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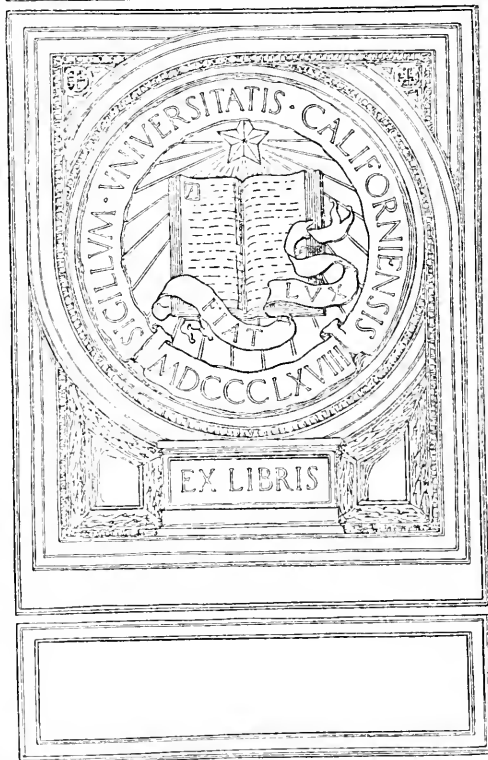


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**OF EURIPIDES**

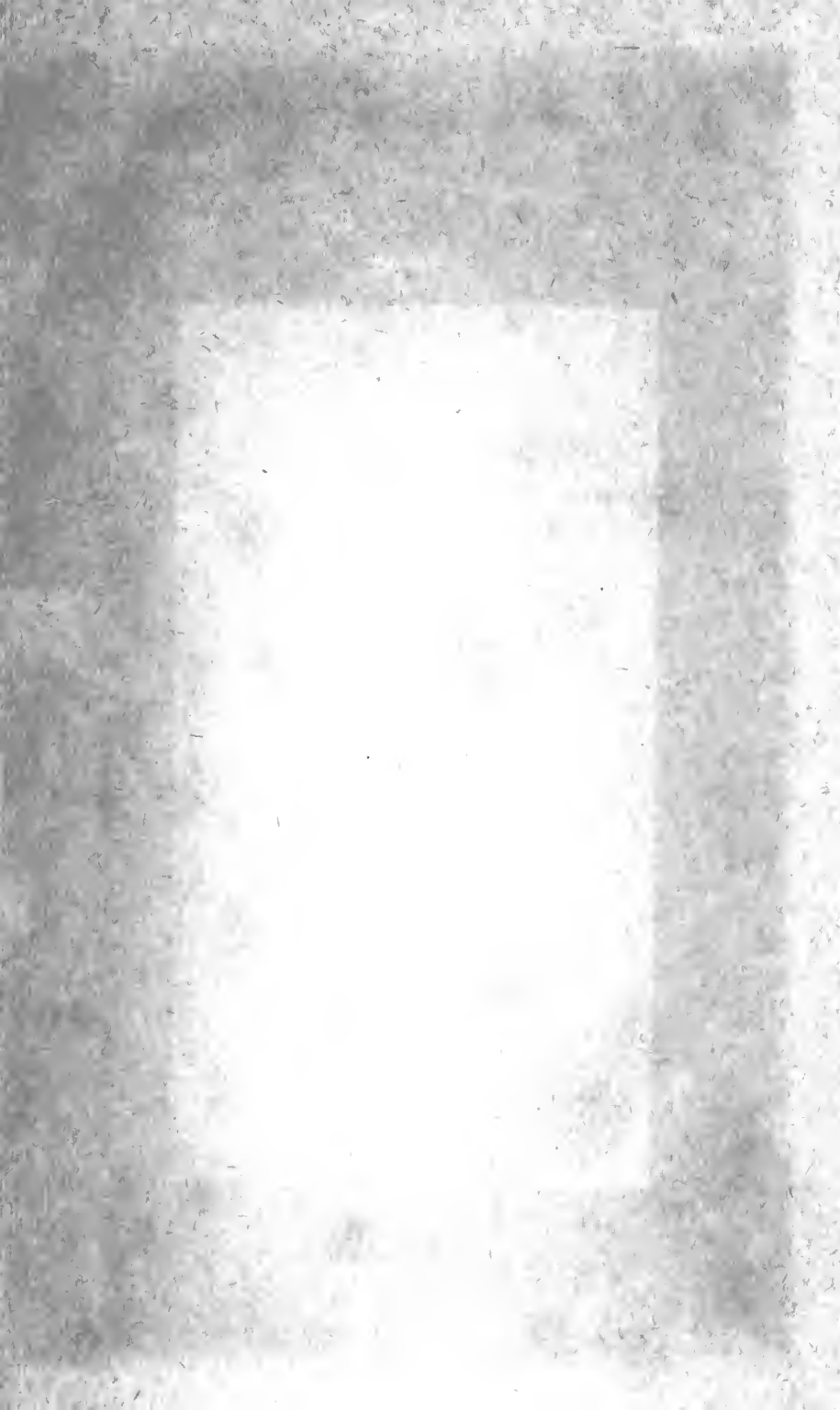
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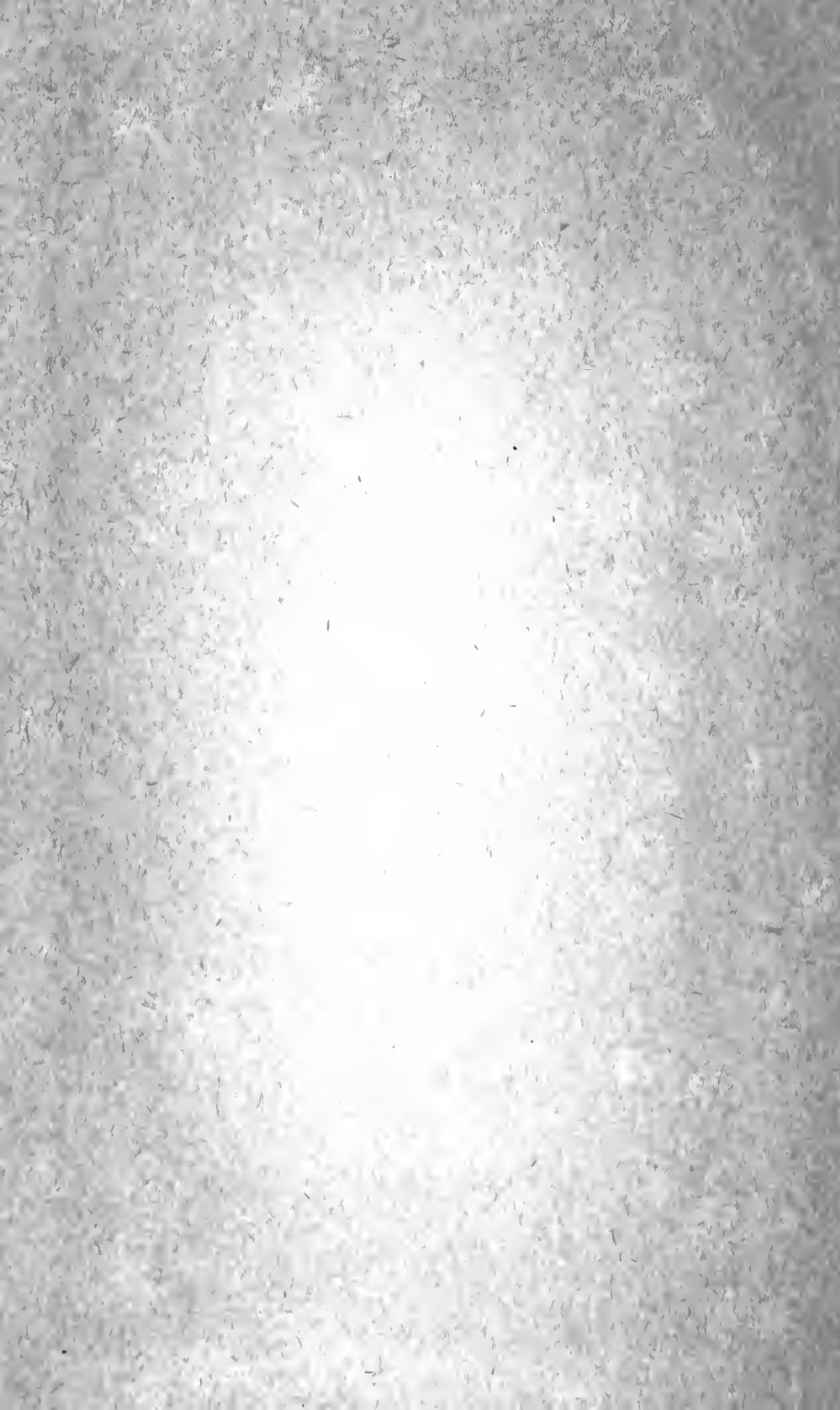
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# MACEDONIAN TETRALOGY

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THE  
MACEDONIAN TETRALOGY  
OF EURIPIDES

DISCUSSED AND EDITED BY

RICHARD JOHNSON WALKER

*Ecce autem hircus caprarum veniebat ab occidente  
super faciem totius terrae.—DANIEL viii. 5.*

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### ΤΑΙ ΕΜΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ

Ἐντί τι ταὶ Μῶσαι τε καὶ ἅ τέχνα· ἐν δ' ἔτ' ἄμεινον  
 τοῦτ', ἄλοχον κεδνὰν χῶμόφρον' οἴκοι ἔχειν·  
 οὔποτε γὰρ κείνας χάρις ὄλλυται, αἱ δὲ λέλογχε  
 τὰς θ' ἅμα τις καὶ τάν, τῶ μακάρων ὁ βίος.  
 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Σοφία (τὸ καλόν τυ γὰ τᾶδ' ἐκλείξεν  
 ἅ ματῆρ, σοφίας λῶνα φῦσαν ἐμᾶς),  
 δέξο τε βίβλον τάνδε, φίλαις ἵνα φῆς· ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ  
 σκαιὸς ἐν ὄρχησταῖς, οἶδε δὲ ταῦτα γράφειν.

424740



## PREFACE

THIS short book is emphatically an attempt. The favourable reception accorded by scholars of eminence to my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* has tempted me, after serious preparatory study of the *Fragments* of Aeschylus and Euripides, to try my hand at last on a really difficult task.

My ambition in this volume is to push forward a little the frontiers, I will not say of knowledge (for knowledge is a matter of certainties), but of well founded opinion (and that is a matter of probabilities). If in this aim I succeed, I shall be more than content : if, on the contrary, I fail therein, I shall not be greatly disappointed ; for in itself and apart from results the attempt will have been worth the making. Besides, the adventurer in this genre may almost make sure of reaping, though it be not perhaps in the main field of his activity, some sort or other of an intellectual harvest.

*Off the Canary Islands,*  
May 14, 1920.



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# THE MACEDONIAN TETRALOGY OF EURIPIDES

## CHAPTER I

### FABULAE NECFABULAE

WHEN I wrote my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, I was unaware of a most important division of *satyrica* into two classes. I knew, of course, that the term was applied in antiquity, not only to *satyrica* proper, *i.e.* plays with a Chorus of Satyrs, but also to some at least of such fourth plays of tetralogies as lacked this feature. I knew also that, in addition to the *satyrica* appurtenant to tragedy, comedies with Chori of Satyrs were not wanting. I did not know, and no one else knew, that Euripides, while composing the minority of his *satyrica* on an undeniably *dramatic* basis, such as we see in the case of the *Cyclops*, yet threw the majority of them into a form that the critics of Alexandria, though apparently not those of Pergamum, denounced as *non-dramatic*. Yet not only is this a fact, but it seems also to be the case that the Alexandrians deliberately refused to preserve those Euripidean *satyrica* that they judged non-dramatic: at any rate, the two categories, viz. of Euripidean *satyrica* not preserved and of Euripidean *satyrica* judged non-dramatic, exactly and precisely coincide.

The evidence, which is conclusive, appears in a clear and convincing form as the result only of a comparison of two statements, one made by Suidas and the other by the anonymous author of the short notice entitled Εὐριπίδης Μησαρχίδου Ἀθηναῖος (sometimes called the "Elmsleian" *Life of Euripides*): with these two statements it is useful to consider a third statement which is contained in the Γένος Εὐριπίδου καὶ Βίος.

Suidas writes (*s.v.* Εὐριπίδης Μνησάρχου ἢ Μνησαρχίδου) of Euripides : δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς οἱ, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους φβ'· σώζονται δὲ οζ'. "His plays according to some are 75, but according to others 92 : the Museum actually preserves 77." σώζονται (and with it goes the familiar οὐ σώζεται) is like τοὺς σωζομένους in the *New Testament* : whatever it may *connote*, it does not *denote* "have been preserved." If the reader does not like my translation, let him, in substituting one of his own, bear this point well in mind.

The author of the Εὐριπίδης writes of the poet : τὰ πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα φη'· σώζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα ξζ'· καὶ γ' πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα σατυρικά δὲ ἡ'· ἀντιλέγεται δὲ καὶ τούτων τὸ α'. "In all he originally had 98 plays to his credit ; the Museum preserves 67 plays of his and three others, *i.e.* the disputed ones, and also eight that are Satyric ; but of these likewise there is a residuum of one that is disputed."

In the Γένος we read of him : τὰ πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα φβ', σώζεται δὲ οη', τούτων νοθεύεται τρία, Τέννης, Ῥαδάμανθυς, Πειρίθους. "In all he originally had 92 plays to his credit ; the Museum preserves 78. Of these three are condemned as spurious, the *Tennes*, the *Rhadamanthys*, the *Pirithous*."

To the difference between the three totals of the plays *composed* by Euripides, I will address myself in due course. Meanwhile, I would call attention to the fact that whereas Suidas speaks of 77 plays as preserved, the other two writers—later, doubtless, as they shew no knowledge of the more critical estimate of plays *composed*—speak of 78. The explanation, as I pointed out briefly in my edition of the *Ichneutae*, is that Euripides senior left behind him, as we know, a trilogy without a fourth play, which trilogy, as we also know, Euripides junior subsequently produced ἐν ἄσσει, so that he must have added to it a fourth play of his own composition, and in view of all the circumstances there can be no reasonable doubt but that this fourth play was the *Syleus* (though, for the purposes of this discussion, the question of its name is irrelevant). This fourth play is manifestly the solitary *antilegomenon satyricum* spoken of in the Εὐριπίδης. Suidas treats it, rightly, as outside his subject-matter. The Εὐριπίδης con-

siders it an *antilegomenon*. The Γένος, though it takes note of the three tragic *antilegomena*, accepts this play without question as by Euripides senior. The three writers seem thus to be placed in true chronological sequence.

The tragic *antilegomena* were three. Subtract these three from Suidas' figure of 77 preserved plays, and you have 74 plays left, or one less than the more conservative estimate of Euripides' total dramatic output. The missing play is in a manner known: it is that from which Aristophanes the Comedian quotes the lines which constitute *Fr.* 846 of Euripides, and which Aristarchus treats as possibly coming from a lost first edition of the *Archelaus*. Next, subtract all seven of the genuine *satyrica* mentioned in the Εὐριπίδης, that is to say, the seven then preserved fourth plays of Euripides' tetralogies. That leaves 67 plays. Further, subtract the *Rhesus*, an isolated drama that stands outside all trilogical or tetralogical systems. We are left with 66 plays. Proceed again to subtract the trilogy (the *Iphigenia in Aulide*, the *Alcmaeon Corinthi*, and the *Bacchae*) that Euripides at his death had not provided with a fourth play; 63 plays remain. We have subtracted already all the preserved fourth plays of tetralogies and also all the plays which, according to our information, stood outside the tetralogical system (the fact that the *Andromache* was not produced at Athens is no proof that it was not produced as part of a tetralogy). We ought then, so far as we know, to have in these 63 plays the 63 component plays of 21 trilogies, each of these 21 particular trilogies being a tetralogy minus its fourth play. Let us now add the 21 fourth plays (we have previously subtracted seven of them, but now we are building up again). That gives us 84 plays. Add the trilogy (which we subtracted) that Euripides never converted into a tetralogy. That gives us 87 plays. Add the *Rhesus* (which also we subtracted). That gives us 88 plays. Add the missing, but undoubted, play of Euripides. That gives us 89 plays. Add again the three tragic *antilegomena*, and we have the exact alternative total of 92 plays, mentioned by Suidas.

In other words, the difference of seventeen between the two totals is that between the figure of seven *satyrica*, the number recognised by Suidas as explained in effect by

the Εὐριπίδης, and that of 21 *satyrica* plus the three tragic *antilegomena*, i.e. 24. But why were fourteen *satyrica* excluded by the stricter school from the list of Euripides' plays?

That they were excluded is certain. Of the seven recognised *satyrica* we know all the names. That the others numbered precisely fourteen we should not indeed, except for the above calculation, know. But, independently of that calculation, seeing that the recorded tragedies of Euripides are either exactly 67 in number, or, at least, in the immediate neighbourhood of that figure, it is plain on any shewing that he composed many more than seven *satyrica* and consequently that some such number as fourteen of them must have been excluded. Moreover we actually know the name, the *Theristae* (its authenticity is undisputed), of one of the excluded *satyrica*: we know also the tetralogy which it concluded, and the fact that it was not preserved. Of another, the *satyricum* of the *connected* Oedipodean tetralogy, we know of the existence, though not of the name, which has perished in a lacuna; we know also that it was not preserved. Of yet a third, the *satyricum* of the *connected* Medean tetralogy, which begins with the *Peliades*, we may definitely infer the individual existence. And there must necessarily, apart from my special calculation, have been a good many others. An entirely independent argument confirms—though no confirmation is necessary—this conclusion. Suidas (*l.c.*) says a little later of Euripides: ἐπεδείξατο δὲ ὅλους ἐνιαυτοὺς κβ'. As he began exhibiting in 455 B.C. and ceased in 407 B.C. or 406 B.C., it is clear that the period of his activity extended over about 48, not 22, years. Suidas then must mean that he exhibited for 22 years, taken as units, and with periods of inactivity, in all. That spells, apart from posthumous works, about 22 tetralogies and, consequently, about 22 *satyrica*. If the *Rhesus* has a year all to itself, the natural figures are 21 tetralogies and 21 *satyrica*.—*Q. E. D.* Why then, although three *satyrica* proper, the *Cyclops*, the *Eurystheus*, and the *Sciron*, and four *quasi satyrica*, the *Alcestis*, the *Archelaus*, the second *Autolycus*, and the *Busiris* (not to speak of a possible fifth, though, owing to its special circumstances, it be nowhere listed as a fifth, the assumed earlier

*Archelaus*) are included, are the *Theristae* and its thirteen companions excluded from the dramatic roster?

There is only one answer. The stricter school did not regard them as δράματα.

But on what ground? Were they comedies? No. Comedies, equally with tragedies, are δράματα: indeed Suidas speaks of the 44 δράματα of Aristophanes. Were they then, in substance at least, merely choric productions? That is perhaps more like the fact. The real truth—though I am here treading on most difficult ground—seems to me to be that they constituted a class known as τὰ ἄπταιστα, pieces without any πταῖσμα or set-back, in which everything went as happily as a peal of wedding-bells. It is intelligible that such pieces should be denied the dramatic quality. The evidence, such as it is, is peculiar. Aristides, a scholar, not of Alexandria, but of Pergamum, though some two centuries after the removal to Alexandria of the original Pergamene library, writes (vol. ii. p. 51): οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως, οἶμαι, οἷ τε θεοὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἴσασι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι φάσκουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂ μέλλουσι ποιεῖν ἐπίστανται καὶ πρόκειται τὰ πράγματα' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. διὰ τοῦτο

Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖσι μάντις ἀψευδέστατος,

καὶ ὅτι γε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς μαρτυρεῖ·  
τὸ γὰρ δευτέρον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ

καὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ἔχει·

οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ τὰ πράγματα κρίνουσι.

On this the *scholium* runs: Εὐριπίδης ἐν ἀπταίστοις (*v.l.* ἀπράκτοις) πράγμασι (Nauck proposes δράμασι, but I suggest γράμμασι) φησὶ τὸ

Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖσι μάντις (*v.l.* μάντις ἐν θεοῖσιν) ἀψευδέστατος,

εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον

καὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ἔχει.

I suggest that at Pergamum at least was preserved a volume containing the ἄπταιστα γράμματα of Euripides, and that it is from that volume that the two fragments

(classed together as *Fr.* 1110, among the *Fragmenta Dubia et Spuria*, of Euripides) come.

To return to the main issue, in confirmation of what I have said, let me give the titles of the recorded plays of Euripides. It will be seen that the ground is well covered and that I have not been indulging in guesswork.

(a) The tragedies, excluding known fourth plays of tetralogies, are these:—(1) *The Aegæus*, (2) *the Aeolus*, (3) *the Ale*, quoted in Hesychius (*s.v.* ἀπρόσειλος) and required as third play of the connected tetralogy beginning with the *Peliades*, (4) *the Alcmena*, (5) the first *Alcmeon*, (6) the second *Alcmeon*, (7) *the Alexander*, (8) *the Alope*, (9) *the Andromache*, (10) *the Andromeda*, (11) *the Antigone*, (12) *the Antiope*, (13) *the Auge*, (14) the first *Autolycus*, quoted in Athenæus (*X.* p. 213 c), (15) *the Bacchæ*, (16) *the Bellerophontes*, (17) *the Butes Furens*, as to which—there is a conjecture in the title—see my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutæ*, (18) *the Cadmus*, (19) *the Chrysippus*, (20) *the Cresphontes*, (21) *the Cressæ*, (22) *the Cretes*, (23) *the Danae*, (24) *the Dictys*, (25) *the Electra*, (26) *the Erechtheus*, (27) *the Hecuba*, (28) *the Helena*, (29) *the Heraclidae*, (30) *the Hercules Furens*, (31) the first *Hippolytus*, (32) the second *Hippolytus*, (33) *the Hypsipyle*, (34) *the Ino*, (35) *the Ion*, (36) the first *Iphigenia*, (37) the second *Iphigenia*, (38) *the Lamia*, (39) *the Licymnius*, (40) *the Medea*, (41) the first *Melanippe*, (42) the second *Melanippe*, (43) *the Meleager*, (44) *the Oedipus*, (45) *the Oeneus*, (46) *the Oenomaus*, (47) *the Orestes*, (48) *the Palamedes*, (49) *the Peleus*, (50) *the Peliades*, (51) *the Phoenissæ*, (52) *the Plisthenes*, (53) *the Polyidus*, (54) *the Protesilaus*, (55) *the Rhesus*, (56) *the Scyrii*, (57) *the Stheneboea*, (58) *the Supplices*, (59) *the Telephus*, (60) *the Temenides*, as to which I shew in subsequent chapters that it is not the fourth play of its tetralogy, (61) *the Temenus*, (62) *the Troades*, (63) *the Phaethon*, (64) *the Philoctetes*, (65) *the Phoenix*, (66) the first *Phrixus*, and (67) the second *Phrixus*. An ΕΠΕΟC, unheard of otherwise, figures as a Euripidean play in the *Marmor Albanum*; hence an alleged tragic Ἐπειός. Read ΕΓΕΟC, *i.e.* ΑΙΓΑΙΟC. Aegæus is, as will appear in this book, another name of King Archelaus I., principal character in the *Temenides*, which play is meant. Old

inscriptions are often a little bit touched up (in the course of a rather minute examination, some years ago, of various sepulchral monuments in Spain executed by the great sculptor Berruguete, I personally found several alterations, in the epitaphs, much more serious than the conversion of a  $\Gamma$  into a  $\Pi$ ). (b) The known fourth plays, without a Chorus of Satyrs, of tetralogies are these:—(68) the *Alcestis*, (69) the *Archelaus*, which probably should be called the second *Archelaus*, (70) the second *Autolycus* otherwise known as the *Sisyphus*, and (71) the *Busiris*. (c) The play lost in antiquity, from which some lines are extant, is probably (72) a first *Archelaus*, the fourth play, without a Satyric Chorus, of its tetralogy. (d) The *satyrica* proper admitted by Suidas into his total of 75 are these:—(73) the *Cyclops*, (74) the *Eurystheus*, and (75) the *Sciron*. We can thus adduce every one of Suidas' 75 plays, and these 75 plays fall with exactitude, as regards numbers, into the two classes into which the author of the  $\text{Εὐριπίδης}$  divides the  $\text{σωζόμενα}$ . We further can adduce the three tragic *antilegomena* (indeed the  $\text{Γένος}$  mentions them by name), viz. (76) the *Pirithous*, (77) the *Rhadamanthys*, and (78) the *Tennes*, as also the one "satyric" *antilegomenon*, viz. (79) the *Syleus*. But, in addition, and outside Suidas' figure of 75 original plays, even if by adding the four *antilegomena* we swell it to 79, we can adduce two *satyrica* of undoubted authenticity, (80) the *Theristae* and (81) the unnamed, but recorded, fourth play of the Oedipodean tetralogy. Further from the number of the tragedies, even if some of them could be themselves fourth plays of tetralogies, we see that there must of necessity have originally existed a very considerable number of additional *satyrica*. This detailed examination clinches my argument.

As far as I have yet discovered, there is no evidence of any non-dramatic *satyrica* other than those of Aeschylus, as to whom I shall speak presently, and of Euripides; but that these two were not the sole writers of such *satyrica* appears *a priori* probable.

Plutarch (*De Cohib. Ira*, c. 6, p. 456 B) speaks of writers of the kind in question, in the plural, as  $\text{οἱ παίζοντες}$ , though in fact, it would seem, he is dealing

specifically with Euripides. He writes : καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν λέγουσιν οἱ παίζοντες ἀυλοῦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ σατύρου νοθετεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν·

οὔτοι πρέπει τὸ σχῆμα· τοὺς ἀυλοὺς μέθες  
καὶ θ' ὄπλα (Meineke, rightly, καὶ θῶπλα) λάζευ καὶ  
γνάθους εὐθημόνει.

This couplet stands as *Fr.* 381 of the tragic *Adespota*. Notice the dialectic λάζευ. Plutarch goes on to tell the sequel, giving the Satyr's name expressly as Marsyas. Meineke very properly infers, with the help of *Fr.* 1085 of Euripides (among his *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta*) as introduced by Strabo, that it is from Euripides that Plutarch is quoting. Strabo writes (XIII. p. 616) : ὁ δὲ Κάικος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδῆς ῥεῖ, καθάπερ εἴρηκε Βακχυλίδης, οὔθ' (read οὐδ') ὡς Εὐριπίδης τὸν Μαρσύαν φησὶ

τὰς διωνομασμένας  
ναίειν Κελαινὰς ἐσχάτοις Ἰδῆς τόποις.

I will myself carry the matter a little further by suggesting that it is Euripides' *Theristae* in particular that both Plutarch and Strabo cite. Sositheus' *Daphnis sive Lityerses*, which play most certainly dealt with *theristae*, makes Celaenae Lityerses' birthplace (Sositheus, *Fr.* 2, ll. 1, 2) :

τούτῳ Κελαιναὶ πατρίς, ἀρχαία πόλις  
Μίδου γέροντος.

But Sositheus' play was emphatically not ἄπταιστον. I imagine that Euripides, disregarding the sanguinary details that the later dramatist made his own, though incorporating, perhaps, in idyllic form some part of the story of Daphnis, represented Marsyas and other Satyrs as harvesters under the lordship of Lityerses, and that into this rustic setting he introduced the episode of Athene and the pipes. The piece need not much have differed from the *Thalusia* of Theocritus.

At least one other passage from an unnamed Euripidean production of this class appears to have survived.



Stobæus, in his *Eclogæ* (π. 31, 24, p. 206, 11) presents :  
 Εὐριπίδου Κωμῶ·

ὅστις νέος ὦν μουσῶν ἀμελεῖ,  
 τὸν τε παρελθόντ' ἀπόλωλε χρόνον  
 καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τέθνηκεν.

Κωμῶ—notice the circumflex and the want of accent on the ω—seems to stand for Κωμαστικῶν. If so, the ἄπταιστα of the παίζοντες were also known as κωμαστικά.

The ἄπταιστα were also, it would seem, termed τὰ ἄθετα, the *null* or *nugatory* pieces. The following evidence is more than ordinarily interesting. Line 1344 of Aristophanes' *Ranae* consists of the words

νύμφαι ὄρεσσίγονοι (*v.l.*, for ὄρεσσίγονοι, ὄρεσίγονοι).

It is part of a sort of chorus in the mouth of Aeschylus, who is stringing together in a burlesque manner disjointed fragments from various chori of Euripides. Hence it is clear that these two words are a quotation or adaptation of something written by Euripides, *not of anything written by Aeschylus himself*. Now a *scholium* on the line runs thus in *codex* Θ (I quote *codex* Θ because *codices* R and V present an obviously doctored text): ἐκ τῶν Ξαντριῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησὶν Ἀσκληπιάδης· εὔρε δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τινὶ τῶν διαθέτων·

νύμφαι ὄρεσιγόναι θεαῖσιν ἀγείρω, Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ πασι βιοδώροις·

Read, for εὔρε δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τινὶ τῶν διαθέτων, the obvious εὔρε δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἰδ' ἀθέτων, "he found at Athens in one of the fourteen *inutilia*." As we have seen, the number of the ἄπταιστα was fourteen. But *codices* R and V, either not knowing or refusing to recognise the ἄπταιστα of Euripides, substitute, if learnedly, yet absurdly, Αἰσχύλου for Εὐριπίδου (no other *codex* supports them in this), as though (a) Aeschylus were mocking at himself and not at Euripides, as though (b) in order to get hold of the *Xantriae* of Aeschylus Asclepiades had had to go ferreting at Athens, and as

though (c) Hera, disguised as a priestess, should (for this—see quotations shortly to follow—is what the matter amounts to) break in upon an Aeschylean tragedy, dealing with the death of Pentheus, on Mt. Cithaeron in Boeotia, in order to take up a collection for the benefit of the daughters of the Argive river, Inachus! *Codex Θ* is alone in presenting τῶν διαθέτων: the reading of the other *codices* is διαθέντων, for which Dobree proposed διασωθέντων αὐτογράφων and Dindorf διασωθέντων by itself. From this evidence we learn not only of the term τὰ ἄθετα, but also of the existence of Euripides' *Xantriae*. Further we learn—and this is very important—that one at least of the Euripidean ἀπταιστὰ was preserved in the age of the grammarians (the identity and, consequently, the date of that Asclepiades who dealt with Aristophanes are uncertain) at Athens itself. But the interest of the evidence is not yet exhausted. Plato, mentioning neither author nor work, quotes part of the passage (*Repub.* II. p. 381 D): μηδὲ Πρωτέως καὶ Θέτιδος καταψευδέσθω μηδεῖς, μηδ' ἐν τραγωδίαις μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιήμασιν εἰσαγέτω Ἥραν ἡλλοιωμένην ὡς ἰέρειαν ἀγείρουσαν

Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶ βιοδώροις.

We see from this that the fragment represents Hera, disguised as a priestess, collecting for the daughters of Inachus. Perhaps Plato's μηδ' ἐν τραγωδίαις μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιήμασιν betrays a hesitation in his mind as to how to class Euripides' *Xantriae*: but one cannot be sure. Diogenes (*Epist.* 34, 2, p. 248) quotes almost the whole passage, his text now running thus: τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν οἵτινες Ἥραν τε τὴν Διὸς παράκοιτιν ἔφασαν εἰς ἰέρειαν μεταμορφωθεῖσαν τοιοῦτον βίου σχῆμα ἀναλαβεῖν

νύμφαις κρήναισιν κυδραῖς θεαῖς  
ἀγείρουσαν

Ἰνάχου Ἀργείαις ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροις.

Observe that Diogenes attributes the fragment to a tragedian indeed, but not to a tragedy. Finally, Pausanias—*circa* A.D. 175—states (viii. 6, 6): τὸν Ἰναχὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αἰσχύλος ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖον. I grant the probability (it is not a full certainty) that Pausanias

is referring to the fragment as the work of Aeschylus. He had, I should say, no access to Euripides' *Xantriae*, but knew of the quotation, having read it in Plato's *Republic*, and, finding it attributed to a *Xantriae*, concluded that the *Xantriae* in question was that of Aeschylus, being, very possibly, so informed by would-be authorities such as those that doctored the text of the Aristophanic *scholium*. My readers must bear in mind that it is a sheer impossibility that in the *Ranae* Aeschylus should be making a mock of himself, not of Euripides. I also ask them to appreciate that I am forcing my way through a somewhat thick, though childishly ineffective, camouflage. As regards the text of the fragment, the *scholium* and Diogenes are seen to present the same general tenour, if only we assume that, as would be natural, the latter has done no more than omit the vocative substantive and adjective (which would have interfered with his sentence). I propose (of course uncertainly):

νύμφαις κρηναίαισιν, ἐνύδροις,  
 νύμφαι ὄρεσσιγένειαι,  
 θεαῖσιν, ἀγείρω,  
 Ἰνάχου Ἄργείου ποταμοῦ παῖσιν βιοδώροις.

ὄρεσσιγένειαι should also, I suggest, be substituted for ὄρεσσιγόνοι or ὄρεσίγονοι in the *Ranae* itself.

It may here be noted that *Fr.* 112 of Euripides, assigned commonly to the *Alope*, though by Musgrave to the *Melanippe*, seems, if properly considered, to supply—in conjunction with Stobaeus' words of ascription—proof of the existence of, and two lines from, a Euripidean *Penelope Satyrica*, manifestly, in the light of what has been said, a “non-dramatic” piece. For the short facts as to this *Fragment* see my *Euripidean Fragments* (p. 5).

I do not now suppose that the *satyricum* of Euripides' *Oedipodia* dealt, as I once thought, with the Sphinx. An uneventful action, or at least an action free from peril, is indicated.

With regard to the total of 98 dramas given in the *Εὐριπίδης*, as against that of 92 mentioned, as an alter-

native to 75, by Suidas and accepted without question in the Γένος, it can, I think, in no way be arrived at except by taking the *Rhesus* and the play missing in antiquity as representatives of two tetralogies and consequently furnishing each of them with three hypothetical companions. The figure seems to be fairly ancient: at any rate it does not take in as the work of Euripides senior the supplementary play composed by Euripides junior.

It is necessary to my scheme that I set this chapter here in the forefront. In subsequent chapters I develop arguments that would be meaningless had I not previously either demonstrated or at least rendered highly probable two propositions, first that we ourselves have some acquaintance, and secondly that Aristarchus had a good acquaintance, with the whole or almost the whole of the tragic output of Euripides. Both propositions are established—I need not labour the point—by the observations I have already made, as also are other results which will have their uses later.

But these very observations enable us in addition to solve satisfactorily and completely two long-standing difficulties with regard to the Satyric output of Aeschylus. The first relates to his *Proteus*. We read in the argument to the *Agamemnon*: πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσι, Πρωτέϊ σατυρικῶ. A *scholium* on Aristophanes (*Ranae*, l. 1124) runs: τετραλογίαν φέρουσι τὴν Ὀρέστειαν αἱ διδασκαλαίαι, Ἀγαμέμνονα, Χοηφόρους, Εὐμενίδας, Πρωτέα σατυρικόν. Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τριλογίαν λέγουσι χωρὶς τῶν σατυρικῶν. It has hitherto been thought—I once shared the view myself—that Aristarchus and Apollonius merely omitted to take the unimportant *Proteus* into account (though the form of expression, together with the combination of authority, is more suggestive of intentional commission than of accidental omission): but Aristarchus at any rate, who actually wrote a *hypomnema* on Aeschylus' *Lycurgus Satyricus*, is most unlikely to have been so culpably slipshod. Moreover, as τὰ σατυρικά in Greek, scholiastic Greek included, means, not *the Satyric drama*, but *the Satyric dramas*, this explanation involves the acceptance of Nauck's emendation, χωρὶς τοῦ σατυρικοῦ, for χωρὶς τῶν

σατυρικῶν. The assumed corruption is not accounted for, and I propose (curing an *intentional* transposition: transpositions are seldom unintentional) the much easier correction: Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τριλογίαν λέγουσι τῶν χωρὶς σατυρικῶν, *Aristarchus and Apollonius say it is a trilogy of the class without Satyric dramas*. That means that the *Proteus* on account of the undramatic nature of its action (which in my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* I endeavour partially to recover) was not, by Aristarchus and Aristophanes, allowed to be a *play* at all. But notice that there is no statement οὐ σῶζεται in the case of the *Proteus*: a piece, however undramatic, by Aeschylus could not be thrown out like a production of Euripides. Secondly, though Suidas tells us that Aeschylus wrote *ninety tragedies* (i.e. apparently—see my edition of the *Ichneutae*—69 tragedies proper, one Satyric drama, viz. the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*, with a mock-tragic Chorus, and twenty ordinary *Satyrica*, including *quasi Satyrica*), and though the names of many more than five (in my *Ichneutae* I argue that the exact number, without the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*, is ten) of his Satyric and quasi-Satyric productions are known to-day, yet the author of the *Vita Aeschyli* states that the poet composed seventy δράματα (meaning *tragedies*) and “somewhere about the number of five *satyrica*.” Hitherto we have all been reduced to the absurdity of saying, or at least of thinking, that the quite well-informed writer of the *Vita* did not know what he was talking about. We now see that his meaning is that Aeschylus composed only about five *satyrica* accepted at Alexandria as *plays*. The five we can, I think, pick out, viz. the *Cercyon*, the *Lycurgus*, the *Orithyia* (sive *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* sive *Prometheus Pyrphoros*), the *Sisyphus Drapetes*, and the *Sphinx*. The “somewhere about” is to be accounted for, perhaps, by a doubt whether the *Amymone* (sive *Thalamopoei*), which seems to have possessed a rudimentary dramatic action, ought not to be added as a sixth to the five. The author of the *Vita* evidently counts—as also does Suidas—the *Aetnaeae Nothoe* (which I take to have had a mock-tragic chorus) as a tragedy. There are left out in the cold, as not plays at all, four of the pieces—apparently ten, or, with the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*,

eleven, in number—that we know by name, these four being the *Ceryces* (Photius, perhaps significantly, calls—*Lex.* p. 477, 11—the play the Κάρυκες, in Doric, though Pollux and others speak of it as the Κήρυκες), the *Circe*, the *Leonte* (the one mention of this play outside the *Medicean Catalogue*, viz. Stephanus of Byzantium's ἐν Λέοντι σατυρικῆν—p. 699, 13—should surely be read as ἐν Λεοντῆ σατυρικῆ, not as ἐν Λέοντι σατυρικῶ), and the *Proteus*, and of the pieces we do not know by name, if Suidas' total is—as I maintain—correct, all ten, or a total of fourteen pieces. But against no Aeschylean piece do we find οὐ σώζεται written.

The ἄθεται of Aeschylus, we see, were fourteen in number. Indeed I am not sure whether the Hesychian ascription of the second of this dramatist's *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* (*Fr.* 283)—an ascription consisting of the words Αἰσχύλος λιανοίαις—ought not to be read as Αἰσχύλος ἰδ' Ἄνοίαις, “Aeschylus in the fourteen *Follies*”: in uncials ΑΙ and ΙΔ are extremely similar. No doubt it would be a decidedly strong expression; but still the evidence rather seems to point to it. Be that as it may, Aeschylus' ἄθεται clearly numbered fourteen, neither more nor less. Now, by a strange coincidence, Euripides' ἄθεται, as we have already noted, numbered fourteen also.

This real, though accidental, identity of number of ἄθεται in the case of the two poets appears to have led to a late attempt to establish a much more complete, but entirely factitious, identity. Not too much attention, in one respect (though in one respect only), should be paid to the *Medicean Catalogue*. As the later Euripidean Canon consisted of 73 plays (the 76 of the Γένος Εὐριπίδου minus the three *antilegomena*), so also some wiseacre essayed the task of constituting an Aeschylean Canon of precisely the same numerical length. The very idea is redolent of scholarship at its nadir; but this idea, and nothing else, is the inspiration of the *Catalogue*. In it 73 plays, and 73 only, stand entered. The titles were, I should say, in most cases nothing more than names to the compiler. He reduces the *Glaucus Pontios* and the *Glaucus Potnieus* to one play only, the *Glaucus Pontios*. Similarly he reduces the *Sisyphus*

*Drapetes* and the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes* to one play only, the *Sisyphus Drapetes*. He seems to merge in one title the *Heraclides* (which he mentions) and the *Heraclidae* (which *eo nomine* he does not mention), together with both of the probable other two members of the Herculean trilogy, *viz.* the *Alcmene* and the *Phoenissae* (which pair he omits): the name indeed of the second play of the pair is disputable; but he names no play at all that would serve. The *Hiereae* (which he omits) he may easily have regarded as identical with the *Cressae* (which he mentions). The *Palamedes* (which he omits) he took, I suppose, to be the *Dictyulci* (which, though disguised as the *Dictiurgi*, he mentions) under another name, seeing that a legend went that Palamedes was drowned on a fishing expedition. The *Phineus* (which he omits) he equated, I presume, with the *Argo* (which he mentions). So much for his omissions. On the other hand he does not hesitate to include what, on my view, constitute the whole of the *Satyrica* anciently recognised as *dramata*, *viz.* the *Amymone*, the *Cercyon*, the *Lycurgus*, the *Prometheus Pyrphoros* (*eo nomine*), the *Sisyphus Drapetes* (as we have already seen), and the *Sphinx*, together with the play that I explain as a *Satyricum* in tragic disguise, the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*. Nor does he exclude the ἄθετρα, cataloguing, without mark of distinction, as dramas the only four of them of which he knew the names, *viz.* the *Ceryces*, the *Circe* (which, and which alone of all the productions in his list, he terms *Satyric*), the *Leo* (*eo nomine*; but I have suggested that an earlier title was the *Leonte* or *Lion-skin*), and the *Proteus*; and yet it is the total number of ἄθετρα that, if I am right, prompted him, in pursuit of a fantastic analogy, to select and by manipulation to secure his limited grand total of 73 plays. *Tantum barbaries potuit suadere malorum!*

It is advisable that I should here set forth the *Medicean Catalogue* in its entirety. Dieterich (in Wissowa's edition of Pauly, *s.v.* *Aischylos*) gives so naïvely subjective a description of the document (the profane might accuse him of ousting hard fact in favour of theory), that—the *longueur* is not of my choosing—I must summon it to speak for itself. Speak then, *Litera Scripta*; but not ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι!

## Κατάλογος τῶν Αἰσχύλου δραμάτων.

ἀγαμέμνων	ἄθάμας	αἰγύπτιοι	αἰτναῖαι γνήσιοι
αἰτναῖαι νόθοι	ἄμυμώνη	ἀργεῖοι	ἀργὸν ἡκωπαστής
ἄταλάντη	βάκχαι	βασσάραι	γλαυκὸς πόντιος
δαναΐδες	δικτιουργοί	ἔπτ' ἐπιθήβας	εὐμενίδες
ἐπίγονοι	ἐλευσίνιοι	ἡλιάδες	ἡδωνοί
ἡρακλείδης	ἠρήϊσσαι	θεόδωροι ἢ ἰσο- μισταί	ἰφιγένεια
ἕξιων	ἰκέτιδες	κάβειροι	καλλιστώ
κῆρσσαι	κερκύων	κίρκη σατυρική	κῆρυκες
κἄρες ἢ εὐρώπη	λάϊος	λέων	λήμνιοι
λυκοῦργος	μέμνων	μουσοί	μυρμηδόνες
νεανίσκοι	νεμέα	νηρείδες	νιόβη
ξάντρι[ + οἱ (apparently), erased]	οιδίπους	ὄπλων κρίσις	ὄστολόγοι
πενθεύς	περραιβίδες	πρωτεύς	πέρσαι
πηγελόπη	προπομποί	προμηθεὺς δεσ- μώτης	προμηθεὺς πυρ- φόρος
προμηθεὺς λυόμε- νος	πολυδέκτης	σαλαμίνιοι	σεμέλη ἢ [once ἢ] ὕδροφόρος
σίσυφος δραπέτης	σφίγξ	τοξότιδες	τῆλεφος
τροφοί	ὑψιπύλη	φιλοκτῆτης	φορκίδες
φρύγιοι	φρύγες ἢ ἕκτορος λύτρα	χοηφόροι	ψυχοστασία
	ψυχαγωγοί		

I would especially observe that no visible sign of there having ever existed a fifth and missing column appears to be discoverable, and moreover that, if you assumed a fifth and missing column, you would actually be forced to interpolate a play between the *αἰτναῖαι γνήσιοι* and the *αἰτναῖαι νόθοι* (a manifest absurdity), and to find a third title beginning with ψ to put between *ψυχοστασία* and *ψυχαγωγοί* (no easy task): of the omitted plays one could, given a fifth column, insert without awkwardness only the *Glaucus Potnieus* and the *Palamedes*; for the *Alcmene* would have to intervene between the *Aetnaeae Gnesiae* and the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*, and the *Hiereae*, the *Phineus*, and the *Sisyphus Petrocyclistes* would at least dislocate still further the already faulty alphabetical order (the *Phoenissae*, in addition to the *Phineus*, though on this point I do not insist, could not be got in at all), while there remain over, *ex hypothesi*, ten gaps—the figure ten may, it is true, be somewhat, though not greatly, reduced by such assumptions as that of the existence of four, instead of three, plays called *Prometheus*—to be all filled up, and, if you please, by a late scholiast, with names wholly undiscoverable by us, unmentioned, that is



to say, in extant literature, and (this is surely crucial) to be all so filled up in a purely conjectural fifth column, not specially designed for them but connected (*vi conjecturae*) with the other columns, although in the four columns, taken all together, that have a tangible existence, six names only of plays otherwise unknown—six, for the *Lemni* is not quite in this category—present themselves, and although (and this clinches the matter for good) the missing names brought by an unnecessary hypothesis into an unnatural sequence are, in a number of instances, necessarily and on any view names, not of tragedies, but of the more obscure even among those obscure *Satyrica* that by accident, or, as I say, by design, were unknown in the days of the Grammarians to the shelves of the Alexandrian Library. Also I would point out that the entry *φρύγιοι* is, so far as the face of the document offers evidence, an entry no less deliberate than any other of the whole 73. Yet Dieterich writes (*l.c.*) as follows: “Hinter der Vita steht im Mediceus ein κατάλογος τῶν Αἰσχύλου δραμάτων (neueste Ausgabe in Weckleins Aeschylus), der in 4 Columnen zu je 18 Reihen in alphabetische Folge 72 Titel giebt (Φρύγιοι in der ersten Reihe ist Schreibfehler). Eine Columnne fehlt am Ende, in welche die übrigen Titel, die wir sicher kennen, passen: es waren 90 Dramen angegeben.” Happy they for whom at the touch of a faery wand facts thus spring fancy-like into being!

Sophocles, unlike Aeschylus and Euripides, composed no non-dramatic *satyrica*. His plays, recognised by Aristophanes the Grammarian, were 140 in number. Seventeen of these were *afterwards*, and perversely, branded as spurious (the superstition that he did not exhibit in sets of four was at least partly—in my present opinion not partly only, but wholly—responsible for this branding). No one attributes to him more than 140 plays. The disputed class does not in his case exist. Of the 140 plays, no doubt 105 were tragedies and 35 satyric and quasi-satyric dramas (this statement of mine involves that Sophocles composed a complete Oedipodean tetralogy: I make it confidently, as since I edited the *Ichneutae* I have found—in an ancient double acrostic, though I cannot give details here—the full record of the tetralogy, of which the last play, I discover, was the Κνώψ or *Spider*).

## CHAPTER II

## EURIPIDES HISTORICUS

A STATEMENT of Olympiodorus (on Plato, *Alcib. Pr.*, p. 46) that *Euripides says that he*, that is Xerxes, *yoked the sea—*ὡς φησὶν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ὅτι θάλατταν μὲν ἐπέζευξε (this counts as *Fr.* 1120 of Euripides, printed among the *Fragmenta Dubia et Spuria*)—implies necessarily that Euripides produced some composition or other so far similar to Aeschylus' *Persae* as to deal in some manner with historical events of the early part of the fifth century before Christ.

As we know quite sufficiently well the subjects of Euripides' tragedies, and as to a moral certainty he composed no tragedy proper of the nature indicated (even if it be the case that we are not acquainted, though we certainly seem to be acquainted, with the name of every single tragedy that he composed, at least we may be sure that the name and subject-matter of so exceptional a tragedy would have been put on permanent record), we appear to be thrown back on some Satyric drama, or, rather, in view of the date *ex hypothesi* of the action, on some substitute for a Satyric drama. Of the subjects of most of his non-tragic plays we know nothing at all. The ancients themselves paid but little attention to them. But of those that were judged dramatic we do know the subjects (see Chapter I.); and this piece dealt with high and heroic topics. For the moment it is sufficient to postulate that the necessary date of the action of the play in question stamps it at once as exceptional in a high degree, and that we therefore should be prepared to find in it exceptional features.

Now a morsel of four iambic senarii—highly meritorious in diction and strangely suggestive of Villon's *Mais où sont les neiges d'antan ?*, while not without likeness to the *Ubi sunt principes gentium ?* of Holy Writ—is preserved by Plutarch, and, to judge by its contents, looks

for all the world as if it were the passage of Euripides to which Olympiodorus refers. It ranks as *Fr.* 372 of the *Adespota Tragica*. It is written in a peculiar, and indeed unique, variation of the tragic sub-dialect, presenting, as it does, not only two "sepulchral" Doric forms (see, as to such forms, the remarks on Neophron in my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*) but also, in an Ionic place-name, an Ionic termination.

The passage with Plutarch's introduction to it—he has just quoted three senarii, generally supposed to come from Euripides' *Cresphontes*, in the mouth of Merope, which senarii constitute *Fr.* 454 of Euripides—runs as follows (*Consol. ad Apollon.* c. 15, p. 110 D) : τούτοις γὰρ οἰκείως ἂν τις ταῦτα συνάψει·

ποῦ γὰρ τὰ σεμνὰ κείνα ; ποῦ δὲ Λυδίας  
μέγας δυνάστης Κροῖσος, ἢ Ξέρξης βαθύν (mss. βαρύν)  
ζεύξας θαλάσσης αὐχέν' Ἑλλησποντίας ;  
ἅπαντ' ἐς Ἄιδαν ἦλθε (mss. ἅπαντες ἄδαν ἦλθον) καὶ  
Λάθας δόμους.

The emendation in l. 2 is Wyttenbach's, that in l. 4 Bergk's : but Bergk, as also Meineke, though without so much as a scintilla of authority, detaches l. 4 from the rest of the fragment and attributes it to some lyric poet, whereas for my own part I entirely refuse to detach it, considering it to savour of Sicyon. The first three lines Meineke, it should be noted, ascribes to Euripides.

Two points at once emerge. (a) The passage comes from a play with an action dated many years later than that even of Aeschylus' *Persae*, seeing that in it not only Croesus, but also Xerxes, is mentioned, both of them being cited in one breath as characters of ancient, or at least of established, history. As regards Croesus indeed Aeschylus would himself seem not improbably to have led the way. We read in Stobæus (*Fl.* 121, 17) : Αἰσχύλου·

ζωῆς πονηρᾶς θάνατος εὐπορώτερος·  
τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι δ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πεφυκέναι  
κρείσσον κακῶς πάσχοντα.

These lines count as *Fr.* 401 (among the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta*) of Aeschylus. Menander (*Monost.*

l. 193) gives the first line with αἰρετώτερος instead of εὐπορώτερος. I propose :

ζωῆς πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἰρετώτερος·  
τιμὴ πένεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἢ πεφυκέναι  
Κροῖσον κακῶς πάσχοντ' ἄν.

The sense would be : “ If even death is preferable to a life of evil, *a fortiori* it is a privilege to be a labourer rather than to have been born, say, a Croesus predestined *ex hypothesi* to misfortune.” τιμὴ, in the sense of “ *prerogative*,” denotes a *relative* or *comparative* status : therefore, the presumably interpolated μᾶλλον is not necessary to the construction. Of course I do not mean that this emendation is certain ; but still it seems in a manner almost to impose itself. If it be correct, the quotation (seeing that it is in fact not from the *Persae*) must, on chronological grounds, be taken from the *Glaucus Pontios*, where indeed the lines would constitute no inept reflexion on the vanity of Carthaginian riches. (b) The mixture of dialects points to an origin of very special character.

Either of these two points is, if we confine ourselves to tragedies and ordinary Satyric dramas, amply sufficient by itself to negative the possibility of Euripidean authorship ; but nevertheless there exists, it will be seen, a presumption—I will not, for the moment at least, say more—that Euripides wrote just one play with an action of the date required and of a nature such that in it dialectic curiosities, reminiscent of the school of Sicyon, would not be out of keeping.

## CHAPTER III

## AUT CAESAR AUT NULLUS

THE statement that Euripides speaks of the yoking of the sea by Xerxes is made by Olympiodorus, a neo-Platonist of the age of Justinian. The passage that seems to be meant is preserved by Plutarch. Plutarch, however, is not really necessary to the argument. The important point is that the Euripidean play in question was, at least in some sense, still known in Justinian's reign.

Now, even if it be questioned whether we of to-day are acquainted with literally all the titles of the tragedies proper of Euripides, yet beyond doubt our information on this head is at any rate very nearly complete, and further it is violently improbable that a tragedy known to so late a writer as Olympiodorus is unknown by name to us. Improbability hardens into moral impossibility when we consider the singular character of the particular tragedy involved. An inspection of the titles of the known Euripidean tragedies and reputed tragedies is sufficient to shew that not one of them, if really a tragedy, can be the play in question.

There remain only the Satyric and quasi-Satyric dramas: the nature of Euripides' literary activities is on full record, and it is clear that he wrote no plays save tragedies, *satyrica*, and *quasi satyrica*. As I said in the previous chapter, the subject of which we are speaking is not of a character to be dealt with in the "non-dramatic" *satyrica*. That is fortunate, as we know definitely the name of but one of them. We are thrown back on the "dramatic" *satyrica* and *quasi satyrica*, of which we know the names and subjects of all. But in any case it is most improbable that Olympiodorus should, or should be able to, refer to a "non-dramatic" *satyricum*.

The "dramatic" *satyrica* and *quasi satyrica* were, including one *antilegomenon*, eight in number. Either all the eight, or else, if the *Autolycus* and the *Sisymphus* are

(as I argue in my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*) identical, seven out of the eight are known to us also. The plays are these: the *Alcestis*, the *Autolycus*, the *Busiris*, the *Cyclops*, the *Eurystheus*, the *Sciron*, and the *Syleus* (which is doubtless the disputed play), together with the *Sisyphus*, if indeed that drama is not identical with the *Autolycus*. None of these can be the play we are looking for. The drama, then, of which we are in search must—if it be not a figment—be, one would think, the apparently missing member of the "Satyric" group of eight. Now, the list of tragedies (see Chapter I.) can only be kept within permissible bounds by transferring—as I have done in Chapter I.—not only the *Alcestis*, the fourth play of its tetralogy, but one other drama also, likewise the fourth play of its tetralogy, from the *tragica* to the *quasi satyrica*.

Let us, then, hark back to the tragedies. One and only one so-called tragedy will, at least *prima facie*, serve our turn. *Aut Caesar aut nullus*. Either this reputed tragedy—but not if it be a tragedy—is the play we seek, or else the statement of Olympiodorus is untrue and the quotation in Plutarch *nihil ad rem*. The drama I mean is the *Archelaus*.

That play is commonly thought to be a tragedy dealing with the adventures of Archelaus the First (not the Archelaus I. of accepted history, whom I am compelled to call Archelaus II.), King of Macedon, and, according to one legend, founder of the Macedonian dynasty, a monarch who lived centuries before Xerxes.

But such a view runs dead counter to the extant evidence. We know, indeed, that when, towards the end of his life, Euripides, leaving Athens, betook himself to the court of Archelaus II. (called in history books Archelaus I.), King of Macedon, he refused a request on the part of that sovereign to write a *tragedy* about him. The request, the refusal, and the reason for the refusal are thus set forth by Diomedes (p. 488, 20): "Tristitia namque tragoediae proprium; ideoque Euripides petente Archelao rege ut de se tragoediam scriberet abnuit et deprecatus est, ne accideret Archelao aliquid, tragoediam ostendens nihil aliud esse quam miseriarum comprehensionem." But to refuse to write a *tragedy*, especially

upon such grounds, is not the same thing as to refuse to write a *play*, and as a matter of fact we are informed that Euripides, to the extent of writing a *play*, actually complied with Archelaus the Second's request. The author of that *Life of Euripides* which Elmsley edited tells us : ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν περὶ Ἀρχέλαον γεγονῶς διέτριψε καὶ χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ δράμα ὁμωνύμως ἔγραψε. It is extraordinary to assume, without evidence, that this δράμα dealt with the fortunes of Archelaus I. I hold that it was not a tragedy, and that its hero was Archelaus II. That it was not an ordinary tragedy, at any rate, and that its extant fragments, which are numerous, appear to have reference to Archelaus II., not, primarily at least, to Archelaus I., I shall argue in the next Chapter. Until then it is enough, seeing that I have already sufficiently established the position *aut nullus*, to say of *aut Caesar* that *Caesar* is *prima facie* possible : just for the present we are concerned with nothing more than *prima facie* possibility.

Yet here it may conveniently be observed that if the *Archelaus* is the play we are seeking, then it must also be the non-tragic drama apparently missing from the group of eight.

## CHAPTER IV

## SOLVITUR AMBULANDO

THE adage *solvitur ambulando*, if only I may take the liberty of twisting it aside from its traditional application, points out to us the best way of dealing with the problem of the *Archelaus*. Walk up and down the remains of the once ample garden, survey what is left of the terraces, the fountains, the lawns, lay bare the broken statuary, scraping off the moss with your knife, ramble backwards, forwards, and sideways in inquisitive exploration: so, and not by any preconceived method, will you find what there is to be found.

That is what I have myself done: yet in print I must confine myself mainly to results, and the results require order in their exposition. Nevertheless, they will doubtless shew traces of the random ways by which I have arrived at them.

They are of two kinds, those connected with the vehicle and those connected with the content. Those connected with the vehicle are the more obvious, and I will therefore accord them priority.

## A.

First let me deal with diction. The prologue to the play (*Fr.* 228), which begins with the words Δαναός ὁ πεντήχοντα (the exordium of a rival and materially different prologue is also extant, but the important questions arising from this fact I reserve for separate discussion in a later Chapter), exhibits in l. 3 (ὄς ἐκ μελαμβρότσιο πληροῦται ῥόας) a genitive in -οιο that



defies emendation. Such a form as  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$ , in an iambic senarius, standing in the forefront of a Euripidean drama is nothing short of a portent. By itself it is more than sufficient to justify my statement that this play is at least no ordinary tragedy. It throws straight back to the days of Pratinas (see my observations on Pratinas, Thespis, and Alcaeus of Athens in my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*).  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$  in fact *donne furieusement à penser*.

On almost a precise par with this form are the  $\Lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  (l. 2) and the " $\text{A}\iota\delta\alpha\nu$ , or " $\text{A}\iota\delta\alpha\nu$ , and  $\text{L}\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\varsigma$  (l. 4) of *Fr.* 372, the passage quoted by Plutarch which we have already seen reason to suppose to be the *locus* of Euripides' statement to which Olympiodorus refers. The Doric forms at any rate, whatever may be the case with the Ionic form, hark back to Neophon of Sicyon. Yet, if we rigidly confine ourselves to such evidence as may justly be termed direct, this particular fragment can, so far as real security is concerned, only be used as corroborative testimony and at a later stage of the argument, seeing that as yet I have not adduced sufficient proof that it belongs to the *Archelaus*. Nevertheless, taken as indirect evidence, it is, even at this stage, not altogether without its value. Given even a slight hint *ab extra* of connexion such as we undoubtedly have already seen, it is lawful to assume provisionally, as a solution of difficulties and in the absence of contrary evidence, a common *provenance* for such prodigies as  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$  on the one hand and  $\Lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  and its companions on the other. While this is legitimate logic, it is, I am aware, scarcely possible to appraise with justice the force or weakness of the resultant argument.

Similarly in *Fr.* 936 (among the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* of Euripides), which—so I shall argue later—seems to be a non-choric trimeter from the *Archelaus*, we find the very extraordinary form  $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ . To this, however, it would, for the moment at least, be safer not to attach any evidential force.

But, although  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$  requires no extraneous support, being decisive by itself, yet one undoubted fragment of the *Archelaus* appears to support it.

*Fr.* 231, as given by Stobaeus (*Fl.* 88, 3), runs : Εὐριπίδου  
'Αρχελάω

ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρείαν ἔχων ;  
πατέρων γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἐλπίδας δίδως γεγώς.

It seems impossible to cure the intolerable jingle of the second line except by reading the couplet, with minute but vital alterations, thus :

ΧΟΡΟΣ. ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρείαν ἔχων ;  
ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ. πατέρων παρ' ἐσθλῶν Ἀπίδας αἰδῶ γεγώς.

