμον, οἶον, μήτερ, ἡράσθης ἔρον.

The way that writers in many languages have of repeating their own expressions after no very long interval is familiar enough to readers, but I know of no attempt to treat the phenomenon systematically.

I prefer ἀθύμων to ἀθίκτων, because on the whole it is nearer to ἀθύτων. ἄθυμος occurs in the sense 'distasteful' in *Eumenides* 770 :

ὁδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρηθας πόρους.

ἀποθύμιος in the same sense is found in the *Iliad*, in the *Works and Days*, in Simonides of Amorgos, and in Herodotus, as well as in various late writers.

If any one doubts whether the word πέλανος can be used of human food, I confess I can only refer him to Apollonius' *Argonautica* i. 1077 :

πανδήμοιο μύλης πελάνους ἐπαλετρεύουσιν.

But πέλανοι seems to me an appropriate term for the cates that would naturally be offered to tempt the appetite of the sick.

For an example of an exactly opposite madness to that of Phaedra's see Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, where the victim of that goddess' wrath was afflicted with such a hunger that he devoured

καὶ τὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καὶ τὸν πολεμήϊον ἵππον,  
καὶ τὰν αἴλουρον, τὰν ἔτρεμε θηρία μικκά.



## THIRD CHORUS (ll. 362–372 and ll. 669–679)

(ll. 362–8 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

The division in this chorus of antistrophe from strophe by “mountains and a waste of seas,” in the shape of over 200 trimeters and the whole of the fourth chorus, is extraordinary in the highest degree: but still the heart of the antistrophe is true, and when Euripides (if it was Euripides) wrote it, he had a clear eye to the “Hebrides,” that is to the strophic metre.

The system affords three instances of our phenomenon, two of them merely graphical.

## A, B AND C

I give the strophe and antistrophe, marking the dubious correspondences in question (omitting variant readings that have no bearing on the discussion):

ἄϊες ὦ, ἔκλυες ὦ ἀνήκουστα τᾶς	στρ.
τυράννου πάθεα μέλεα θρεομένας.	
ὀλοίμαν ἔγωγε, πρὶν σᾶν, φίλα (sic Elmsley :	
MSS. φίλαν et φιλίαν),	
κατανύσαι (sic Elmsley : MSS. κατανύσαι, κατα-	
λύσαι, et καταλύσαι) φρενῶν.	
ἰώ μοι, φεῦ φεῦ.	365
ὦ τάλαινα τῶνδ' ἀλγέων·	
ὦ πόνοι τρέφοντες βροτούς·	
ὄλωλας, ἐξέφηνας ἐς φάος κακά.	
τίς σε παναμέριος ὅδε χρόνος μένει ;	
τελευτάσεται τι καινὸν δόμοις.	370
ἄσημα δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶν οἱ φθίνει τύχα	
Κύπριδος, ὦ τάλαινα παῖ Κρησία.	
τάλανες (sic Barnes : MSS. τάλαινες) ὦ κακο-	
τυχεῖς γυναικῶν πότμοι.	ἀντ.
τίν' αὖ (sic Nauck : MSS. non τίν' αὖ sed τίνα	
per se) νῦν τέχνην ἔχομεν ἢ λόγους	670
σφαλεῖσαι κάθαμμα λύειν (sic Monk : MSS. λύσειν)	
λόγου ;	

ἐτύχομεν δίκας, ἰὼ γὰ καὶ φῶς.  
 πᾶ ποτ' ἐξαλύξω τύχας ;  
 πῶς δὲ πῆμα κρύψω, φίλαι ;  
 τίς ἂν θεῶν ἀρωγὸς ἢ τίς ἂν βροτῶν  
 παρέδρος ἢ ξυνεργὸς ἀδίκων ἔργων  
 φανείη ; τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν πάθος  
 παρὸν δυσεκπέρατον ἔρχεται βίου.  
 κακοτυχεστάτα γυναικῶν ἐγώ.

675

It is evident that the difficulties in l. 363 vanish at once, if we read *πάθη* and *θρευμένας* (or if anyone prefers *θρουμένας*, he is welcome to it). *πάθη* is not unlikely to have become *πάθεα* under the influence of *μέλεα*.

The end of the strophe is a more complicated matter.

l. 369 is wholly unintelligible. Monk's emendation, *τί* for *τίς*, is not much of an improvement. *παναμέριος χρόνος* is simple nonsense in the context.

In l. 371 *ἄσημα δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶν* has no previous statement to balance it. What we desiderate is some such statement as: 'The upshot is doubtful, but the object of your passion is no longer doubtful.'

I have every confidence in proposing :

ὄλωλας· ἐξέφηνας ἐς φάος, κάκα  
 τίς ἐπαναμεροῖ σ'. οἶδε χρόνος μὲν εἰ  
 τελευτάσεταιί τι καινὸν δόμοις·  
 ἄσημα δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶν οἷ φθίνει τύχα  
 Κύπριδος, ὦ τάλαινα παῖ Κρησία.

370

I take *ἐπαναμεροῖ* as the causative verb from the adjective *ἀνήμερος*, 'wild.' *κάκα*, the substantive, must be read for *κακά*: the last syllable of the corresponding antistrophic line is long; and the Doric *τύχα* of l. 371 proves that the trimeters hereabouts are lyrical and therefore subject to syllabic correspondence.

Let us turn to the antistrophe.

In l. 676 *ξυνεργὸς ἀδίκων ἔργων* is an impossible tautology. In any case the first syllable of *ἔργων* should be short. Therefore I read *ἔρων*. Compare my discussion of l. 147.

Moreover, if my emendation of the strophe is correct,

the last syllable of *ξυνεργός* should be long. Therefore I cannot doubt that for **ΑΔΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ** we should read **ΜΑΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΩΝ**.

This involves a corruption in the uncial period. **Ν** is easily corrupted into **Δ**, but neither *ν* nor *μ* will readily pass into *δ*.

But *μανικῶν ἔρων* involves us in a complication. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 715-6, undoubtedly parodies this passage. We there read :

τίς οὖν σοι τις ἂν ξύμμαχος ἐκ θεῶν  
ἀθανάτων ἔλθοι ξὺν ἀδίκοις ἔργοις ;

There are three faults in the second Aristophanic line, two metrical, and one grammatical. *ἔλθοι* and *ἔργοις* both present long first syllables, where the dochmiac metre in each case requires a short : and *ξὺν* can hardly be defended (Meineke alters it to *σοῖς*). I suggest that the *ν* of *ξὺν* is the *μ* of *μανικοῖς*, and would read, incorporating *φανείη* from the *Hippolytus* :

ἀθανάτων φανείη μανικοῖς ἔροις.

I do not mean that *ἔλθοι ξὺν*- is a corruption of *φανείη*, though the *η* of *φανείη* may (in its uncial form) be the origin of the *ξ* (also uncial) of *ξὺν*. *φανείν*- cannot have given birth to *ἔλθοι*. But the *ἂν θεῶν* of an interlinear *τίς ἂν θεῶν*, written to indicate for facility of reference the first words of the parodied passage, would easily pass into *ἔλθοι*, *ἔλθοιεν*, *ἔλθω*, *ἀληθῶν*, or any similar-looking word that would apparently suit the context.

On the strength of the *ν* of *ξὺν* in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, I am inclined to suppose that *μανικοῖς ἔροις* was there first corrupted into *-ν ἀδίκοις ἔργοις*, and that from *ἀδίκοις ἔργοις* in the vitiated Aristophanic text *ἀδίκων ἔργων* was introduced into the parent passage of the *Hippolytus*. It is difficult to assume in such a case two corruptions, independent, and yet identical.

It is not a tenable theory that Euripides wrote *ξύνεργος ἀδίκων ἔργων*. It is scarcely a tenable theory that the corruption in the Euripidean text should have come into



being before the production of the *Thesmophoriazusae* (B.C. 412).

To compare small things with great, the fact of the existence of a reading, corrupt, and yet vouched for by the double evidence of the Euripidean and the Aristophanic text, has a certain similarity with the fact that the well-known passage in the *Antigone*, which is commonly thought to be an interpolation, not only has the authority of the Sophoclean text but also is cited in the *Poetics* of Aristotle. It is supposed (except by those who defend the genuineness of the lines) that the interpolation took place between the date of Sophocles and that of Aristotle. I am not so sure of this. The interpolator (if there is interpolation) may have been subsequent to Aristotle, and may have taken liberties with the text of the *Poetics* in order to give support to his interpolation. It is no light matter to assume that Aristotle made a serious mistake. But for my own part I am inclined to think that there is no interpolation at all. Sophocles seems to me to be borrowing, here as elsewhere, a purple patch from Herodotus. ll. 909-10 cause the chief difficulty. There I would read :

πόσιος μὲν ἂν μοι καθανόντος ἄλλος ἦν,  
καὶ παῖς ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, φωτὸς εἰ τοῦδ' ἤμπλακεν.

Compare Aristotle, *Fr.* 260 ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἕτερον ἐπιτίκτειν.  
The genitive φωτός ('of light') occurs twice in Plato.

#### FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 525-602 or thereabouts)

This chorus may, at option, be divided into two chori. First come two sets of strophes and antistrophes: then, after four stichomythic trimeters, follow a number of mixed trimeters and dochmiacs. It seems uncertain at what exact point the dochmiac metre finally ceases, as there appears to be ground for considering l. 597 (which appears as an iambic trimeter) as possibly a corrupted dochmiac; and, if it be a dochmiac, its antistrophic counterpart may possibly be concealed in any of the now

iambic lines 598–602. l. 603 begins a regular iambic stichomythia.

The non-dochmiac portion of the chorus presents no examples of the phenomenon I am investigating; but it exhibits so peculiar a phenomenon of another kind that I cannot well pass it by in silence. It has evidently been tampered with by some person who was resolved to treat the first syllable of the word ἔρωσ as metrically long.

l. 525. Ἐρωσ Ἐρωσ, ὁ κατ' ὀμμάτων

is answered by l. 535

ἄλλως ἄλλως παρά τ' Ἀλφεῶ.

l. 528. μή μοί ποτε σὺν κακῶ φανείης

is answered by l. 538

Ἐρωτα δὲ τὸν τύραννον ἀνδρῶν.

l. 534. Ἐρωσ ὁ Διὸς παῖς

is answered by l. 544

θνατοῖς, ὅταν ἔλθῃ.

Certainly the first syllable of a line may under circumstances not clearly ascertained be common; but it is to be noted that all these instances occur in the first strophe and antistrophe, and that this strophe and antistrophe contain no other examples whatever of a common first syllable. Add to this the fact that the second Ἐρωσ in l. 525 is not initial. Nevertheless it is answered by the second ἄλλως in l. 535.

I am tempted to suspect that we have here an evidence of the existence of some ancient school of prosodists, who taught that a single liquid made position.

Compare *Oedipus Coloneus* 512 (ἔραμαι?), and my discussion of that passage.

The dochmiac portion of the chorus (l. 569 and onwards) is in a state of considerable confusion. I will set out ll. 569 to 602 as they stand, except that for clearness of reference I will put each dochmius in a separate line, and will number the lines -α', β', etc.

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

ιώ μοί μοι, αἰ αἰ (so bc: AB ἰώ μοι αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ: E ἰώ  
μοι αἰ αἰ αἰ: B ἰώ μοι μοι αἰ αἰ). α'  
ὦ δυστάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων (but ἀλγημάτων, β'  
*Christus Patiens* 605).

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν; γ'  
τίνα βοᾷς λόγον; δ'  
ἔνεπε (ἔνεπε ABcdBC), τίς φοβεῖ ε'  
σε φάμα, γύνα, σ'  
φρένας ἐπίσσυτος; ζ'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

ἀπωλόμεσθα. ταῖσδ' ἐπιστᾶσαι πύλαις η'  
ἀκούσαθ' οἷος κέλαδος ἐν δόμοις πίτνει (so B: AB πιτνεῖ). θ'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

σὺ παρὰ κλήθρα (so A: BCc κλείθρα)· σοὶ ι'  
μέλει πομπίμα ια'  
φάτις δωμάτων. ιβ'  
ἔνεπε (so AB: CcdB ἔνεπε) δ' ἔνεπέ (so BCcd: A  
ἔνεπε) μοι, ιγ'  
τί ποτ' ἔβα κακόν; ιδ'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

ὁ τῆς φιλίππου παῖς Ἀμαζόνος βοᾷ ιέ'  
Ἴππόλυτος, αὐδῶν δεινὰ πρόσπολον κακά. ις'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰαχὰν μὲν κλύω, ιζ'  
σαφές (σαφῶς abc) δ' οὐκ ἔχω ιη'  
γεγωνεῖν ὅπα (Scholiast ὅπα). ιθ'  
διὰ πύλας ἔμολεν κ'  
ἔμολε σοὶ \* \* . κα'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

καὶ μὴν σαφῶς γε τὴν κακῶν προμνήστριαν κβ'  
τὴν δεσπότην προδοῦσαν ἐξαυδᾶ λέχος. κγ'



## ΧΟΡΟΣ (A omits ΧΟΡΟΣ)

ὦμοι ἐγὼ κακῶν.

κδ'

## (A prefixes ΧΟΡΟΣ)

προδέδοσαι, φίλα.

κε'

τί σοι μητίσομαι (so ABc : b μητίσηται : E μνήσομαι) ;

κς'

τὰ κρύπτα γὰρ πέφην-

κζ'

-ε, διὰ δ' ὄλλυσαι.

κη'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

αἶ αἶ (d omits αἶ αἶ) ἐ ε̃ (BCc omit ἐ ε̃).

κθ'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων.

λ'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

ἀπόλεσέν μ' εἰποῦσα συμφορὰς ἐμάς,

λα'

φίλωσ μέν, καλῶσ δ' οὐ (C οὐ καλῶσ δ') τήνδ' (C omits

τήνδ') ἰωμένη νόσον.

λβ'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

πῶσ οὖν ; τί δράσεις, ὦ παθοῦσ' ἀμήχανα ;

λγ'

## ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἓν, κατθανεῖν ὅσον τάχος

λδ'

τῶν νῦν παρόντων πημάτων ἄκος μόνον.

λε'

## ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

ὦ γαῖα μήτηρ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπτυχαί,

λς'

οἶων λόγων ἄρρητον εἰσήκουσ' ὄπα.

λζ'

It is manifest that lines γ' to κη' inclusive consist of four sets, of five dochmii each, in the mouth of the chorus, with three sets, of non-lyrical iambic trimeters, each set comprising two lines, in the mouth of Phaedra, interposed between the first and second, the second and third, and the third and fourth sets of dochmii.