Translate : “ *Chorus.* ‘ From us, I pray thee, what needest thou at this present ? ’ *Archelaus.* ‘ From my sainted sires—for myself am of the seed of Apis—reverence as a suppliant.’ ” The inferences from this emendation as regards the plot, except so far as they affect the probability of the emendation itself, we must for the moment disregard : at this point we are concerned with words only.

I put forward the emendation somewhat confidently and claim the Doric Ἀπίδας as fit fellow to μελαμβρότοιο. Still an emendation is only an emendation.

*Fr.* 241 of the *Archelaus* presents κρᾶτα (accusative singular) as of the masculine gender. The only other example of this use is in *Ion* of Chios (*Fr.* 61, from an unspecified play) : *Ion*'s Satyric *Omphale* is quoted enormously more frequently than any one of his other plays, the quotations from it constituting in bulk about a third of the remains of his specified dramas, so that he may fairly be regarded as almost *par excellence* a Satyric poet.

At this point I must mention, but with the identical reserve that I expressed in the case of *Fr.* 372 (the passage quoted by Plutarch), a line which ranks as *Fr.* 730. I cannot indeed, unless and until the argument of this chapter is made good, assign the line definitely to the *Archelaus*, but at any rate it belongs indubitably to a play of the *Archelaus* group (see, for details, my next Chapter). It runs :

ἄπασα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις.

The grammar of Πελοπόννησος, in addition to the spelling and even the mere use of the compound, is, in a play of Euripides, extraordinary.

Also (in *Fr.* 235, which is certainly from the *Archelaus*, and with the text of which I will later deal briefly) we seem to encounter three epicisms, the adverb μακρόν (corrupted unmetrically into μακράν), an optative ἀγχοῖσθα (corrupted into οὐκ οἶσθα), and the adverb ἄντα (corrupted into the -αν of ὀπότεαν).

So much for diction. Now let us turn to metre. The non-choric fragments of the *Archelaus*, though they exhibit no less than 74 lines sufficiently complete for consultation on the point I am about to mention, supply only four examples of the tragic pause, or one to every  $18\frac{1}{2}$  lines. In Aeschylean tragedy the average is one to about 19 lines, in Sophoclean one to about 9, in Euripidean one to about 10. Thus the *Archelaus* seems to display a positively Aeschylean strictness. But this observation imperatively demands a caveat. For a hundred lines or more at a time Euripides has a way of avoiding the pause almost entirely, regarding it, I suppose, as unsuitable, unless by way of very rare exception, to certain of his rhetorical *genres*. It is only the maintenance of this attitude, or of something like it, if, that is, the fragments be fairly representative, throughout the play, that renders the *Archelaus* in this respect peculiar. Yet for all that the apparent peculiarity merits attention.

Nevertheless, the fairly, though not extremely, free use of trisyllabic feet—one such foot on an average to about every three lines—and the somewhat liberal employment—once on an average in about every fourteen lines—of two such feet in one and the same line mark the play as distinct from the normal archaic type: so also does the absence, in spite of the sparsity of the pause, of combinations of lengthy words.

Here again, but again also with the identical reserves that I expressed in the case of *Fr.* 372 (the passage quoted by Plutarch), I must touch on an outlying fragment, an anapaestic passage which ranks as *Fr.* 740. It is a sister fragment to, and stands on all fours with, *Fr.* 730, the facts concerning which I set out with sufficient particularity for my present purpose in the last paragraph but three. In the form in which it has come down to us, it runs as follows:

ἦλθεν δ'

ἐπὶ χρυσοκέρων ἔλαφον, μεγάλων

ἄθλων ἓνα δεινὸν (for δεινὸν I propose μείζον') ὑποστάς,  
κατ' ἑναυλ' (mss. κατέναύλα and κατ' ἑναύλων) ὀρέων ἄβάτους  
ἐπὶ τε

λειμῶνας ποιμένα (v.l. ποιμνιά) τ' ἄλση.

Both sense and a regard to the due order of words seem to me to suggest ἄβάτων in lieu of ἄβάτους: but even so we are left with ἐπὶ τε scanned as an anapaest before the initial λ of λειμῶνας. This, unless due to corruption, (no mild emendation seems feasible,) is the epic touch with a vengeance. Far less peculiar, but still noticeable as contrary to the normal practice of tragedy, is the occurrence in rapid succession of two paroemiacs, separated only by a single dimeter, with the aggravation that the former of the two has at its end no heavier stop than a comma. We also seem to be confronted with a linguistic curiosity, which, partly because the interest of the passage is in the main metrical and partly because of the uncertainty of the text, I have left for mention here, thus avoiding the quotation of the fragment twice over. ποιμένα τ' is manifestly corrupt, and the v.l. ποιμνιά τ', which necessitates the taking of ποιμνία as an adjective, is probably a mere emendation. Very likely we ought to read ποιμένα τ' ἄλση, for which compare Πελοπόννησος πόλις (*Fr.* 730) above. This short treatment of *Fr.* 470 concludes what I have to say under the head of metre.

## B.

Having spoken of the vehicle, I will now speak of the content. But here I must premise with clearness and with emphasis that the *prima facie* presumptions arising from the statement, already quoted, in one of the *Lives of Euripides*, read in conjunction with the remarks, also already quoted, of Diomedes, are that the *Archelaus* deals primarily with Archelaus II., not with Archelaus I., and that it is not a tragedy. With equal clearness and emphasis I must further premise that not a scrap of external evidence exists to rebut these *prima facie* presumptions: a statement of Agatharchides is indeed extant (Photius, *Bibl.* 444b, 29) to the effect that Euripides

dealt with the legend of Archelaus I., and in *Fr.* 229 of Euripides (from an unspecified drama) Cisseus is addressed by name; but as Euripides is certified *ab extra* to have composed, in addition to the *Archelaus*, both a *Temenus* and also a play known to editors as the *Temenidae*, but to Stobæus as the *Temenides*, these two facts are *nihil ad rem*, although *per contra*, as will be seen later, the existence of the two plays just mentioned, together with the *Alcmene*, a drama necessarily earlier in point of action, suggests a tetralogy with the *Archelaus* as its fourth member. Therefore—and on this I insist—the burden of proof does not rest with me; it rests with those who, contrary to the *prima facie* presumptions, maintain that the *Archelaus* is a tragedy and that its hero is Archelaus I. Such advocates I wish joy of their task.

A minor burden of proof however is really on my shoulders, when, that is to say, I attempt to shew that the *Archelaus* is a drama in some ways of an exceptional order. But that burden of proof I have already to a large extent discharged by simply pointing to the phenomenal genitive *μελαμβρότοιο*. *Ex pede Herculem*.

My real and main business then, for the present, is to examine the content of the *Archelaus*, so far as it is extant, not with a view to demonstrating positively—as though I were endeavouring to upset an established position—that the play deals with Archelaus II. and that it is non-tragic, but rather, while following provisionally the guidance of the presumptions I have already mentioned, with a view to discovering whether there is any internal evidence either to confirm or to discredit them and generally to obtaining whatever light may be obtainable.

The first result of my examination is a negative, but all-important, conclusion. Nothing in the extant fragments attributed in antiquity to the *Archelaus*—and they are 37 in number (*Fr.* 228, 230-264, 846)—tends even in the remotest manner to discredit the presumptions of which I have spoken. I have read the fragments through and through, and I invite the reader to do the same: he cannot fail to agree with me, seeing that the matter is one of inspection only and not of argument. *Fr.* 229, it is true, presents Cisseus as addressed by name: but it is Musgrave, not antiquity, that assigns *Fr.* 229 to the

*Archelaus*. The internal evidence, then, at any rate leaves the external presumptions wholly unimpaired. That is a solid point of prime significance.

Next we come to the root of the whole matter. In not a single fragment, unless *Fr.* 241 be a solitary exception, is there anything that can even by a stretch be described as action: in two fragments (*Frr.* 231 and 254) there is dialogue, and in six or seven others (in *Frr.* 233, 235, 241, 245, 249 and 255, as also, it would seem, in *Fr.* 253) the speaker is addressing some other person, and not soliloquising; but almost throughout moral and similar advice is being given, or, at least, ethics, strategy, and generalisations are under discussion, and under discussion in such a way that it is fairly evident that a ruler is receiving counsel from another ruler or from other rulers. The sole characters, so far as they can be ascertained, are an elder man, or a series of elder men, and a younger man. On one occasion (in *Fr.* 249, of which *Fr.* 246 ought, apparently, to be taken as a pendant) someone, doubtless the younger man, is being exhorted not to put someone else, presumably his son and heir, in a position of affluence, but to leave him to make a fortune for himself. This précis covers the whole of that part of the ground—and the part in question is the greater part—which is such that anything whatever can be built upon it, with the exception of the two rival prologues (*Frr.* 228 and 846) and of *Frr.* 241, 254, and 255, of all of which I will speak later. One's first impression is that one is hardly reading excerpts from the story of Archelaus I., a story of battle, of attempted murder (of himself), and of sudden death (of his enemy). Moreover, it is not easy to understand why the Egyptian origin of the Temenid family should in the case of that Archelaus be emphasised, as emphasised, whichever prologue you prefer, it most undoubtedly is: a descendant both of Perseus and of Hercules scarcely stands in need of support either from Aegyptus or from Danaus.

But what of Archelaus II. at the date when our drama was first exhibited (I say *first* because of the two prologues)? That date was in, or in the most immediate vicinity of, the year 407 B.C.: in 408 B.C. Euripides was still at Athens, and in 406 B.C. he died. A direct claim, openly preferred on behalf of Archelaus II., that that monarch

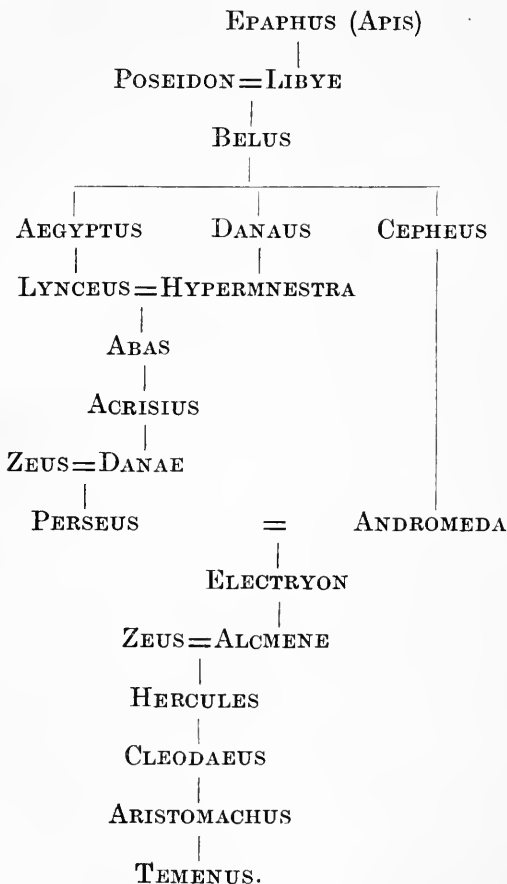
was of Egyptian lineage, not an indirect assertion conveyed in a drama in which the King himself could not so much as be mentioned, would, at the date in question, have been charged with a quite special significance. In the year 408 B.C., after more than a complete century of Persian domination, Egypt regained full independence (which she preserved until 350 B.C.), Amyrtaeus ('Amnerdāis) the Saite expelling the alien oppressors and establishing himself as Pharaoh on the throne. The institution of monarchy, that palladium of stable government, in its nature makes for alliances; and we may be sure that Archelaus fixed an attentive eye on the new luminary in the firmament of mundial politics. The hour of Philip and Alexander had indeed not yet struck; but we can well imagine their predecessor, the ardour of his Temenid blood conspiring with the coolness of his Temenid brain, weighing superb possibilities still unwhispered and exploring the extent to which the new strength of Egypt indicated a new weakness in the fabric of the Persian Empire. He saw his line and took it. Macedonian Royalty, always Greek when it chose, now went further afield and became Egyptian also. So true is it that *l'aristocratie ne connaît pas de frontières*. But how Euripides must have revelled in the *largior aether* of his new environment!

Such considerations as these lend something more than colour to my proposal to read *Fr.* 231 as

ΧΟΡΟΣ. ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρείαν ἔγων;  
 ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ. πατέρων παρ' ἐσθλῶν Ἀπίδας αἰδῶ γεγώς.

But it is from the play itself, and not from extraneous evidence, that I seem to obtain the more convincing support for this reading. It provides a master-key that is so unique in itself and at the same time fits so many separate locks, that it would be hard to acquiesce in the hypothesis of fortuitous coincidence. First, however, let me put it beyond doubt that Temenus, and consequently the Temenids, as a matter of fact, derived in legend from Apis: neither of the prologues, so far as they are extant, quite proves this. Apis, of course, is Epaphus (Herodotus, ii. 153: ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἐπαφος. Aelian, *N.A.* xi. 10: Ἑλληνες

αὐτὸν—i.e. Ἴαπιν—καλοῦσιν Ἐπαφὸν καὶ γενεαλογοῦσιν οἱ μητέρα Ἴώ τὴν Ἀργεΐαν). Here is the genealogy (the longevity of Cepheus seems remarkable) :



My contention is that the couplet with which we are dealing exhibits Archelaus II. coming as a child of Apis to supplicate the spirits of his twelve predecessors, Kings of Macedon and themselves, too, children of Apis, in the royal mausoleum at Aegae. Twelve (see Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, Chorus III., and my remarks on it) is the right number for a Satyric or quasi-Satyric Chorus. The twelve Kings are, in chronological order, these : Archelaus I., Caranus, Coenus, Tyrimnas (this, to judge from



inscriptions, seems to be the right spelling), Perdiccas I., Argæus, Philip I., Aeropus, Alcetas, Amyntas I., Alexander I., Philip II. Herodotus, indeed, and Thucydides know nothing of the first four monarchs, but count from the fifth only, while Justin, Diodorus, Dexippus, and Eusebius start with Caranus, ignoring Archelaus I. : but Archelaus I., as heading the Euripidean list, is amply certified to us by what we know of the contents of the *Temenides* (see the next Chapter) and is mentioned by Dion Chrysostom (iv. 71). It is part, as will be seen in due course, of the story connected with him that he founded Aegæe, the city of the sepulchres of the Kings : it stands to reason that, at least in legend, either he was himself buried there, or else (if he was not) some cause for the absence of his body was assignable and assigned, and that he cannot be left out of the roll. Clearly Euripides was following local Macedonian tradition ; very likely he had himself seen Archelaus the First's reputed tomb or cenotaph (in view of the conflict of legends I doubt the actual presence of his reputed body : to this point I refer later). Already, to some slight extent, things seem to be falling together.

But now we come to more distinct evidence. Applying the key in our hands to various locks, we find it turning effectively in them in the sense that we are enabled to assign passage after passage in the *Archelaus* to particular Macedonian Kings, each speaking in character :

*Fr.* 243,

ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ

κρείσσον στρατηγῶ (so Grotius for στρατηγοῦ of the mss.)  
 μυρίου στρατεύματος

and *Fr.* 244,

ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν,

are surely in the mouth of Archelaus the Second's father, Perdiccas II., whose dominions were invaded by Sitalces the Odrysian at the head of 150,000 men, but who by dint of hanging on to their flanks with a small number of light horse and of interrupting their supplies, though not without the help of secret intrigue, succeeded, fine general that he was, with but little loss to himself, in bringing

about their ultimate retreat. These two fragments seem to carry with them *Fr.* 242,

φέρει δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχὶ μικρόν, εὐγενῆς  
ἀνὴρ στρατηγῶν εὐκλεᾶ τ' ἔχων φάτιν.

To Perdiccas II. must also be assigned, though on other and still more obvious grounds, *Fr.* 233,

σοὶ δ' εἶπον, ὦ παῖ, τὰς τύχας ἐκ τῶν πόνων  
θηρᾶν ὄραξ γὰρ σὸν πατέρα τιμώμενον,

with which goes, though less certainly, *Fr.* 234,

πατρὸς δ' ἀνάγκη παισὶ πείθεσθαι λόγων.

In the former of these two last fragments it is not, I think, fanciful to see in σὸν πατέρα, instead of πατέρα σὸν, a deliberate defiance of the usual practice of strictly tragic metre.

*Fr.* 261, to which one ms. of Stobaeus affixes a sign indicative of choric origin, which fact, in view of the narrative nature of the beginning of the fragment, is an incidental confirmation of my argument, runs thus :

ἔσωσα δούλην οὔσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἤσπονες  
τοῖς κρείσσοσιν φιλοῦσι δουλεύειν βροτῶν.

Emendations proposed by men of learning are ἔσωσε δούλην οὔσαν, ἐγῴδα δούλην οὔσαν, ἔσωσε δούλη φῦσά μ', and ἔγνων σε δούλην οὔσαν : but I cannot help thinking that the words are a plain statement from the lips of Alexander I. that he rescued, as in fact he did rescue (though in that strength only which flowed from the result of Salamis and from that, in which indeed he had his own secret share, of Plataea), the subject realm of Macedonia from the burden of the Persian yoke.

In the mouth either of this same Alexander, or rather, I conceive, in that of his father, Amyntas I., whose fate it was to give earth and water to the Persian, I would place the tetrametrical couplet, which constitutes *Fr.* 245,

ἐν δέ σοι μόνον προφωνῶ, μὴ ᾗ πὶ δουλείαν (so Gesner for  
μὴ πιδουῦ λείαν and μὴ που δειλίαν of the mss.) ποτέ  
ζῶν ἐκὼν γ' (I propose ἐκὼν γ' for ἐκὼν of the mss.)  
ἔλθῃς παρὸν σοὶ κατθανεῖν ἐλευθέρῳ (so Nauck for  
ἐλευθέρως of the mss.).

There are other passages to which I could point as similarly spoken in character ; but as I could not, with any degree of definiteness, assign them to individual kings (it must be remembered that many of these kings are to us only names), and as I do not wish to burden my argument with superfluous details, I will pass without delay to the matter of the son and heir. The fragments abound in references to poverty and wealth and to the kindred topic of hardship as the school of glory ; *Fr.* 230, 232, 233 (already mentioned), 235-240, 246, 248, 249, and 252 are all to the point, and I suppose that some of them must be spoken by the earlier and poorer kings : but it is *Fr.* 249 with which we are directly concerned. It runs :

μη πλούσιον θῆς· ἐνδεέστερος γὰρ ὦν  
 ταπεινὸς ἔσται· κείνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα,  
 ἄπλουτος ἀλφῶν πλοῦτον (this I propose for πλοῦτος  
 λαβῶν τοῦτον of the mss.) εὐγενῆς ἀνὴρ.

Given our presumptions, it is sufficiently plain that Archelaus II. is being advised with regard to the provisions he ought to make, or abstain from making, in the case of his infant son. A possible son, in case he ever should have one, would indeed meet the requirements of the bare letter : but there is something almost ridiculous in a childless man, and that man the real and living king of the country, being formally counselled in a drama as to the treatment of future and problematical children. Had then an heir apparent been already born to Archelaus at the date of the play (*circa* 407 B.C.) ? Archelaus II., an illegitimate son of Perdiccas II., ascended the throne in 413 B.C. and shortly afterwards married his father's widow Cleopatra. As it was partly at least for reasons of policy that he married her, certain acts of violence incidental to his accession having endangered his position, we may date the union *circa* 412 B.C. In 399 B.C. he died, leaving one son, a minor, Orestes, who reigned under the tutelage of his guardian and fellow-king, Aeropus II., until the year 395 B.C., or thereabouts, when Aeropus murdered him and assumed the sole sovereignty. It is then not unnatural to suppose that Orestes was born before the year 407 B.C. If he was born in 408 B.C., then

he was, it would seem, when Aeropus killed him, just approaching his fourteenth birthday, the age, that is, of puberty and, in some systems of law, of a sort of inchoate majority : this suits. But I have a more positive reason for suggesting the year 408 B.C. In the early spring of that year Euripides produced his *Orestes* at Athens. Is it fanciful to suppose that *Orestes* (not on earlier record as a Temenid name) was on that very account selected by Euripides' friend and patron, Archelaus, as a fitting appellation for his first-born ? The reader will now see the sense in which I regard the two presumptions as constituting a sort of guide to the fragments of the *Archelaus*.

One important fragment (*Fr.* 241) such as to demand discussion at this point—there are others also—remains over, a fragment which I have already cursorily mentioned. *Fr.* 241 is presented thus in a *scholium* on l. 1149 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, in which line the word κρᾶτας (accusative plural, but with nothing to fix the gender) occurs : ἀμφίβολον πρότερον τὸν κρᾶτα εἶπεν ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Ἀρχελάῳ·

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀναστρέψαι θέλω,  
καὶ Ἴων·  
τύπτων τὸν αὐτοῦ κρᾶτα.

Nauck rightly emends the αὐτοῦ in Ion into αὐτοῦ, but the Euripidean fragment demands less simple treatment. If it be read as it stands, it can scarcely import anything else than that some person had appeared with his head turned the wrong way round—an elementary acquaintance with comparative mythology is sufficient to show one that this would be quite possible in the case of Archelaus' ghostly ancestors, though the decency of such a representation is quite another matter—and that some other person, perhaps a Satyr, burlesquely suggested twisting it into the normal direction. But I doubt whether a single one of my readers will, in a play with claims to seriousness, consent even to entertain any similar hypothesis. Or we may accept Barnes's emendation, namely ἀναστέψαι for ἀναστρέψαι. In that case, in view of the rather emphatic ἐγὼ δὲ, I would suggest some such collocation as

- A. ἐγὼ σ' ἐφίζω βασιλικῶν θρόνων ἐπι.  
 B. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα σκῆπτρά σοι δίδωμ' ἔχειν.  
 Γ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀναστέψαι θέλω.

Lines of this kind could with obvious propriety be addressed to Archelaus by the ghosts. But on inspection I suggest that the corruption goes deeper and is not confined to the Euripidean fragment. The words ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸν κρᾶτα εἶπεν ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα do not satisfy me. εἶπεν means *said*, not *implied* or the like, and it is aorist and therefore means *said* on a particular occasion (ἔλεγεν would be another matter); but what Euripides actually said on this occasion was neither τὸν κρᾶτα nor τὸ κρᾶτα, but κρᾶτας. I note further that the scholiast is in an economical mood, citing from *Ion* no more than the necessary portion of a senarius. Putting these clues together, I transfer the θέλω, in the form θέλων, from the end of the Euripidean line to a position immediately after ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα, and as a consequential emendation alter ἐν Ἀρχελάω ἐγὼ δὲ to ἐν Ἀρχελάω γε ὧδε and, though this is not obligatory, ἀναστρέψαι to ἀνάστρεψαι. We are thus left with this emended text: ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸν κρᾶτα εἶπεν ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα θέλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Ἀρχελάω γε ὧδε·

τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀνάστρεψαι,

καὶ Ἴων·

τύπτων τὸν αὐτοῦ κρᾶτα.

In case I am right, then it is obviously the misreading of γε ὧδε as ἐγὼ δὲ that has attracted θέλων, changed *en route* to θέλω, to the end of the trimeter. If we could rely on my emendation, important results would flow from it. It presents Archelaus as being directed to avert his head. This averting of the head and similar actions were salient features at offerings to the Chthonian powers. See, for instance, Sophocles (*Oedipus Coloneus*, ll. 486-490),

ὡς σφας καλοῦμεν Εὐμενίδας, ἐξ εὐμενῶν  
 στέρνων δέχεσθαι τὸν ἰκέτην σωτήριον,  
 αἰτοῦ σύ γ', αὐτὸς κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἀντὶ σοῦ,  
 ἄπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν·  
 ἐπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος.

and, more particularly, Ovid (*Fasti*, v. ll. 437-440), of the Lemuria in May, when an offering was made to the Manes,

“Aversusque jacit ; sed dum jacit : ‘Haec ego mitto ;  
His ’ inquit ‘redimo meque meosque fabis.’  
Hoc novies dicit, nec respicit. Umbra putatur  
Colligere, et nullo terga vidente sequi.”

On my showing, Archelaus raised the ghosts of the Twelve Kings by a ceremony at which he averted his head, and moreover he was directed to do so by another person : this latter point is important, as it means that the acceptance of my emendation would involve also the acceptance of the existence, in some sense, of a second actor.

We are surely now in a position to accept without serious misgiving *Fr.* 372 of the *Adespota Tragica* as really forming part of Euripides’ *Archelaus*. That fragment, to quote it once more, runs :

ποῦ γὰρ τὰ σεμνὰ κεινὰ ; ποῦ δὲ Λυδίας  
μέγας δυνάστης Κροῖσος, ἢ Ξέρξης βαθὺν  
ζεύξας θαλάσσης αὐγὴν Ἑλλησποντίας ;  
ἄπαντ’ ἐς Ἀιδαν ἦλθε καὶ Λάθας δόμους.

The lines are surely a warning against ὕβρις addressed to Archelaus II. by one of the Twelve Kings. Further, as we can with marked appropriateness apply to them Milton’s phrase,

“That strain I heard was of a higher mood,”

it seems obvious to attribute them to some sort of peroration in the mouth of Archelaus I., choragus, and founder of the royal line. But, if they belong to the *Archelaus*, they have clearly an ulterior purpose. Though outwardly a dissuasion from vaingloriousness, yet inwardly they are an assertion of the parity of the Macedonian sceptre with that of Xerxes, with that of Croesus before him, and also with τὰ σεμνὰ κεινὰ, presumably the still more ancient empires of the Medes and of the Assyrians. In fact, they are an invitation to Pharaoh to accept Archelaus II. of Macedon as an equal.

Before we pass from this subdivision of the subject, it is desirable to cast a more comprehensive glance over

the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* of Euripides, which I have so far, save for special reasons, left untouched. To four of them I would here call attention, *Fr.* 861, 936, 940 and 953, of which the first three look, on various grounds, as if they came from the *Archelaus*.

*Fr.* 861 presents itself thus. Achilles Tatius, on the evidence of his existing text, writes (*Isag. in Phren.* p. 122 E) : ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης φησί·

δείξας γὰρ ἄστρον τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν  
 δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμεν.

The more or less current acceptance of the couplet as referring to the behaviour of the sun on the occasion of the banquet of Thyestes is preposterous. The older view, that it deals with the sun's ordinary motion, is tenable, and something rather like that view seems to me true. δῆμους is generally recognised as corrupt : δόμους τ' ἔσωσα, θρόνους τ' ἔσωσα, and γῆν ἐξέσωσα have been proposed : but surely the obvious and almost necessary correction of δῆμους is Μήδους. Read, putting the lines in the mouth of Alexander I. of Macedon :

δείξας γὰρ ἄστρον τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν  
 Μήδους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμεν.

The Persians had invaded Greece in the direction of the sun's motion, *i.e.* from east to west ; after Plataea, Alexander showed them the road in the opposite direction, that of the stars' motion, *i.e.* from west to east, pushed them out, and sat safe on his throne. Read thus, the couplet can come from the *Archelaus* only.

*Fr.* 936 (I have just and barely mentioned this fragment already under the head of diction) consists of the following line incorporated in the text of Lucian (*Necyom.* II., vol. i. p. 456) :

οὐκ ἄλλ' ἔτ' ἔμπνουσιν Ἀίδης μ' ἐδέξατο.

Scholars are satisfied from the context in Lucian that the line is from Euripides. If so (and I see no reason to disagree), it is, in view of Ἀίδης, either a choric senarius, or else a non-choric senarius from a drama such as the *Archelaus*. But, if it be a choric senarius, Ἀίδης itself must be a corruption of Αἰδᾶς, and, further, taking the

οὐκ into consideration, we must suppose that somewhat vivacious dialogue was on this occasion couched in choric senarii. We are thus thrown back, almost of necessity, on the alternative that the line is a non-choric senarius from a drama such as the *Archelaus*, i.e., as the *Archelaus* is *sui generis*, from the *Archelaus* itself. In that case one of the Twelve Kings, and, from the nature of the remark, one of the earliest of the Twelve, would seem to state in it, in answer to Archelaus II., that he had not died, but had descended quick into Hell. Is the king in question Archelaus I., and is the remark introduced in order to account for the absence of his body? It must be remembered that Archelaus I., though doubtless Archelaus II. favoured the legend which included his name, is unknown, at least as first king of Macedon, to ordinary mythology.

*Fr.* 940 resembles *Fr.* 936 in that it also is a senarius incorporated in the text of Lucian (*Jov. Trag.* II., vol. ii, p. 643), but there is the difference that this line is expressly in the context, not only impliedly by the context, certified as Euripidean. It runs :

τί δ' ἔστι; πρὸς χορὸν γὰρ οἰκείων ἔρεϊς.

My sole and of course doubtful, though, I think, suggestive, reason for provisionally attributing it to the *Archelaus* is that it would fit admirably as an immediate sequel to *Fr.* 231 (certified as from that play). In that case, adopting my reading of *Fr.* 231, we should obtain this composite fragment :

XOPOΣ. ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρεῖαν ἔχων;  
 APXEΛAOC. πατέρων παρ' ἐσθλῶν Ἀπίδαο αἰδῶ γεγώς.  
 XO. τί δ' ἔστι; πρὸς χορὸν γὰρ οἰκείων ἔρεϊς.

On this treatment, we should have the Twelve Kings, through their spokesman, Archelaus I., expressly describing themselves as a *Chorus*.

But a play in which a monarch merely conversed with the shades of his predecessors, even were the conversations prolonged and the details complicated, could after all rank only among the *aptaesta*. It is important therefore to observe that we possess evidence of the intrusion of another personage, an impious character, who (*Fr.* 254 and 255) is rebuked for unjustly blaming the gods,



for hoping to reverse their decrees, and for changing the existence of a moral order, but who also—at least if my apparently inevitable correction of *Fr.* 255 is right—is exhorted, not as if he were a stranger, to amend his ways in time to escape destruction. In a moment I will quote the two fragments. Meanwhile let me premise that the character they introduce is the Pretender, Amyntas, afterwards King Amyntas II. of Macedon. Of the generation of Perdicas II., and therefore in a position (*Fr.* 254) to address Archelaus II. as τέκνον, although it was only long after that prince's death that he himself, in his old age, ascended the throne, this scion of the Temenid stock—as to his precise parentage historians differ—had shown himself a dangerous rival even to Perdicas and was no doubt the most formidable of Archelaus' opponents. He too was a reigning monarch, exercising undisputed sovereignty in his own marquise. He, I suggest, comes, like Archelaus, to consult the Twelve Kings. The two meet, and an altercation ensues. Ultimately, the Twelve decide in favour of Archelaus. In this altercation and decision lies the dramatic leaven of the piece. *Fr.* 254 runs thus :

πόλλ', ὃ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί.  
τὸ ῥᾶστον εἶπας αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς.

As it is obvious that the first speaker had not *mentioned blaming the gods*, but had *blamed the gods*, read :

ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ Β. πόλλ', ὃ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί.  
ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β. τὸ ῥᾶ 'στ' ἐνίπας αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς.

I mean by ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ Β not *Amyntas II.* (he was not that as yet), but *Amyntas alter* (i.e. an Amyntas other than King Amyntas, one of the Twelve). *Fr.* 255 runs thus :

δοκεῖς τὰ θεῶν (for τὰ θεῶν there are *v.ll.* τὰ θεῶν σὺ  
and τὰ τῶν θεῶν) ξυνετὰ νικήσειν ποτέ  
καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μακρὰν ἀπωκίσθαι (*v.ll.* ἀπωκεῖσθαι  
and ἀποκεῖσθαι) βροτῶν·  
ἢ δ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν (*v.l.* ἢδ' ἐστιν ἐγγύς), οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ'  
ὄρᾳ  
ὄν χρὴ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σὺ  
ὄπότεν ἄφρων μολοῦσα διολέσῃ κακούς.

Particularly on account of the patent impossibility of ὀπότεν from a grammatical point of view (if one simply alters to ὀπότε ἄντ' with the future indicative, the sense remains intolerable), I propose :

δοκεῖς τὰ θεῶν σὺ νητά τ' ἐκνήσειν ποτέ  
καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μακρὸν ἀπωκίσθαι βροτῶν·  
ἦ δ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὀρᾷ  
ὄν χρὴ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν. ἄλλ' ἀύχοῖσθα σύ,  
ὄτ' ἄντ' ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέσαι κακούς.

It is, as I have said, important to observe the evidence—emendations or no emendations—of these two fragments. In the latter I consider that Archelaus is addressing Amyntas.

*Fr.* 953 is mentioned by me here for the one reason that Kock assigns it to the *Archelaus* (Weil attributes it to the play that Stobaeus and myself call the *Temenides*, Bergk to the *Cresphontes*, Wecklein to the *Dictys*, and there are yet other suggestions). It cannot come from the *Archelaus* (nor from the *Temenides*). The writer, apparently a schoolboy, puts at the end of it what Nauck reads as ΕΥΡΙΠΠΙΔΗCCMOΔΕΓΑΘΗC. In the fragment, which runs to 44 lines (written out, with certain variations, twice over), a wife begs her father not to separate her from her actual husband and marry her to another. It does not concern us.

This completes my inspection, for our immediate purpose, of the content of the *Archelaus*.

### C.

Starting with the *datum* that Euripides is credibly stated to have composed one play containing a passage such that it necessarily follows (though this is not in the statement) that the play in question had an action distinctly later in date than that of Aeschylus' *Persae*, and continuing with the moral certainty that no Euripidean play, save the *Archelaus* only, can be the play in question, we have seen that one of two results follows : either the *Archelaus* actually is the play in question, or else the statement is false.

We have seen also that the *Archelaus* can by no

possibility be the play in question (*i.e.* that the statement is false), unless the *Archelaus* deals primarily with the doings, not, as editors assume, of Archelaus I., but of Archelaus II., Euripides' contemporary and patron. Examining the somewhat voluminous fragments of the *Archelaus* in the light of the presumption arising from the statement with which we started, we find that, so far as content is concerned, they are eminently consistent with it, and in fact, on the basis that the play deals mainly with Archelaus II., enable us to restore something very like the plot of the drama, whereas, on the rival basis that the hero of the play is Archelaus I., they appear irrelevant and even alien to the known story of his adventures. In addition we have perceived that a Euripidean play about a living person stands in a unique category and might in a manner be equated with Satyric dramas rather than with tragedies proper, and we have noted that one (and one only) of those Satyric and quasi-Satyric dramas of Euripides of which knowledge survived to a fairly late period seems, unless that drama be the *Archelaus*, to be somewhat unaccountably unknown by name to us. Furthermore we have observed in the *Archelaus* itself at least one extraordinary archaism of language, and in an anonymous fragment, which, if the statement with which we started be true, is almost certainly the passage, from the *Archelaus*, referred to in that statement, similar peculiarities of diction of a most pronounced kind, which facts, with others like them, tend in the direction of showing that the *Archelaus* is not composed on the linguistic model of the tragedies of Euripides. Neither does the metre seem quite normal. All this corroborates the initial statement and also shows us with sufficient security the subject-matter of the *Archelaus*. But while some problems are solved, others are raised.

In the first place, on what rational synthesis are we to account for the combination of peculiarities presented by a Euripidean play which (*a*) is a drama of contemporary life, and (*b*) exhibits extraordinary and archaistic diction (*Fr.* 372 of the Tragic *Adespota* cannot really come from any other source, but *Fr.* 228 would by itself be sufficiently surprising)? I have no hesitation in answering that the influence of Neophron of Sicyon is at

work. For his diction, as also for that of Pratinas and of the earliest tragedy, see my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*. As presenting a contemporaneous action, the *Archelaus* may nominally indeed be paralleled by the *Mileti Halosis* of Phrynichus and by the *Persae* and the *Glaucus Pontios* of Aeschylus; but those plays are all three high tragedies. A much more real parallel is the *Antheus* (surely in Aristotle we ought to read Ἄνθεϊ, not Ἄνθεϊ) of Agathon, and Agathon, like Euripides, migrated to the court of Archelaus II., where, I suggest, he, under the same influence, composed the drama in question. The only tragedian, so far as we know, that, before Euripides and Agathon, established his abode at the Macedonian court was Neophron, who, circa 467 B.C., attached himself to King Alexander I. My explanation is that his tradition lived on in Macedonia. Moreover at Athens itself Euripides had already, unless antiquity lies, made use of Neophron's *Medea* in the composition of his own play of the same name.

Secondly, what of the number of the actors? In Neophron's *Medea* there appear, almost certainly, to be two (there might of course be more; but, in view of his archaism, it seems unlikely). In most of the *Archelaus*, apparently, one actor only is required; but general probabilities, coupled, at least on my treatment, with *Frr.* 241, 254, and 255, and also with a consideration shortly to be mentioned, suggest that there were two actors. For a third actor there seems to be no scope. Nevertheless, in effect, all twelve members of the Chorus are actors: this is a legacy from the days when there were no actors proper and for purposes of dialogue the Chorus itself, split into its component parts, was the only instrument available.

Thirdly, inasmuch as we have seen good, though not conclusive, ground for supposing that this particular play ranked in antiquity as a quasi-Satyric drama, it is worth while to test the supposition by inquiring whether there exists an independent probability that the *Archelaus* presented quasi-Satyric features, and, if so, of what sort they were. This inquiry will be seen to supply the consideration, just spoken of, with regard to a second actor. Now it is almost inconceivable that the

*Archelaus* can have consisted throughout, or almost throughout, of a mere colloquy between the Twelve Kings on the one hand and Archelaus II. on the other, even when we allow for the relief afforded by the irruption of Amyntas. Yet the Twelve Kings, as Chorus, must have been present from not long after the beginning to the actual end of the play, and, all things considered, it is not easy to find a character, in addition to Archelaus II. and Amyntas, who could, after the withdrawal of the latter, fittingly and without incongruity come into their society. Yet one such character there is, and that a character without whom a national Macedonian play, such as this, would be gravely incomplete. Hercules was patron of the country; his club is imprinted on its coins, and he was an ancestor, greater than Temenus himself, of its monarchs. When we have the Twelve Kings as Chorus, we positively require Hercules upon the stage. Also it is Hercules alone that can relieve the solemnity which, without relief, would become dulness, of the composition; he, and he only, as progenitor both of the Twelve Kings and of Archelaus II., can address to any and all of them remarks that, from any lips but his, would be blasphemies or insults, but, from his mouth, are gratifying signs of familiar condescension. Moreover, the Egyptian claims would, without the counterweight of Hercules, have been offensive to Hellenised sentiment. Add the two facts that this play is (unlike the *Alcestis*) archaic and that, as will be seen later, it is (like the *Alcestis*) the fourth member of a tetralogy, and you can hardly fail to assign in it to Hercules a rôle at least as full-blooded as is his in the *Alcestis*, itself counted by the ancients, for catalogue purposes, as a *satyricum*. I accept therefore, as confirmed by further probability, the *aliunde* probable conclusion, of which I have spoken, that the ancients regarded this play as quasi-Satyric, and I think moreover that they were right in so regarding it. Every fourth play of a tetralogy, apparently, was in some sense a *satyricum*; the presence of Hercules was enough to satisfy minimum requirements.

Fourthly, we seem to be able both to carry this particular argument a little further and also in the course of it to obtain an answer to another question, namely

that of the occasion of the first production of the drama. *Fr.* 740 of Euripides, which certainly belongs to this tetralogy, and which in the next chapter I show cause for attributing to this play, is a portion of a chorus dealing with the Hunting by Hercules of the Hind with the Golden Horns. In particular it represents him as, in the course of the chase, being led into out-of-the-way places. In other words, it is to a large extent identical with ll. 25-34 of Pindar's *Third Olympian Ode* :

δὴ τότ' ἐς γαῖαν πορεύειν θυμὸς ὤρμαιν'  
 Ἰστρίαν νιν· ἔνθα Λατοῦς ἵπποσόα θυγάτηρ  
 δέξεται ἔλθόντ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν καὶ πολυγνάμπτων  
 μυχῶν,  
 εὐτέ μιν ἀγγελίαις Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ' ἀνάγκη πατρόθεν  
 χρυσόκερων ἔλαφρον θήλειαν ἄξονθ', ἄν ποτε Ταυῦγέτα  
 ἀντιθεῖσ' Ὀρθωσίᾳ ἔγραψεν ἱράν.  
 τὰν μεθέπων ἴδε καὶ κείναν χθόνα πνοιαῖς ὄπιθεν Βορέα  
 ψυχροῦ· τόθι δένδρεα θαύμαινε σταθείς.  
 τῶν νιν γλυκὺς ἕμερος ἔσχεν δωδεκάγναμπτον περὶ τέρμα  
 δρόμου  
 ἵππων φυτεῦσαι.

It was, as is here set forth, during the Hunt of the Hind that Hercules discovered the olive-tree, which he planted on the Olympian race-course. Surely it is in the same connexion that the Hunt in question is introduced into the Euripidean chorus. If so, we may conclude at once that the tetralogy was first produced at the Macedonian *Olympic Festival* (dedicated to the Muses), founded by Archelaus II. at Aegae (so Arrian) or at Diium (so Diodorus, who is perhaps not very well informed as to this period), probably the festival of 407 B.C. But observe how Pindar continues (*Ol.* iii. ll. 34, 35) :

καὶ νῦν ἐς τὰύταν ἑορτὰν Ἰλαος ἀντιθέοισιν νίσσεται  
 σὺν βαθυζώνου διδύμνοισι παισὶ Λήδας.

Similarly, I make no doubt, Euripides saw to it that Hercules came in person, though without the Dioscuri, to the *Olympic Festival of Macedon*.

The prologue (as also the prologue of the second edition of the play, for which see Chapter VIII.) I put in Hercules' mouth. He is by far the most appropriate personage to

deliver it. At its conclusion I suppose that he renders himself invisible, to reappear at the right time.

As regards the opening of the play, immediately after the prologue, I conceive of Archelaus II. as inquiring of some priest or priestess the right way of obtaining audience of the Twelve Kings, and as receiving advice (*Fr.* 241). He performs the due rite and remains with averted head, it being uncertain whether the Kings will be friendly. They enter in silence, Archelaus II. meanwhile (compare Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincitus*) reciting anapaests, of which *Fr.* 230 is a relic. Once in position, they in succession strike up a choric song of pacific tenor. Archelaus II. turns and the play proceeds, the first iambic utterance of the choragus (Archelaus I.) being the former of the two senarii which constitute *Fr.* 231.

In this Chapter I have, I think, broken the back of our main difficulties.

## CHAPTER V

## ARBEE QUAE EST HEBRON

I TAKE it as by this time sufficiently established that the *Archelaus* had for Chorus the twelve Temenid Kings of Macedon, predecessors of Archelaus II. To put it in another way, the play known to us as the *Archelaus* must on the choric system of nomenclature, which system is certainly of very considerable antiquity, have been called the *Temenidae*.

This conclusion enables us to solve a problem that without its aid would be baffling in the extreme. Stobaeus quotes eleven times from Euripides' *Temenides*, *eo nomine* (one ms. only on one only of the eleven occasions substituting the *Temenidae*), while the existing text of a *scholium* on Aristophanes (*Ranae* l. 1338) assigns certain words employed by the comedian to Euripides' *Eumenides*, presumably a corruption of *Temenides*: Euripides' *Temenides* is nowhere else mentioned. Pollux and Aelian quote, each once only, from Euripides' *Temenidae*, *eo nomine*: Euripides' *Temenidae* is (save for the one variant in Stobaeus) nowhere else mentioned.

Editors have identified the two plays, and Nauck suspects that the copyists of Stobaeus confused a masculine dative Τημενίδαις with a feminine nominative Τημενίδες and thus were led to describe throughout the *Temenidae* as the *Temenides*. I, on the other hand, refuse, as common sense seems to demand, to admit the existence in Stobaeus of eleven separate, yet identical, corruptions, whether due to a theory or not. Equally, I see no reason to suspect corruption in the mention in Pollux, or in that in Aelian. There seem to me clearly to be two separate plays, the *Temenidae* and the *Temenides*; and the former I identify with the *Archelaus*. Stobaeus quotes largely from both; but, when he speaks of the former, he calls it the *Archelaus*.

There exists one positive reason only for not identifying Euripides' *Temenidae* with Euripides' *Archelaus*. It is



adduced by Nauck, not however as a reason against that identification (which I apparently am the first to propose), but as a reason for preferring the title *Temenidae* to the title *Temenides*, on the assumption that both titles refer to the same play, and that play a drama other than the *Archelaus*. But for either purpose it is about the weakest reason that one could well imagine. Here it is, and I ask the reader to judge of it.

Dioscorides the Epigrammatist writes (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 195; and the *Epigram* is repeated after the 361st of the same Book, and occurs also in *Anth. Plan.*):

Γάλλον Ἀρισταγόρης ὠρχήσατο· τοὺς δὲ φιλόπλους  
 Τημενίδας ὁ καμῶν πολλὰ διῆλθον ἐγώ.  
 χῶ μὲν τιμηθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο· τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν  
 Ὑρνηθῶ κροτάλων εἷς ψόφος ἐξέββαλεν.  
 εἰς πῦρ, ἡρώων, ἴτε, πρήξιες· ἐν γὰρ ἀμουσοῖς  
 καὶ κόρυδος κύκνου φθέγγατ' αἰοιδότερον.

(a) It is evident that, the *Temenidae* here mentioned not being attributed to any specific author, a doubt whether Euripides' *Temenidae* is meant arises *in limine*. (b) It will be seen later that the death of Hyrnetho at the hands of a particular male Temenid, who was not an ancestor of the Macedonian Kings, stands outside the cycle with which we are dealing and could at most be referred to in it as a matter of mythological history. (c) Τημενίδας in the epigram is clearly a *title of a composition*, so that φιλόπλους has no business to be added to it: such an expression as "I was reciting from Kingsley's brave *Heroes*" would strike one as very strange English. Probably, I suggest, we ought to read:

Γάλλον Ἀρισταγόρης ὠρχήσατο· τοὺς δὲ Φιλοκλοῦς  
 Τημενίδας ὁ καμῶν πολλὰ διῆλθον ἐγώ.

Philocles "tragicus," the younger, must have flourished *circa* 350 B.C., and, for all we can tell, may have survived, even by many years, the supplanting of the Athenian by the Macedonian power. We know nothing of his works: but we have come to the kind of date at which a "tragedian" can scarcely be expected to confine himself exclusively or almost exclusively to tragedy; and it surely is something shorter than a tragedy—perhaps it is a sort

of idyll—that Dioscorides represents himself as having “gone through” on the occasion when a rival entertainer danced the *Gallus*. Taking these three grounds together, I dismiss Dioscorides’ epigram as irrelevant, observing only that the way in which it has been accepted as the determinant factor in settling the title of a play of Euripides is typical of much loose work, which, now that the German domination is, I trust, broken, urgently demands root-and-branch revision by scholars of independent minds.

We are bound then, on the weight of evidence, to distinguish between Euripides’ *Temenidae* and Euripides’ *Temenides*. We are almost equally bound to adopt the obvious and natural identification of his *Temenidae* with his *Archelaus*, unless some argument to the contrary can be adduced. The two fragments actually cited as from his *Temenidae* furnish no such argument: quite the reverse.

The former (*Fr.* 730, from Pollux, ix. 27) runs:

ἄπασα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις.

Here the words Πελοπόννησος πόλις are almost as extraordinary as is μελαμβρότιοι itself. The expression bears its Archelaan origin stamped large upon its face.

The latter (*Fr.* 740, from Aelian, *N.A.* vii. 39) ought apparently, with the help of the slight emendations suggested in the last Chapter by myself, to be read thus:

ἦλθεν δ'  
ἐπὶ χρυσόκερῶν ἔλαφον, μεγάλων  
ἄθλων ἓνα μείζον' ὑποστάς,  
κατ' ἔναυλ' ὀρέων ἀβάτων ἐπὶ τε  
λειμῶνας ποιμένα τ' ἄλση.

In any case its *provenance* is sufficiently certified by its companion fragment; but, taken even by itself, both in language and in metre it so departs, as I have already pointed out, from the normal as to invite us to assign it to some unusual environment. Further emendation might indeed reduce it to normality, but such emendation would have to be violent with a vengeance. Moreover, the topic of the Herculean Hunt appears, as we have seen, specially appropriate to the *Archelaus*. Yet, though

the positive evidence afforded by this fragment ought not to be minimised, the undoubted presence of some corruption is a disturbing factor, and therefore I of course rely chiefly on *Fr.* 730.

Can then an argument against identification be found in any other quarter? One might indeed formulate the proposition that, a tetralogy being (as indeed it is) indicated by the indubitable plurality of plays on closely allied subjects, that tetralogy must consist of the *Temenus*, the *Temenidae*, the *Temenides* (or possibly the order of the *Temenidae* and the *Temenides* might be reversed), and the *Archelaus*. But, on this assumption, there would be altogether too much delving in highly obscure mythology relating to a family that boasted much higher and better known traditions. The first play of the tetralogy must *a priori*, one would think, deal in some way with Hercules. Moreover, when we come to discuss in detail the question of the tetralogy, we shall see that the *Alcmene* has special claims to the first place. There would, on that showing, be no room for both a *Temenides* and also a *Temenidae* distinct from the *Archelaus*. In any case, the attempt to build up a positive argument fails hopelessly.

Seeing then that the *Temenidae* is sufficiently certified as distinct from the *Temenides*, and seeing also that it is mentioned twice only (neither author who mentions it ever mentions the *Archelaus*), and seeing thirdly that the assumption of the existence of a *Temenidae* distinct both from the *Temenides* and from the *Archelaus* spells a plethora of plays on a comparatively unimportant, to the exclusion of a highly important, phase of the family history, and seeing fourthly that the *Archelaus* can perfectly regularly and in accordance with established usage be alternatively styled the *Temenidae*, and seeing fifthly that one at least of the two fragments expressly ascribed to the *Temenidae* has all the appearance of being taken from the *Archelaus*, and seeing lastly that not a shred of evidence against the identification appears to be obtainable from any quarter whatever, the natural and sensible conclusion is that Arbee and Hebron are identical, that is to say that *Archelaus* and *Temenidae* are nothing more than two names for one and the same drama.

## CHAPTER VI

## EFFERTE OSSA MEA HINC VOBISCUM

OF the legend of Archelaus I. (son of Temenus), under the name *Archelaus*, we obtain information in three, and only three, passages of extant literature.

In the first place, Hyginus, in a passage (*Fab.* 219) which, as will appear, must be a *précis* of Euripides' play on the subject, gives us the following information. Archelaus was a son of Temenus. He was driven into exile by his brothers, and went into the land of the Edones (read in *Edoniam*—Ἡδωνιάτης, at any rate, is Greek—for the *in Macedoniam* of the text, which conflicts with what shortly follows) to King Cisseus. Cisseus was being beleaguered by his neighbours, and offered Archelaus the kingdom and the hand of his daughter conditionally on Archelaus succeeding in preserving him from the attacks of the enemy. Archelaus, in a decisive engagement, did so succeed, and then claimed from Cisseus the fulfilment of his promise. Cisseus, at the instigation of his friends, went back on his word and resolved by treachery to compass Archelaus' death. He ordered a pit to be dug and filled with charcoal: the charcoal was to be kindled and then covered over with a thin layer of brushwood, in order that Archelaus, on his arrival, might fall into it. But a slave of Cisseus' disclosed the plot to Archelaus. He, on learning the truth, requested a private audience of the king. When all third parties had withdrawn, Archelaus threw the king himself into the pit and so killed him. After these events he escaped, as a result of advice which he sought and obtained from Apollo, into Macedonia with a she-goat as his guide and there founded a city called, after the goat, Aegeae.

Secondly, Agatharchides writes (Photius, *Bibl.*, p. 444b, 29): οὐδ' Εὐριπίδου κατηγορῶ τῷ μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ περιπεθεικότες τὰς Τημένου πράξεις, τὸν δὲ Τειρεσίαν βεβιωκότα παρεισάγοντος πέντε γενεῶν πλέον (was it in the legend of Archelaus that Tiresias was introduced?)

Thirdly, Dion Chrysostom writes (iv. 71) : ἡ οὐκ αἰπόλος ἦν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐδὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν αἴγας ἐλαύνων ;

Now that one of the Temenid plays of Euripides dealt directly with the legend of this Archelaus is fully established by the statement of Agatharchides, quoted above, if that statement be read in conjunction with *Fr.* 229 of Euripides, which is presented in the existing text of Dionysius (*De Comp. Verb.*, c. 25, vol. 5, p. 203) thus :  
ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ

ὦ βασιλεῦ γώρας τῆς πολυβώλου (*v.l.* πολυβόλου),  
Κισσεῦ, πεδίον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

The ὦ is rightly deleted by Valckenaer, and πολυβώλου is of course the correct reading. γώρας appears to me highly suspicious : not only is a place-name apparently wanted, but the previous context in Dionysius seems to suggest that a mention, direct or indirect, of the *Chersonese* comes in the passage, so that, on the strength of Χέρρῃ : ὄνομα πόλεως in Suidas, I am tempted to read :

βασιλεῦ Χέρρῃας τῆς πολυβώλου,  
Κισσεῦ, πεδίον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

That, however, is a very small matter, and also very uncertain, as the designation of Cisseus' capital is apparently not on record. The important and decisive point is that in a play by Euripides, Cisseus is present and addressed by name. Whether the second line relates to the glow of the charcoal under the brushwood can scarcely be determined ; but it would be strange for such a statement relating to it to be conveyed in anapaests.

We may take it, then, as established that a play by Euripides deals directly with the legend of Archelaus and Cisseus. Further, as the legend in question has only by the narrowest of margins escaped oblivion and can never have had more than a most limited currency, we may take it as likewise established, at least to a moral certainty, that Hyginus' *résumé* of it, which indeed reads like the framework of a tragedy, is, at any rate in substance, a summary of the Euripidean play in question.

That play cannot have been the *Temenus* ; was it the *Temenides* ? As the action is in no way concerned either

with Hyrnetho, Temenus' only daughter (a little later this will appear more fully), nor with any of his female descendants, nor yet with any persons who in a non-literal sense could be called *Temenides*, it is obvious that *Temenides*, if it be the title, is a choric title. Similarly—it is well to add this in supplement of the argument of the last Chapter—the drama cannot be called the *Temenidae*, unless *Temenidae* is in like manner a choric title, seeing that, although the other sons of Temenus banished Archelaus from Argos, yet that event must be ἔξω τοῦ δράματος, it being impossible that part of the action of a Euripidean play should be laid at Argos, when the rest of it develops at some place or other, possibly named Cherrha, in Thrace.

We will investigate the possibility and probability of *Temenides*, and also of *Temenidae*, as choric titles of the play. First, we must remark that in Archelaus' time neither *Temenides* nor *Temenidae*, in the strict and literal sense of the two terms, existed in sufficient numbers to form a tragic chorus. Hyginus is not in error as describing Archelaus as a *son* of Temenus; he is not mis-translating Τημενίδης, a *descendant of Temenus*. Archelaus can fortunately be identified: he is Temenus' youngest son, called occasionally *Agelaus* (e.g. in Apollodorus, ii. 8, 5, 3), whose name suffers a bewildering variety of sea-changes, appearing elsewhere as *Aegaeus* (Archelaus founded Aegae), *Agaeus*, *Agraeus*, and even *Argeius*. Temenus had three other sons only, Ceisus, Cerynes, and Phalces, and one daughter only, Hyrnetho; there is thus no question of its being a second case of the daughters of Danaus or of the sons of Aegyptus. This is important: we are thrown back on the possibility that either *Temenides* or perhaps *Temenidae* may be employed in a non-literal sense.

Here, at first sight, we seem to be in an *impasse*. We appear indeed to be confronted on the one hand with an almost *infinita quaestio*, so that further investigation becomes idle, and to be checked on the other by an improbability so glaring as forcibly to suggest that my previous chain of argument has somewhere in it a fatal, if latent, flaw. Yet often the explorer, who has watched with dismay the mountains closing in on his course and

the narrow defile narrowing still more as he climbs, spies suddenly an opening in what looked like a wall of rock, and the seeming *impasse* is revealed as the long-sought pass.

In this case it is Agatharchides that points the opening out to us. He tells us (*l.c.*) that Euripides attributes to Archelaus the doings of Temenus. But what doings? No one ever suggested that Temenus had adventures with Cisseus, or went to Macedonia. Caranus (for the name compare the Cretan *καρυνώ*, a *goat*, and the Polyrrenian Cretan *κάρα*, a *tame goat*), indeed, and Perdiccas are rival claimants to some of Archelaus' honours; but Temenus, after coming with the other Heraclids into the Peloponnese, settled down as King at Argos, where he lived and where he died. And even of his actions at Argos I find none recorded of such a kind that they could reasonably be attributed to anyone else; he bred a family and made ineffectual arrangements as to the succession to his throne. Yet there is just one action which must have been imputed to him, and which in its nature is such that it was possible for Euripides to impute it to Archelaus instead. He must have been held to have founded Temenium, a town in the Argolid, where in classical times his tomb was shown. I can in no way explain Agatharchides' words except as meaning that Euripides ascribed the foundation of Temenium to Archelaus, whereas it was commonly ascribed to Temenus. But, if so, we are on the high road to enlightenment.

This nail I want to hammer in. Temenus is to-day little more than a name. In antiquity itself he cannot have been much else. He figures in none of the greater sagas of literature, and with him popular legend was not busy, as is proved by the sparse allusions to his bare existence in the very voluminous mass of mythological information that through almost innumerable channels has come down to our own days. True, he was first of the Heraclid Kings of Argos and established the Doric domination over that city; but that fact, though it would no doubt ensure the ascription, true or false, of various Argive institutions to his initiative, by no means implies even the Argive attribution to him of acts of such a kind that Euripides could take hold of them for the purposes

of his play and transfer them to Archelaus. The only such act that I can discover is the foundation of Temenium : even that is not expressly set down to Temenus in our records, but the name of the town is sufficient evidence that by some at least he must have been reputed its founder. I doubt whether Agatharchides himself (*circa* 120 B.C.) can have known of any other act of Temenus suitable for transference to Archelaus in the Euripidean drama. But details, in addition to the bare fact, of the foundation of Temenium may well have been known both by Euripides and to Agatharchides : Euripides may have transferred these *en bloc* to Archelaus, and Agatharchides may have been aware that one and all they were taken from the account that dealt with Temenus. This would account for Agatharchides' use of the plural in his expression τὰς Τημένου πράξεις.

It was matter of common knowledge that Temenus was buried at Temenium. It is also on undisputed legendary record that Temenus made arrangements for Deiphontes, husband of his only daughter, Hyrnetho, to succeed him, when dead, upon the throne, but that, as events turned out, three of his sons, Ceisus, Cerynes, and Phalces, murdered Temenus himself and expelled Deiphontes—one of them also killed Hyrnetho, but apparently at a later date—and that Ceisus assumed the sceptre. Apollodorus tells us that after the murder the army rose and put Deiphontes on the throne. According to no accredited legend can he have retained it for more than a short time, as all mythology makes him King of Epidaurus. According to Pausanias, who does not mention that for a while he reigned at Argos, he went off with the faithful Argive army and conquered Epidaurus. Now Apollodorus' statement that he actually became King of Argos gives us everything we want for the purposes of Euripides' play, from which indeed Apollodorus may very well have taken it. Even if Deiphontes reigned for a few months only, that gives time for Archelaus, in the Euripidean story evidently a partisan of his, to found Temenium and bury Temenus there.

Here let me interject that in this short expedition into Argive legend we have obtained the proof I promised, in connexion with an epigram by Dioscorides, that



Hyrnetho does not come into the action proper of the Euripidean play.

Next, Deiphontes departs for Epidaurus with his army. What is Archelaus to do? Clearly he must fly for his life. But can he leave behind him at Temenium the remains of his murdered father to be sacrilegiously profaned at the hands of parricides and regicides? And what of that choir of maidens, whom we may suppose him, as a dutiful prince, to have established and endowed for ever to sing the hero's praises and to make due offerings at his shrine? Is he to abandon them to the tender mercies of such monsters? No: the body of his father shall go with him, and so shall the Temenides as well.