The question at once arises whether all four sets of dochmii are a series of strophes of the kind found occasionally in Pindar and Bacchylides, or whether we have two strophes and two antistrophes of the ordinary tragicolyric type. In the latter case the exact identity of the number of dochmii in the four sets would be remarkable.

Obviously unmetrical lines are γ' (where the long first syllable of *αὐδάν* is impossible), δ' (where the short final syllable of the line probably indicates corruption at the beginning of the next line), ιζ' (where *ιαχάν* will not scan), ιθ' (where for the unscannable *ὄπα* we should probably read with Weil *ὄποῶ*, and alter the next line), κα' (where the *τάδε* of Professors Mahaffy and Bury may well be adopted), and κζ' (where either Seidler's *τὰ κρύπτ' ἄρα πέφην-* or *τὰ κρύπτ' ἄρ πέφην-* will make a good dochmius).

The first lines of all four series come into correspondence, if we read :

- (γ') τίν' αὐδάν θροεῖς ;  
 (ι') σὺ πὰρ κληῖθρα· σοὶ  
 (ιζ') ἴαν (Weil's reading) μὲν κλύω,  
 (κδ') ἰώ μοι κακῶν.

The second lines fully harmonize, if we read :

- (δ') τίν' ἀρθροῖς λόγον ; (with consonant at beginning of next line)  
 (ια') μέλει πομπίμα  
 (ιη') σαφὲς δ' οὐκ ἔχω  
 (κε') προνοία φίλα [προδέδοσαι comes partly from πρόδοτος in κθ']

In l. δ' the **ABO** of **TINABOAIIC** is very like **APΘ**. On that ground by itself I would propose τίν' ἀρθροῖς. But I have other grounds. First, on the assumption that ll. γ' and δ' originally ran

- τίν' αὐδάν θροεῖς ;  
 τίν' ἀρθροῖς λόγον ;

and on the assumption that, after τίν' ἀρθροῖς had passed into τίνα βοᾶς, the word ἀρθροῖς was written as a correction over the word βοᾶς, it is easy to see that ἀρθροῖς so closely





ΦΑΙ. ἀπωλόμεσθα. ταῖσδ' ἐπιστᾶσαι πύλαις  
ἀκούσασθ' οἷος κέλαδος ἐν δόμοις πίτνει.

ΧΟ. σὺ πὰρ κληῖθρα· σοὶ  
μέλει πομπίμα  
φάτις δωμάτων.  
ἔνεπε δ' ἔνεπέ μοι,  
τί ποτ' ἔβα κακόν;

στρ.

ΦΑΙ. ὁ τῆς φιλιππου παῖς Ἀμαζόνος βοᾷ  
Ἴππόλυτος, αὐδῶν δεινὰ πρόσπολον κακά.

ΧΟ. ἴαν μὲν κλύω,  
σαφές δ' οὐκ ἔχω  
γεγωνεῖν ὅποι'  
ἔμολε διὰ πύλας  
ἔμολε σοὶ τάδε.

στρ.

ΦΑΙ. καὶ μὴν σαφῶς γε τὴν κακῶν προμνήστριαν  
τὴν δεσπότηου προδοῦσαν ἔξαυδᾷ λέχος.

ΧΟ. ἰὼ μοι κακῶν.  
προνοία φίλα  
τί σοι μήσομαι;  
τὰ κρύφιν ἄρα πέφην-  
-ε, διὰ δ' ὄλλυσαι.

στρ.

We now come to the outstanding lines at the end of the chorus, κθ' etc.

An attempt has been made to treat ll. κθ' and λ' as antistrophe to ll. α' and β'. In that case l. α' may be read in the form

ὦμοι, αἰαῖ αἰαῖ,

and l. κθ' in the form

ὦμοι ἐγὼ κακῶν,

as is done in the edition of Professors Mahaffy and Bury, who also take πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων out of its place and insert it after προδέδοσαι φίλα.

But I suggest that the explanation of the problem is to be sought on other lines. I regard the interjections in ll. α' and κθ' as *extra metrum*. l. λ',

πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων,

calls for separate treatment.

It will be observed that l. λγ' is a single trimeter, in the mouth of the chorus, interrupting a series of sets of two trimeters each in the mouths of Phaedra and Hippolytus. It seems to follow that there ought to be somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood another single trimeter in the mouth of the chorus in order to provide the necessary balance. It can hardly be maintained that an isolated dochmiac monometer and an isolated iambic trimeter are able to balance one another. Therefore I feel justified in regarding

*πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων*

as the remains of an original iambic trimeter.

A careful consideration of l. λβ'

*φίλως μὲν, καλῶς δ' οὐ τήνδ' ἰωμένη νόσον*

tends to strengthen the hypothesis that l. λ' was originally iambic, and also affords probable evidence for the reconstitution of that line.

*φίλως μὲν, καλῶς δ' οὐ* is the unanimous reading of Codex Marcianus and the best MSS. Codex Laurentianus gives *φίλως μὲν, οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐ*. Some editors print *φίλως, καλῶς δ' οὐ*. Surely Codex Marcianus is substantially right. The line originally ran :

*φίλως μὲν, εὐ δ' οὐ, τήνδ' ἰωμένη νόσον.*

By haplography, on account of the presence of *οὐ, εὐ* was dropped ; and the line was more or less reconstructed with the help of *καλῶς*.

But if Euripides wrote *φίλως μὲν, εὐ δ' οὐ*, then those words would gain vastly in significance, were they a play on the word *εὐφιλής* (or some form thereof) occurring in some previous line.

Again, ll. λ' to λβ', as we have them, run :

ΧΟ. *πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων.*

ΦΑΙ. *ἀπώλεσέν μ' εἰπούσα συμφορὰς ἐμάς,  
φίλως μὲν, καλῶς δ' οὐ τήνδ' ἰωμένη νόσον.*

There is no subject, either expressed or clearly implied, to the verb *ἀπώλεσεν*. It cannot with any propriety be

gathered from *φίλων*, because *φίλων* is plural. One misses a singular in l. λ'.

On these three separate grounds, viz.

- (a) the lack of an isolated trimeter to balance l. λγ',
- (b) the lack of some form of *εὐφιλής* to give point to the probable reading in l. λβ', and
- (c) the lack of a singular to justify the singular in l. λα',

I propose to read l. λ' thus :

*εἰ πρόδοτος εὐφιλῶν ὑπ' εὐφιλεστάτης.*

It seems to me that the double expression *εὐφιλῶν ὑπ' εὐφιλεστάτης* would give strong point to *φίλωσ μέν, εὐ δ' οὐ εὐφιλῶν* once changed into *ἐκ φίλων*, it will be natural to regard *ὑπ' εὐφιλεστάτης* as a gloss (explaining that the plural was used in a singular sense). *εἰ* would readily disappear after *αἰαῖ* (indeed it seems to be the parent of the subsequent *εἰ* *εἰ* presented by most MSS.).

I may add that the vulgate *πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων* is without construction unless it continues that of *ἄλλυσαι* in l. κη' ; but it would be a most singular thing to continue in this way the grammatical construction of a choral system beyond its termination, and after an interjected exclamation.

What may easily have reconciled copyists to the unsupported dochmius is the idea, not unlikely to have occurred to them, that the corrupt *φίλωσ μέν, καλῶσ δ'* was really the dochmiac antistrophe to *πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων*.

Consequently on what I have said above, there appears to be no need to consider the remote possibility that *φίλωσ μέν, καλῶσ δ' οὐ* is a genuine dochmiac strophe, needing an antistrophe later, and without much hesitation I close the chorus definitely at l. κη'.

It is perhaps necessary once more to point out that I recognize to the full the uncertainty of conclusions drawn from uncertain data : in the greater part of my discussion of this chorus I have been aiming only at probabilities, sometimes (I venture to think) of a fairly high, sometimes (I know) of a much lower degree.

For the sake of convenience I have so far deferred the



marking of the instances of my phenomenon, which occur in this passage, and which I have attempted, though not by themselves, to cure. I will now set them out.

## A, B, C, D, E, F AND G

τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν; στρ. γ΄.

τίνα βοᾶς λόγον;

ἔνεπε, τίς φοβεῖ

σε φάμα, γύναι,

φρένας ἐπίστυτος;

σὺ παρὰ κλήθρα· σοὶ στρ. γ΄, δίς.

μέλει πομπίμα

φάτις δωμάτων.

ἔνεπε δ' ἔνεπέ μοι,

τί ποτ' ἔβα κακόν;

ἰαχὰν μὲν κλύω,

στρ. γ΄, τρίς.

σαφὲς δ' οὐκ ἔχω

γεγωνεῖν ἄπα.

διὰ πύλας ἔμολεν

ἔμολε σοὶ \* \*

ῶμοι ἐγὼ κακῶν.

στρ. γ΄, τετράκις.

προδέδοσαι, φίλα.

τί σοι μήσομαι;

τὰ κρύπτα γὰρ πέφην-

-ε, διὰ δ' ἄλλυσαι.

πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων.

[στρ. δ΄.]

φίλωσ μὲν, καλῶσ δ'.

[ἀντ. δ΄.]

## A AND B

In the first dochmius of the four times repeated third strophe we have at the beginning the first time a tribrach, the second time a tribrach, the third time an anapaest, and the fourth time a dactyl. The anapaest and dactyl compared present two examples.

## C

In the second dochmius we have at the beginning the first time a tribrach, the second time an iamb, the third time an iamb, and the fourth time a tribrach.

## D

In the third dochmius we have at the beginning the first time a tribrach, the second time an iamb, the third time an iamb, and the fourth time an iamb.

## E

In the fourth dochmius we have at the beginning the first time an iamb, the second time a tribrach, the third time a tribrach, and the fourth time an iamb.

## F AND G

Also in the fourth dochmius we have at the end the first time a cretic, the second time a fourth paeon, the third time a first paeon, and the fourth time a diambus. It will be observed that these variations present separate instances of the disputed phenomenon, one at each end of what is normally the cretic of the dochmius.

## H

In what may have seemed to some copyists to constitute a fourth strophe and antistrophe, the solitary strophic line begins with a tribrach, but its assumed equivalent begins with an iamb.

Probable alterations in each case have been suggested in the course of my discussion.

## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 732-775)

The ninth line of the second strophe has for its third and fourth syllables two shorts: the second antistrophe replaces these two shorts by one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 760. ἔπτατ' ἐπὶ (so ABCEabc : BC ἔπτατο  
without ἐπὶ) κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας.

(b) l. 772. δαίμονα στρυγνὸν (στρυγνᾶν A) καταιδε-  
(-σθείσα).

The strophic line stands in a distinctly corrupt context. The old correction was ἔπτατο κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας, but Weil, who has brilliantly emended the whole passage, saw that we must here read :

ἔπταθ' ὡς κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας,

some word meaning 'when' being imperatively demanded by the sense.

It is plain that ὡς was glossed with ἐπεὶ, and that ἐπεὶ has passed into ἐπὶ. We have had other instances of the glossing of ὡς in the temporal sense. Here it was especially likely to be glossed in order to prevent it being taken, although not before a personal accusative, as a preposition of direction. Hence there is a certain irony in the fact that ἐπεὶ itself has been corrupted into another preposition of direction. That corruption was probably deliberate, and introduced in order to bring the line within the limits of what the copyists regarded as lawful metre. The great majority of the phenomena I am investigating would never have come into being, if copyists had not regarded the correspondence of one long with two shorts as strictly permissible in strophe and antistrophe. It is no wonder that they so regarded it, influenced as they were by the analogy of epic, of iambic, and of various other metres. We have to remember that even anapaests, as regards synapheia, succumbed to similar analogies, until Bentley arose and rediscovered the laws of their composition.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 811-855)

This chorus presents almost the same problems as the latter portion of the fourth chorus, and I will consequently deal with it in much the same way.



It is manifestly dochmiac from beginning to end. First of all comes the first strophe (ll. 811-6). This is answered at the very end of the chorus by the first antistrophe (ll. 852-5), which antistrophe, however, has been mutilated to such an extent that about half of it is lost.

Between the first strophe and the first antistrophe come the second strophe and antistrophe; the second strophe begins at l. 817, and proceeds in sets of four dochmii apiece with couplets of tragic senarii separating the dochmiac sets. At the end of the dochmiac sets comes another couplet of tragic senarii. Then follows an uninterrupted sequence of seven dochmii, and then again a final couplet of tragic senarii. The second antistrophe presents the same features and is set in the same non-lyrical framework as its strophe, except that the final iambic couplet is missing; but it has suffered considerably more obvious corruption, and at two separate points has been mutilated, once to the extent of losing a whole dochmius. Premising the fact that all the trimeters are written in ordinary tragic dialect and have nothing of a lyric nature about their structure, I will proceed to set forth the whole chorus as it stands.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ ἰὼ τάλαι-	στρ. α'	α'
-να μελέων κακῶν.		β'
ἔπαθες, εἰργάσω		γ'
τοσοῦτον ὥστε τούσδε συγχέαι δόμους.		δ'
αἰαῖ (B αἰ αἰ) τόλμας (BC ὦ τόλμας),		ε'
ὦ βιαίως θανοῦσ'		ς'
ἀνοσίφ τε συμ-		ζ'
-φορᾶ σᾶς χερὸς (E omits χερὸς)		η'
πάλαισμα μελέας.		θ'
τίς ἄρα σάν, τάλαιν',		ι'
ἄμανροῖ ζῶαν; (Monk ζῶαν: B inserts τάλαινε before ζῶαν)		ια'

## ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

ὄμοι ἐγὼ πόνων, ὧν (so CE : there are many variants)	στρ. β' ιβ'
ἔπαθον ὧ πόλις (v.ll. τάλας and τάλαινα),	ιγ'
τὰ μάκιστ' (C μήκιστ' : B κάκιστ') ἐμῶν	ιδ'
κακῶν. ὧ τύχα,	ιε'
ὧς μοι βαρεῖα καὶ δόμοις ἐπεστάθης (A ἐφεστάθης),	ισ'
κηλὶς ἀφραστός ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός.	ιζ'
κατακονᾶ (v.ll. κατακονᾶ, κατακονὰ, κατὰ κοινὰ) μὲν οὖν	ιη'
ἀβίωτος (A ἀβίωτος) βίου.	ιθ'
κακῶν δ', ὁ (a corrector of B ὧ) τάλας,	κ'
πέλαγος εἰσορῶ	κα'
τοσοῦτον ὥστε (with v.ll.) μήποτ' ἐκπνεῦσαι (A ἐκπνεύσαι)	
πάλιν,	κβ'
μηδ' (ABC μήτ') ἐκπεράσαι κῦμα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς.	κγ'
(Here C interpolates ἐκλύεθ' ἄρμούς, ὡς ἴδω πικρὰν θέαν.)	
τίνα λόγον τάλας,	κδ'
τίνα τύχαν σέθεν	κε'
βαρύποτμον γύναι (B τλήμον for γύναι),	κς'
προσαυδῶν τύχῳ ;	κζ'
ὄρνις γὰρ ὧς τις ἐκ χερῶν ἀφαντος εἶ,	κη'
πήδημ' ἐς "Αιδου κραιπνὸν (A κρεπνὸν : BC πικρὸν)	
ὀρμήσασά μοι (B που γρ. μοι : C που)	κθ'
αἰαῖ αἰαῖ (B αἰ αἰ semel) μέλεα	λ'
μέλεα τάδε πάθη (B gives πάθη τάδε without the second μέλεα, which, however, is added by a corrector).	λα'
πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν	λβ'
ἀνακομίζομαι (B ἀνακομίζομαι) <sup>μεν</sup>	λγ'
τύχαν δαιμόνων (C omits this dochmius)	λδ'
ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν	λε'
πάροιθέν τινος.	λς'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὐ σοὶ τὰδ' (BC τόδ'), ὠναξ (AE ἄναξ),! ἦλθε	
(AB ἐπήλθε) δὴ μόνῳ κακά (BC κακόν),	λζ'
πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων δ' (v.l. omits δ') ὄλεσας κεδνὸν	
λέχος.	λη'

## ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

τὸ κατὰ γᾶς θέλω	ἀντ. β'	λθ'
τὸ κατὰ γᾶς κνέφας		μ'
μετοικεῖν σκότῳ		μα'
θανὼν (B θανεῖν) ὁ τλάμων (v.l. ὦ τλῆμον and ὁ τλήμων),		μβ'
τῆς σῆς στερηθεῖς φιλτάτης ὀμιλίας·		μγ'
ἀπώλεσας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ κατέφθισο.		μδ'
τίνος δὴ (C alone adds δὴ) κλύω		μέ'
πόθεν θανάσιμος		μς'
τύχα, γύναι, σὰν ἔβα (AE ἐπέβα : B ἔβα γρ. ἐπέβα)		μζ'
τάλαινα καρδίαν ;		μη'
εἴποι τις ἂν τὸ πραχθέν, ἢ μάτην ὄχλον		μθ'
στέγει (B στέγοι : E στύγει) τύραννον δῶμα προσπόλων ἐμῶν ;		ν'
* * * * *		να'
ὦμοι μοι (B ἰώ γρ. ὦ μοί μοι : C ἰώ μοι : E ὦμοι μοι : B ἰώ μοι μοι) σέθεν·		νβ'
μέλεος, οἶον εἶδ-		νγ'
-ον ἄλγος (B ἄλγος εἶδον) δόμων,		νδ'
οὐ τλητὸν οὐδὲ ῥητόν. ἀλλ' ἀπωλόμην·		νε'
ἔρημος οἶκος, καὶ τέκν' ὀρφανεύεται.		νς'

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

(Kirchhoff rightly gives the lines to Theseus.)

* * * * *	ἔλιπες	νζ'
ἔλιπες, ὦ φίλα		νη'
γυναικῶν ἀρίστ-		νθ'
-α θ' ὀπόσας (BB ὀπόσαις) ἐφορᾷ		ξ'
φέγγος ἀελίου		ξα'
τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀστ-		ξβ'
-ερωπὸς σελάνα (B σελήνα).		ξγ'

## [ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

Iambic trimeter.  
Iambic trimeter.]

ξδ'  
ξε'



## [ΧΟΡΟΣ]

ὠὸ τάλας (with v.ll.) ὅσον  
κακὸν ἔχει δόμος.

\* \* \* \* \*

Iambic trimeter.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

δάκρυσί μου βλέφαρα

καταχυθέντα τέγγ-

-εται (BB insert τᾶ) σᾱ τύχα·

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ (A apparently τόδε ἐπὶ) τῷδε πῆ-

-μα φρίσσω πάλαι.

ἀντ. α' ξς'

ξξ'

ξη'

ξθ'

ο'

οα'

οβ'

ογ'

οδ'

οε'

ος'

ll. α'–ξέ' are assigned to the chorus by A ; the rest to Theseus.

ll. λβ'–λς' are presented thus in A :

πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἀνακομίζομαι	τύχαν	δαιμόνων τῶν
ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν πάροιθέν	τινος.	πόρρωθεν μοι
		καὶ ἀπροσδοκή-
		των :—

The words τῶν πόρρωθεν μοι καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων are a gloss. Owing to πόρρωθεν being written under δαιμόνων and the rest of the gloss being continued under δαιμόνων τῶν, it looks at first sight as though δαιμόνων itself were part of the gloss. The prototype of C must have started πόρρωθεν a little further back and presented :

πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἀνακομίζομαι	τύχαν	δαιμόνων τῶν
ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν πάροιθέν	τινος.	πόρρωθεν μοι καὶ ἀ-
		προσδοκήτων :—

Hence the copyist of C (as I suppose) imagined that τύχαν δαιμόνων was part of the gloss ; and that is why he left those two words out altogether.

In ll. ιβ' and ιγ' most editors read

ὦμοι ἐγὼ πόνων·  
ἔπαθον ὦ πόλις, etc.

In ll. μα' and μβ' it is clear that σκότῳ (probably

derived from a gloss on κνέφας) makes no real sense, and that ὁ τλάμων will not scan where it stands. Various editors have made various alterations; but Professors Mahaffy and Bury, on the strength of the reading of the *Christus Patiens* ll. 902-3, restore with great probability:

μετοικεῖν τανῦν  
ὁ τλάμων θανών.

In l. ξ' Jacobs convincingly reads

ἄστερωπὸν σέλας,

quoting Critias:

τό τ' ἄστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας.

Since the chorus exhibits so much manifest corruption and mutilation, it will be well to confine ourselves at first to the soundest portion, that is to say those parts of strophe β' and antistrophe β' which lie respectively between ll. ιβ' and κζ' inclusive, and ll. λθ' and νδ' inclusive.

Though the text even of these portions is visibly unsound, nevertheless, when reasonably restored, and that not on the basis of any theories of my own, it yields, as for example in the edition of Professors Mahaffy and Bury, eight examples of completely corresponding dochmii in strophe and antistrophe, as against only three examples of dochmii not completely corresponding, and one alone of the dochmii which do not correspond fails to correspond in such a manner as to transgress against the law of correspondence for which I am arguing (though incidentally I condemn in dochmii any and every lack of correspondence).

Hence the *prima facie* conclusion is not that we are dealing with a system of dochmii composed in open violation of my leading principle, but with a system of dochmii which has been corrupted so as to present the phenomenon which I impugn.

In the limited portions of the second strophe and antistrophe, which I have indicated, let us take the successive dochmii seriatim.

(a) In l. ιβ' we read

ὄμοι ἐγὼ πόνων, ὦν,

corresponding to l. λθ'

τὸ κατὰ γὰς θέλω.

ὦν is almost universally omitted because it makes no sense; but ὄμοι still fails to correspond with the antistrophic line. Exactly the same is true of the ὄμοι in l. νβ' which fails to correspond with τίνα in l. κεί'. Both anomalies have the same explanation. In both cases ὄμοι is a corruption, probably an intentional emendation, of its own two last letters.

ὀί is Ionic for 'Alas,' see Aristophanes, *Pax* 929 *et seq.* :

TP. τῷ δὴ δοκεῖ σοι δῆτα τῶν λοιπῶν; XO. οἴ.

TP. οἴ; XO. ναὶ μὰ Δί'.

TP. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' ἔστ' Ἴωνικὸν

τὸ ῥῆμ'.

XO. ἐπίτηδες οὖν, ἴν' ἐν τῆκκλησίᾳ  
ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν λέγων τις, οἱ καθήμενοι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους λέγωσ' Ἴωνικῶς οἴ.

Read in l. ιβ'

οἴ ἐγὼ πόνων,

and in l. νβ'

οἴ ἐμοὶ σέθεν

(b) ιγ' corresponds completely with μ'.

(c) So does ιδ' with μα'.

(d) So does ιε' with μβ' (as emended from the *Christus Patiens*).

(e, f, g and h) ll. ιη' to κα' run :

κατακονᾶ μὲν οὖν  
ἀβίωτος (read ἀβίωτος) βίου·  
κακῶν δ', ὦ τάλας,  
πέλαγος εἰσορῶ.



The corresponding antistrophic lines ( $\mu\epsilon'$  to  $\mu\eta'$ ) present themselves in the form :

τίνος δὴ κλύω  
 πόθεν θανάσιμος  
 τύχα, γύναι, σὰν ἔβα  
 τάλαινα καρδίαν ;

Adopting a generally received emendation, I read *τίνα κλύω* ; The whole passage I restore thus :

τίνα κλύω ; πόθεν  
 θανάσιμος τύχα,  
 γύναι, σὰν ἔβα  
 τάλαινα καρδίαν ;

*τάλαινα* agrees with *καρδίαν*. I elsewhere discuss Euripides' use of *τάλας* as of two terminations.

For *κατακονᾶ* (l. *ιη'*) most editors read the v.l. *κατακονά*, taking the word as an abstract substantive from *κατακαίνω*. Eustathius doubts whether the word is a substantive, or a verb meaning *καταθήγειν*. The ablaut involved in *καίνω*, *κονή* seems to me impossible : *φθείρω*, *φθορά* is wholly a different matter. I read *κατακονᾶ*, which I take as the second person passive, addressed to Phaedra, of a verb *κατακονάω*, derived from *ἀκόνη*, which verb actually occurs in Eustathius himself (*Orusc.* p. 295. 44 *διεῖρήγγυντο θυμῷ καὶ κατηκονῶντο*).

(*i, k, l* and *m*) ll. *κδ'* to *κζ'* run :

τίνα λόγον τάλας,  
 τίνα τύχαν σέθεν  
 βαρύποτμον γύναι,  
 προσαιδῶν τύχω ;

The corresponding antistrophic lines (*να'* to *νδ'*) appear, with a mutilation, as :

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ὄμοι μοι σέθεν·  
 μέλεος, οἶον εἰδ-  
 ον ἄλγος δόμων.

No alteration is needed here except to read, as I have already suggested :

ὄϊ ἐμοὶ σέθεν.

But the missing dochmius can be restored almost with certainty.

As the *τάλας* of l. κ' is echoed by the *τάλανα* of the corresponding l. μη', so the second *τάλας*, occurring in l. κδ', ought to be echoed in the corresponding l. να'. Therefore I read the whole passage thus :

ὄϊ ἐμοί, τάλας,  
 ὄϊ ἐμοὶ σέθεν.  
 μέλεος, οἶον εἰδ-  
 -ον ἄλγος δόμων.

The facility of these restorations seems to me to indicate that I am on the right track in thus dealing with these, the easier portions of the chorus; and I therefore proceed to attack the more difficult portions on the same principles.

I will first approach the remainder of the second strophe and antistrophe.

(a) l. λ':

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, μέλεα

finds accurate correspondence in what is left of l. νη', viz. the word *ἔλιπες*. I propose to complete the antistrophic dochmius, partly on the ground of antistrophic echo, and partly because of the fact that the last syllable of the previous line is *-αι*, thus :

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, ἔλιπες.

As the scansion of a dochmius of this sort is quasi-dactylic, I see little difficulty in the final syllable of the former *αἰαῖ* being short *in hiatus*, in what would be thesis in a hexameter, and in the final syllable of the latter *αἰαῖ* being at the same time long *in hiatus* in what would be arsis in a hexameter. As I think I am employing the terms arsis and thesis for almost the first time (they have little to do with my subject matter), I should explain that

I use them in their popular modern sense, and without in the least committing myself to any theories.

(b) In l. λα' we read :

μέλεα τάδε πάθη,

and in the corresponding line (νη') :

ἔλιπες, ὦ φίλα.

The strophic line has suffered uncial corruption. For ΜΕΛΕΑΤΑΔΕΠΑΘΗ we should read ΜΕΛΕΑΓΑΝΠΑΘΗ, i.e.

μέλε' ἄγαν πάθη.

(c) In l. λβ' we read :

πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν,

and in the corresponding line (νθ') :

γυναικῶν ἀρίστ-

But in l. λβ' I suggest :

πρόσωθέν ποθεν δ'.

(d) In l. λγ' we read :

ἀνακομίζομαι,

and in the corresponding line (ξ') :

-α θ' ὀπόσας ἐφορᾷ.

In the strophic line a simple alteration, well suited to the sense of the context, is to read

ἀντικομίζομαι.

But the end of the antistrophic line altogether defies dochmiac metre, a short syllable being redundant. Consequently I alter ἐφορᾷ into σπορᾷ, the third person singular of a verb σποράω. This verb does not elsewhere occur; but Aeschylus and Xenophon use the verbal substantive σπορητός, which stands to σποράω exactly as ἀμητός stands to ἀμάω. This is the first of a series of connected emendations, which appear to me to possess some interest.



(e) In l. λδ' we read :

τύχαν δαιμόνων,

and in the corresponding line (ξα') :

φέγγος ἀελίου.

φέγγος ἀελίου is plainly no sort of a dochmius. For reasons that will shortly appear, and need not be argued at length, I propose :

τε φῶς ἀλίου.

I am afraid that ἀλίου is spurious Doric. σαφέλιος produced ἀέλιος. Then, in virtue of the Greek rule against successive aspirates, ἀέλιος became ἀἔλιος. Finally, the medial aspirate was in its turn omitted, and in most dialects, including Doric, the word became ἀέλιος. But Attic followed its own laws. σαφέλιος became in Attic first σηφέλιος. Then (the sigma of course becoming an aspirate earlier than the digamma) the word passed into the form ἡέλιος. Next, by ordinary Greek rule, ἡέλιος became ἡἔλιος. At this point a special Attic law asserted itself, and the aspirate of the non-initial vowel, instead of being dropped as in other dialects, was retracted to the initial vowel. The result was ἡέλιος, which finally was contracted into ἦλιος. Hence the contracted Doric form ought to be not ἄλιος, but ἄλιος. ἀέλιος is common enough; but I doubt the existence of such synizeses in Euripidean lyrics. Euripides may well have written ἀλίου. We have already arrived at a period at which the ubiquitous Attic has begun to corrupt the Doric diction. An Englishman could hardly be expected to write Scotch lyrics with the accuracy of Burns.

(f) In l. λε' we read :

ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν,

and in the corresponding line (ξβ') :

τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἄστ-

For τε καὶ we need a dactyl. τε καὶ surely stands for τέκε, and καὶ has been omitted before it. Read :

καὶ τέκε νυκτὸς ἄστ-

(g) In l. λς' we read :

πάροιθέν τινος,

and in the corresponding line (ξγ') :

-ερωπὸς σελάνα.

It is to be observed that the final syllable of l. λς' is common, because we have arrived at the end of a system.