That, in broad outline, is the solution which I offer. With regard to it I desire to make three special observations. First, the appellation *Temenides*, though patronymic in form, can, and can in good Attic, be used of *worshippers* or *clients* of *Temenus* even if not of his blood. Full proof of this is furnished by the names of the Attic tribes *Erechtheis*, *Aegeis*, *Pandionis*, *Leontis*, *Acamantis*, *Oeneis*, *Cecropis*, *Hippochoontis*, *Aeantis*, and *Antiochis*. These tribes were created by Solon, and on a territorial, not an ancestral, basis; in the case of the tribe *Aeantis* there was not the possibility of even accidental descent from the eponymous hero. All the inhabitants of Temenium would be, so to speak, members of a quasi-tribe *Temenis*; but the term *Temenides* would apply particularly to the priestesses or attendants of the shrine. Secondly, it seems impossible to substitute *Temenidae* for *Temenides*: in the case supposed a choir of males would not only be hopelessly prosaic, but would also, so far as I understand the matter, conflict with Greek custom. Thirdly (and this is a point of significance) the presence of an embalmed body—or, to put it plainly, of a mummy—and, still more so, that of a mummy moved from place to place would accord most singularly with the Egyptian tendencies of the tetralogy. The remains of Joseph, it will be remembered, were carried by the Israelites to the Holy Land. I shall point out later how Egyptian the whole tetralogy is.

But the objection may be raised that in classical

times the body of Temenus reposed at Temenium, not at Aegae. Exactly : it would not have done for Temenus, who was not a Macedonian king, to be interred at Aegae, and I suppose that, when Apollo gave his *responsum* to Archelaus, ordering him to flee into Macedonia, he also informed him that Herod, so to speak, was now dead and that it would be safe to send the Temenides with the body of Temenus back to Temenium.

I have indeed been conjecturing somewhat freely ; but the conjecture is all such as flows quite naturally from the data, and the result is so eminently in keeping with the requirements of the tetralogy that I regard the conclusion as, if not correct, at least satisfactory. But, given so complicated a problem, it may well be questioned whether it is in any degree likely that more than one satisfactory conclusion is possible, or, in other words, whether a satisfactory conclusion is not, in all probability, *ex vi termini* correct also.

Now let us consult the extant fragments. Owing to the fact that the compilers of non-epigrammatic anthologies were in the habit of arranging their quotations under headings, usually either ethical, such as *Concerning Pride*, *Concerning Hospitality*, or at least somewhat—shall I say ?—sententious, such as *In Praise of Husbandry*, *In Dispraise of Husbandry*, and indeed aimed seemingly at nothing more than the compilation of common-place books for the use of those who might be required to write or to discourse upon the traditional and approved topics in question, the extant fragments of a play are but seldom fair samples of its general contents. I may add, in passing, that this system of selection to suit topic-headings is to my mind the one real reason for the marked sameness exhibited by distinct anthologies, which sameness, has, wrongly, I think, been taken as proving that at an early date the complete plays had already disappeared from circulation. Be that as it may, it is not often that a play is itself so evenly sermonesque that, in the task of extracting moralities and the like from it, the anthologist is able to range over pretty well its whole length and so present, though undesignedly, a decently adequate idea of its general scope. The *Archelaus* of Euripides is however such an exceptional play : but even the *Archelaus*

would not be justly dealt with but for the accident that its title begins with an *alpha*, seeing that—I think I am the first to observe this—Stobæus so crowds his anthology with excerpts from Euripidean plays with titles beginning with the earlier letters of the alphabet that he has no sufficient space left in which to quote on the large scale from plays with titles beginning with the later letters. Now on no view of its contents can the *Temenides* be expected to be particularly sententious, and its title begins with a *tau*. In consequence the fragments probably are not representative and certainly are not numerous. Yet, such as they are, they may perhaps serve our turn.

They consist of 32 lines distributed among twelve fragments (*Frr.* 229, 728, 729, 731-739): in addition (*Fr.* 741) a scholiast tells us that certain words in Aristophanes manifestly taken from or based on Euripides are a parody on τὰ ἐκ τῶν Εὐμενίδων, where I would read Τημενίδων (Dobree proposed Τημενιδῶν). Of the crucial *Fr.* 229, in which Cisseus is addressed by name, I have already sufficiently treated. *Frr.* 728 and 729 may well be uttered in connexion with the proposal that Archelaus should take the field on behalf of Cisseus; so may *Frr.* 731-734. *Fr.* 735 looks as if it were a reflexion on the part of the Chorus—it is a senarian couplet, but it reads like a remark of a Chorus—on Cisseus' attitude after Archelaus' victory as contrasted with his attitude before that victory. *Frr.* 737 and 738 are highly indeterminate. I have not yet dealt with *Frr.* 736, 739 and 741; all these demand detailed treatment. The other fragments, of which I have just spoken, will obviously suit my suggested plot quite well, though I do not mean to suggest that they might not equally well suit an entirely different plot, such as one dealing, let us say, with Hyrnetho.

*Fr.* 736 is presented thus in Stobæus (*Fl.* 126, 6 and 7): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν·

ὡς σκαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένουσιν ἄξενος  
καὶ μνημονεύων οὐδὲν ὧν ἐχρῆν φίλου.  
δάνειον δ' ἄρ' ἦν θανοῦσιν ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι,  
κἂν ὁμόθεν ὦσι· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πλεόν κρατεῖ

(here comes a gap, such as separates two quotations, and a new lemma : Εὐριπίδου·)

τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἡ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις  
ἀπόλωλ', ὅταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἀνὴρ θάνῃ.

I read :

ὡς σκαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένοισιν ἄξενος  
καὶ μνημονεύων οὐδὲν ὦν ἐ χρῆν φίλου.  
σπάνιοι λάχῃ 'νθανοῦσί γ' ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι,  
κἂν ὁμόθεν ὦσι· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πλεόν κρατεῖ  
τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἡ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις  
ἀπόλωλ', ὅταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἀνὴρ θάνῃ.

ἀνὴρ is generally read, ἐ χρῆν is my suggestion, and so is σπάνιοι λάχῃ 'νθανοῦσί γ' (for which Gesner proposed the scarcely grammatical σπάνιον δ' ἄρ' ἦν θανοῦσιν, from which Grotius omitted the δ'), while I change ἐκ δόμων to ἐκ δόμων in order to balance λάχῃ 'νθανοῦσί γ'. Grotius redivided into two fragments, putting the separation after l. 2, and Gaisford followed him, inserting a conjectural lemma, τοῦ αὐτοῦ, between ll. 2 and 3; they are wrong, seeing that, except as part of a larger whole, ll. 1 and 2 do not illustrate the heading, which is "Οτι τῶν πλείστων μετὰ θάνατον ἡ μνήμη διαρῖβει ταχέως. Editors will not pay attention to the headings.

Now, if my general conception (let alone particulars) that the action of this play consists of the adventures of Archelaus I. with Cisseus, not of the dealings of Temenus' sons with Deiphontes and Hyrnethe, be well-founded, then, on the strength of Hyginus, I affirm that *Fr.* 736 can only relate to the behaviour of Cisseus towards Archelaus, and probably relates to his behaviour on Archelaus' first arrival. But, if so, it unmistakably describes Cisseus as himself a friend of Temenus' youth and a Heraclid into the bargain. Further, if my λάχῃ 'νθανοῦσιν and ἐκ δόμων—it seems difficult to resist them—be adopted, it depicts Cisseus as still dwelling in some part at least of the lot of his inheritance, which lot Temenus had originally shared, but which he had left to live, and ultimately to die, elsewhere. Now all this is exactly what I want. I desiderate, and I here find, a reason why, on leaving Argos, Archelaus should, of all

places in the world, have selected Thrace as his haven of refuge. If he had with him his father's body, the reason becomes all the more excellent; he was bearing it to the ancestral home. For my views indeed all things seem to be working together for good. Of the actual lineage of Cisseus I have, strangely enough, found no record: but two points have a bearing. First, we find, shortly after Hercules' death, his son, Hyllus, Temenus' great-grandfather, with Ceyx at Trachis in Thessaly, and he was subsequently adopted by Aegimius of Oeta; it is not a far cry from Thessaly to Thrace, and in Thrace itself there was a town called Heraclea, situated on the Strymon, so that there is some ground for conjecturing that the Heraclids spread north as well as south (*cf.* the term *Little Egypt*). Secondly, two of the sons of Aegyptus, Temenus' famous ancestor, were named Archelaus and Cisseus respectively: this fact suggests that, like Archelaus of Argos, Cisseus of Thrace may well have been a Heraclid.

I find some difficulty in conceiving that the lines could by any reasonable possibility refer to the assassination of Temenus, with which editors must, I imagine, suppose them to be concerned. Much more violent reprobation would, I suggest, be heaped on a betrayer of the cause of the murdered monarch. No one of the actual murderers at any rate could be spoken of with such comparative mildness. But who else on that side is there to be spoken of, and what room for any ξένοι is there in the story? Of course we are largely in the dark, but it is worth noting that, on the assumption of a *Temenidae*, such light as we have fails to help us.

*Fr.* 739, which seems to be closely connected, at least in subject-matter, with *Fr.* 736, is given as follows (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 88, 2): Εὐριπίδου (for Εὐριπίδου *codex* A substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, referring to a preceding attribution to Euripides) Τημενίδου.

φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ φῦναι πατρός εὐγενοῦς ἄπο  
 ὄσσην ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξιώματά τε.  
 κἂν γὰρ πένης ὦν τυγχάνῃ, χρηστὸς γεγώς  
 τιμὴν ἔχει τιν' (*codex* S τινα), ἀναμετρούμενος δὲ πῶς  
 τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ὠφελεῖ τρόπῳ.

Read :

εὖ φῖτυ φὺν καὶ πατρός εὐγενοῦς ἄπο  
 ὄσσην ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξίωμα τέ.  
 καὶν γὰρ πανήσσων τυγχάνη, χρηστοῦ γεγώς  
 τιμὴν ἔχει τις, ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως  
 τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ᾧ φηλοῖ τρόπω.

εὖ φῖτυ φὺν καὶ and πανήσσων (*cf.* πανάριστος) are my own suggestions: πένης ὦν is sheer nonsense, as it would involve the impossible sentiment that every son of a good man, even though he be poor, turns out a "wrong 'un." χρηστοῦ is Valckenaer's: I have a great opinion of that scholar's work, which ought to rank far higher than it does. Again τις and ᾧ φηλοῖ are my own.

To which parricide, pray, on the assumption of a *Temenidae*, is this very unindignant censure to apply? I prefer to think of a *Temenides* and to take the lines as directed against Cisseus (and so directed only before his full villainy had become known). But, if so, we again have a reference to Cisseus' lineage.

With regard to *Fr.* 741, that fragment comes into existence thus. Aristophanes, in a Euripidean canto, writes (*Ranae*, l. 1388) :

ἀλλά μοι, ἀμφίπολοι, λύχνον ἄψατε.

A *scholium* on the line runs: Ἀπολλώνιος παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν Εὐμενίδων. For Εὐμενίδων Dobree, as I have said, reads Τημενιδῶν, while I read Τημενίδων. Very likely Cisseus is ordering the charcoal to be lighted. As the Euripidean original I suggest :

ἀλλά μοι, ἀμφίπολοι, λόχον ἄψατε.

The fragments of the play do not—this at least will by now be manifest—weaken my contentions. I make no higher claim: I am content with what is perhaps a μείωσις.

## CHAPTER VII

### SERIES JUNCTURAQUE

I WILL, as soon as I am able, speak of the complete tetralogy, but before doing so I must advert in some detail to the first two plays. That the tetralogy is a connected tetralogy cannot, after what we have already seen, be disputed; therefore, having the *Temenides* and the *Archelaus* as the last two plays, we may safely—since, except as another name for the *Archelaus*, the *Temenidae* is a figment—set down the *Temenus* as the second play and look for the first play among dramas dealing with some yet earlier phase of the family history.

For three reasons I consider that the *Temenus* must deal with Temenus' accession to the Argive throne, not with his death. First, and this is my least important reason, the death comes too near both in time and in interest to the action of the *Temenides*, and there was no need for the poet, with such a spacious legend to roam in, to huddle two plays into one narrow compartment of it. Secondly, and this reason is more important, we do not want, and especially we do not want in a tetralogy designed to commend Macedonian monarchy to the Egyptians, two plays in succession presenting the spectacle of royalty in its degradation; in one of the two we require royalty in its glory. Thirdly, and, though the other two reasons are good, this is much more vital, the death of Temenus, with the side-action connected with Deiphontes and Hyrnetho, does not, even if Archelaus I. be brought prominently in, constitute a real land-mark in the majestic progress of the royal house; unlike the emigration of Archelaus, it is a mere incident, sanguinary, indeed, but without significance, whereas, like the emigration of Archelaus, the accession of Temenus, at the head of his Dorians, to a Peloponnesian throne is the unfolding of a new stage of the pageant. *A priori* then I insist that Euripides, as an artist, took the accession, not

the death, for the subject of his *Temenus*. *A posteriori* I am encouraged in my insistence by two considerations. One consideration arises as follows. Eight fragments only, comprising among them seven lines and five single words, are attributed to the *Temenus* (in addition one line, *Fr.* 742, which in my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* is assigned to a Βούτης Μαινόμενος, is headed Εὐριπίδου Βουτημένω, and another line, *Fr.* 746, which perhaps really is from the *Temenus*, is headed Εὐριπίδου Τιμαίω : neither of these two lines has any relevant significance), of which one fragment alone (*Fr.* 744) can be claimed as even remotely distinctive. But that fragment runs :

ἄρξεις ἄρ' (v.l. γὰρ) οὕτω· χρῆ δὲ τὸν στρατηλάτην  
ὁμῶς δίκαιον ὄντα ποιμαίνειν στρατόν.

The older sense of *στρατός* is not restricted to an army in the field : the couplet may well be an exhortation to *Temenus*, perhaps in the mouth of a fellow-general, to comport himself not only as a master, but also as a righteous shepherd, towards his Dorians at Argos. There is not much in this ; but with it is coupled the fact that at least my contention is not contradicted or even rendered difficult by any fragment. So much for one consideration. The other is perhaps more tangible : at least I personally pay more attention to it. In the *Temenides* we have seemed to see Cisseus' father indirectly brought in as an excellent man, a Heraclid himself, and a friend of *Temenus*' youth. If so, that surely is a reference back to this play, in which the Heraclid in question must have been a character. But this means that he was a comrade of *Temenus* in a play dealing with the taking of Argos : if the *Temenus* dealt with *Temenus*' death, there would be no possible opening—and the date also would be prohibitory—for the Heraclid. I say, then, with moral certainty (and I should say the same, even if in the most literal sense I had nothing whatever but *a priori* ground to go on), that the *Temenus* was concerned directly with the establishment of *Temenus* as king—or would Pharaoh be a better word?—on the throne of Argos. The pity and fear of the tragedy were probably connected with such matters as the death of *Tisamenus*.

The first play of the tetralogy is not hard to fix. Of



the extant dramas it might conceivably, at first sight, be either the *Heraclidae* or the *Hercules Furens*; but a moment's reflexion is enough to show that neither of those plays is in any way whatever central enough in its action to serve as a member, let alone the first member, of this tetralogy. To turn to the other dramas, we are left a choice between the *Alcmene* and the *Danae* only (the *Dictys* would, in a sort of way, come into possible competition, did we not know, from the Argument to the *Medea*, that it was produced in the year 431 B.C., and stands third in the unconnected tetralogy that the *Medea* heads). Between Hercules and Perseus we cannot, in this connexion, hesitate. On every ground Hercules has it, so that the *Alcmene* must be the play we are seeking, unless indeed that play be unknown to us by name. That alternative is as good as impossible. Either (see Chapter 1.) we know the names of all the Euripidean tragedies, as seems to be the case, or at any rate none but one or two of the most obscure are unknown. The first drama of the Macedonian tetralogy cannot have been obscure. The *Alcmene* then is a sound and secure selection.

But the determination of the plot is a less simple matter. The fragments are so neutral as to be of only the slightest assistance. They could, I suppose, all be read as coming from a drama dealing with Hercules' birth, though to that event they contain no kind of allusion. But the didactic element is rather strangely strong in them (*Fr.* 91-96, 98, 99, 102), though it is easy to make too much of this fact, and *Fr.* 96 in particular,

σκαίον τι χρῆμα πλοῦτος (read probably κρᾶμ' ὁ πλοῦτος)  
ἢ τ' ἀπειρία,

is an almost exact replica in sense of a line in the *Temenides* (*Fr.* 732),

ῥώμη δέ τ' (read δ' ἔτ', with ἔτι in its "logical" sense)  
ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις τίκτει βλάβην,

and of another in the *Archelaus* (*Fr.* 235),

πλουτεῖς, ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀμαθία δειλόν θ' ἄμα (read δ' ἀμαθία  
δειλόν θαμά).

Each of these three lines recalls the sentiment of Pindar's (*Ol.* II. II. 53-55) :

ὁ μὰν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν  
καιρόν, βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν,  
ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτήτυμον  
ἀνδρὶ φέγγος.

That passage, as is well known, occurs in intimate (how intimate, owing to a notorious depravation in the text, is unfortunately uncertain) connexion with teaching, presumably borrowed from the same general source, of a most unusual kind with regard to the future life, it being stated *inter alia* that all souls that reach a certain stage of perfection (ll. 70-72)

ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὄδδον παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν, ἔνθα μακάρων  
νάσος ὠκεανίδες  
αὔραι περιπνέουσιν.

This is like the *Book of the Dead*. Is Euripides subtly insinuating an Egyptian flavour? Curiously enough, at any rate, of the seventeen fragments, comprising 28 lines and two words, of the *Alcmene*, four (*Frr.* 92, 95, 96, and 99) deal, like numerous fragments, as we have seen, of the *Archelaus*, with the topic of wealth. Possibly from *Fr.* 89 a little definite light may flow. It runs :

οὐ γὰρ ποτ' εἶων Σθένελον εἰς τὸν εὐτυχῆ  
χωροῦντα τοῖχον τῆς δίκης (insert σ' with Grotius) ἀπο-  
στερεῖν.

Sthenelus certainly banished Amphitryon, who took Alceme with him, from Messene, but only because Amphitryon had unintentionally killed Electryon. I do not find that Sthenelus had any hand in persecuting either Alceme or the Heraclids until after Hercules' death, when he unquestionably joined the army of Eurystheus—εἰς τὸν εὐτυχῆ χωρῶν τοῖχον—and, unfortunately for his calculation, was slain in battle by Hyllus. It may be that Hyllus is addressing Alceme : in any case the couplet suggests an action subsequent to the death of Hercules.

Now there is one, and only one, episode in the various

legends relating to Alceme that is calculated to impart to the opening drama of this Egyptian tetralogy the temper and tone that we desiderate. When Alceme came to die the death of the righteous, one story (adopted, we know, by Pherecydes) has it that, on the Heraclids coming to carry her closed coffin to the grave, they found themselves wholly unable to lift it: they learnt that Hermes had, at the command of Zeus, removed Alceme's body, raised her to life, and transported her to the Islands of the Blessed to be wife to Rhadamanthus, leaving in the coffin, in lieu of the corpse, a huge block of stone, which the Heraclids set up in a grove. The scene is near Thebes; but there is nothing to prevent the story being incorporated in another account which placed Alceme at Athens. If this tale were treated in a play, dramatic necessity would bring Hermes back to the coffin to explain to the Heraclids what had happened. Just consider the situation. You have first the shut coffin of Alceme and the bewildered Heraclids unable to move it. Next, enter Hermes, who explains that, at the order of Zeus, he has removed the body—embalmed, I suggest—and, after raising her to life, carried her in the Boat of the Dead to the Island of the Blessed to be wife to the Judge of Souls. In her place, he says, he has substituted a stone image. He touches the coffin with his rod. The fabric falls apart and discloses a recumbent colossus of red granite, calm of countenance, such as at Memphis travellers contemplate with awe. Consider, I say, this situation. Are we in Greece or in Egypt? Can any situation be more ideal in view of the nature of the tetralogy? Reflect too how with the Egyptian interest the Herculean atmosphere conspires. In the earlier part of the play Alceme is, I take it, still alive. She doubtless converses with her grandsons, especially with Hyllus, speaking to them of Zeus and of Hercules, and prophesying, I imagine, before her death the glories of the Macedonian house. And when Hermes appears, there is further opportunity for some measure of disclosure of the future. Nor is it at all improbable that Hercules in person makes his appearance also.

Let all this be mere conjecture, and even so I have a good case. But is it mere conjecture? No. Speaking

of an exceptionally heavy wind, Plautus (*Rudens*, l. 89) uses the expression :

“ Non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi.”

He can, I suggest, mean nothing else than that the wind was as heavy as the coffin, with Alcmena's statue in it, in Euripides' play. If so, my view of the plot is the right view.

But now we come across a complication. Euripides, as we have already seen, is the more or less reputed author of a play of doubtful origin called the *Rhadamanthys*. Of that play two fragments, comprising eleven lines, are still extant. The former mentions certain unspecified inhabitants of Euboea : in the latter, the speaker, after mentioning various human ambitions, ends by declaring that he cares for none of these things, but desires the glory of a good reputation. Though these fragments scarcely look that way, some scholars have thought that the action of the *Rhadamanthys* is the handing over, in the other world, of Alcmena to Rhadamanthus by Hercules, as if such an episode could possibly form the ground-work of a tragedy ! The opinion however is supposed to be supported by a Cyzicene epigram (*Anth. Pal.* III. 13), under a picture, in the temple at Cyzicus, which represented the incident : the epigram merely states in metre the subject of the picture. It is perhaps true that the picture—the epigram is quite subsidiary—is evidence of a sort that the subject was dealt with in more poetical literature than the records of Pherecydes ; but, if we admit the evidence, it points to the *Alcmene* quite as probably as to the *Rhadamanthys*, which presumably dealt with the early career of its hero. What I really fear is that, after what I have said, someone may attempt to identify the two plays and, on that basis, maintain that the *Alcmene* is a forgery. But the dramas in question are manifestly distinct, if only because Rhadamanthus is not possible as a character in the *Alcmene*. True the *Alcmene* is absent from its place in the broken *Marmor Albanum* ; but it may well have been presented under another name, perhaps *Hyllus*, in the missing portion of that bas-relief.

Our constructive labours are now ended. We have

before us the outlines of a tetralogy, the *Alcmene*, the *Temenus*, the *Temenides*, and the *Archelaus*. The *Alcmene* presents the death and, so to speak, the assumption, in circumstances marvellously Egyptian, of Hercules' mother: her grandson, Hyllus, son of Hercules and ancestor of the Temenid kings of Macedon, is present on the stage and doubtless receives from Hermes some prophecy of the future of his line. In the *Temenus*, Hyllus' descendant, Temenus, comes by conquest to the kingship of Argos and is seen sitting, like a Pharaoh, on his throne. In the *Temenides*, Temenus' son, Archelaus I., flies from civil sedition into Thrace, bearing with him, to save it from sacrilege, the embalmed body of his father; in Thrace he receives from Apollo a command to proceed to Macedonia and there to found a new monarchy. In the *Archelaus*, Archelaus II., King of Macedon, of the line of Archelaus I., of Temenus, of Hercules, of Aegyptus, and of Apis, consults the spirits of his twelve royal predecessors, who rising from their sepulchres at Aegae—all save one, who comes apparently from elsewhere—advise him as to the welfare of his realm; to them, as they hold converse, Hercules adds himself as companion and *Herculis ritu* brings the gathering of his family to a mirthful and Macedonian conclusion.

That result, taken as a whole, speaks for itself. I have arrived at it more or less piecemeal, though of course with a constant eye to ultimate unity, as a result of the inspection of the scattered and desultory evidence. Conjecture indeed has played a large part in my process; but it is not uncontrolled conjecture. Starting from my strong presumptions as to the nature of the *Archelaus* and accepting the extremely miscellaneous data, of other kinds, that present themselves, I could not, I think, well arrive at any other general conclusions without doing violence to tetralogical unity. What mistakes I may have made is another matter. They may be numerous; but I am confident that they are not mistakes either incompatible with or unsuggested by the facts on actual record. In short, where knowledge fails, I reconstruct, to the best of my ability, in such a way as not to contradict knowledge that has not failed; often the knowledge that has not failed leaves one so little choice that it is only

a question of selecting the artistic instead of the inartistic alternative. The subjective element is undeniably present, and present in force. But that is no reason for not putting forward my conclusions. Indeed I am strongly convinced that the needs of the present phase of classical science call urgently for such attempts—only abler and better—as this of mine. Research has got into a rut, and the results of the Revival of Letters are, in England at least, in danger. The Classics are being killed, not by their open enemies, but by their professed friends. But I must not wander from my theme. As to that, I have only to say that my suggestions are in my readers' hands, and that there I leave them.

## CHAPTER VIII

### QUINQUAGINTA ILLI THALAMI

A DIFFICULTY remains to be faced. It may seem at first sight serious ; but, as we attack it, we shall see, not only a way of escape, but also something in the nature of further light. The difficulty is this. Though the progressive development of my argument has tended more and more to exhibit the tetralogy with which I deal as propagandist in intention and in fact, and though the audience to be influenced by the propaganda is necessarily that of Egypt, not that of Macedon, we have so far come across no hint of a reproduction of the tetralogy in Egypt.

At Aegae indeed a chance Egyptian or two may possibly have been present ; but that is nothing like enough. For the series of plays to have been written at all it must surely have been part and parcel of the original design that, after presentation before Archelaus and his court at Aegae, the City of the Royal Sepulchres, they should, if found suitable and approved, be presented a second time in Egypt, that is to say, almost certainly, on grounds both of sentiment and of convenience, at Canopus, the birthplace of Epaphus, Ancestor of the Apid line, and the only town in Egypt in which, on the large scale, Egyptians and Greeks had already begun to mingle. Otherwise, for practical purposes the tetralogy might almost as well have remained unwritten.

Now evidence actually exists that the *Archelaus* at any rate was reproduced, somewhere or other, very shortly after the date of its original production, and the detail of this evidence, otherwise puzzling in the extreme, is explained at once if we only suppose that the reproduction took place at Canopus.

Here is the evidence in question.

Few passages in the whole of dramatic literature were in antiquity more frequently quoted from and referred to than the exordium of the prologue to the *Archelaus*—

of the prologue to the *Archelaus*, that is to say, in its standard form. Lines 1-6 are cited by Tiberius (*De Schem. Rhet.* vol. VIII. p. 577), l. 1 and ll. 6-8 by Strabo (v. p. 221) and ll. 7 and 8 also by Strabo (VIII. p. 371), l. 1 by the author of the *Vita Decem Oratorum* (4, 14), by Plutarch (*De Prol. Am.* 4, 497 B), and by Rufinus (*Metr. Ter.*, *apud* Keil, vi. p. 561, 14), ll. 1-5 by the author of the *Nili Ascensus* (printed in Dindorf's edition of Athenæus, pp. 164 *et seq.*), ll. 2-4 by Diodorus Siculus (I. 38, 4), and l. 4 by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Αἰθίοψ, p. 47, 14); of references, as distinct from quotations, it will suffice to instance one in Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* IV. 2, 16). The passage runs (*Fr.* 228) :

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
 Νείλου λιπῶν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίης (for ἐκ γαίης there  
 are *v.l.* εὐκταίης and ἐκ γαίας) ὕδωρ,  
 ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ῥοάς  
 Αἰθιοπίδος (*v.l.* Αἰθιόπιδος) γῆς, ἥνικ' ἄν (*v.l.* ἥνικα  
 for ἥνικ' ἄν) τακῆ (*v.l.* τακείη) χιῶν  
 τεθριππεύοντος (*v.l.* τεθρίππου ὄντος) ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα, 5  
 ἐλθὼν ἐς (*v.l.* κατ') Ἄργος ᾧκησεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν·  
 Πελασγιώτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν  
 Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα.

Read :

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
 Νείλου λιπῶν λακίστ' ἄν' ἐπτάνησ' ὕδωρ,  
 ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ῥοάς  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἥνικ' ἄν τακῆ χιῶν  
 τέθριππ' ἐνέντος ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα, 5  
 ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾧκισ' Ἰνάχου πόλιν·  
 Πελασγιώτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν  
 Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα.

In l. 2 *λακίστ' ἄν' ἐπτάνησ'* is my own emendation : *ἐπτάνησ'* imposes itself, and *λακίστ' ἄν'* (*λακιστά*=*divided channels*) follows inevitably. In l. 5 *τέθριππ' ἐνέντος* is also mine. In l. 6 *ᾧκισ'* is accepted by general consent.

It is evident from the run of the lines that they are either by Euripides or by an imitator of equal skill ; the very audacity of *μελαμβρότοιο* is, if anything, a corroboration. It is further evident that they were widely



known and accepted as Euripidean in antiquity: all the quotations, with only two exceptions, expressly assign them either to Euripides, or more particularly to Euripides' *Archelaus*, and the two exceptions are mere quotations, without assignment, of l. 1. To clench the point, it will shortly be seen that Aristarchus, dealing with another prologue, assumes the unquestionable Euripidean authorship of this prologue as the basis of his criticism. The passage stands then above suspicion as the genuine work of Euripides.

Moreover we are fortunately able to indicate the source from which Euripides drew part of his inspiration. The kind of imitation, this side plagiarism, that is involved bespeaks the master-hand. The author of the *Nili Ascensus* (*l.c.*) quotes, not only from the prologue to the *Archelaus*, but also from Aeschylus (*Fr. Incert.* 300). We read: καὶ Αἰσχύλος:

γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν καὶ μαθῶν ἐπίσταμαι  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἐπτάβροτος  
 γαίαν κυλίνδων πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίαν,  
 ἐν ἧ πυρωτὸν μηνὸς ἐκλάμψαν φλόγα  
 τήκει πετραίην χιόνα· πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλής  
 Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νόματος πληρουμένη  
 φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀγγέλλει στάχυν.

We should, I suggest, read:

ἄφενος μέγ' αἰνεῖν καμάθων ἐπίσταμαι  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἔπτε' ἀγρούς  
 γανοῖ κυλίνδων πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίαν,  
 ἔν' ἧρ πυρωποῦ μηνὸς ἐκλάμψαν φλόγα  
 τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα, πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλής  
 Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νόματος πληρουμένη  
 φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

Αἰθιοπίδος and πετραίαν are accepted, and Grotius proposed ἀντέλλει; the other emendations are my own. Nauck thinks, with reason, that the passage comes from the *Memnon* or the *Psychostasia*.

Compare also the opening of Euripides' own *Helen*:

Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί,  
 δεῖ ἀντὶ Δίας ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδον  
 λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύαξ.

I shall have later to return, to some extent, to the prologue of which I have been speaking ; but I must now direct attention to a rival prologue, and my readers will see that the situation is unusual with a vengeance.

Aristophanes in the *Ranae* makes Aeschylus say (l. 1200) that he will ruin Euripides' prologues with a ληκύθιον. The very first prologue so ruined (ll. 1206-1208) is the rival prologue (*Fr.* 846) with which we are concerned. The lines run (in my text I emend ὁ πλεῖστος) :

ΕΥ. Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ὁ πλεῖστος ἔσπαρται λόγος,  
 ξὺν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλω πλάτῃ  
 Ἄργος κατασχὼν Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν (*v.l.* ἀπ-  
 ὠλεσε).