In l. ξγ' σελάνα has a redundant syllable, which (as I have said) caused Jacobs, with the assistance of a fragment of Critias, to read the clearly right ἀστερωπὸν σέλας.

Let me now set out consecutively my reconstruction of these last seven lines of the second antistrophe. If I am right, my sequence of the *ductus literarum* has led to the restoration of a somewhat remarkable passage. Here it is :

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ· ἔλιπες  
 ἔλιπες ὦ φίλα  
 γυναικῶν ἀρίστ-  
 -α θ' ὀπόσας σπορᾶ  
 τε φῶς ἀλίου  
 καὶ τέκε νυκτὸς ἀστ-  
 -ερωπὸν σέλας.

'Alas, alas, thou art dead, thou art dead, my dear one ; best of all women that have the light of the sun for their father, and for their mother the starry-eyed lustre of the night.'

I suggest that Euripides was primarily speaking of the divergent though excellent qualities that go to make up the character of a good woman. But at the same time it must be remembered that Phaedra (the 'Bright') was a grand-daughter of the Sun-god. I have not been able to find any statement that she stood, according to any legend, in similar relation to the Moon-goddess ; but certainly, according to one story, Hecate was descended from Perse (see Valerius Flaccus v. 582, vi. 495), who was Phaedra's grandmother by the Sun-god. I think it probable that, if we knew the legends, we should find that Phaedra was





- ΘΗ. οἱ ἐγὼ πόνων· στρ. β'  
 ἔπαθον ὦ πόλις  
 τὰ μάλιστα ἐμῶν  
 κακῶν. ὦ τύχα,  
 [Two tragic senarii.] 819-20  
 κατακονᾶ μὲν οὖν  
 ἀβίωτος βίου·  
 κακῶν δ', ὦ τάλας,  
 πέλαγος εἰσορῶ  
 [Two tragic senarii.] 824-5  
 τίνα λόγον τάλας,  
 τίνα τύχαν σέθεν  
 βαρύποτμον, γύναι,  
 προσανδῶν τύχω ;  
 [Two tragic senarii.]  
 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ· μέλεα 830  
 μέλε' ἄγαν πάθη.  
 πρόσωθέν ποθεν δ'  
 ἀντικομίζομαι  
 τύχαν δαιμόνων  
 ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν  
 πάροισι τινος.  
 [Two tragic senarii.] 834-5  
 τὸ κατὰ γᾶς θέλω  
 τὸ κατὰ γᾶς κνέφας  
 μετοικεῖν ταυῖν  
 ὁ τλάμων θανών,  
 [Two tragic senarii.]  
 τίνα κλύω ; πόθεν 840  
 θανάσιμος τύχα,  
 γύναι, σὰν ἔβα  
 τάλανα καρδίαν ;  
 [Two tragic senarii.]  
 οἱ ἔμοι τάλαιν'  
 οἱ ἔμοι σέθεν·  
 μέλεος, οἶον εἶδ-  
 -ον ἄλγος δόμων,  
 [Two tragic senarii.]  
 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ· ἔλιπες 845  
 ἔλιπες ὦ φίλα



## D

The tenth dochmius of the second strophe begins with a tribrach: the corresponding line of the second antistrophe begins with a spondee.

- (α) 1. κέ'. τίνα τύχαν σέθεν  
 (β) 1. νβ'. ὦμοι μοι σέθεν

## E

The fourteenth dochmius of the second strophe ends with a fourth paeon: the corresponding antistrophic line ends with a cretic.

- (α) 1. λα'. μέλεα τάδε πάθη  
 (β) 1. νη'. ἔλιπες, ὦ φίλα

## F

The fifteenth dochmius of the second strophe ends with a first paeon: the corresponding antistrophic line ends with a cretic.

- (α) 1. λβ'. πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν  
 (β) 1. νθ'. γυναικῶν ἀρίστ-

## G

The seventeenth dochmius of the second strophe ends with a cretic: the corresponding antistrophic line ends with what may either be scanned as a fourth paeon or, by synizesis, as a cretic.

- (α) 1. λε'. τύχαν δαιμόνων  
 (β) 1. ξα'. φέγγος ἄελίου or ἄελίου

## H

The eighteenth dochmius of the second strophe begins with a dactyl: the corresponding line of the second antistrophe begins with an iamb.

- (α) 1. λς'. ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν  
 (β) 1. ξβ'. τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀστ-



All these eight instances disappear on my treatment, and disappear (I venture to think) to the advantage of other things than metre.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 866-884)

At l. 866 the chorus begin a series of eleven dochmii, all of which, except the first, fifth, and tenth, will scan without emendation. The passage is possibly the strophe or antistrophe of an antistrophe or strophe which we do not now possess; but in any case it is generally regarded as spurious, and in that opinion I concur. After the eleven dochmii, the chorus continues with three tragic trimeters (which, however, Kirchhoff rejects). Then Theseus delivers two tragic trimeters. At this point follows a metrically most surprising passage.

XO. τί χρῆμα, λέξον, εἴ τί μοι λόγον μέτα.

ΘΗ. βοᾶ βοᾶ δέλτος ἄλαστα. πᾶ φύγω  
βάρος κακῶν; ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλόμενος οἴχομαι  
οἶον οἶον εἶδον ἐν γραφαῖς μέλος  
φθειγόμενον τλάμων. 880

XO. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἐκφαίνεις λόγον.

ΘΗ. τόδε μὲν οὐκέτι στόματος ἐν πύλαις  
καθέξω δυσεκπέρατον ὀλοὸν κακόν, ὦ πόλις πόλις. 883-4  
Ἴππόλυτος εὐνής τῆς ἐμῆς ἔτλη θιγεῖν 885  
βία, τὸ σεμνὸν Ζηνὸς ὄμμ' ἀτιμάσας.

[The speech continues in ordinary tragic trimeters.]

The repeated tragic trimeter of ll. 876, 881, in each case in the mouth of the chorus, and in each case preceding a lyrical utterance in the mouth of Theseus, appears at first sight to prove that ll. 877-80 are the remains of a strophe, and ll. 882-4 the remains of its antistrophe. But in that case corruption has passed all bounds.

The first line of the presumable strophe seems to consist of a mutilated dochmius, a real dochmius, and an iamb. The second line is obviously a lyrical iambic senarius. Then follows what is *prima facie* a trochaic

trimeter catalectic. Finally we are confronted with a dactyl and a molossus, perhaps representing an original dochmius.

On the other hand, the presumable antistrophe, if, with some MSS., we leave out the second πόλις of l. 884, and if we read ἰὼ for ὄ, consists exclusively of five perfectly regular dochmii, so that it is seen that the lyrical senarius, l. 877, has nothing whatever to answer it. But the first line of the "strophe" seems also to be in reality a lyrical senarius.

βοᾶ βοᾶ δέλτος ἄλαστα is an expression violent to a degree; and the gravest suspicion is aroused against it when we find at the subsequent point, where the climax ought to be (ll. 879-80) the weaker, though at the same time quite strong enough expression, μέλος φθεγγόμενον.

I suggest that δέλτος is an inept addition of some copyist. ἄλαστα is the real nominative to βοᾶ—'dread words ring in my ears.'

Read βοᾶ δι' ὠτ' ἄλαστα. By this means we obtain a trimeter.

The hiatus at the end of l. 878 suggests that in l. 879 we should read τοῖον instead of οῖον. This would almost necessarily result in

τοῖόν τι τοῖον εἶδον ἐν γραφαῖς μέλος.

In that case we should have a third senarius.

That τοῖος in the causal sense of οἶος is markedly Euripidean is sufficiently proved by the *Ranae* (l. 469 *et seq.*):

ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔχει μέσος·  
τοῖα Στυγὸς σε μελανοκάρδιας πέτρα  
Ἄχερόντιός τε σκόπελος αἱματοσταγῆς  
φρουροῦσι.

In l. 880 τλάμων possibly stands for τανῦν. The message on the tablet had been silent while Phaedra could herself speak, but now at last, when she had become silent in death, the written words took to themselves a voice.

But more probably, in view of the metrical context,

l. 880 is the remains of a lyrical trimeter. In that case it would seem most natural to suppose that *τλάμων* stands by haplography for words closely resembling it and one another that originally stood after *φθεγγόμενον*: but, if so, haplography must have gone to great lengths, seeing that it has caused one word to stand, not, as is usual, for two words, but for three. The MSS. variously present *τλάμων*, *τλᾶμων* and *τλῆμον*. Does this indicate that one of the original words ended in *-ων* and another in *-ον*? Any attempt at reconstitution is necessarily speculative. After making several essays on the tentative assumptions that *ἔλλδν* ('dumb') disappeared after *φθεγγόμενον* because of the termination **ENON**, and that *τλάμων* has replaced *Λαμνίων* (in a line of some such sense as *φθεγγόμενον ἔργα Λαμνίων ὑπέρτερα*), and after failing, on the basis of those assumptions or of either of them, to preserve the *ductus*, I have come to the conclusion that one particular form of words (I do not say that there may not be other forms of words equally satisfying) would easily have given rise to the present reading, and that form of words is:

*φθεγγόμενον ἀμῶν αἱμάτων ἰάλεμον.*

Euripides uses *αἶμα* in the plural not only in the sense of 'bloodshed' but also in the sense of 'race.'

With great hesitation I consequently read the strophe thus:

*βοᾶ, βοᾶ δι' ὧτ' ἄλαστα. πᾶ φύγω  
βάρος κακῶν; ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλόμενος οἴχομαι.  
τοῖόν τι τοῖον εἶδον ἐν γραφαῖς μέλος  
φθεγγόμενον ἀμῶν αἱμάτων ἰάλεμον.*

In any case the *dochmii* (if there be any) of the "strophe" cannot be equated with the *dochmii* of the antistrophe for the purpose of manufacturing instances of the phenomenon that is the subject of this investigation.

#### EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1102-1150)

The first line of the second strophe is a hexameter with a dactyl in the third foot: the first line of the



second antistrophe is a hexameter with a spondee in the third foot.

The lines are these (each hexameter being traditionally numbered as two lines):

- (a) ll. 1119–20. οὐκέτι γὰρ καθαρὰν φρέν' ἔχω, παρὰ δ'  
ἐλπίδα λείσσω
- (b) ll. 1131–2. οὐκέτι συζυγίαν πῶλων Ἐνετᾶν ἐπιβάσει

The three lines immediately preceding the former hexameter are:

ῥάδια δ' ἦθεα τὸν αὔριον  
μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον ἀεὶ  
βίον συνεντυχοίην.

Hence it is impossible to attach any satisfactory meaning to the word *καθαρὰν*. Paley considers it to be a metaphor from water, in the sense 'clear, undisturbed.' Professors Mahaffy and Bury understand it as 'orthodox, pure from the taint of scepticism.' But neither rendering suits the causal γὰρ.

I suggest that we should read:

οὐκέτι γὰρ κατάρρα' ἐν νῶ,

and continue (as editors have already done):

τὰ παρ' ἐλπίδα λείσσω.

It seems to me probable that, after the corruption *καθαρὰν φρέν' ἔχω* had found its way into the body of the text, a supralinear correction, *κατάρρα*, was responsible for the alteration of *τὰ παρ'* into *παρὰ δ'* owing to the almost complete identity of *παρὰ* with the two final syllables of *κατάρρα*.

#### NINTH CHORUS (ll. 1268–1282)

As it stands, this chorus is without structure. It runs:

XO. σὺ τὰν θεῶν ἄκαμπτον φρένα καὶ βροτῶν  
ἄγεις, Κύπρι·  
σὺν δ' ὁ ποικιλόπτερος ἀμφιβαλὼν  
ὠκυτάτῳ πτερῶ.

ποτᾶται δὲ γαῖαν εὐάχητόν θ' ἄλμυρον ἐπὶ  
πόντον.

θέλγει δ' Ἔρωσ, ᾧ μαινομένα κρᾶδιά

πτανὸς ἐφορμάση

1275

χρυσοφαῆς, φύσιν

ὄρεσκόων σκυλάκων

πελαγίων θ' ὅσα τε γὰ τρέφει,

τὰν Ἄλιος αἰθομέναν δέρκεται,

ἄνδρας τε· συμπάντων δὲ (Dindorf omits δὲ)

βασιληίδα τιμάν,

1280

Κύπρι, τῶνδε μόνᾳ κρατύνεις.

But there is left quite sufficient indication of antistrophic arrangement to justify us in reading something like :

ΧΟ. σὺ τὰν θεῶν δύσκαμπτον φρένα, Κύπρι, καὶ

βροτῶν ἄγεις·

στρ.

σὺν δ' ὁ ποικιλόπτερος ἀμφιπολῶν

ὠκυτάτᾳ πτέρυγᾳ· ποτᾶται

δὲ γαῖαν εὐάχηθ' ἄλμυρον ἐπὶ πόντον. ἀμφιθέλ- ἀντ.

-γεί δ' Ἔρωσ, ᾧ μαινόμεν' ἂν κρᾶδιά

πτανὸς ἐφορμάση χρυσοφαῆς.

The rest is epode.

We detect here, in the process of curing, one instance of our phenomenon. The third line of the strophe has its last syllable but one long : the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

(α) ll. 1271-2. ὠκυτάτῳ πτερῶ. ποτᾶται

(β) ll. 1275-6. πτανὸς ἐφορμάση χρυσοφαῆς

For the transposition of Κύπρι in l. 1269 see my remarks on *Rhesus* 51.

It is the practice of all three tragedians to put a stop, usually a heavy stop, at the end both of strophe and of antistrophe : Pindar, on the other hand, has a trick of occasional enjambement (e.g. *Ol.* i. 80-1). But in the case of very short strophes, Euripides apparently felt himself at liberty to dispense with the final stop. Compare the first chorus of this play.

## TENTH CHORUS (ll. 1370-1388)

The dying Hippolytus at l. 1347 begins a series of regular anapaestic dimeters, comprising two complete systems, which continue to l. 1369. Then he exclaims *αἰαῖ αἰαῖ*, with which exclamation he had also begun the regular anapaestic system. The exclamation is followed by an anapaestic dimeter of the ordinary kind, only in Doric. Then follows another Doric anapaestic dimeter, succeeded in its turn by an anapaestic trimeter, with apparently a caesura after the third anapaest. There follow three Doric anapaestic dimeters. Next comes a pure iambic dimeter. This is succeeded by an iamb plus two cretics. Then comes an ordinary Sapphic line. We next have an iambic tetrameter, pure except that the first three iambs are resolved into tribrachs. There follows a spondee plus a cretic. After this we have two spondees, a dactyl, and a long syllable. Then follow an iamb, a trochee, a spondee, and a cretic. The next line is an iambic trimeter, pure except for the fact that the fifth foot is a spondee, and the first foot (*εἴθε*, and not part of a word such as *φαιοχίτωνες*) a trochee. The last line is an iambic trimeter catalectic.

There is no antistrophic correspondence observable.

In addition to the Sapphic line above mentioned, we can obtain another Sapphic line if we divide ll. 1385, 1386 so as to read in the former (without any change in the text):

*πῶς ἀπαλλάξω βιοτὰν ἐμὴν τοῦδ'.*

I suppose that the whole passage is a distortion of the original, and not an interpolation; but, as it stands, it reminds me of the metres of Seneca much more than of those of Euripides. It would be almost hopeless to attempt a reasonable restoration, and perhaps quite impossible to say whether instances of the phenomenon I am investigating have or have not in some previous state of the text contributed to swell the tide of corruption.



In taking leave at this point of the *Hippolytus*, I wish to record my conviction that the vulgate is radically unsound from one end to the other. I am almost tempted to suppose that the statement that Euripides issued two editions of this play is simply due to the fact that some ancient authority had before him not only the vulgate but also a text only ordinarily corrupt, and noticed the difference between them.

#### SUMMARY

The *Hippolytus* presents twenty-three examples of the phenomenon in question. Of these twenty-two, sixteen occur in highly corrupt dochmiac choruses, and three of the sixteen are presented within the compass of a single dochmius. Of the remaining seven, two are presented in one single line, and there is one example which is contradicted by some MS. authority. The four instances that stand over are of a most unconvincing character.

#### ALCESTIS

The *Alcestis* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's B), and, as regards a small portion, in Codex Harleianus 5743 (Nauck's A); also in MSS. of inferior importance.

Hence, although the play is one of the nine, it is apparent that it was nothing like as great a favourite as certain other members of the circle. Still, I am justified in saying that it reposes on the amplest MS. authority.

## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 86-131)

## A

The sixth line of the first strophe is to all appearance a paroemiac consisting of a spondee, two anapaests and a long syllable. The sixth line of the first antistrophe is made up of a dactyl, a third paeon, an anapaest, and a long syllable.

Hence the second long syllable of the strophic line is answered by two shorts in the antistrophe, which also shows a redundant short in the middle of the line.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 91. εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας

(β) l. 103. πένθεσι πίτνει, οὐδὲ νεολαία

[next line : δουπεῖ χεῖρ γυναικῶν]

The true reading πένθει has long been restored in place of πένθεσι, so that the doubtful phenomenon disappears; but the rest of the antistrophic line has remained a great puzzle.

νεολαία, in the sense of 'the young' collectively, is a rare classical word favoured by late Greek authors. It will suffice to quote Heliodorus (*Aeth.* vii. 16): πλῆθει νεολαίας εὐοπλούσης. It even intruded itself in place of Νειλώαις, as Boissonade acutely perceived, into the sixty-second epistle of Theophylact Simocatta (*circa* 610 A.D.), where we read : ταῖς νεολαίαις ἐφάμιλλος αὐλαξιν.

Various very unsatisfactory emendations have been proposed. For my own part I suggest οὐδὲ νομαία. I make no doubt, in view of the corruption of Νειλώαις in the Simocat, but that νομαία would have been still more liable to a similar fate. 'Accustomed' suits the context.

## B

The last syllable but one of the seventh line of the second strophe is a long: the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are as follows :

- (α) l. 119. ψυχάν· μόρος γὰρ ἄποτμος  
 (β) l. 128. πρὶν αὐτὸν εἶλε διόβολον

Hermann saw that, for ἄποτμος, ἀπότομος should be read.

### C

In the ninth line of the second strophe the third syllable is a long : in the second antistrophe MS. authority is divided between one short and two shorts in place of the long.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 120. οὐκ ἔχω ᾿πὶ τίνα  
 (β) l. 130. νῦν δὲ τίνα βίου, or νῦν δὲ τίν' ἔτι βίου

It is customary to read :

(α) οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα

and

(β) νῦν δὲ τίν' ἔτι βίου

or, with Hermann,

νῦν δὲ τίν' ἐπὶ βίου

That final omega should stand *in hiatus* before initial epsilon, when that epsilon forms no part of a diphthong nor even of a syllable long by position (whether with or without a liquid), seems wholly impossible in an ordinary tragic chorus.

It is impracticable in a passage of this kind to do more than suggest a metrical and grammatical reading that does not depart far from the *ductus literarum*. Consequently I venture to put forward :

- (α) οὐκ ἔχω παρὰ τίνα  
 (β) νῦν δὲ δὴ τίνα βίου

### SECOND CHORUS (ll. 213–272)

In the fifth line of the third strophe after two initial short syllables the MSS. vary between one long, two shorts



and one short: the antistrophe in its corresponding line has unquestionably one long after the two initial shorts.

The lines are as follows:

(a) l. 256. τάδε τοί με σπερχόμενος ταχύνει, οἱ

τάδε τοῖα με σπερχόμενος ταχύνει, οἱ

τάδε τί με σπερχόμενος ταχύνει;

(b) l. 263. ὁδὸν ᾶ δειλαιοτάτα προβαίνω

One may dismiss from consideration both *τοῖα* and *τί* in the strophic line. *τοί* makes very good sense, and raises no question of our phenomenon; but the settlement of the true reading is rendered somewhat difficult by a variant in the early editions, viz. *τάδ' ἔτοιμα* for *τάδε τοί με*. On the whole I do not see sufficient reason to depart from *τάδε τοί με*.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 393-415)

The first line of the strophe consists of a dochmius of the scansion  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ , and of a pseudodochmius of the scansion  $\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ . The first line of the antistrophe consists of a dochmius of the scansion  $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ , and of a pseudodochmius of the same scansion as that in the strophic line. Hence the long second syllable of the strophic line is answered by two short syllables in the antistrophic line.

I will give these lines with some of the context:

(a) ll. 393-9. ἰώ μοι τύχας. μαῖα δὴ κάτω

βέβακεν, οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ὦ

πάτερ, ὑφ' ἁλίῳ

προλιποῦσα δ' ἄμὸν βίον

ὠρφάνισεν τλάμων.

ἴδε γὰρ ἴδε βλέφαρον καὶ

παρατόνους χέρας.

(b) ll. 406-12. νέος ἐγώ, πάτερ, λείπομαι φίλας

μονόστολός τε ματρός· ὦ

σχέτλια δὴ παθὼν

ἐγὼ ἔργα \* σύ τε,

σύγκασί μοι κούρα,

\* \* συνέτλας·

\* \* ὦ πάτερ.

ἰώ μοι τύχας appears to admit of no emendation.

μαῖα δὴ κάτω can hardly stand for anything else than μαῖα φίλη κάτω, where φίλη in its turn must be a corruption of an original φίλᾶ.

What does this involve in the antistrophic line? It involves that νέος ἐγὼ is corrupt, and that λείπομαι has replaced a word of the scansion - ∪ ∪ -.

Putting these two facts together I can only read one of two things :

νεοσσώ, πάτερ, λειπόμεθον φίλας,

or—

νέω νω, πάτερ, λειπόμεθον φίλας.

In either case I should continue :

μονοστόλω τε (or, more probably, to coin a word,  
μονοστολοῦντε) ματρός· ὦ  
σχέτλια δὴ παθόντ'  
ἐγὼ ἔργα \* σύ τε κτλ.

On the whole I rather prefer νέω νω, because the scholiast seems very possibly to have read something in the passage that he thought referred to a ship (?). His words are : ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν μονοστελλομένων πλοίων, where the participle seems to point to μονοστολοῦντε.

I maintain that there is nothing surprising in the occurrence of a first person dual in a tragic author, and also that there is nothing surprising in its disappearance from our texts.

One has only to consider how duals of the second person have fared. Elmsley's contention that the Attic paradigm is ἐτυψάτην ἐτυψάτην has never been overthrown. The well-known ἰδόντε καὶ παθούσα is, as regards feminine duals, sufficient proof of the barbarity of παθούσα and all its congeners. Yet how few MSS. preserve either second persons like ἐτυψάτην or feminines like ἰδόντε ! The fact is that MSS. are as little to be trusted on points connected with the dual as they are on points connected with the pluperfect. ἦδειν, in the first person, is, I hope, taking its departure. Perhaps in a hundred years' time ἐτύψατον and παθούσα will follow its example.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 435-475)

No instances.

## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 568-605)

No instances.

## SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 872-934)

No instances.

## SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 962-1005)

No instances.

## SUMMARY

The *Alcestis* presents five examples of the phenomenon in question; but of the five, one instance has considerable MS. authority against it. The other four can be emended with great facility.

## ANDROMACHE

The *Andromache* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Marcianus 471 (known as A), Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Parisinus 2712 (known as E), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's B), and, as regards ll. 1-102, in Codex Ambrosianus (known as D); also in MSS. of inferior importance.

Considerable fragments of the play are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.



## FIRST CHORUS (ll. 103-146)

(This chorus is preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest of the tenth century.)

Before the first of the two obvious and recognized sets of strophes and antistrophes, which make up the greater portion of this chorus, occurs a series of seven elegiac couplets. Such an occurrence is unique in extant Greek tragedy.

It is to be particularly observed that the elegiacs are written in Doric, not in either Ionic or Attic. To write any metre whatsoever in the Doric dialect is not the same thing as to subject it to the laws of strophic-antistrophic correspondence. There are numerous examples of Doric poems in the elegiac metre which have nothing to do with strophe and antistrophe. But if, in addition to a poem or a portion of a poem being composed in the Doric dialect, that poem or portion of a poem is also of a lyrical nature, that is to say, if it regulates by its quantities the music of the lyre and the steps of the dance, then it is assuredly subject, no matter what its metre, to the lyrical laws of strophe and antistrophe, so far as those laws extend, and without prejudice to the possibility of unanswered epodes or whatever other exceptions those laws may permit.

The question then at once arises whether these elegiacs are lyrical.

On the strength of two considerations I answer this question in the affirmative. A general survey of the hexameters occurring in tragedy with which I deal from time to time in various portions of this tractate will show, in spite of occasional difficulties which I attribute to corruption, an overwhelmingly strong case in favour of the contention that tragic hexameters are strophic-antistrophic, and therefore not Dorico-epic but lyric: I argue from hexameters to elegiacs. Next, I contend that it would be an intolerable mixture of poetic genera if non-lyrical elegiacs were to be admitted into a tragedy: elegiacs are not, as such, known to the tragic metrician, but need the all-embracing cloak of the lyric Muse.

This *a priori* reasoning is much strengthened by an

examination of the elegiacs in question. For elegiacs, they present fully as unusual features as, for hexameters, do the hexameters of tragedy.

In the hexametrical members of the elegiac couplets, the proportion of dactyls to spondees is, as editors have remarked, unusually large. In fact (putting the sixth feet out of account) there are thirty-two dactyls and only three spondees, and of these three spondees, one can by diaeresis be equally well scanned as a dactyl: the other two spondees seem to be indisputably sound.

At this point I will set forth the lines, introducing provisionally the diaeresis of which I have spoken (*Τροία* for *Τροία* in l. 105), and will ask the reader to judge whether a strophic-antistrophic arrangement is not indicated, even apart from *a priori* considerations.

Here are the elegiacs :

- Ἴλιῳ αἰπεινῆ Πάρις οὐ γάμον, ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄταν  
 ἀγάγετ' εὐναίαν εἰς θαλάμους Ἑλέναν.  
 ἄς ἔνεκ', ὧ Τροία, δορὶ καὶ πυρὶ δηιάλωτον 105  
 εἰλέ σ' ὁ χιλιόναυς Ἑλλάδος ὠκὺς Ἄρης,  
 καὶ τὸν ἔμον μελέας πόσιν Ἔκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη  
 εἶλκυσε διφρεύων παῖς ἀλίας Θέτιδος·  
 αὐτὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμαν ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσας,  
 δουλοσύναν στυγερὰν ἀμφιβαλοῦσα κάρα. 110  
 πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυνά μοι κατέβα χροός, ἀνὶκ' ἔλειπον  
 ἄστνυ τε καὶ θαλάμους καὶ πόσιν ἐν κονίαις.  
 ὦμοι ἐγὼ μελέα, τί μ' ἐχρῆν ἔτι φέγγος ὀρᾶσθαι  
 Ἑρμιόνας δούλαν; ἄς ὑπο τειρομένα  
 πρὸς τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεᾶς ἰκέτις περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα 115  
 τάκομαι, ὡς πετρίνα πιδακόεσσα λιβάς.

Two points at once emerge. The non-dactylic hexameters, ll. 103 and 109, must, if we have here a strophe and antistrophe, answer to one another; and the want of pause at the end of l. 114 clashes with the metrical system of the rest of the piece.

Let us put these two facts together. In all there are seven couplets, so that we cannot commence an antistrophe with the fourth couplet, unless we suppose that a couplet has either been lost from the strophe or interpolated in

the antistrophe. The abnormal ending of l. 114 suggests that the latter is the case, and that ll. 113-14 are an interpolation. I see an easy and satisfactory way of accounting for the suggested interpolation. If l. 115 originally began not with *πρὸς τόδ'*, but with *πρὸς τὰδ'*, 'therefore,' *ἄγαλμα* being governed by *περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα*, *πρὸς τὰδ' ἄγαλμα* would almost inevitably have become *πρὸς τόδ' ἄγαλμα*, and then, there being no connecting particle, a lacuna would naturally have been presumed, and the words supposed to be missing would as naturally, in view of the little knowledge needed for elegiac composition, have been supplied by a copyist.

These not unnatural assumptions leave us with a working hypothesis. Everything depends on the question whether it works well or ill. Let us see.

We have now a provisional strophe and antistrophe presenting five instances of my phenomenon.

#### A, B, C, D AND E

These are the lines :

Ἰλίῳ αἰπεινῆ Πάρις οὐ γάμον, ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄταν	στρ. α'
ἀγάγετ' εὐναίαν εἰς θαλάμους Ἑλένας.	
ὡς ἔνεκ', ὦ Τροία, δορὶ καὶ πυρὶ δηιάλωτον	105
εἶλέ σ' ὁ χιλιόναυς Ἑλλάδος ὠκύς Ἄρης,	
καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν μελέας πόσιν Ἐκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη	
εἶλκυσε διφρεῶν παῖς ἁλίας Θέτιδος·	
αὐτὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμαν ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσας,	ἀντ. α'
δουλοσύναν στυγερὰν ἀμφιβαλοῦσα κέρα.	110
πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυνά μοι κατέβα χροός, ἀνίκ' ἔλειπον	
ἄστυ τε καὶ θαλάμους καὶ πόσιν ἐν κονίαις.	112
πρὸς τὰδ' ἄγαλμα θεῆς ἰκέτις περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα	115
τάκομαι, ὡς πετρίνα πιδακόεσσα λιβάς.	