The *scholium* on l. 1206 is : Ἄρχελάου αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, ὡς τινες ψευδῶς· οὐ γὰρ φέρεται νῦν Εὐριπίδου λόγος οὐδεὶς τοιοῦτος. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ, φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος, τοῦ Ἄρχελάου, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς μετέθηκεν ὕστερον, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κείμενον εἶπε. I suppose, in order to account for the clumsiness, as regards connexion, of ὡς τινες ψευδῶς, that the original *scholium* ran simply Ἄρχελάου αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, and that the rest is a corrective addition, appended, I should say, by some sensible and well-informed, but stylistically careless, student. ὡς τινες ψευδῶς, an expression awkwardly introduced in any case, is in itself ambiguous ; it can mean either *as some falsely assert*, or *though according to some this statement is false*. The former meaning, if one went by the mere words, would be preferable, as it involves nothing more serious than a natural ellipse of some such verb as λέγουσιν : but the latter, though it involves in ψευδῶς a condensation of sense quite foreign to literature proper, is really to be preferred as being the only meaning rightly compatible with what follows. I think then on the whole that the writer of the expanded *scholium* is best taken as agreeing with Aristarchus that it is an open question whether the lines are from the *Archelaus*, not as going beyond Aristarchus and deciding the question in the negative. At any rate Aristarchus himself is quite clear. The passage, he says, “does not come from the *Archelaus*, unless Euripides himself effected a subsequent substitution and Aristophanes quoted the first state of the text.” That Aristarchus’

αὐτός means Euripides, not some other or only doubtfully identical author, is manifest from the context. Now Aristarchus' conclusion is only possible on the basis that the predication implied, but not *totidem verbis* expressed, in εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς μετέθηκεν ὕστερον—viz.: *A prologue to Euripides' Archelaus, different from the prologue under discussion, is both extant and genuine*—be taken as a premise of the syllogism. That that different prologue is the one beginning Δάναος ὁ πεντήκοντα cannot, after what has been said above, be for a moment doubted. The Δάναος ὁ πεντήκοντα prologue is thus certified by Aristarchus as genuine: nay, he does not so much as hint at any kind of dubiety. Either, he tells us, we have two versions of the beginning of the *Archelaus*, both by Euripides, of which Aristophanes is quoting the earlier, or else what Aristophanes quotes is not from the *Archelaus* at all.

Aristarchus is, I confess, good enough for me. German scholars, however, have got a craze into their heads that Euripides the younger was so much upset by Aristophanes' criticism of Euripides the elder's prologues that he incontinently set to work to alter them. They point to this play, to a play which they style, *tout court*, the *Phrixus*, and to the *Meleager*. In the two other cases they have nothing, I think, to say for themselves: in this case they have less than nothing. The young man altered the prologue—so they tell us—in order to escape the ληκύθιον. Really, *meine Herren*, really! If you are not stone-blind, please look here.

EΥ. Δάναος ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
 Νείλου λιπὼν λακίστ' ἀν' ἐπτάνησ' ὕδωρ,  
 ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται βόας  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ΑΙ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

EΥ. ἔασον εἰπεῖν πρῶτά τινάς μ' ἔτι στίχους.  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἥνικ' ἄν τακῆ χιῶν  
 τέθριππ' ἐνέντος ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα,  
 ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ΑΙ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

In the case of the so-called *Phrixus* the Germans differ among themselves. One view is that Euripides junior substituted for the prologue beginning with the words Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστῃ (partially quoted by Aristophanes in the *Ranae*, ll. 1225, 1226), which is certified by a

*scholium* as the opening of the *second Phrixus*, another prologue beginning thus :

εἰ μὲν τόδ' ἤμαρ πρῶτον ἦν κακουμένῳ  
καὶ μὴ μακρὰν δὴ διὰ πόνων ἐναυστόλουν,  
εἰκὸς σφαδᾶζειν ἦν ἂν ὡς νεόζυγα  
πῶλον χαλινὸν ἀρτίως δεδεγμένον·  
νῦν δ' ἀμβλύς εἰμι καὶ κατηρτυκῶς κακῶν.

This latter passage is (without author's name) quoted by Galen (vol. v. p. 418 *et seq.*) and is certified by Tzetzes (Keil, p. 616 *et seq.*) as the opening of the *second Phrixus* : Tzetzes asserts that Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστν is the opening of the *first Phrixus*, and that the scholiast above mentioned is wrong. The obvious conclusion is that there were two *Phrxi*, in all reasonable probability (seeing that re-editing of a *tragedy* is a very rare phenomenon) two quite separate plays, and that the order of the two was in dispute. Some Germans, however, as I have said, insist that Euripides junior substituted the one prologue for the other, while others, among them Nauck and Wilamowitz, deny this, but on the false ground that the εἰ μὲν τόδ' ἤμαρ passage cannot be the opening of a play. Why not ? It is neutral in the sense that it introduces one at the outset to no particular plot, and it is to some extent pensive. But look at the beginning of the *Heraclidae* :

πάλαί ποτ' ἔστι τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δεδογμένον·  
ὁ μὲν δίκαιος τοῖς πέλας πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,  
ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνειμένον  
πόλει τ' ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάσσειν βαρῦς,  
αὐτῷ δ' ἄριστος· οἶδα δ' οὐ λόγῳ μαθῶν.

As concerns the *Meleager*, the passage, beginning Οἰνεὺς ποτ' ἐκ γῆς, quoted in the *Ranae* (ll. 1238, 1240), is according to the express statement of the scholiast, taken, not from the immediate beginning, but from some way on in the play (μετὰ ἰκανὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς), the actual opening passage being Καλυδὼν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα κτλ. The Teutons build on this that the original beginning was Οἰνεὺς ποτ' ἐκ γῆς, but that Euripides junior prefixed a certain quantity of other matter in order to make it more difficult for people in future to take hold of that original beginning and maltreat it ! I have a rival theory which may

commend itself at least to them. Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 9, p. 1409b 10) attributes to *Sophocles* the line beginning Καλυδῶν μὲν ἤδε γαῖα. Sophocles, we know, outlived Euripides, and put his own Chorus into mourning at the news of the latter's death. Moreover there are good grounds for supposing that at the time of the *first* production of the *Ranae* Sophocles was still alive, the references to him in that play as dead coming from the revised edition. What more natural than that Sophocles, not Euripides junior, should have altered the prologues of Euripides senior? Joking apart, in matters of textual criticism I fear that German ability is over-rated. It has never been able, for example, fully to cope with the apparently simple difficulty presented by Catullus' obviously corrupt

“Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque ultimosque Britannos.”

On to the dust-heap then with the nonsense about Euripides junior! We are left with matters in this position. In 407 B.C., or conceivably some months earlier or later, Euripides the elder produces in Macedonia the tetralogy of which the last play is the *Archelaus*. In 406 B.C. he dies. In 405 B.C. the *Ranae* of Aristophanes is produced, for the first time, at Athens and shortly afterwards (probably—see my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*—in 404 B.C.) is produced, also at Athens, a second time with alterations. It is this second edition of the *Ranae* that we possess. Now certainly in this second edition of the *Ranae*, which appeared at any rate not less than about a year and a half after Euripides' death, Aristophanes exhibited in a very prominent position—as in fact first and foremost of the passages from the prologues that he selected for his badinage (he used them as instruments of fun rather than as objects of real attack)—what has every appearance of being Euripides' *unrevised* exordium of the *Archelaus*, although, as we have already seen, the current exordium (which, if the other exordium be the *unrevised*, must be the *revised* exordium of the play) would have served his turn to a nicety. If we grant for the sake of argument that the exordium in question is really the *unrevised* exordium of

the *Archelaus*, then we must ask for explanations. At the time indeed of the first presentation of the *Ranae*, Euripides' death was still so recent that in the ordinary course the revised exordium might well have not had time to reach Athens. But the case of the second presentation of the *Ranae* is different. Plenty of time had elapsed, and it must be remembered that the exordium is in no way thrown in as a make-weight, but occupies a position of unique prominence. Surely then, even if in the first *Ranae* Aristophanes used the unrevised exordium, in the second *Ranae*, he would, had he had it in his hands, have used the revised exordium; to have acted otherwise would have been to show himself inartistic, unfair, and—worst of all—not up to date. Euripides, though not a *persona grata*—as the paucity of his victories proves—to the academicians of his day, must have had even in his life-time—or Aristophanes would have left him more alone—an enormous following; we may be sure that, after his death, anything of his that came through from Macedon attracted wide attention at Athens. It was not for a *fallen* favourite that Sophocles was permitted to put his own Chorus in mourning.

Is then the exordium used by Aristophanes actually, as for the sake of argument alone we have already supposed, the unrevised exordium of the *Archelaus*? I reply in the affirmative, and for the reason that (see Chapter I.) Suidas and *a fortiori* Aristarchus knew every play, with the exception—and that not a necessary exception—of certain *satyrica*, reputedly undramatic, of Euripides, save one play only, obviously, I think, the play (or call it, if you like, the edition of a play) indicated by the existence of the exordium. Now either this exordium is from an edition, not the current edition, of the *Archelaus*, or else it is from a play unknown—as a play, not as an edition—to Aristarchus. An edition could have passed out of memory even by his time, but not a play, in the full sense, of the most popular of all classic writers. I conclude then that the exordium is *an* exordium of the *Archelaus*. And this, I fancy, must be part of what Aristarchus himself meant. The inconclusive statement that *either the passage is from a first edition of the Archelaus, or else it is not from the Archelaus at all,*

looks like the opening of an argument which might well proceed: *Therefore seeing that it is from the Archelaus, there being no other possible source for it, it must necessarily be from a first edition of the Archelaus, and therefore it is clear that a first edition of the Archelaus existed, and that what we have is a second edition.* It is a pity that we have only a morsel of Aristarchus' words. Even if, in view perhaps of theoretical possibilities, such as that of interpolation in the Aristophanic text itself, he was too cautious to draw the above conclusion in his writings, at least he must have inclined to it in his mind. Secondly, that, if the exordium in question be *an* exordium of the *Archelaus*, it is the *unrevised* exordium and that, in that case, the vulgate presents the *revised* exordium, and not *vice versa*, Aristarchus appears to take for granted without argument; and that attitude is the right attitude. I discuss in my *Ichneutae* the question of second editions, and I doubt whether in the whole field of Greek literature a first edition has perpetuated itself as against a second edition: obviously it is only under the most exceptional conditions that it would have a reasonable chance of so doing. Every presumption—and there is no contrary evidence—points then to the exordium in Aristophanes, if from the *Archelaus*, being the unrevised, not the revised, exordium. I say then that the exordium is *an* exordium of the *Archelaus*, and also that it is the *unrevised* exordium of that play.

Why, I now ask, was the *revised* exordium of the *Archelaus* not in Aristophanes' hands at the date, considerably, though not greatly, posterior to that of Euripides' death, when he himself revised his *Ranae*? We have already seen strong *a priori* reason for supposing that the whole tetralogy was designed for reproduction in Egypt, most probably at Canopus. That, I suggest, is the sufficient answer. The tetralogy, revised by Euripides to meet the suggestions of Archelaus II., had, either before, or very likely after, the poet's death, been sent direct to Egypt for production, and at the date of the revision of the *Ranae* had not yet worked its way back into Greece. The nature of the alterations in the prologue to the *Archelaus* points distinctly in this direction. Obviously this is the case as regards both, in general, the

account of the Nile and also, in particular, the topical allusion to the geography of the Delta. But the substitution of Danaus for Aegyptus is also very much to the point.

At three stages in the genealogy, *viz.* the marriage of Libye and Poseidon, the marriage of Danae and Zeus, and the marriage of Alcmene and Zeus, the descent of Temenus from Epaphus (Apis) is traced through the female line. Moreover, Andromeda, wife of Perseus, was herself also a descendant of Epaphus. To emphasise yet further the importance of the distaff side would certainly strike a Greek or Macedonian—in view of the well-known abnormality of the position of women in Egypt—as about the most Egyptian thing he could do. Consequently, I suggest, when the play was sent to Egypt, the descent was prominently and primarily traced through one of the daughters of Danaus, not through one of the sons of Aegyptus. Hence the substitution of Danaus for Aegyptus in the prologue.

I now come to a matter on which I will not do much more than touch ; it raises a problem not to be solved as a side-issue. Was there in the native Egypt of the time of Archelaus II. any appreciable element of Hellenic culture to which he might hope successfully to appeal by means of a tetralogy written in the Greek language ? One Pharaoh indeed had married a daughter of a King of Cyrene : that might mean little. Greek mercenaries had doubtless helped Amyrtaeus to his throne : that might mean more. But what about an Egyptian interest in Greek literature ?

I know of only one piece of evidence. It is somewhat remote ; but it is interesting and I will adduce it. No other known Greek play, with one exception, by any author has an Egyptian atmosphere comparable in any way with that of the plays of this tetralogy. Aeschylus had an opportunity both in his *Supplices* and in his *Prometheus Vinc-tus* ; but he refused to take it. Yet in his *Cares* he seems to have acted otherwise. The *Cares* deals, though I would not say exclusively, with the death of Sarpedon, and Sarpedon's mother, Europa, is a character in the play. Now the striking incident connected with Sarpedon's decease was the bearing of his body by



the two gods, Death and Sleep, from Troy to his mother, probably in Lycia, who thereupon gave him due sepulture. This is a scene quite in the style of that which deals with the translation of the body of Alceme. It is from a long papyrus fragment (Aeschylus *Fr.* 99) of—so editors agree—Aeschylus' *Cares* that my one piece of evidence comes. The date of the fragment I do not know. It was first published by Didot in 1879. It is quite plainly an imperfect transliteration into Greek uncials of an original written, though in Greek, yet in Egyptian characters. The first and most patent fact about that original is that it made no graphic distinction between  $\pi$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\phi$ , between  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\chi$ , or between  $\tau$ ,  $\delta$ , and  $\theta$ . Secondly, it did not employ a sufficiency of signs to discriminate anything like adequately between the various Greek vowel-sounds. Thirdly—and this points directly to a syllabary, not an alphabet—it had no means of expressing a final consonant (this is certain in the case of  $\nu$ , and highly probable in other cases) and so was forced to omit such consonants. I leave it to Egyptologists to say what particular variety of native script is indicated.

Though elsewhere (in my *Observaciones acerca de los Fragmentos de Esquilo*) I have dealt briefly with the fragment, yet its importance is such that I will set it out here also. It runs :

ΤΑΥΡΩΤΕΛΙΜΩΞΕΝΙΑΠΑΜΠΙΟΔΟCΠΑΡΗΝ  
 ΤΟΙΟΝΤΕΜΕΝΖΕΥCΚΛΕΜΜΑΠΡΕCΒΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟC  
 ΑΥΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝΑΜΟΧΘΟΝΗΝΟCΟΝΛΑΒΕΙΝ  
 ΤΕΙΟΥΝΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΚΕΙΝΑΔΙΑΠΑΥΡΩΛΕΓΩ  
 ΓΥΝΗΘΕΟΥΜΕΙΧΘΕΙCΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥCΕΒΑC 5  
 ΕΜΙΨΕΠΑΙΔΩΝΔΕCΥΓΗΕΥΝΑΓΩΝΕΙ  
 ΚΑΙΤΡΙΑΓΩΝΕΙCΤΟΥCΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΥCΠΟΝΟΥC  
 ΕΚΑΡΤΕΡΗCΑΡΟΥΡΑCΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΜΕΜΨΑΤΟ  
 ΤΟΥΜΕΝΞΕΝΑΙΚΕΙΝCΠΕΡΜΑΓΕΝΑΙΠΑΤΡΟC  
 ΕΚΤΩΝΜΕΓΙCΤΩΝΔΕΡΞΑΜΗΝΦΥΔΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ 10  
 ΜΙΝΩΤΕΚΟΥCΑΡΑΔΑΜΑΝΘΟΝΩCΠΕΡΑΦΘΙΔΟC  
 ΠΑΙΔΩΝΕ 11, 12  
 ΜΩΝ ΑΛΛΑΚΕΜΑΓΑΙCΤΑΙCΕΜΑΙCΖΟΑCΕΧΕΙΝ  
 12, 13  
 ΤΟΜΗΠΑΡΩΝΤΕΤΕΡΨΙΝΟΥΚΕΧΕΙΦΙΛΟΥC  
 ΤΡΙΤΟΝΔΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΝΦΟΡΝΤΙΖΕΙΝΧΕΙΜΑΖΕΤΑΙ 15  
 CΑΛΦΗΔΟΝΑΙΧΜΗCΔΕΞΑΡΕΟCΚΑΘΙΚΕΤΟ

ΚΛΕΟΣΓΑΡΗΚΕΙΕΝΛΟΤΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ  
 ΠΑΣΗΣΥΠΕΡΠΕΡΩΝΤΕΣΑΛΧΙΜΟΥΣΤΕΝΗΣ  
 ΑΥΧΕΙΔΕΤΡΩΝΑΣΤΥΠΑΡΘΗΝΧΒΙΟΝ  
 ΠΡΟΣΟΥΔΕΔΩΚΑΜΗΤΕΙΜΑΡΓΑΪΑΔΟΡΕΙ  
 ΑΣΤΥΠΕΡΒΑΤΟΝΔΡΑΣΗΤΕΚΑΙΠΑΘΗΚΑΚΟΝ  
 ΛΕΠΤΗΓΑΡΕΛΠΙΣΙΝΔΗΕΠΙΞΥΡΗΜΕΝΗ  
 ΜΗΠΑΝΤΑΠΑΙΣΑΣΕΚΧΕΩΠΡΟΣΑΪΜΑΤΕΙ .

20

I read :

ταύρω δὲ λειμῶν ξένια πάμβοτ' ἐσπάρη·  
 τοιόνδ' ἐμὲ Ζεὺς κλέμμα πρεσβύτου πατρός  
 αὐτοῦ μένων ἄμοχθον ἤηυσεν λαβεῖν.  
 τί οὖν; τὰ πολλὰ κείνα διὰ παύρων λέγω.  
 γυνὴ θεῶ μαιχθεῖσα παρθένου σέβας  
 ἤμειψα φαιδρῶ δ' ἐζύγην ξυνωνίᾳ. 5  
 καὶ τρεῖς γοναῖσι τοὺς γυναικείους πόνους  
 ἐκαρτέρησ', ἄρουρα δ' οὐκ ἐμέμψατο  
 τὸ μὴ 'ξενεγκεῖν σπέρμα γενναίου πατρός.  
 ἐν τῶν μεγίστων δ' ἠρξάμην φυτευμάτων 10  
 Μίνω τεκοῦσα πρῶτον, εἶτα δεύτερον  
 'Ραδάμανθυν, ὅσπερ ἄφθιτος παίδων ἐμῶν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν αὐγαῖς ταῖς ἐμαῖς σῶν ἔστ' ἔχειν·  
 τὸ μὴ παρὸν δὲ τέρψιν οὐκ ἔχει φίλον.  
 τρίτον δέ, τοῦ νῦν φροντὶς ἐγχεμαῖζεται, 15  
 Σαρπηδόν'· αἰχμῆς δ' ἐξ Ἄρεως καθηκέτω.  
 κλέος γὰρ ἦκειν Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα  
 πάσης ὑπερφέροντά γ' ἀλκίμῳ σθένει,  
 αὐχεῖ δὲ Τρωῶν ἄστὺ πορθήσειν βία.  
 προῖκ' οὖν δέδοικα μὴ τι μαργαίνων δορί 20  
 ἀνυπέρβατον δράσῃ τε καὶ πάθη κακόν·  
 λεπτὴ γὰρ ἐλπὶς ἦδ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μένει  
 μὴ παντάπαις οὔσ' ἐκχέω προσεύγματα.

My emendations are ταύρω δὲ, πάμβοτ' ἐσπάρη (where Blass proposed πάμβροτος παρῆν), φαιδρῶ, τρεῖς γοναῖσι (where Blass proposed τρεῖς πονοῦσα, and Wecklein τρισὶ γοναῖσι), ἄρουρα δ' οὐκ (where Blass proposed ἐκαρτέρησ' ἄρουρα κοῦκ), ἐν, πρῶτον and εἶτα δεύτερον, σῶν ἔστ', φίλον, αἰχμῆς δ' ἐξ Ἄρεως καθηκέτω, κλέος γὰρ ἦκειν, ὑπερφέροντά γ', προῖκ' οὖν, ὑπερβατόν, ἦδ' ἐπὶ ξύρου μένει, and προσεύγματα: the others are those of various editors. The confusion of *tenues*, *mediae*, and *aspiratae* is evident

in TE for δέ (l. 1), ΠΑΜΠΟΔ for πάμβοτ' (l. 1), ΤΟΙΟΝΤ for τοιονδ' (l. 2), ΦΥΔΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ for φυτευμάτων (l. 10), ΑΦΘΙΔΟΣ for ἀφθιτος (l. 12), TE for δέ (l. 14), ΣΑΛΦΗΔΟΝ for Σαρπηδόν' (l. 16), ΕΝΛΟΤΙC for Ἑλλάδος (l. 17), ΥΠΕΡΠΕΡΩΝΤΕ for ὑπερφέροντα (l. 18), ΑΛΧΙΜΟΥ for ἀλκίμω (l. 18), and CTENHC for σθένει (l. 18). Confusion of vowel-sounds appears in ΛΙΜΩ for λείμων (l. 1), ΟCΠΑΡΗΝ for ἐσπάρη (l. 1), ΗΝΟCΟΝ for ἦνυσεν (l. 3), ΤΕΙ for τί (l. 4), ΘΕΟΥ for θεῶ (l. 5), ΕΜΙΨΕ for ἤμειψα (l. 6), ΞΥΝΑΓΩΝΕΙ for ξυνωνία (l. 6), ΓΩΝΕΙC for γοναῖσι (l. 7), ΤΟΥ for τὸ (l. 9), ΜΕΝ for μή (l. 9), ΞΕΝΑΙΚΕΙΝ for ἕξενεγκεῖν (l. 9), ΓΕΝΑΙ for γεννάσιου (l. 9), ΕΡΞΑΜΗΝ for ἤρξάμην (l. 10), ΡΑΔΑΜΑΝΘΟΝ for Ῥαδάμανθυν (l. 12), ΩCΠΕΡ for ὅσπερ (l. 12), ΑΚ for οὐκ (l. 13), ΑΓΑΙC for αὐγαῖς (l. 13), ΑC for ἔστ' (l. 13), ΠΑΡΩΝ for παρὸν (l. 14), ΦΙΛΟΥC for φίλον (l. 14), ΝΟΥΝ for νῦν (l. 15), ΦΟΡΝΤΙΖ for φροντῖς (l. 15), ΕΙΝΧΕΙΜΑΖΕΤΑΙ for ἐγγειμάζεται (l. 15), ΙΑΧΜΗC for ἀίχμης (l. 16), ΑΡΕΟC for Ἄρεως (l. 16), ΚΑΘΙΚΕΤΟ for καθηκέτω (l. 16), ΕΛΝΟΤΙC for Ἑλλάδος (l. 17), ΛΟΤΙCΜΑΤΟC for λωτίσματα (l. 17), ΥΠΕΡΠΕΡΩΝΤΕ for ὑπερφέροντα (l. 18), ΑΛΚΙΜΟΥ for ἀλκίμω (l. 18), CTENHC for σθένει (l. 18), ΤΡΩΑΝ for Τρωῶν (l. 19), ΠΑΡΘΗCΗ for πορθήσειν (l. 19), ΒΙΟΝ for βία (l. 19), ΠΡΟC for προῖκ' (l. 20), ΔΕΔΩΚΑ for δέδοικα (l. 20), ΤΕΪ for τι (l. 20), ΜΑΡΓΑΪΑ for μαργαίνων (l. 20), ΔΟΡΕΙ for δορί (l. 20), ΙΗΔΗ for ἡδ' (l. 22), ΞΥΡΗ for ξυροῦ (l. 22), ΜΕΝΗΙ for μένει (l. 22), ΑC for οὖσ' (l. 23), and ΠΡΟCΑΪΜΑΤΕΙ for προσεύματα (l. 23). Confusions due to the inability of the Egyptian script to express the presence or absence of a final consonant are seen in most, at least, of the following spellings: ΛΙΜΩ for λειμών (l. 1), ΟCΠΑΡΗΝ for ἐσπάρη (l. 1), ΠΑΥΡΩ for παύρων (l. 4), ΕCΥΓΗ for ἐζύγην (l. 6), ΤΡΙΑ for τρίς (l. 7), ΜΕΝ for μή (l. 9), ΕΜ for ἐν (l. 13), ΖΟ for σῶν (l. 13), ΑC for ἔστ' (l. 13), ΦΙΛΟΥC for φίλον (l. 14), ΦΟΡΝΤΙΖ for φροντῖς (l. 15), ΗΚΕΙ for ἡκειν (l. 17), ΛΟΤΙCΜΑΤΟC for λωτίσματα (l. 17), CTENHC for σθένει (l. 18), ΠΑΡΘΗCΗ for πορθήσειν (l. 19), ΒΙΟΝ for βία (l. 19), and ΜΑΡΓΑΪΑ for μαργαίνων (l. 20). I can scarcely imagine a Ptolemaic or post-Ptolemaic Egyptian copying out the *Cares* in native script, or, on the strange assumption of his having done so, any other person copying it back into the Greek

alphabet, instead of having recourse to the current Greek text. The Egyptian writing was, I suggest, transcribed for no other reason than that it was supposed to be ancient and a rival in authority to the Greek text preserved in the Library of the Museum. But, in this place at least, I cannot pursue the subject.

Let me conclude by quoting a curious—and crushing—diatribe against Mark Antony, attributed by Dion Cassius (L. 27) to Augustus. At any rate it is pertinent to the theme of this Chapter, and one might indeed almost gather from the set and sustained pitch of the invective that it is an adaptation of an attack on some earlier potentate, perhaps Archelaus himself, by a professional rhetorician. Here is the passage: μήτ' οὖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναί τις αὐτὸν νομιζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Αἰγύπτιον, μήτ' Ἀντώνιον ὀνομαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Σαραπίωνα· μὴ ὕπατον, μὴ αὐτοκράτορα γεγονέναι ποτὲ ἠγείσθω, ἀλλὰ γυμνασίαρχον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐθελοντῆς ἀνθείλετο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πάτρια σεμνολογήματα ἀπορρήψας εἷς τῶν ἀπὸ Κανώβου κυμβαλιστῶν γέγονε.

EURIPIDIS  
TETRALOGIAE MACEDONICAE

FRAGMENTA

QUAE SUPERSUNT OMNIA

NEMPE

FABULARUM

ALCMENAE

TEMENI

TEMENIDUM

EDITIONISQUE UTRIUSQUE

ARCHELAI QUASI SATYRICI

## ALCMENA.

## FR. 88.

πολὺς δ' ἀνεῖρπε κισσὸς ἐμφυῆς κλάδοις,  
 χελιδόνων μουσεῖον.

## FR. 89.

οὐ γὰρ ποτ' εἶων Σθένελον εἰς τὸν εὐτυχῆ  
 χωροῦντα τοῦχον τῆς δίκης σ' ἀποστερεῖν.

## FR. 90.

(De lectione jure potest ambigi: annotatiunculas vide.)

πόθεν δὲ πεύκης πανὸν ἐξεῦρές γ' ἀφῆν;

## FR. 91.

ἀτρέκεια δὲ  
 ἄριστον ἀνδρὸς ἐμπόλημ' ἀπλοῦ πέλει.

## FR. 92.

ἴστω γ' ἄφρων ὦν ὅστις ἂν θωπὸς γεγῶς  
 δῆμον κολούη χρήμασιν γαυρούμενος.

## FR. 93.

ἀεὶ δ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κρατοῦσι ταῦτα γὰρ  
 δούλοις ἄριστα, κἀφ' ὅτῳ τεταγμένως  
 εἴη τις, ἀνδάνοντα δεσπότηαις ποιεῖν.

## FR. 94.

τῶν γὰρ δυναστῶν πλειστός ἐν πόλει λόγος.

## FR. 95.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἠγύγεια πρὸς τὰ χρήματα  
 τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλοῦτος εἰς πρῶτους ἄγει.

## THE ALCMENA.

*Fr.* 88.

There was ivy also in abundance, creeping upward and  
 cleaving to the twigs,  
 A school of musick for swallows.

*Fr.* 89.

For, when Sthenelus would have put in his oar on the  
 leeward side,  
 I ever stayed him from robbing thee of thy right.

*Fr.* 90.

*(The reading is by no means certain : see the notes.)*

But in what place didst thou discover this beacon of cedar  
 for thy torch ?

*Fr.* 91.

But simple truth

Is ever a simple man's most excellent merchandise.

*Fr.* 92.

But let him know that he is foolish, whoso being the son of  
 a flatterer of the people  
 Seeketh himself to circumscribe them, puffed up with  
 riches.

*Fr.* 93.

But let them seek to satisfy always the powers that be.  
 Herein lies the wisdom of bondmen, yea, and in this also,  
 That each servant do the things that be pleasing to his  
 own lord and master.

*Fr.* 94.

For such as exercise authority are of most account in the  
 city.

*Fr.* 95.

Yet noble birth is nothing in comparison of possessions :  
 For riches will set among the princes him that is most base.

## FR. 96.

σκαῖόν τι κρᾶμ' ὁ πλοῦτος ἤ τ' ἀπειρία.

## FR. 97.

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶ ταῦτα, γενναίως, ἴτω,  
ἔπραξα· σαίνεσθαι δὲ δυστυχῶν ἐγὼ  
μισῶ· λόγος γάρ τοῦργον οὐ νικᾷ ποτε.

## FR. 98.

ἀλλ' εὖ φέρειν χρῆ συμφορὰς τὸν εὐγενῆ.

## FR. 99.

τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα χρῆν σοφὸν πεφυκέναι.

## FR. 100.

θάρσει. τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο. πολλά γ' ἰσοθέοις  
κάκ τῶν ἀέλπτων εὐπορ' ἀνθρώποις πέλει.

## FR. 101.

μί' ἡμέρα τοι πολλά καὶ μέλαινα νύξ  
τίκτει βροτοῖσι.

## FR. 102.

σοφώτεροι γὰρ συμφορὰς τὰς τῶν πέλας  
πάντες διαθρεῖν ἢ τύχας τὰς οἰκοθεν.