There is almost the strongest possible confirmation of this division, and therefore also of the strophic-antistrophic nature of the piece, to be found in the absolute agreement in quantity of the last syllables of the respective lines of



the assumed strophe and antistrophe. The chances are very great against this being the result of accident.

The last syllable of l. 103 is long : so is that of l. 109. The last syllable of l. 104 is long : so is that of l. 110. The last syllable of l. 105 is short : so is that of l. 111. The last syllable of l. 106 is long : so is that of l. 112. The last syllable of l. 107 is long by nature, but shortened before a vowel at the beginning of the next line : the last syllable of l. 115 is short both by nature and position. The last syllables of a strophe and antistrophe seem to be common, but as a matter of fact the last syllables of 108 and 116 are both short.

This corroboration of my assumption is of such importance that I proceed without hesitation to attack the examples of my phenomenon. In no case are they substantial enough to stand against the evidence of the last syllables, but an examination of their nature may yield further evidence.

#### A AND B

The discrepancies between ll. 103 and 109 seem to be due entirely to the similarity in the latter that exists between *θαλάμων* and *ἀγόμαν*. I believe that Euripides wrote :

*ἐξαγόμαν δ' αὐτὰ θαλάμων.*

This was miswritten in some such form as :

*ἐξαλάμων δ' αὐτὰ θαγόμαν.*

The necessary result was :

*αὐτὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμαν.*

The existence of the similarity is a real argument in favour of my whole view ; but I admit that it is most difficult to judge its strength or weakness.

#### C

There is one want of correspondence between ll. 104 and 110. In the former I take *εὐναίαν* to be a mere

mistake for *εἰναλίαν*. - The triple statement of *γάμον*, *εὐναίαν*, and *θαλάμους* is not wanted. 'In Helen Paris brought not a bride but a sea-bane to his bed.'

## D

In l. 105 I have already suggested *Τροία* for *Τροία*, and that on a more general ground than the demands of strict correspondence. But it removes the discrepancy between ll. 105 and 111.

## E

The variance in scansion between ll. 108 and 116 is a little perplexing at first sight, but need cause no real difficulty. The strophic line is manifestly not only sound but strong and expressive: the antistrophic line is almost unintelligible. *πετρίνα λιβάς* ought properly to mean 'a spring made of rock.' The extension of the meaning of *πέτρινος* from 'made of rock' to 'among rocks,' or the like, is only to be justified, if at all, by the 1326th line of the *Helen*:

*πέτρινα κατὰ δρία πολυνηφέα.*

But 'full of rocks' is a very different extension from 'among rocks': indeed I doubt whether it is an extension at all, and not rather an equally legitimate original meaning. Here neither 'made of rock' nor 'full of rocks' will suit the context.

It seems to me that all serious difficulty disappears in the light of ll. 533-4 of this play, and of ll. 3-4 of the sixteenth *Iliad*, upon which both that passage and this are based.

Homer writes:

*δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων ὅσπε κρήνη μελάνυδρος  
ἦτε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ.*

The later passage in this play runs:

*στάζω λισσάδος ὡς πέτρας  
λιβάς ἀνάλιος, ἰ τάλαιν'.*

In view of the occurrence of both *μελάνυδρος* and *δνοφερὸν* in the Homeric lines and of the (possibly wrong, but unmistakable) translation of them as *ἀνάλιος* in Euripides, I here do not hesitate to read :

*τάκομαι ὡς περὶ κνὰ πιδακόεσσα λιβάς.*

If the general principle on which I am proceeding were false, this elegiac passage might reasonably be expected to prove a serious barrier in my way. As it is, it turns out that it offers me so little impediment as either to make strongly in my favour, or else to show (an improbable supposition) that the long arm of coincidence can reach far enough to make a sound set of fourteen lines look almost as if they had been expressly written with the intention that they should be emended on the basis of a particular theory.

To one particular point in my process of emendation *prima facie* exception can be taken. In order not to hamper my main argument I have postponed for a few lines the discussion of the matter in question. It may be said that a somewhat material argument that I have employed depends for its validity on the possibility of the use of the words *πρὸς τὰδ'* (l. 115) in the sense 'therefore' without a succeeding verb of imperative signification, whereas usage demands such a verb. This possible objection is of importance, and must be considered in detail.

It is quite true that in tragic trimeters and tetrameters *πρὸς ταῦτα* and *πρὸς τὰδε* are used to introduce imperatives only. See for instance *Prometheus Vinc-tus* l. 917 and *Persae* l. 166. But this rule appears to have no application outside the limits of the tragic sub-dialect strictly so-called, though, as in ll. 540-5 of the *Eumenides*, the words may of course be coupled with an imperative in any style. In Herodotus there is no requirement that *πρὸς ταῦτα* should be followed by an imperative. *Terpsichore*, chap. ix., furnishes the best instance: *τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίουσ ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν· σμικροὺς δέ, καὶ σιμούς, καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἀνδρας φέρειν· ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα,*



εἶναι ὀξυτάτους· ἄρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. There πρὸς ταῦτα certainly means 'therefore,' and is coupled with nothing of an imperative nature, unless indeed it be said that ἄρματηλατέειν means in the context 'have to drive chariots.' But every true effect of a cause is a necessary effect. So τάκομαι in the Euripidean passage may be rendered 'I can but waste away.' Similarly with almost any other sentence, so that speculation as to the presence or absence of an implied imperative in ἄρματηλατέειν is for practical purposes unprofitable. Instances in the 88th chapter of *Terpsichore* and the 163rd chapter of *Polymnia* are less to the point, because in both of them the precise meaning of πρὸς ταῦτα may well be disputed. I leave out of the discussion altogether the 730th line of the *Persæ*, partly because that line seems to have been corrupted under the influence of the 166th line of the same play, and partly because, if it is genuine, πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς appears most probably to mean 'to such an extent that.' To sum the whole matter up, I can conceive no reason why lyrical elegiacs should be any the more subject than Ionic prose to the technical conventions of the style of Attic tragedy. But I admit that I should welcome evidence of a more positive character.

In the second and third strophes and antistrophes (called by editors the first and second strophes and antistrophes) of the chorus there are no instances of my phenomenon.

## SECOND CHORUS (ll. 274-308)

### A

In the fourth line of the first strophe the fourth syllable is a long: for this long the fourth line of the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 277. τρίπωλον ἄρμα δαιμόνων

(b) l. 287. ἔβαν δὲ Πριαμίδαυ ὑπερ-  
-βολαῖς

I must set out the context.

- (a) ll. 274–80. ἡ μεγάλων ἀχέων ἄρ' ὑπήρξεν, ὅτ'  
 Ἰδαίαν ἐς νάπαν 275  
 ἦλθ' ὁ Μαίας τε καὶ Διὸς τόκος,  
 τρίπῳλον ἄρμα δαιμόνων  
 ἄγων τὸ καλλιζυγές,  
 ἔριδι στυγερά̃ κεκορυθμένον εὐμορ-  
 φίας  
 σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ βούτα. 280
- (b) ll. 284–90. ταὶ δ' ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νάπος ἦλυθον,  
 οὐρειᾶν πιδάκων 285  
 νύψαν αἰγλᾶντα σώματα ῥοαῖς·  
 ἔβαν δὲ Πριαμίδαυ ὑπερ-  
 -βολαῖς λόγων δυσφρόνων  
 παραβαλλόμεναι. Κύπρις εἶλε λόγους  
 δολίοις,  
 τερπνοῖς μὲν ἀκούσαι. 290

The existence of two corruptions is at once apparent. The last syllables of ll. 278 and 288 are not of the same length, and in ll. 287 and 288 *λόγων* and *λόγους* occur in impossible proximity. I cure both these errors by reading in the antistrophe :

ἔβαν δὲ πείραν Ἰδαίαν,  
 βολαῖς ὅπων δύσφροσι  
 παραβαλλόμεναι.

I translate: 'And they came to Ida's test, ranging themselves side by side with eyes that darted malice.'

I am inclined to think that in *ὑπερ-* we have a distortion of a correction back to the right reading, *πείραν*.

## B

The eighth lines of the first strophe and antistrophe are lyrical iambic trimeters. In the strophic line the third foot is a tribrach: in the antistrophic line it is an iamb.

The passages are these (they fit on directly to the portions of the strophe and antistrophe quoted under A) :

- (a) ll. 281-2. βοτῆρά τ' ἀμφὶ μονότροπον νεανίαν  
 ἔρημόν θ' ἔστιοῦχον αὐλάν  
 (b) ll. 291-2. πικρὰν δὲ σύγχυσιν βίου Φρυγῶν πόλει  
 ταλαίνα περγάμοις τε Τροίας

In the strophe, partly because of the impossibility of understanding ἀμφὶ, and partly in view of the general *ductus literarum* and of the context, I read without any hesitation :

ῥυτῆρά τ' ἀμφίλαιμον ἔτρεπεν ἀνιᾶν  
 ἔρημον εἰς ἔστιοῦχον αὐλάν.

The antistrophic lines present a more difficult problem.

It is hardly credible that an accusative "in apposition with the sentence" can also be in apposition with a dative substantive : yet that is what is involved in the reading :

Κύπρις εἶλε λόγοις δολίοις,  
 τερπνοῖς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι,  
 πικρὰν δὲ σύγχυσιν βίου Φρυγῶν πόλει  
 ταλαίνα περγάμοις τε Τροίας.

I conjecture that the word πικρὰν is in some degree responsible for the present state of the text. The 1105th line of the *Orestes* (Ἐλένην κτάνωμεν, Μενέλεω λύπην πικρὰν) must always have been a familiar grammatical example.

There is yet a greater cause of offence. It is sheer nonsense to say that the towers of Troy sustained a σύγχυσις βίου.

I am much inclined to read :

πικρὰν κρίσιν δ' ἔνεγκε βοοτρόφος πόλει θ'  
 ἀμ' Ἴλιά περγάμοις τε Τροίας.

I read βοοτρόφος in lieu of βίου Φρυγῶν for the sufficient reason that in the next line but two Paris is called *νιν*, without any recent mention of him. The MSS. read there *νιν Πάριν* : but Hermann points out that the scholia make it certain that *νιν Πάριν* is a corruption of *νιν μόρον*. This



is an excellent instance of a gloss being mistaken for a correction, and therefore supplanting a somewhat similar word in the text.

Assuming for the sake of argument that my anti-strophic emendations are sound (and except for the sake of argument I dare assume nothing of the sort, though I regard them as fairly probable), I would take the opportunity of indicating what has happened to the original text.

The *κρί-* of *κρίσιω* has disappeared in virtue of haplography, because of the presence of the *-ικρ-* of *πικρὰν*. That leaves *-σιω* unsupported before *ἔνεγκε*. The result is that the letters *σιω* were taken to be a correction of *ἔνεγκε*. *ἔνεγκε* itself was a little altered: *σ* was put at the beginning of it, and *ω* at the end. The upshot was *σύγχυσιω*. *δ'* was omitted. From this fact (for the sake of argument I treat it as a fact) I infer that the corruption was uncial. **Δ** is like **N**, but *δ* is not like *ν*.

I mention these details because, even if my emendations be thought improbable, I wish to make it quite plain that I am emending not at random but with method. The method may not in my hands be employed with sufficient skill to produce satisfactory results; but in that case it is I that am in fault, and not the method. Of the method I have no doubts at all: of my own capacity to use it I am less confident.

In the second strophe and antistrophe of this chorus there are no instances of my phenomenon.

### THIRD CHORUS (ll. 464-536)

#### A AND B

The third lines of the second strophe and antistrophe are lyrical iambic trimeters. In the strophic line the third foot is a tribrach and the fifth foot an iamb: in the antistrophic line the third foot is an iamb and the fifth foot a tribrach. It is also to be noticed that the first foot of the strophic line is an iamb, that of the antistrophic line a spondee.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 481. σοφῶν τε πλήθος ἀθρόον ἀσθενέστερον

(b) l. 489. κτείνει δὲ τὴν τάλαιναν Ἰλιάδα κόραν

Nauck very properly (though on his theories, unless he covertly agrees with me, I cannot see why he should do anything of the kind) emends, in his notes, the antistrophic line thus :

κτενεῖ δὲ τὴν τάλαιναν Ἰλίαν κόραν.

This still leaves ἀθρόον uncured.

The strophic context is :

σοφῶν τε πλήθος ἀθρόον ἀσθενέστερον

φauλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς

ένός, ἃ δύνασις ἀνά τε μέλαθρα κατά τε πόλιας,

όπόταν εὐρεῖν θέλωσι καιρόν.

The word ἀθρόον seems to me pointless. If the line of thought connected with ἀθρόον is to be introduced into the passage at all, 'dissipated,' not 'collected,' would yield the more proper antithesis. But seeing that the opposition is to φρενὸς, which in the surroundings may fairly be translated by the word 'personality,' I am inclined to suggest :

σοφῶν τε πλήθος ἄφρον ἀσθενέστερον

φauλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς

ένός.

In addition to the other well-known deficiencies of a corporation, such a body certainly lacks a φρήν, in the sense that it is unable to exercise volition. It is invested with personality in law only and not in fact.

Though φρήν and φρένες are no doubt capable of a good many shades of meaning, I think that the reader of the classics ought constantly to be on the look-out for their use in the sense of something like 'will.' νοῦν ἔχειν καὶ φρένας (*Ranae* 534) is an example of a common combination. νοῦς denotes the ratiocinative organ, φρένες the volitional.

## C

In the fourth line of the second strophe the seventh syllable is a long: the fourth line of the second antistrophe substitutes for this long two shorts. It is also to be observed that the last syllable of the strophic line is long, the last syllable of the antistrophic line is short.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 482. φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς  
 (β) l. 490. παῖδά τε δύσφρονος ἔριδος ὕπερ (the first word of the next line is ἄθεος)

For ἔριδος ὕπερ Hermann reads ἐξ ἔριδος. This reading seems to be improbable on account of the difficulty of supposing that ἐξ ἔριδος was corrupted into ἔριδος ὕπερ, and impossible, if αὐτοκρατοῦς is correct, because of the quantity of the final syllable.

ἔριδος ὕπερ is so thoroughly characteristic of the style of the tragedians, that I do not think that it is in those words that the fault lies.

Few passages offer so little foothold to the emender. I am somewhat inclined to read:

- (α) φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατέος ἄρ'  
 (β) παῖδά τε δυσφρονέουσ' ἔριδος ὕπερ

But it is open to anyone to suspect much wider corruption in the strophic line. φρενὸς and ἐνός (l. 484) are sufficiently similar to arouse suspicion, and (if my emendation under B is correct) it is extremely doubtful whether φαυλοτέρας can be allowed to stand. φαυλοτέρας would have to mean not 'more φαύλα' (for *ex hypothesi* there is no other φρήν in question) but 'somewhat φαύλα.' I am not satisfied; but I can see no further light.

## FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 766–801)

(ll. 777–801 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest.)

No instances.



## FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 825-865)

(ll. 825-30 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest.)

On this chorus Hermann has an interesting note: "Duas strophas atque antistrophas quum distinxisset Barnesius, non erat quod eum sequi Matthiae propterea vereretur, quod quae sequerentur non essent antistrophica. Nam adempto sibi mucrone magis perturbata Hermiona magis etiam inaequabilia loquitur." Hermann, if I may presume to review his verdict, is right in insisting on the existence of two strophes and antistrophes (the second strophe and antistrophe are by no means generally recognized); but he is wrong in supposing that the rest of the ode is anomoeostrophic, and particularly wrong in the reason he gives for that opinion. "The gods approve the depth and not the tumult of the soul," and the tragedians would not have admitted emotion as justifying the abandonment of law.

The first strophe contains ll. 825-8, the first antistrophe ll. 829-32. The second strophe contains ll. 833-6, the second antistrophe ll. 837-40.

The chorus is written in the dochmiac metre: which fact accounts amply for bewildering corruptions.

The third strophe includes ll. 841-5, and a lost tragic trimeter (the tragic trimeters masquerade as part of the chorus) immediately after l. 845: the third antistrophe includes ll. 846-52. The fourth strophe embraces ll. 853-8, and the fourth antistrophe ll. 859-65.

The limits of the last strophes and antistrophes are really not very hard to determine. The third strophe and antistrophe is fixed by the length of the various speeches, and we arrive at the fourth strophe and antistrophe by dividing a set of lines in the mouth of Hermione into two equal parts.

But as regards precise correspondence the dochmiac strophes and antistrophes with which we are dealing are as corrupt as the worst parts of the *Helen* or whatever play of Euripides may be considered more corrupt than even the *Helen*.

## THE FIRST STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE

The first strophe and antistrophe run thus :

- EP. *ἰὼ μοί μοι* 825 *στρ. α'*  
*σπάραγμα κόμας ὀνύχων τε δάια*  
*μύγματα θήσομαι.*
- TP. *ὦ παῖ, τί δράσεις ; σῶμα σὸν καταικιεῖ ;*
- EP. *αἰαῖ αἰαῖ* *ἀντ. α'*  
*ἔρρ' αἰθέριον πλοκάμων ἐμῶν ἄπο,* 830  
*λεπτόμιτον φάρος.*
- TP. *τέκνον, κάλυπτε στέρνα, σύνδησαι πέπλοις*  
*(οἱ πέπλους).*

It will be seen that these lines present no example of my phenomenon. Nevertheless the dochmii are sadly corrupt.

It is clear that in l. 830 *πλοκάμων* is wrong. From l. 832 we perceive that Hermione bared not her head but her bosom.

Tentatively I suggest the following reconstruction :

- EP. *ἰὼ μοί μοι* 825 *στρ. α'*  
*σπαραγμὸν κόμας ὀνυχί τ' ἀνταῖφ*  
*νύγματα θήσομαι.*
- TP. *ὦ παῖ, τί δράσεις ; σῶμα σὸν καταικιεῖ ;*
- EP. *αἰαῖ αἰαῖ* *στρ. β'*  
*ἀπερρῶι ρεθῶν περιπλόκημ' ἐμῶν,* 830  
*λεπτόμιτον φάρος.*
- TP. *τέκνον, κάλυπτε στέρνα, σύνδησαι πέπλους.*

The trimeters are extra-lyrical.

## THE SECOND STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE

The second strophe and antistrophe are as follows :

## EPMIONH

- τί δέ με δεῖ (abcd omit δεῖ) στέρνα καλύπτειν*  
*πέπλοις ;* *στρ. β'*
- δῆλα καὶ ἀμφιφανῆ καὶ ἄκρυπτα*  
*δεδράκαμεν πόσιν.* 835

## ΤΡΟΦΟΣ

ἀλγείς, φόνον (C μόρον for φόνον) ῥάψασα συγγάμῳ  
σέθεν ;

## ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ

κατὰ μὲν οὖν στένω δαίαις (for δαίαις b and c give  
δικαίαις, and d δεμίαις) τόλμας, ἂν ἔρεξ' ἀντ. β'  
ἂ κατάρατος (so B: ἔρεξα κατάρατος C: ἔρεξ' ἢ  
κατάρατος E: ἔρεξ' ὦ κατάρατος ceteri  
codices) ἐγὼ κατάρατος  
ἀνθρώποις.

## ΤΡΟΦΟΣ

συγγνώσεται σοι τήνδ' ἁμαρτίαν πόσις. 840

Metrical correspondence has disappeared in several places, but there is no instance of my phenomenon.

I doubtfully suggest ·

ΕΡ. τί δέ με δεῖ στέγειν καλύπτρα πέπλου ; στρ. β'  
δῆλα κάκ' ἀμφάδαν ἄκρυπτα δεδρά-  
-καμεν ἐμὸν πόσιν. 835

ΤΡ. ἀλγείς, φόνον ῥάψασα συγγάμῳ σέθεν ;  
ΕΡ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν στένω· δαῖγμόν γ' ὄρεξ' ἀντ. β'  
ἂ κατάρατος ὦ κακόφατός τε πᾶ-  
-σιν ἄμ' ὀλέθριος.

ΤΡ. συγγνώσεται σοι τήνδ' ἁμαρτίαν πόσις. 840

## THE THIRD STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE

I cannot see how any reasonable doubt with regard to the identification of the third strophe and antistrophe can exist in the mind of a scholar who examines this chorus carefully.

They run thus :

## ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ

τί μοι ξίφος ἐκ χειρὸς ἠγρεύσω ; στρ. γ'  
ἀπόδος, ὦ φίλ', ἀπόδος, ἴν' ἀνταίαν (for ὦ φίλ', ὦ  
φίλος, and ὦ φίλη, also occur) 842-3  
ἐρείσω πλαγάν· τί με βρόχων εἴργεις ;



## ΤΡΟΦΟΣ

ἀλλ' εἴ σ' ἀφείην μὴ φρονοῦσαν, ὡς θάνοις ;

845

## ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ

οἴμοι πότμου.

ποῦ μοι πυρὸς φίλα φλόξ ;

ἀντ. γ'

ποῦ δ' εἰς πέτρας ἀερθῶ,

κατὰ πόντον ἢ καθ' ὕλαν ὀρέων,

ἵνα θανούσα νερτέροισιν μέλω ;

850

## ΤΡΟΦΟΣ

τί ταῦτα μοχθεῖς ; συμφοραὶ θεήλατοι

πάσιν βροτοῖσιν ἢ τότ' ἦλθον ἢ τότε.

The lines present four instances of my phenomenon.

## A, B, C AND D

The dochmius of l. 842 of the type  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup$  (on one reading) is answered by a dochmius (*sic*) in l. 849 of the type  $\cup\cup-\cup\cup-$ . They are :

(α) l. 842. ἀπόδος, ὦ φίλος, ἀπ-

(β) in l. 849. κατὰ πόντον ἦ

The dochmius of l. 843 is of the type  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup-$ , and is answered by a dochmius in l. 849 of the type  $\cup-\cup\cup-\cup-$ . The dochmii are :

(α) l. 843. -όδος, ἴν' ἀνταΐαν

(β) in l. 849. καθ' ὕλαν ὀρέων

The first pseudo-dochmius of l. 844 is of the type  $\cup-\cup-\cup-\cup-$ , and the second pseudo-dochmius of the type  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup-$  : in the corresponding antistrophic line, 850, the first dochmius is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup-$  and the second of the form  $\cup-\cup\cup-\cup-$ . These are the lines :

(α) l. 844. ἐρείσω πλαγάν· τί με βρόχων εἴργεις ;

(β) l. 850. ἵνα θανούσα νερτέροισιν μέλω ;

It is fairly plain that the words assigned to Hermione, which form l. 846, are a mutilated fragment of the second line of the tragic couplet in the mouth of the nurse.

I attempt the following reconstitution :

EP.	τί δ' ἔκ μοι ξίφος χερὸς ἀγρεύσα'; ἀλλ' ἀπόδος, ὦ φίλι', ἀπόδος, ἴν' ἀνταΐαν ἐρείσω σφαγάν. τί χειροῖν μ' ἔχεις;	στρ. γ' 842-3
TP.	ἀλλ' εἴ σ' ἀφείην μὴ φρονοῦσαν, ὡς θάνοις, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶην αἰτία τοῦ σοῦ πότμου;	845 846
EP.	πυρὸς πομφόλυξ προπετέ' ἐρσάτω μ', ἀνά τε πόντον ἄμα κατὰ τε γᾶν θέων, ἴν' ἄνουσα νερτέροισιν μέλω.	847 848-9 850
TP.	τί ταῦτα μοχθεῖς; ξυμφοραὶ θεήλατοι πᾶσιν βροτοῖσιν ἢ τότε' ἦλθον ἢ τότε.	

ὦ φίλι' seems to be the origin of the three readings ὦ φίλ', ὦ φίλε, and ὦ φίλη. φίλιος is quite regularly of two terminations. The reading ὦ φίλος is probably due to a momentary impression in the mind of some copyist that the τροφός was masculine; but Eustathius in his discussion of φιλίων, φίλιστος, seems to suggest, though he does not say, that there was a neuter abstract φίλος, φίλους, like ἄλγος, ἄλγους.

My suggestion is that the ἂν εἶην of l. 846 has dropped out because of its similarity to the word ἀφείην immediately above it. Similarly I conjecture that αἰτία was dropped out because of the -ετέ' of προπετέ' immediately below it: it is unnecessary to dwell on the constant confusion of ε and αι. These omissions, I contend or rather guess, caused τοῦ σοῦ πότμου to be ascribed to Hermione, and emended into οἴμοι πότμου. As a consequence πῶς οὐκ was left isolated, and was taken to be the beginning of l. 847, and was emended, presumably after considerable mutilation, into ποῦ μοι. πομφόλυξ, to which I have deliberately given its later gender, was not unnaturally written in some unintelligible manner. Finally an emender put ll. 847-8 into their vulgate form, with a repeated ποῦ.

I must not be taken as arguing in favour of anything more than the possibility of my own emendations; but I think that I have shown—and this is all-important—

that, right or wrong, they form a whole consistent in its parts.

#### THE FOURTH STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE

The fourth strophe and antistrophe run as follows :

EP. ἔλιπες ἔλιπες, ὦ πάτερ, ἐπακτίαν	στρ. δ'
ὡσεὶ μονάδ' ἔρημον οὔσαν ἐναλίου κόπας.	854—5
ὀλεῖ μ' ὀλεῖ με· οὐκέτι τᾶδ' (Seidler τᾶδ' οὐκέτ') ἐνοικήσω	
νυμφιδίῳ στέγα.	
τίνος ἀγαλμάτων ἰκέτις ὄρμαθῶ,	858—9 ἀντ. δ'
ἧ δούλα δούλας γόνασι προσπέσω ;	860
Φθιάδος ἐκ γᾶς	
κτανόπτερος ὄρνις εἶθ' εἶην,	
ἧ πευκᾶεν σκάφος, ἃ	
διὰ Κτανέας ἐπέρασεν ἀκτὰς	
πρωτόπλοος πλάτα.	865

In the middle of l. 856, after *ὀλεῖ με*, a gloss is interpolated by all the MSS., except *C*. The gloss runs *δηλαδὴ πόσις*, except that *B* presents *δηλαδὴ πόσιν*. What circumstance caused this gloss to be mistaken for a correction? Obviously the fact that if the gloss is added to the text, we have a complete trimeter, viz. :

*κόπας. ὀλεῖ μ' ὀλεῖ με, δηλαδὴ πόσις.*

This is the most violent interpolation of a gloss that I have observed in the writings of the tragedians; but it is to be noticed that even this gloss is not interpolated without an accompanying circumstance which caused it to be mistaken for something other than a gloss.

These lines, properly considered but not at first sight, yield three instances of my phenomenon.

#### E, F AND G

The first dochmius of l. 853 is of the form ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - : the dochmiac l. 858, which is really its antistrophic



counterpart, is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ . These are the dochmii :

- (a) in l. 853. ἔλιπες ἔλιπες, ὦ  
 (b) l. 858. τίνος ἀγαλμάτων

The dochmiac l. 855 is of the form  $\cup\cup\cup\cup----$ : the corrupted dochmius in the middle of l. 863, which dochmius is really its antistrophic counterpart, is of the form  $-----\cup\cup$ . These are the dochmii :

- (a) l. 855. -σαν ἐναλίου κόπας  
 (b) in l. 863. πενκᾶεν σκάφος

The strophe has been strikingly corrupted. It is fairly evident that Hermione is seeking yet some new kind of death. I have little doubt that she is asking for the fate which threatened Andromeda. In the antistrophe there is an interpolated line, and also a considerable amount of expansion, based on the fact that the σκάφος of the Argo is, I contend, described as πτερόεν (cf. εἶθ' ὄφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διάπτασθαι σκάφος), and that the Κυάνειαι πέτραι are mentioned, whence has arisen an extraordinary digression referring to a κυανόπτερος ὄρνις.

With much more confidence than I feel as regards the rest of this chorus, I propose here to read :

EP. λίπε συ, λίπε σύ μ', ὦ πάτερ, ἐπακτίαν, στρ. δ'  
 μονάδ', ἔρημον, ὡς ἂν κατὰ κνωδάλου  
 δεῖμ' ὀλέση με. τᾶδ' οὐκέτι νάσσομαι  
 νυμφιδίῳ στέγα.  
 τίνος ἂν ἀθανάτων ἰκέτιν ἄρμ' ἄγοι αντ. δ'  
 Φθιάδος ἔκ με γᾶς, ἧ πτερόεν σκάφος,  
 τὸ διὰ Κυανᾶς ἐξέλασεν πέτρας .  
 πρωτόπλοος πλάτα ;

I need hardly say that I regard this as the passage which Apollonius is directly imitating in his exordium :

ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν  
 μνήσομαι, οἷ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας  
 Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελίας  
 χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας εὐζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ.

I imagine that the text became extremely corrupt, and that, recollecting the device (viz. the employment of a dove which lost its tail) by means of which Jason passed through the Symplegades, some emender combined πτερόεν and Κνανᾶς into a reference to Jason's dove, and interlineated his emendation. Afterwards, I suggest, some other emender transformed the interlineation into a wish on the part of Hermione that she might become a κνανόπτερος ὄρνις (cf. Psalm lv. 6).