## FR. 103.

δεινόν τι τέκνων φίλτρον ἐνῆκεν  
θεὸς ἀνθρώποις.

## · [FR. 104.

Hesychius (I. p. 150) : ἀμολγόν· νύκτα, Εὐριπίδης "Αλη-  
μήνην ζοφεράν καὶ σκοτεινήν, οἱ δὲ μέρος νυκτὸς καθ'  
ὃ ἀμέλγουσιν.]



*Fr. 96.*

Riches and ignorance together are a sorry mixture.

*Fr. 97.*

But, though manifestly herein I have not prospered, yet  
noble (be it so) was my endeavour.  
Nevertheless in my misfortune adulation is abhorrent  
unto me ;  
For verily words will never prevail over things that be.

*Fr. 98.*

Nay, but he whose birth is noble should bear his sorrows  
nobly.

*Fr. 99.*

He ought to have been born with wisdom that now hath  
wealth.

*Fr. 100.*

Be of good cheer. Peradventure it may come to pass.  
Oftentimes for men that are as gods  
Runneth even from the midst of despair a ready road of  
escape.

*Fr. 101.*

One day and dark night are verily enough  
To bring many things to birth for men.

*Fr. 102.*

For all men are wiser to discern the misfortunes of their  
neighbours  
Than the things that befall themselves.

*Fr. 103.*

A marvellous strange wonder is the love of children  
Which God hath implanted in mankind.

*[Fr. 104.*

Hesychius (l. p. 150) : “*ἀμολγόν* : *night*, so Euripides in  
the *Wanderings of Medea*. Properly, the *Moon* when  
gloomy and dark, but others take it as the *milking-*  
*time of night*.”]

## TEMENUS.

[FR. 432.

Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi. p. 471) : Εὐριπίδου μὲν ἐν Κτομένῳ (id est Καλυπτομένῳ)·

τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.]

[FR. 742.

Stobaeus (Flor. 56, 14) : Εὐριπίδης Βούτῃ Μαινομένῳ·

ἄμῃ πρό γ' ἄλιος αἶψα χρησιμωτέρα.]

FR. 743.

τὸ δὲ στρατηγεῖν τοῦτό γ' ἐν κρίνω, καλῶς γινῶναι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἢ μάλισθ' ἄλώσιμος.

FR. 744.

ἄρξεις ἄρ' οὕτω· χρῆ δὲ τὸν στρατηλάτην ὁμῶς δίκαιον ὄντα πομαίνειν στρατόν.

FR. 745.

τολμᾶν δὲ χρεῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἐν καιρῷ μόχθος πολλὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τίκτει θνητοῖσι τελευτῶν.

FR. 746.

αἰδῶς γὰρ ὀργῆς πλείον' ὠφελεῖ βροτούς.

FR. 747.

αἰσίως .

FR. 748.

ἀνανομήν .

FR. 749.

ἄπυργος .

FR. 750.

κατηβολή .

## THE TEMENUS.

[Fr. 432.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. p. 471) : “ Euripides in the *Hippolytus Velatus* writes :

‘ For together with him that laboureth God worketh also.’ ”]

[Fr. 742.

Stobæus (*Flor.* 56, 14) : “ Euripides, in the *Butes Furens* :

‘ By the spade land idle aforetime is made more serviceable.’ ”]

Fr. 743.

But this one thing I esteem the excellence of a captain,  
To discern aright the weakest point of his enemies.

Fr. 744.

Thus shalt thou rule : but it is the part of a captain  
To shew himself also a righteous shepherd of the host.

Fr. 745.

Nay, take heart of grace ;  
For labour in due season begetteth at the last  
Abundant blessing for men.

Fr. 746.

For dignity advantageth a man more often than anger.

Fr. 747.

Seasonably .

Fr. 748.

A second portioning .

Fr. 749.

Without a tower .

Fr. 750.

That which accrueth .

[FR. 751.

(Fragmentum, ita si fas vocare est, sit a Temeno necne jure dubitari potest : vide annotatiunculas.)

Scholia in Hippocratem (v. p. 214) : ὁ δὲ Βακχεῖος ὀδύνην καὶ ἀλγῆμα καὶ φλεγμονήν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σφακελισμόν, παραθέμενος Εὐριπίδου λέξεις ἐκ Κτομένου (id est Καλυπτομένου) καὶ Ἴππολύτου.]

## TEMENIDES.

FR. 229.

βασιλεῦ Χέρβρας τῆς πολυβώλου,  
Κισσεῦ, πεδίον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

FR. 728.

φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντα στόχον,  
ἐσθλῶν δὲ χαίρει πτώμασιν νεανιῶν,  
κακούς δὲ μισεῖ. τῇ πόλει μὲν οὖν νόσος  
τόδ' ἐστί, τοῖς δὲ κατθανοῦσιν εὐκλεές.

FR. 729.

εἰκὸς δὲ πάντη καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μηχανῇ  
πατρίδος ἐρῶντά σ' ἐκπονεῖν σωτηρίαν.

[FR. 730.

Vide Archelaum.]

FR. 731.

οὐκ ἔστι κρεῖσσον ἀλλὸ πλὴν κρατεῖν δορί.

FR. 732.

ῥώμη δ' ἔτ' ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις τίκτει βλάβην.

FR. 733.

τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι κατθανεῖν μένει·  
κοινὸν δ' ἔχοντες αὐτὸ κοινὰ πάσχομεν  
πάντες, ὃ τ' ἄρ' Ἀχέρων μεῖζον ἢ τόλμ' ἢ χερῶν.

[Fr. 751.

(Whether the so-called fragment comes from the Temenus or not, is a question by no means free from doubt : see the notes.)

*Scholia* on Hippocrates (v. p. 214) : “ But Bacchius says that an access consists of distress, together with actual pain, and of fever : he compares the language of Euripides in the *Hippolytus Velatus* and in the *Hippolytus Stephanias*.” ]

### THE TEMENIDES.

*Fr.* 229.

Cisseus, thou king of Cherrha, this land of fertile fields,  
The plain glistereth with fire.

*Fr.* 728.

Verily war alloweth not every mark,  
But rejoiceth in the carcasses of them that be young and  
brave,  
Having cowards in abhorrence. So to the commonwealth  
indeed is this a calamity,  
But to the dead a glory.

*Fr.* 729.

And it is meet that by every means both of word and of  
contrivance,  
Seeing that thou lovest thy country, thou work out the  
salvation thereof.

[*Fr.* 730.

*See the Archelaus.*]

*Fr.* 731.

There is nothing more excellent than to rule by right of  
the spear.

*Fr.* 732.

But strength that attaineth not unto knowledge is the  
frequent mother of mischief.

*Fr.* 733.

It is appointed unto all men to die.  
Now, seeing that we have this in common, there is a  
common issue  
For all of us, and the river Handless is seen at last to be  
a mightier thing than the mailed hand.

## FR. 734.

ἀρετὴ δέ, κἄν θάνη τις, οὐκ ἀπόλλυται,  
ζῆ δ' οὐκέτ' ὄντος σώματος· κακοῖσι δέ  
ἄπαντα φροῦδα συνθανόνθ' ὑπὸ χθονός.

## FR. 735.

ἀσύνητος ὅστις ἐν φόβῳ μὲν ἀσθένης,  
λαβῶν δέ μικρὸν τῆς τύχης φρονεῖ μέγα.

## FR. 736.

ὡς σκαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένοισιν ἄξενος  
καὶ μνημονεύων οὐδὲν ὧν ἐ χρῆν φίλου.  
σπάνιοι λάχῃ 'νθανοῦσί γ' ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι,  
κἄν ὁμόθεν ὦσι· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πλέον κρατεῖ  
τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἢ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις  
ἀπόλωλ', ὅταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἀνὴρ θάνη.

5

## FR. 737.

καλὸν γ' ἀληθῆς κἀτενῆς παρῤῥησία.

## FR. 738.

πολλοὶ γεγῶτες ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔχουσ' ὅπως  
δείξωσ', ἐν' ἄστεως τῶν κακῶν ἢ 'ξουσία.

## FR. 739.

εὔφῖτυ φῦν καὶ πατὴρ εὐγενοῦς ἀπο  
ὄσην ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξίωμά τε.  
κἄν γὰρ πανήσσων τυγχάνῃ, χρηστοῦ γεγῶς  
τιμὴν ἔχει τις, ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως  
τὸ τοῦ πατὴρὸς γενναῖον ᾧ φιλοῦ τρόπῳ.

5

*Fr. 734.*

Worth, though a man die, shall not perish,  
 But liveth when the body is no longer :  
 But the works of the wicked man die with him and do  
 follow him beneath the earth.

*Fr. 735.*

Foolish is he that in time of terror is weak,  
 But, as soon as he hath prospered a little, waxeth high-  
 minded.

*Fr. 736.*

Lo, the fellow is abominable, yea, and to his hosts in-  
 hospitable,  
 Preserving in his mind not so much as one due remem-  
 brance of his friend !  
 Few indeed are firm friends unto them that have died in  
 the lot of their inheritance,  
 Though they be of the same blood ; for possession pre-  
 vaileth over piety ;  
 But the witchcraft that worketh in the eyes standeth  
 utterly abolished, 5  
 If so be a man have died away from his dwelling.

*Fr. 737.*

Yea, an excellent thing is sincere and straight speech  
 openly uttered.

*Fr. 738.*

Many be born unto manhood, but find not how to give  
 proof thereof,  
 If so be the wicked have the mastery in the city.

*Fr. 739.*

Consider how great the esteem and reputation that per-  
 taineth  
 To the seed nobly gendered, the child of a father himself  
 of noble blood !  
 For, although such an one be in truth a worse man  
 altogether,  
 Yet hath he honour as a good man's son ; but in some  
 way or other being measured  
 He belieth his father's nobility by his own behaviour. 5

## MACEDONIAN TETRALOGY

[FR. 740.

Vide Archelaum.]

FR. 741.

(ΚΙΣΣΕΥΣ)

ἀλλά μοι, ἀμφίπολοι, λόχον ἄψατε.

## ARCHELAUS QUASI SATYRICUS.

EDITIO PRIOR.

FR. 846.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ἄπλαστος ἔσπαρται λόγος,  
 ζῶν παισὶ πεντήκοντα νευτίλω πλάτη  
 Ἄργος κατασχὼν .

FR. 956B.

σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία.

## ARCHELAUS QUASI SATYRICUS.

EDITIO ALTERA.

FR. 228.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
 Νείλου λιπὼν λακίστ' ἄν' ἐπτάνησ' ὕδωρ,  
 δς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιου πληροῦται ῥοάς  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἥνικ' ἄν τακῆι χιῶν  
 τέθριππ' ἐνέντος ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα,  
 ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾤκισ' Ἰνάχου πόλιν·  
 Πελασγιώτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν  
 Δαναοὺς κκαλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα.



[*Fr.* 740.*See the Archelaus.*]*Fr.* 741.

(CISSEUS)

Nay, but kindle me the ambush, O my servants.

## THE QUASI-SATYRIC ARCHELAUS.

FIRST EDITION.

*Fr.* 846.

HERCULES

Egyptus, as fame, that is no fable, relateth everywhere,  
Himself and his fifty sons went down to the sea in ships  
And making the port of Argos .

*Fr.* 956B.

From converse with the wise a king getteth wisdom.

## THE QUASI-SATYRIC ARCHELAUS.

SECOND EDITION.

*Fr.* 228.

HERCULES

Danaus, even he that was father of daughters two score  
and ten,  
Left the water of Nile to flow on in the channels of the  
Seven Isles,  
Of Nile, that filleth his streams from the land of dark men,  
Even the land Ethiopia, at the season when the snow  
hath melted  
At the urging by the sun of his chariot across the sky, 5  
And coming to Argos, the city of Inachus, made therein  
a settlement ;  
Yea, and the inhabitants thereof, aforetime called folk  
of Pelasgia,  
He named by the name of Danaans, and gave this to  
Greece for a law.

[FR. 229.

Vide Temenidas.]

FR. 230.

(ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β)

οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθεῖν κύματος ἄκραν  
 δυνάμεσθ'· ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία,  
 κακὸν ἔχθιστον, φεύγει δ' ὄλβος.

FR. 231 et 940.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρεῖαν ἔχων;

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

πατέρων παρ' ἐσθλῶν Ἀπίδας αἰδῶ γεγώς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τί δ' ἔστι; πρὸς χορὸν γὰρ οἰκείων ἐρεῖς.

FR. 232.

ἐν τοῖς τέκνοισι γὰρ ἀρετὴ τῶν ἐγγενῶν  
 ἀρετὴν ἐνέβαλε, κρεῖσσον ἐν τι πλουσίου  
 γάμου· πένης γὰρ οὐκ ἐκεῖν' ἀπώλεσεν,  
 τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον.

FR. 233.

(ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ Β)

σοὶ δ' εἶπον, ὦ παῖ, τὰς τύχας ἐκ τῶν πόνων  
 θηρᾶν· ὄρας γὰρ σὸν πατέρα τιμώμενον.

FR. 234.

ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ Β

πατρὸς δ' ἀνάγκη παισὶ πείθεσθαι λόγων.

[*Fr.* 229.]

*See the Temenides.*]

*Fr.* 230.

(ARCHELAUS II.)

For we are not able to override the crest of the billow ;  
For still, as of old, doth poverty flourish among us,  
Most hateful of evils, and wealth is an exile from our land.

*Frr.* 231 and 940.

CHORUS

From us, I pray thee, what needest thou at this present ?

ARCHELAUS II.

From my sainted sires—for myself am of the seed of  
Apis—reverence as a suppliant.

CHORUS

What thing is it ? Lo, thou wilt speak to a quire of thine  
own kin.

*Fr.* 232.

For the righteousness of the sires engendereth a righteous-  
ness in the sons,  
A possession by itself more excellent than a wealthy  
marriage :  
For one thing there is that a man loseth not in his  
poverty,  
Even the nobility of his father.

*Fr.* 233.

(PERDICCAS II.)

I charge thee, my son, to seek out thine opportunity in  
tribulation.  
Thus doing, thy father rose to the honour thou beholdest.

*Fr.* 234.

PERDICCAS II.

But sons must needs obey the behests of their father.

## FR. 235.

πλουτεῖς· ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀμαθία δειλὸν θαμά.

## FR. 236.

σὺν μυρίοισι τὰ καλὰ γίγνεται πόνοις.

## FR. 237 et 1052.

νεανίας γὰρ ὅστις ὦν Ἄρη στυγεῖ,  
κόμη μόνον καὶ σάρκες, ἔργα δ' οὐδαμοῦ.  
ὄραξ τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδύς βίος,  
ὅτ' ὄλβος ἔξωθέν τις ἐστὶ πραγμάτων·  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι στέφανος οὐδ' εὐανδρία,  
εἰ μὴ τι καὶ τολμῶσι κινδύνου μέτα.  
νεανίαν δ' ἄρ' ἄνδρα χρῆ τολμᾶν αἰεῖ·  
οὐδείς γὰρ ὦν ῥάθυμος εὐκλεῆς ἀνήρ·  
ἀλλ' οἱ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐδοξίαν,  
ἢ δ' εὐλάβεια σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα,  
τὸ διαβιῶναι μόνον αἰεὶ θηρωμένη.

5

10

## FR. 238.

οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις, ἤχ' ἕως ζῆ σῶν βίον,  
εὐκλειαν εἰσεκτήσατ'· ἀλλὰ χρῆ πονεῖν.

## FR. 239.

ἔθη δυσαίων' ἢ κακῆ τ' ἀνανδρία  
οὐ τοῖχον, οὐτὰν πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἄν.

## FR. 240.

## ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

ἐμὲ δ' ἄρ' οὐ  
μοχθεῖν δίκαιον; τίς δ' ἀμοχθος εὐκλεῆς;  
τίς τῶν μεγίστων δειλὸς ὦν ὠρέξατο;

*Fr. 235.*

Thou art rich : but ignorance often rendereth riches  
worthless.

*Fr. 236.*

In the train of ten thousand labours cometh glory.

*Fr. 237 and 1052.*

For whoso in the days of his youth hath war in abhor-  
rence,

That man is but hair and flesh ; there be no deeds in him.  
Thou hast seen how sweet is the life of the delicate table,  
When happiness is an happiness without the world of  
works ;

But there is no crown therein, neither any manhood, 5  
Save for such as, accepting peril, go on to take heart of  
grace.

Nay, but him that is young it behoveth to take heart of  
grace continually :

For no man of easy disposition becometh famous ;

But labours are the parents of renown,

Whereas throughout Greece precaution winneth ob-  
scurity, 10

Seeking perpetually nought else but continuance of life.

*Fr. 238.*

There is none that, while he liveth softly a life of safety,  
Hath achieved fame into the bargain : nay, for that must  
one needs labour.

*Fr. 239.*

The ways of a wasted life-time and craven unmanliness  
Will rebuild no wall, will verily rebuild no city.

*Fr. 240.*

## ARCHELAUS II.

Is it not just that myself undergo tribulation ?

What man without tribulation hath won a good report ?

What faint-hearted man hath reached out after those  
things that be chiefest ?

FR. 241.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ἢ ΙΕΡΕΙΑ

τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀνάστρεψαι.

FR. 242.

(ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ Β)

φέρει δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχὶ μικρόν, εὐγενῆς  
ἀνὴρ στρατηγῶν εὐκλεᾶ τ' ἔχων φάτιν.

FR. 243.

(ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ Β)

ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ  
κρείσσον στρατηγῶ μυρίου στρατεύματος.

FR. 244.

(ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ Β)

ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν.

FR. 245.

(ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ Α)

ἐν δέ σοι μόνον προφωνῶ, μὴ ἔπι δουλείαν ποτέ  
ζῶν ἐκὼν ἔλθῃς παρὸν σοὶ κατθανεῖν ἐλευθέρῳ.

FR. 246.

νεανίας τε καὶ πένης σοφός θ' ἄμα,  
ταῦτ' εἰς ἓν ἐλθόντ' ἄξι' ἐνθυμήσεως.

FR. 247.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

τί δ' οὐκ ἂν εἶη χρηστός ὄλβιος γεγώς;

*Fr.* 241.(PRIEST *or* PRIESTESS)

Turn thou away thine head.

*Fr.* 242.

(PERDICCAS II.)

Yea, and this also is a thing that bringeth no little  
advantage,  
A captain whose birth is noble and himself of good report.

*Fr.* 243.

(PERDICCAS II.)

An handful of valiant spears  
Is better for the uses of a captain than an host innumer-  
able.

*Fr.* 244.

(PERDICCAS II.)

For an handful of men that be brave is more excellent  
than a multitude of cowards.

*Fr.* 245.

(AMYNTAS I.)

Yet one thing alone I declare to thee beforehand. Never  
with thine own consent  
Go thou down alive into bondage, if it be in thy power to  
die free.

*Fr.* 246.

Both youth and poverty, yea, and wisdom into the bar-  
gain ;  
When these three be come together, there is that whereon  
to meditate.

*Fr.* 247.

ARCHELAUS II.

But why should he not be good, being born to wealth ?

## FR. 248.

οὐχ ἔν τι πενίας πτερόν, ἀεὶ σχιστὴ δ' ἔφυ,  
ἀνίσως ἄρ' ἀντῶσ' οἷτινες φρονοῦσι μὲν,  
φρονοῦσι δ' οὐ δὴν, οἷς τε χρημάτων ὕπαρ.

## FR. 249.

μὴ πλούσιον θῆς· ἐνδεέστερος γὰρ ὢν  
ταπεινὸς ἔσται· κεῖνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα,  
ἄπλουτος ἀλφῶν πλουτοῦν εὐγενῆς ἀνήρ.

## FR. 250.

τυραννὶς ἀλθῶν δεύτερον νομίζεται·  
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔχει.

## FR. 251.

κρεῖσσόν γ' ἀεργὶ δοῦλον οὔτ' ἐλεύθερον  
τρέφειν ἔοικ' οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς σώφροσιν.

## FR. 252.

ἐν τῶν δικαίων γὰρ νομοὶ τ' αὐξήματα  
μεγάλα φέρουσι, πάντα δ' ἀνθρώποις ἴσα·  
σᾶ δ' ἐστὶ χρέματ', ἣν τις εὐσεβῆ θεόν.

## FR. 253.

ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· μὴ λέγ' εὖ· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν  
εὖ δεινόν ἐστίν, εἰ φέρει τινὰ βλάβην.

## FR. 254.

## ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ Β

πόλλ', ὧ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί.



*Fr. 248.*

Not one plumage only hath Poverty : nay, ever from the  
first hath she been divers,  
Presenting herself variously to such as take thought in-  
deed, but not for the morrow,  
And to those again on whose gaze the vision of riches  
hath dawned.

*Fr. 249.*

Confer not riches upon him, forasmuch as, if he be poorer,  
He will be meek of spirit : and in this there is strength  
indeed,  
A man of birth, but no riches, that hath won riches for  
himself.

*Fr. 250.*

A crown is esteemed the second-best of remedies :  
It carrieth with it all things, save immortality only.

*Fr. 251.*

For to bring a man up in idleness, whether bond or free,  
Is not better nor even safe in the estimation of the  
prudent.

*Fr. 252.*

For in the abodes of the righteous do the flocks of the  
pasture  
Multiply with manifold increase, and with the men all  
goeth well :  
Yea, and safe are the possessions of him that worshippeth  
the Lord.

*Fr. 253.*

Simple is this saying. Refrain from praise : for praise  
Approveth itself a curse, if so be it bring mischief in his  
train.

*Fr. 254.*

## AMYNTAS II.

In many things, my child, are men deceived of the gods.

## ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

τὸ ῥᾶ 'στ', ἐνίπας αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς.

FR. 255.

## ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

δοκεῖς τὰ θεῶν σὺ νητά τ' ἐκνήσειν ποτέ  
καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μακρὸν ἀπωκίσθαι βροτῶν·  
ἢ δ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὄρᾳ  
ὄν χρὴ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν. ἄλλ' αὐχοῖσθα σὺ  
ὅτ' ἄντ' ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέσαι κακοῦς.

FR. 256.

μακάριος, ὅστις νοῦν ἔχων τιμᾶ θεόν,  
καὶ κέρδος υἱῷ πλουτοποιεῖται μέγα.

FR. 257.

πολλοὺς δ' ὁ θυμὸς ὁ μέγας ὤλεσεν βροτῶν  
ἢ τ' ἀξυνεσία, δύο κακῶ τοῖς χρωμένοις.

FR. 258.

τῷ γὰρ βιαίῳ κἀγρίῳ τὸ μαλθακόν  
εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθὸν τοῦ λίαν παρείλετο.

FR. 259.

ὄργῃ δὲ φάυλῃ πόλλ' ἔνεστ' ἀσχήμονα.

FR. 260.

## ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

ἔπαυσ' ὀδηροῦς λυμεῶνας .

## ARCHELAUS II.

That is easy, to bring against the gods a railing accusation.

*Fr. 255.*

## ARCHELAUS II.

Thou hast dreamed that some day thyself wilt unspin  
what the gods have spun,  
And that somewhere far from mankind Vengeance  
dwelleth in a distant home.  
But hard at hand is she. She seeth, herself unseen,  
And knoweth the man meet for chastisement. Be other  
vaunts on thy lips  
In the day when she shall suddenly appear and utterly  
destroy the wicked !

*Fr. 256.*

Blessed is the man who honoureth the Lord with understanding :  
Yea, and for his son after him he layeth up abundance of  
riches.

*Fr. 257.*

A proud stomach and a weak wit have destroyed many  
men :  
For these two things be two curses unto such as dwell  
with them.

*Fr. 258.*

For, when the spirit of gentleness hath met that of  
violence and fierceness,  
The former purgeth the latter of that wherein it exceeded.

*Fr. 259.*

But anger that is of the baser sort bringeth with it many  
things unseemly.

*Fr. 260.*

## ARCHELAUS II.

I made an end of malefactors on the highways.

FR. 261.

(ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ)

ἔσῳσα δούλην οὕσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἤσσανες  
τοῖς κρείσσοσιν φιλοῦσι δουλεύειν βροτῶν.

FR. 262.

πάλαι σκοποῦμαι, παῖ, τύχας τὰς τῶν βροτῶν  
ὡς εὐμετρ' ἀλλάσσουσιν· ὅς γὰρ ἂν σφαλῆ  
εἰς ὀρθὸν ἔστη χῶ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίτνει.

FR. 263.

ἔτι κάπ' ἄρα δάκρυσι κείμενον ἡδύ  
ἦν τι βροτοῖς, ὅταν ἄνδρα φίλον στενάχῃ τις ἐν οἴκῳ.

FR. 264.

τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
πρασσόμεν' ὀρθῶς  
τοῖς πράσσοσιν κακὸν ἦλθεν.

FR. 730.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Β

ἄπασα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις.

FR. 740.

(ΧΟΡΟΣ)

ἦλθεν δ'  
ἐπὶ χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον, μεγάλων  
ἄθλων ἕνα μείζον' ὑποστάς,  
κατ' ἔναυλ' ὀρέων ἀβάτων ἐπὶ τε  
λειμῶνας ποιμένα τ' ἄλση.

FR. 861.

(ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ)

δείξας γὰρ ἄστρων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν  
Μήδους τ' ἔωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμεν.

*Fr.* 261.

(ALEXANDER)

I rescued the land from bondage : for weaker folk  
 Are wont to be bondmen of such as be stronger than  
 they.

*Fr.* 262.

Long time, O my son, have I marked in my mind how  
 musical  
 Is the tune whereunto the fortunes of men do change ;  
 For whoso hath stumbled standeth upright, and he that  
 was fortunate is brought low.

*Fr.* 263.

Unto mortal men over and above their tears there re-  
 maineth after all yet a residue of pleasure,  
 Whensoever any in his house maketh mourning for a  
 friend departed.

*Fr.* 264.

For deeds not rightly done  
 Come rightly with a curse upon the doers.

*Fr.* 730.

ARCHELAUS II.

The whole of the Peloponnesian name doth prosper.

*Fr.* 740.

(CHORUS)

And he came  
 In pursuit of the hind of the golden horns, having under-  
 taken  
 One labour greater than all his great labours,  
 Among the steep valleys of hills that none might climb,  
 As also unto meadows and shepherd groves.

*Fr.* 861.

(ALEXANDER)

For, pointing the Withershins Road, wherein walk the  
 stars,  
 I drave out the Medes and sate on my throne secure.

FR. 936.

## ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ Α

οὐκ· ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔμπνουν Ἀίδης μ' ἐδέξατο.

FR. 1120, sive ADESPOTA, FR. 372.

## (ΧΟΡΟΣ)

ποῦ γὰρ τὰ σεμνά κεῖνα; ποῦ δὲ Λυδίας  
 μέγας δυνάστης Κροῖσος, ἢ Ξέρξης βαθύν  
 ζεύξας θαλάσσης ἀγχέν' Ἑλλησποντίας;  
 ἄπαντ' ἐς Ἄιδαν ἦλθε καὶ Λάθας δόμους.

*Fr.* 936.

ARCHELAUS I.

Not so : but I went down quick into the pit.

*Fr.* 1120, otherwise *Adespota*, *Fr.* 372.

(CHORUS)

Yea, where are those awful majesties ? And where is  
Cresus,  
Who lorded it mightily in Lydia, or where is Xerxes,  
That yoked the deep neck of the Hellespontic sea ?  
All, all is hidden in Hell and the mansions of the house of  
Forgetfulness.





## NOTES .

An *Apparatus Criticus* in Latin ought properly to be presented at this point : but Nauck has done the work already, and I do not presume to re-write the product of so scholarly a pen. The one defect of it is that, in the case of tragic quotations contained in Stobaeus, the headings of the Chapters—which headings, though usually nothing turns on them, are sometimes crucial as regards both the sense and the reading—are *never* cited. The following notes contain *inter alia* all necessary critical information.

### THE ALCMENA.

For this play generally and its plot see Chapter VII. The reference to it in Plautus constitutes the most determinant factor.

#### Fr. 88.

Aristophanes (*Ranae*, l. 94) writes: *χελιδόνων μουσειά, λωβηται τέχνης*. A *scholium* on this runs: *παρά τὰ ἐν Ἀλκμήνῃ Εὐριπίδου· πολὺς δ' ἀνείρπε (R and Θ ἂν εἶρπε) κισσὸς εὐφυῆς (R ἐκ φυῆς) κλάδος, | χελιδόνων μουσειῶν*. So also Suidas (*s.v. χελιδόνων μουσειά*), but without mention of the name of the play. *ἐμφυῆς κλάδοις* is an emendation of Wecklein's. Meineke proposed *ἀηδόνων* for *χελιδόνων*, unnecessarily: the term *χελιδόνες* can obviously include, not only swallows proper, but also martins, swifts, and other birds of similar appearance, *e.g.* the water-wagtail, which often nests in ivy.

I am inclined to conjecture that the tree referred to in this fragment is the *πεύκη* of Fr. 90. My idea is that in the course of her wanderings Alcmena had come across an oracular pine-tree, overgrown—not a very common occurrence in the case of pine-trees—with ivy, that she had obtained therefrom some sort of prophecy, and that she had carried away a branch to serve as a torch. Here I suppose her to be speaking.

#### Fr. 89.

Aristophanes writes (*Ranae*, l. 536): *μετακυλίνδεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον*. On this a *scholium* runs: *ἕμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἀλκμήνῃ Εὐριπίδου· οὐ γὰρ ποτ' εἶων Σθένελον τὸν εὐτυχεῖ | ζωροῦντα τοῖχον τῆς δίκης ἀποστερεῖν*. Similarly Suidas (*s.v. ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστι*), who presents *εἰς* between *Σθένελον* and *τὸν*. The insertion of *σ'* after *δίκης* is due to Grotius.

Hyllus, who not long before the date of the action of this play had slain Sthenelus in battle, is probably speaking to Alcmena: it may be, however, that Alcmena is speaking to Hyllus, telling him how she had protected him in his infancy.