Φθιάδος ἐκ γᾶς makes nonsense, unless some such emendation of ll. 858–9 as I have suggested be adopted, and unless—and this is a point of interest and importance—l. 860 be altogether omitted. That line has the appearance of being a mutilated pentameter. It is probably a quotation, slightly altered, from some elegiac poem dealing with the Hermione legend.

#### SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1009–1046)

(ll. 1042–6 are preserved in the Jerusalem palimpsest.)

This chorus presents no example of the phenomenon I am investigating. It is interesting, however, as exhibiting in l. 1045 one of the two instances in which the Jerusalem palimpsest differs materially from the vulgate. The other instance is in l. 1518 of the *Orestes*. Neither of them concerns the present investigation.

#### SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1173–1225)

This chorus consists of two strophes and antistrophes.

The first strophe and antistrophe are generally recognized, and extend from l. 1173 to l. 1196. They contain no example of my phenomenon.

This strophe and antistrophe consist of dactylic tetrameters and dimeters, spondees being admitted, but very sparingly, and the clausula is peculiar, being composed of an anapaest, a tribrach, and a spondee.

After the strophe (ll. 1173–83), which is in the mouth of Peleus, as is also the antistrophe, comes a couplet of tragic trimeters in the mouth of the chorus. There is

no corresponding couplet at the end of the antistrophe (ll. 1186-96). After the antistrophe the next words are uttered by the chorus. Hence it is impossible to assume the loss of a couplet in the mouth of the chorus. As Peleus and the chorus are alone on the stage, save for the presence of *mutae personae* bearing the corpse of Neoptolemus, the Messenger having almost certainly departed at the end of l. 1165, there seems to be no character to whom a lost couplet can be assigned.

I conclude that no couplet is lost, but that ll. 1184-5 are an interpolation. Those two lines have not an authentic appearance. They run :

οὐτός τ' ἂν ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐτιμᾶτ' ἄν, γέρον,  
θανών, τὸ σὸν δ' ἦν ᾧδ' ἂν εὐτυχέστερον.

The first of the two lines seems to me a reminiscence of the thought of ll. 309-20 of the *Hecuba*, and the second an adaptation of l. 377 of the same play :

θανὼν δ' ἂν εἶη μᾶλλον εὐτυχέστερος.

After the first strophe and antistrophe come twenty-nine lines (ll. 1197-1225), which Hermann divides into four very short strophes and antistrophes.

Hermann's division may be indicated by a diagram. It will be observed that he treats the first strophe and antistrophe (above mentioned) as a system apart, and starts with a new first strophe, as if a new chorus began at this point. Here is the diagram :

στρ. α' )  
ἀντ. α' )  
στρ. β' )  
στρ. γ' )  
στρ. δ' )  
ἀντ. δ' )  
ἀντ. β' )  
ἀντ. γ' )

More recent editors, while following Hermann in essentials, have seen that his arrangement admits of simplification. Since his strophe γ' immediately follows his strophe β', and since likewise his antistrophe γ' immediately follows his antistrophe β', it is obvious that strophes β' and γ' should be combined into one strophe,



and antistrophes  $\beta'$  and  $\gamma'$  into one antistrophe. Hence, as the real result of Hermann's division, we arrive at the diagram :

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{στρ. α'} \\ \text{ἀντ. α'} \\ \text{στρ. β'} \\ \text{στρ. γ'} \\ \text{ἀντ. γ'} \\ \text{ἀντ. β'} \end{array}$$

But the whole arrangement is erroneous. This latter part of the chorus consists of one strophe and one antistrophe only.

A fact which has materially contributed to hiding the truth is that one line in the strophe, which originally, I think, was in the form

ὄφελος δόμον λιπεῖν ἔρημον,

appears in two corrupted forms side by side as

ὦ φίλος, δόμον ἔλειπες ἔρημον,  
ὦ μοι μοι, ταλαίπωρον ἐμέ.

A careful study of the *ductus literarum* of each of these two lines will show that there is a most surprising graphic similarity between them. I conjecture that corruption originally arose from a failure to understand that the sentence in question is interrogative, and also I believe that our text presents a contamination of two separate corrupted versions.

Putting the disturbance, caused by this singular occurrence, on one side, we find that the latter portion of the chorus consists of a dialogue between Peleus and the chorus, which admits of division into two approximately equal parts, and that in each part the several remarks of the speakers correspond in length sufficiently closely to make strophic antistrophic correspondence almost certain, while emendation is so easy as to convert the almost into something very like an altogether.

The passage runs as follows :

XO. ὅτοτοῖ ὅτοτοῖ·

θανόντα δεσπόταν γόοις  
νόμφ τῷ νερτέρων κατάρξω.

- ΠΗ. ὄτοτοῖ ὄτοτοῖ· 1200  
 διάδοχα (al. διάδοχα δ', ὦ Heimsoeth διάνδιχ',  
 ὦ) τάλας ἐγώ,  
 γέρων καὶ δυστυχῆς δακρύω.
- ΧΟ. θεοῦ γὰρ αἴσα, θεὸς ἔκρανε συμφορῖν.
- ΠΗ. ὦ φίλος, δόμον ἔλειπες (al. ἔλιπες) ἔρημον, 1205  
 ὦμοι μοι, ταλαίπωρον ἐμὲ  
 γέροντ' ἄπαιδα νοσφίσας.
- ΧΟ. θανεῖν θανεῖν σε, πρέσβυ, χρῆν πάρος τέκνων.
- ΠΗ. οὐ σπαράξομαι κόμαν,  
 οὐκ ἐπιθήσομαι ἐμῷ κάρῃ 1210  
 κτύπημα χερὸς ὀλοόν; ὦ πόλις πόλις,  
 διπλῶν τέκνων μ' ἐστέρησε Φοῖβος.
- ΧΟ. ὦ κακὰ παθὼν ἰδὼν τε δυστυχῆς γέρων,  
 τίν' αἰῶν' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξεις; 1215
- ΠΗ. ἄτεκνος ἔρημος, οὐκ ἔχων πέρας κακῶν  
 διαντλήσω πόνους ἐς Ἄιδαν.
- ΧΟ. μάτην δέ σ' ἐν γάμοισιν ὠλβισαν θεοί.
- ΠΗ. ἀμπτάμενα φροῦδα πάντα κεῖται  
 κόμπῳ μεταρσίῳ (Reiske κόμπων μεταρσίῳν,  
 Lenting κοντῶ μεταρσίῳ!) πρόσω. 1220
- ΧΟ. μόνος μόνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἀναστρέφει.
- ΠΗ. οὐκέτ' ἔστι μοι πόλις,  
 σκῆπτρά τ' ἐρρέτω τάδ' ἐπὶ γαίαν  
 σύ τ' ὦ κατ' ἄντρα νύχια (Hermann μύχια)  
 Νηρέως κόρη,  
 πανώλεθρόν μ' ὄψεται πίτνοντα πρὸς γᾶν. 1225

I have not troubled the reader with a variety of MS. readings: there seem to be no alternatives of any material importance.

I propose to read:

- ΧΟ. ὄτοτοτοῖ· θανόντα δεσπόταν γοοῖς στρ. β'  
 νόμῳ τῷ νερτέρων κατάρξω.
- ΠΗ. ὄτοτοτοτοῖ· διάνδιχ' ὦ τάλας ἐγώ 1200  
 γέρων καὶ δυστυχῆς δακρύω.
- ΧΟ. θεοῦ γὰρ αἴσα, θεὸς ἔκρανε συμφοράν.
- ΠΗ. ὠφελές δόμον λιπεῖν ἔρημον, 1205  
 γέροντ' ἄπαιδα νοσφίσας;
- ΧΟ. θανεῖν θανεῖν σε, πρέσβυ, χρῆν πάρος τέκνων.

- ΠΗ. οὐ σπαράξομαι κόμαν·  
οὐ θήσομαι παρειᾶν 1210  
κτύπημα χερσὶν ὀλοόν; ὦ πόλις πόλις,  
διπλῶν τέκνων μ' ἐστέρησε Φοῖβος.
- ΧΟ. κάκ' ὦ παθὼν ἰδῶν τε δυστυχῆς γέρων, ἀντ. β'  
τίν' αἰῶν' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξεις; 1215
- ΠΗ. ἄτεκνος ἔρημος, οὐκ ἔχων πέρας κακῶν  
διαντλήσω πόνους ἐς Ἄιδαν.
- ΧΟ. μάταν δέ σ' ἐν γάμοισιν ὄλβισαν θεοί.
- ΠΗ. ὄλβισάν μ'· ἂ φροῦδα πάντα κείται  
κόμπων μεταρσίων πρόσω. 1220
- ΧΟ. μόνος μόνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἀναστρέφει.
- ΠΗ. οὐκέτ' ἔστι μοι πόλις·  
σκᾶπτρον ῥέπει παλαιόν·  
σύ τ', ὦ κατ' ἄντρα μύχια Νηρέως κόρα,  
πανώλεθρόν μ' ὄψεται πίτνοντα. 1225

I will only call special attention to my treatment of l. 1223. It seems to me impossible to couple with τε an imperative to an indicative in the way in which ἐρρέτω is coupled in the MSS. to ἔστι. Granted this, my emendation follows almost as a matter of course; and, if it follows, then there arises a strong metrical argument in favour of my division (which, I confess, seems to me obvious) into strophe and antistrophe. All that I assume throughout is that the latter portion of this chorus is rather more corrupt than most editors have liked to admit, although Hermann indeed, in order to secure correspondence between his strophes and antistrophes, has had recourse to much more radical treatment than I have suggested.

## A

If I am right, one instance of my phenomenon occurs in ll. 1200-1 and 1216:

- (a) ll. 1200-1. ὅτοτοῖ ὅτοτοῖ· διάδοχα δ', ὦ τάλας ἐγώ  
(b) l. 1216. ἄτεκνος ἔρημος, οὐκ ἔχων πέρας κακῶν

See the readings I suggest above, and Heimsoeth's emendation.



## B, C AND D

Again, if I am right, three other instances occur in ll. 1205 and 1219 :

(α) l. 1205. ὦ φίλος, δόμον ἔλιπες ἔρημον

(β) l. 1219. ἀμπτάμενα φρούδα πάντα κείται

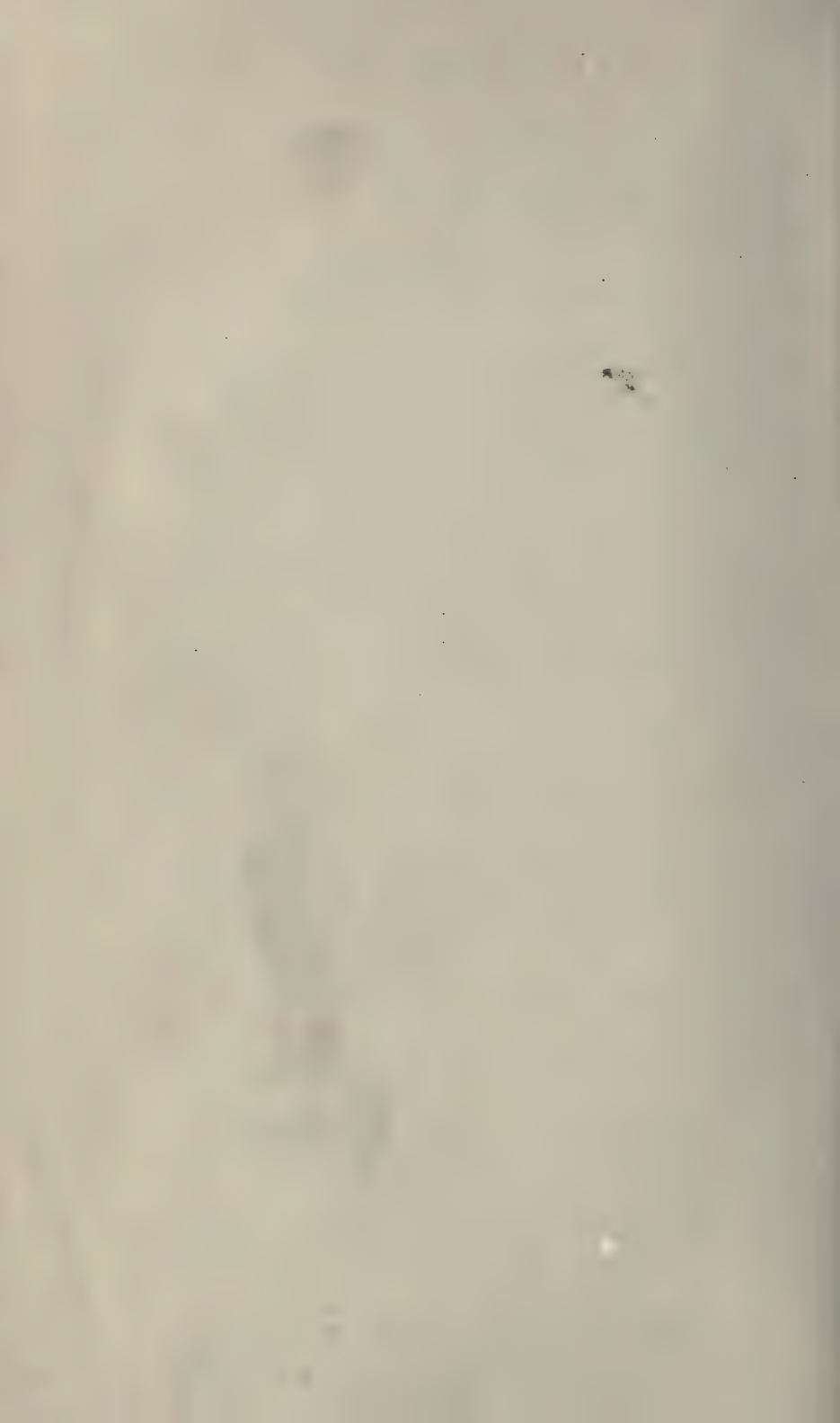
Here also see the suggestions I have made.

It may be asked why the latter portion of this chorus has been corrupted, and not the earlier portion also. My answer is that very probably the earlier portion of the chorus has been corrupted, but has since been reconstituted by some copyist not unskilled in hexametrical composition, an art at no time rare. I very much doubt whether we have the words of Euripides as he wrote them: the metre of the clausulae seems to me suspicious in the highest degree. But if it is a case of reconstitution, I must at least compliment the unknown reconstitutor on one point of metrical erudition: he knew enough to present not one single instance of my phenomenon. Consequently there are hardly any joints in his armour. Emenders of this kind are as dangerous as they are few.

## SUMMARY

The *Andromache* presents twenty-one examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. Three occur within the compass of one line, and no less than four sets of two each similarly present themselves within the limits of single lines. With regard to most of the remaining ten some consideration of the context is necessary.

END OF VOL. I









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