#### Fr. 90.

Pollux presents (x. 117): *πανός μέντοι καὶ φανός ἢ λαμπάς, ὡς ὅταν φῆ ἐν τῇ Ἀλκμήνῃ Εὐριπίδης· πόθεν δὲ πεύκης πανὸν ἐξεῦρες*

λαβεῖν; In a writer of Pollux' justified pretensions the barbarous ὡς ὕταν φῆ is surely impossible. Read: ὡς ὅ γ' ἀφ' ἧν ἐν τῇ Ἀλκιμήνη Εὐριπίδης· πόθεν δὲ πεύκης πανὸν ἐξεῦρές γ' ἀφ' ἧν; Pollux, no doubt on excellent authority, first makes the general statement that πανός and φανός are words meaning λαμπάς. But this statement he finds it impossible to illustrate except to a partial extent. First, he cannot discover that πανός had more than a most limited currency, so that he prefixes to Εὐριπίδης the caveat, so to speak, of ὅ γ'. Secondly, he cannot discover that πανός was employed in the full and wide meaning of λαμπάς, so that he inserts the restrictive ἀφ' ἧν, a torch, which, in Euripides, stands in apposition with πανόν. He says: "πανός and φανός, an artificial light: e.g. Euripides at least, in his *Alcmena*, calls a torch a πανός, in the line . . ." Pollux is no writer for slovenly readers. For ἐξεῦρες Nauck reads ἐξγῦρες: it remains to be proved that ἡῦρον and the like are tragic.

I conceive that Alcmena took a branch from the oracular pine (cf. *Fr.* 88) to serve her as a sacred torch, and that, when her death drew nigh, she gave directions that this torch should be placed in her coffin to light her, in spite of Hera's lasting jealousy, to the abodes of the blessed.

*Fr.* 91.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 43, 22): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου) Ἀλκιμήνης· ἀτρέκεια δ' ἄριστον ἀνδρός ἐν πόλει δικαίου πέλει. Herwerden proposed: ἀτρέκεια δὲ | ἄριστον. ἀνδρός ὕπλον ἐνδικίου πέλει. This I adopt in part: the rest of my reading is my own.

Alcmena and Hyllus were strangers dependent on the hospitality of the Thebans (or, conceivably, of the Athenians). I imagine that here the telling of the truth is recommended as the surest means of obtaining that hospitality.

*Fr.* 92.

*Codices* A and M of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (45, 9) present: Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκιμήνης· ἴστω τ' ἀφρων ὦν ὅστις ἀνθρώπος γεγώς | δῆμον κολούει (so A: M κολύει) χρέμασιν γαυρούμενος. For ἴστω τ' Gesner proposed ἴστω δ': I prefer ἴστω γ'. Instead of ὅστις ἀνθρώπος γεγώς, for which I read ὅστις ἂν θωπὸς γεγώς (with the subjunctive κολούη following), Herwerden proposed ὅστις ἔλβιος γεγώς, F. G. Schmidt ὅστις ἀργὸς ὦν—or ὦν πρῶτος—πόλεως, and Gomperz ὅστις αὐθάδης γεγώς.

This couplet has, I suggest, no reference to plutocrats at Thebes (or Athens), but is part of the series of reflexions, for the edification of the royal line, on wealth and kindred topics which culminate in the moralities of the *Archelaus*. Alcmena may well be addressing Hyllus on the subject of state-craft in general.

*Fr.* 93.

*Codices* A and M of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (62, 24) present: Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκιμήνης· ἀεὶ δ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κρατούσιν· ταῦτα γάρ | δούλοις ἄριστα· κάρβω (so M: A κάρφῃ τῷ) τεταγμένος | εἶη τις, ἀνδάνοντα δεσπότης

ποιεῖν. For ἀεὶ δ' ἀρέσκειν F. G. Schmidt (for no reason that I can see) proposed μέλου δ' ἀρέσκειν. Unless—which seems somewhat improbable—the whole fragment is dependent in past consecution on a lost verb, care must be taken to adopt a punctuation which makes εἴη dependent on ἄριστα, the superlative being required to justify the optative mood.

This fragment goes with the last. It sets out the function of slaves in the state.

*Fr. 94.*

*Codex S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (45, 7) presents: 'Αλκμήνη τῶν γὰρ δυναστῶν πλεῖστος ἐν πόλει λόγος. The *Florilegium Monacense* (126), but without name either of play or of author, gives the same line, substituting however τῶν δυναστῶν for τῶν γὰρ δυναστῶν.

This fragment seems to go with *Frr.* 92 and 93.

*Fr. 95.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 92, 1): Εὐριπίδου 'Αλκμήνη ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἢ εὐγένεια πρὸς τὰ χρῆματα | τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον\_πλοῦτος (so M and S: A omits πλοῦτος) εἰς πρώτους ἄγει.

This fragment seems to go with *Frr.* 92–94.

*Fr. 96.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 93, 15): Εὐριπίδου (so M and S: A τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου) 'Αλκμήνης (so A and M, but M as a result of correction: S omits 'Αλκμήνης)· σκαῖόν τι χρῆμα πλοῦτος ἦ τ' ἀπειρία. I alter χρῆμα πλοῦτος to κρᾶμ' ὁ πλοῦτος: in a case like this it seems to me that tragedy would employ either two definite articles or no definite article.

This fragment seems to go with *Frr.* 92–95. It is the spit of *Fr.* 235, from the *Archelaus*, πλουτεῖς ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀμαθία δειλὸν θαμά, and closely resembles *Fr.* 732, from the *Temenides*, ῥώμη δ' ἔτ' ἀμαθὺς πολλάκις τίχτει βλάβην.

*Fr. 97.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 99, 16): Εὐριπίδου 'Αλκμήνη ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα, γενναίως ἴσως | ἔπραξας· αἰνεῖσθαι δὲ δυστυχῶν ἐγὼ | μισῶ· λογισμός (so S: A and M λογισμοῦς) γὰρ τοῦργον οὐ νικᾷ ποτε. Except that Herwerden proposed, for ἔπραξας· αἰνεῖσθαι, the more intelligible ἔπραξ'· ἐπαινεῖσθαι (on which suggestion I have, I think, improved), and that Porson, for λογισμός or λογισμοῦς, read λόγος, the emendations are my own. The reason why I change ὀρθῶς to ὀρθῶ is that the adjective and adverb, unlike the verb, do not seem susceptible of the metaphorical meaning of mere *success*. γὰρ τοῦργον=γὰρ τοι ἔργον.

Hyllus, I consider, is speaking. He had taken part in defeating and slaying Eurystheus, with the help of the Athenians, in battle, but had failed to follow up that victory. Later indeed he invaded the Peloponnese, where after no long time he fell in single combat; but at present he was an exile, with deeds of daring, certainly, to his credit, but nothing else. That is exactly the situation which the fragment depicts.

## Fr. 98.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 108, 18): Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνης· ἀλλ' εὔ φέρειν χρῆ συμφορὰς τὸν εὐγενῆ (so A and M: S εὐμενῆ). In Menander (*Mon.* l. 480) we read the same line (with εὐγενῆ), but with στερῆρῶς substituted for ἀλλ' εὔ.

This fragment seems to go with *Frr.* 92-96.

## Fr. 99.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 45, 12): Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνη· τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα χρῆ σοφὸν πεφυκέναι. Meineke changed χρῆ into χρῆν.

This fragment seems to go with *Frr.* 92-96 and *Fr.* 98.

## Fr. 100.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 111, 7): Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνης· θάρσει, τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο· πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς | κάκ τῶν ἀέλιπτων εὐπορ' ἀνθρώποις πέλει. Musgrave changed πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς το πολλὰ τοι θεὸς and Lobeck πέλει to τελεῖ, the fragment being thus turned, so to speak, inside out. My πολλὰ γ' ἰσοθέοις, for πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, is surely simpler. The ἰσόθεοι ἄνθρωποι are clearly the Heraclids.

I rather imagine that Alcmena is speaking: the person addressed is doubtless Hyllus.

## Fr. 101.

*Codex S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (98, 22) presents: Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνης· ἀλλ' ἡμέρα τοι πολλὰ καὶ μέλαινα νόξ | τίκτει βροτοῖσι. The emendation in the text is my own. Hense proposed, for μέλαινα νόξ, the most dissimilar μί' εὐφρόνη, and Nauck, following him, actually put forward: ἀλλ' ἤμαρ ἔν τοι πολλὰ καὶ μί' εὐφρόνη | τίκτει βροτοῖσιν (this ν is particularly wanton). Nauck objected to μέλαινα as being *epitheton hoc loco ineptum*, as if we were not dealing with a proverb!

The identity of the speaker is not obvious. What the fragment seems to shew is that the play is one of somewhat crowded action.

## Fr. 102.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 114, 3): Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνης (so A: for Ἀλκμήνης M has ἀλκμωνης, without an accent, and S omits the word altogether)· σοφώτεροι γὰρ συμφορὰς τὰς τῶν πέλας | πάντες διαρεῖν ἢ τύχας τὰς οἴκοθεν. Valckenaer proposed διαθρεῖν for διαρεῖν. Cobet suggested ἐσμέν ἦ in place of ἦ τύχας: this most eminent scholar sometimes takes the bit between his teeth, defying all guidance save that of meaning only; and in this particular instance there is scarcely enough context for anyone to be quite sure of the precise meaning. Dobree, without reasonable warrant, inclined towards attributing the fragment to some comedian.

Alcmena, or one of the Heraclids, is apparently the speaker.

## Fr. 103.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 83, 6): Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμήνη (so A and M: S omits Ἀλκμήνη)· δεινὸν τι τέκνων (so A and M: S τέκνον) φίλτρον ἔθηκεν | θεὸς ἀνθρώποις. Cobet proposed ἐνήκεν for ἔθηκεν: in this instance sense guided him aright: but in no script can ἐνήκεν pass

direct into ἔθρηκεν, so that we must assume an intermediate explanatory ἐνέθρηκεν.

The anapaests suggest that Alcmena is coming upon the stage.

[Fr. 104.

Hesychius presents (1, p. 150) : ἀμολγὸν νύκτα· Εὐριπίδης ἀλκιμήνην, ζοφερὸν καὶ σκοτεινήν. οἱ δὲ μέρος νυκτὸς καθ' ὃ ἀμέλγουσιν. The current way of reading this is : ἀμολγὸν νύκτα· Εὐριπίδης Ἀλκιμήνην, ζοφερὸν καὶ σκοτεινήν. οἱ δὲ μέρος νυκτὸς καθ' ὃ ἀμέλγουσιν. But an adjectival ἀμολγός is a thing unheard of, and there exists no reason whatever for disputing the existence of Euripides' *Ale*. Compare Hesychius (1, p. 265) : ἀπρόσειλος· ὃ (ζῆ is the accepted emendation) οὐδείς προσηλεῖται (προσειλεῖται is the accepted emendation), ἀλλ' εὐθέως πίπτει. ἢ ἀκαυμάτιστος ἀπὸ τῆς εἰλήτης. Εὐριπίδης ἀλκιμήνην. The *Ale* (the *Wanderings of Medea*) is required to form the third member of the tetralogy that begins with the *Peliades*, which tetralogy must from its date—the archonship of Callias—have been of the connected order. See also my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (pp. 576, 577).

Euripides in the *Ale* used then the accusative ἀμολγὸν, without the addition, universal in Homer, of νυκτός, as meaning *night*. The fragment has nothing to do with the *Alcmena*.]

#### THE TEMENUS.

For this play generally and its plot see Chapter VII.

[Fr. 432.

A scholiast (T) on the *Iliad* (iv. l. 249) writes : καὶ τὸ τραγικὸν αὐτὸς τι νῦν δρᾷ χούτω δαίμονας κάλει· | τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι χῶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Another scholiast (B) on the same passage gives, identically, the second, but only the second, line of the couplet. Suidas, equally without name either of play or of poet, quotes (*s.v.* αὐτὸς τι) the entire couplet, but in the form : αὐτὸς τι νῦν δρῶν εἶτα τοὺς θεοὺς κάλει· | τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Similarly, without name either of play or of poet, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 654) cites the second line by itself, thus : τῷ δ' αὖ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. So far, we only know that the couplet is tragic. That it is, to be more precise, Euripidean we learn from the fact that Theodoret (*Therap.* i. 15, p. 47) and a writer *apud* the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (iv. p. 255, 11) ascribe the second line expressly to Euripides, quoting it, both of them, as follows : τῷ δ' αὖ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Further, that the couplet comes from a particular Euripidean play called *Hippolytus* we know from Stobaeus, who presents (*Flor.* 29, 34) : Εὐριπίδου Ἰππολύτου (so A and M : for Εὐριπίδου Ἰππολύτου S has only τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* Εὐριπίδου). τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. That the *Hippolytus* in question is the *Hippolytus Velatus* appears in two ways. First, the couplet does not occur in the extant *Hippolytus Stephanias*, and there is no other *Hippolytus*, save the *Velatus*, to which to assign it. Secondly, Clement of Alexandria expressly assigns (*Strom.* vi. 741) the second line (which, as we have seen, he elsewhere—*Strom.* v. 654—quotes without assignation) to the *Velatus*, though his text is in a minute point corrupt, running now thus : Εὐριπίδου μὲν ἐν Κτυμένῳ·

τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Now Κτιμένω is a miswriting of Κτομένω, i.e. Καλυπτομένω, *Velato*: but editors have considered it a miswriting of Τημένω. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. For a problem in appearance almost identical, but in reality far more difficult, see my notes on *Fr. 751*.]

[*Fr. 742.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor. 56, 14*): Εὐριπίδου Βουτημένω (so A and M: S omits Βουτημένω) ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλο (so A and S: M ἄλο for ἄλλο) γαῖα (so A and S: M γᾶα) χρησιμωτέρα. This is a case where the heading of the Chapter is crucial. This Chapter, the 56th, is headed Περὶ Γεωργίας ὅτι ἀγαθόν, as opposed to Chapter 57, which is headed Ἔτι περὶ Γεωργίας, εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον. Now ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλο γαῖα χρησιμωτέρα is not a "praise of husbandry." Read: ἀμη πρό γ' ἄλιος αἶα χρησιμωτέρα. The title Βουτημένω stands by haplography for Βούτη Μαινομένω, "in the *Butes Furens*." But some editors take it as indicating that the fragment is from the *Temenus*. For a fuller treatment see my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (pp. 623, 624).]

*Fr. 743.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor. 54, 15*): Εὐριπίδου Τημένω (so S: A and M Τυμένω for Τημένω) τὸ δὲ στρατηγεῖν τοὔτῳ τ' ἐγὼ (so A, M, and S: *codex Vossianus*, the reading of which is here, somewhat exceptionally, on record, substitutes τοὔτ' ἐγὼ for τοὔτό τ' ἐγὼ) κρίνω, καλῶς | γινῶναι τὸν ἐχθρὸν (so A and M: S ἐχρὸν for ἐχθρὸν) εἰ μάλισθ' (so A and M: S μάλιστ' for μάλισθ') ἀλώσιμος. The emendation τοὔτό γ' ἐν is my own: ῆ for εἰ was proposed by Gesner.

This evidently is a remark in connexion with the war of the Heraclids and Dorians against the Peloponnesians.

*Fr. 744.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor. 54, 16*) in immediate sequence to the passage last quoted (*Fr. 743*): ἐν ταυτῷ (i.e. ἐν Εὐριπίδου Τημένω) ἄρξεις ἄρ' (so M and S: A γὰρ for ἄρ') οὕτω· χρεὶ δὲ τὸν στρατηλάτην | ὁμῶς δίκαιον ὄντα ποιμαίνειν στρατόν.

This exhortation is apparently addressed to Temenus as king, or king-designate, of Argos.

*Fr. 745.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor. 51, 3*): Εὐριπίδου Τημένω· τοιμᾶν δὲ χρεῶν ὁ γὰρ ἐν καιρῷ | μόχθος πολλὴν εὐδαμονίαν | τίπτει θνητοῖσι τελευτῶν. This fragment, singularly enough, presents in itself no textual question whatever.

In compensation, Wecklein raises an *ab extra* difficulty, wishing to take the fragment as the immediate sequel of *Fr. 230*, from the *Archelaus*. The resultant identification of the *Archelaus* with the *Temenus* would lead to various absurdities. The two fragments could undoubtedly be read as one whole. But what does that prove? "Yet once more, o ye laurels, and once more, | Ye myrtles brown with ivy never sere, | I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude | And with forced fingers rude | Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year. | The rainbow comes and goes, | And lovely is the rose; | The moon doth with delight | Look round her when the heavens are bare; | Waters

on a starry night | Are beautiful and fair; | The sunshine is a glorious birth; | But yet I know, where'er I go, | That there hath passed away a glory from the earth."

*Fr.* 746.

*Codices* L, M, and S of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (31, 1): Εὐριπίδου Τιμαίω (so M: L gives Εὐριπίδου only, without Τιμαίω: S omits the whole lemma bodily). αιδῶς γὰρ ὄργῆς πλεῖον ὠφελεῖ βροτούς. Nauck and others are apparently right in taking Τιμαίω as a depravation of Τιμένω: there seems to be nothing else for which it could well stand. Also Nauck does well in altering πλεῖον to πλείον': *saepius* is better suited than *plus* to the context.

*Fr.* 747.

Hesychius presents (1, p. 178): αἰσίως· καλῶς, δεξίως. Εὐριπίδης Τιμέ. . . No doubt Nauck and others are right in interpreting Τιμέ. . . as Τιμένω.

*Fr.* 748.

Hesychius presents (1, p. 178): ἀνανομεῖν· ἀναδασμόν, ἀνανεμεῖν γὰρ τὸ μερίζειν. Εὐριπίδης Τιμένω. Nauck and others rightly read: ἀνανομήν· ἀναδασμόν. ἀνανέμειν γὰρ τὸ μερίζειν. Εὐριπίδης Τιμένω.

Presumably the reference is to a reportionment of Argos among the Dorians.

*Fr.* 749.

Hesychius presents (1, p. 267): ἄπυργος· ἀτείχιστος. Εὐριπίδης Τιμένω. Nauck and others are right in taking Τιμένω as a mis-spelling of Τιμένω.

*Fr.* 750.

A *scholium* on Plato (p. 904 a, 22) presents: καταβολή, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. Εὐριπίδης Τιμένω καὶ Πελαίσι. This *scholium* occurs also, *verbatim et literatim*, except that for καταβολή is substituted the paroxytone καταβόλη, as an entry in Hesychius (2, p. 445).

[*Fr.* 751.

A *scholium* on Hippocrates (vol. 5, p. 214, Littré; Klein's Erotian, p. 20, 14) presents: ὁ δὲ Βακχεῖος ὀδύνην καὶ ἀλγῆμα καὶ φλεγμονήν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σφακελισμόν (the emendation σφακελισμόν is accepted), παραθέμενος Εὐριπίδου λέξεις ἐκ Κτημένου καὶ Ἴππολύτου. The reference to the *Hippolytus* is to the *Hippolytus Stephanias*, l. 1352, where σφάκελος occurs. Probably ἐκ Κτημένου is a miswriting of ἐκ Κτομένου, *i.e.* Καλυπτομένου. Compare *Fr.* 432, and my notes thereon. In that case ἐκ Κτομένου καὶ Ἴππολύτου = "from the (*Hippolytus*) *Velatus* and the *Hippolytus*(*Stephanias*)," *i.e.* "from the two *Hippolyti*," a natural enough statement, seeing that both the plays dealt with the same subject-matter. Still the ἐκ before Κτημένου is sufficient to breed a certain doubt. Possibly, though not, I think, very probably, ἐκ Κτημένου may stand for ἐκ Τιμένου. In no title, real or supposed, of any Temenid play (*Temenus*, *Temenidae*, or *Temenides*) does the question of an intrusive  $\kappa$  arise, except in the cases of *Fr.* 432, of this fragment, and of *Fr.* 737, from the *Temenides*. There (see my notes later) *codex* L of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (13, 8) presents κτημενίδων, apparently a corruption of ἐκ Τιμενίδων.]

## THE TEMENIDES

For this play generally and its plot see Chapter VI.

*Fr. 229.*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, referring, in the words *περὶ τοῦ τῆν Χερόβρησον ἔχειν*, to the Chersonese, presents (*De Comp. Verb.* c. 25, vol. 5, p. 203): ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ὃ βασιλεὺς χάρας τῆς πολυβόλου (*v.l.* πολυβόλου) | Κισσεῦ, πεδίον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει. Valckenauer left out ὃ. The emendation *Χερόβρας* is my own: I do not think that the tragic rule as to ρσ has any necessary application to geographical names. Musgrave attributed the lines to the *Archelaus*: the fact that Cisseus is addressed shews that they belong to the *Temenides*.

I deal with the fragment generally in Chapter VI.

*Fr. 728.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 50, 1): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίδων (so A and S: for Τημενίδων M gives Τιμενιδῶν)· φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν, | ἐσθλῶν δὲ χαίρει πτώμασιν νεανιῶν (A accents νεανίων), | κακοῦς δὲ μισεῖ. τῆ πόλει μὲν οὖν νόσος | τόδ' ἐστί, τοῖς δὲ καταθανοῦσιν (M καταθανοῦσιν) εὐκλεές. Conington proposed πάντων τυχεῖν: πάντα στόχον is my own suggestion.

M's Τιμενιδῶν is the one and only trace of a title, or supposed title, Τημενίδαι to be found in any ms. of Stobaeus. I mention this fragment in Chapter VI.

*Fr. 729.*

*Codex S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (39, 1): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσου· εἰκός δὲ παντὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μηχανῇ | πατρίδος ἐρῶντας ἐκπονεῖν σωτηρίαν. The emendations πάντη and ἐρῶντά σ' are my own.

I mention this fragment in Chapter VI.

*Fr. 731.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 51, 2): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίδων· οὐκ ἔστι κρεῖττον ἄλλο πλὴν κρατεῖν δορί. The emendation κρεῖσσον is generally accepted.

I mention this fragment in Chapter VI.

*Fr. 732.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 54, 17): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίδων (so S: A for Τημενίδων substitutes Τιμενίσι and M Τιμενίσιν)· ῥώμη δὲ τ' ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις τίκει βλάβην. For ῥώμη δὲ τ' ἀμαθῆς Matthiae proposed ῥώμη δὲ γ' ἀμαθῆς and F. G. Schmidt ῥώμη γὰρ ἀμαθῆς. Both emendations are shocking. ῥώμη δ' ἔτ' ἀμαθῆς, with ἔτι employed "logically," is surely obvious.

I mention this fragment in Chapter VI. Also compare, and see my notes on, *Fr.* 96, from the *Alcmena*, and *Fr.* 235, from the *Archelaus*.

*Fr. 733.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 124, 29): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν (so S: for Τημενίσιν A writes Τημένισι and M Τημένισιν)· τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι καταθανεῖν μένει. | κοινὸν δ' ἔχοντες αὐτὸ κοινὰ πάσχομεν | πάντες· τὸ γὰρ χρεῶν μείζον ἢ τὸ μὴ χρεῶν. The emendation of these lines, untouched (so far as I know), except by Hense, who proposed τὸ δὲ χρεῶν for τὸ



γὰρ χρεῶν, and by Nauck, who suggested reading the final couplet as πάντες δ' ἔχοντες αὐτὸ κοινὰ πάσχομεν· | τὸ γὰρ χρεῶν οὐκ ἔστι μὴ χρεῶν ποεῖν, has been to me a task of no slight interest.

I mention this fragment in Chapter vi.

*Fr. 734.*

*Codex M* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (1, 4): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν· ἀρετὴ δὲ καὶν θάνη τις οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, | ζῆ δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ὄντος σώματος· κακοῖσι δὲ | ἅπαντα φροῦδα συνθάνοντ' ὑπὸ χθονός. Sextus Empiricus, without name of poet or play, quotes (p. 660, 25) the first line.

I mention this fragment in Chapter vi.

*Fr. 735.*

*Codices A* and *M* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (4, 10): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν· ἀσύνετος ὕστις ἐν φόβῳ μὲν ἀσθενής, | λαβίων δὲ μικρὸν τῆς ψυχῆς (so *A*: for ψυχῆς it seems uncertain whether *M* does or does not read τύχης, which latter is certainly Gesner's reading or emendation) φρονεῖ μέγα. For λαβίων *F. G. Schmidt* proposed λαχίων.

I briefly deal with this fragment in Chapter vi.

*Fr. 736.*

*Codices M* and *S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (126, 6 and 7): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν· ὡς σκαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένοισιν ἄξενος | καὶ μνημονεύων οὐδὲν ὧν ἐχρῆν φίλου. | δάνειον δ' ἦν θανοῦσιν ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι, | καὶν ὁμόθεν ὄσι· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πλέον κρατεῖ | (here follows a gap) Εὐριπίδου· τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἡ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις | ἀπόλωλ', ἔταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἀνὴρ θάνη. I discuss the text of this fragment in Chapter vi. Here it is enough to say that Grotius and Gaisford's redivision of the six lines into two fragments, (a) ll. 1 and 2, and (b) ll. 3-6, is impossible seeing that the chapter-heading in Stobaeus is "Ὅτι τῶν πλειστων μετὰ θάνατον ἡ μνήμη διαρρέει ταχέως, a proposition which, by themselves and without any mention of death, the first two lines contribute nothing towards substantiating.

I deal generally also with this fragment in Chapter vi.

*Fr. 737.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 13, 8): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν (so *A*, *M*, and *S*: *L* leaves out Εὐριπίδου and instead of Τημενίσιν gives κτημενίδων· καλὸν γ' ἀληθὲς κάτενης (so *A* and *S*: instead of ἀληθὲς κάτενης *M* gives ἀτενης καὶ ἀληθὲς and *L* ἀγενὲς καὶ ἀληθὲς) παρέρσιτα. *L*'s κτημενίδων probably stands for ἐκ Τημενίδων: this reading must be considered in conjunction with *Frr.* 432 and 751, both dealt with by me (see the notes) under the heading *Temenus*.

In Chapter vi I just mention this fragment.

*Fr. 738.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 106, 7): Εὐριπίδου Τημενίσιν· πολλοὶ γε- γῶτες ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔχουσ' ἔπως | δεῖξωσιν αὐτούς (so *A* and *M*: *S* substitutes αὐτούς) τῶν κακῶν ἐξουσίχ. The emendations are my own. For πολλοὶ Wecklein proposed ἐσθλοὶ, while *F. G. Schmidt* preferred to change πολλοὶ γεγῶτες into πόλεις δ' ἐπόντες, and the latter also altered δεῖξωσιν αὐτούς (or αὐτούς) to ἀρξουσ' ἀλύπως. As regards the

indicative ἄρξουσ', Matthiae had previously substituted for the subjunctive δεῖξωσ' the indicative δεῖξουσ', and this Nauck adopts! I believe myself in Dawes' canon, but cannot editors see that this has nothing to do with it? The deliberative subjunctive, in indirect discourse, is the normal construction after οὐκ ἔχειν ὕπως, provided that, in direct discourse, it is a case of the employment of the first person. Here the ἄνδρες would say of themselves (a) in direct discourse πῶς δεῖζόμεν; and (b) in indirect discourse οὐκ ἔχομεν ὕπως δεῖζόμεν, so that it is said of them (c) οὐκ ἔχουσ' ὕπως δεῖξωσιν. All this is surely elementary.

In Chapter VI I just mention this fragment.

*Fr. 739.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 88, 2): Εὐριπίδου (A substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου) Τημενίσι· φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ φῦναι πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἀπο | ὕσῃν ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξίωμά τε. | καὶν (the first hand of S first wrote καὶ and then altered it to καὶν) γὰρ πένης ὦν τυγχάνη (the first hand of S first wrote τυγχάνει and then altered it to τυγχάνη), χρῆστος γεγώς | τιμὴν ἔχει τιν' (S writes τινα without elision), ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως | τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ὠφελεῖ τρόπῳ. I deal sufficiently with the text in Chapter VI. Here I will only add that Meineke, Munro, and F. G. Schmidt have all three tried different alterations of l. 2, which for my own part I am inclined to consider unimpeachable.

I deal generally also with this fragment in Chapter VI.

*Fr. 741.*

Aristophanes writes (*Ranae*, l. 1338): ἀλλά μοι, ἀμφίπολοι, λύχρον ἄψατε. On this line there is a *scholium*: Ἐπολλώνιος παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν Εὐμενίδων. Dobree changed Εὐμενίδων to Τημενίδων, of which I alter the accentuation, reading Τημενίδων.

I deal with this fragment in Chapter VI.

THE QUASI-SATYRIC

ARCHELAUS.

FIRST EDITION.

I speak generally of this play in Chapters II-V, and of the first edition in particular in Chapter VIII.

*Fr. 846.*

The text of Aristophanes presents (*Ranae*, ll. 1206-1208): ΕΥΡΗΠΙΔΗΣ Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ὁ πλεῖστος ἔσπαρται λόγος, | ξὺν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ | Ἄργος κατασχὼν Αἰσχύλαος ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν (*v.l.* ἀπώλεσε). On l. 1206 there is a *scholium*: Ἀρχελάου αὐτῆ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, ὡς τινές, ψευδῶς· οὐ γὰρ φέρεται νῦν Εὐριπίδου λόγος οὐδεὶς τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι, φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς μετέθηκεν ὕστερον, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κείμενον εἶπε. I discuss this question at length in Chapter VIII. ὁ πλεῖστος, owing to the doubt which it imports, appears scarcely possible in the forefront of the prologue: F. G. Schmidt proposed ὁ πιστός, but my ἀπλαστός seems to myself much preferable.

In Chapter VIII I treat generally of the fragment.

*Fr. 956B.*

This line (the numbering of it as *Fr. 956B* is my own) is certified as Euripidean on the amplest, the highest, and the most ancient consensus of authority: Plato, twice (*Rep.* 568A, and *Theag.* 125B) expressly ascribes it to Euripides, and so does Aristophanes the Comedian, once (*Fr.* 308, from the *Heroes*: see the *scholium* on the *Thesmophoriazuseae*, l. 21), and Antisthenes, once (see the Aristophanic *scholium*, l.c.), while Stobaeus (*Flor.* 48, 5) repeats the attribution without dissent or question. In the Canon of Euripides, however, the line was not to be found; but in Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* a line either absolutely, or very nearly, identical (it will be seen that *minutiae* of reading are in dispute), presented itself (Sophocles, *Fr.* 14). As a consequence of this fact, the only later authority—so far as we know—that accepts the Euripidean attribution out and out (in addition to Stobaeus, l.c.) is Aristophanes of Byzantium (see Nauck's *Arist. Byz.* p. 280: Nauck concludes that in this respect Didymus agreed with him), who takes the view that one of the two poets plagiarised from the other (Didymus, Nauck thinks, suggested an accidental coincidence, and the Aristophanic *scholium*, l.c., mentions the existence of this theory of coincidence), although Themistius (p. 72c) goes so far as to speak of "Euripides, or whoever it was that wrote" the passage. The case of this fragment is thus seen to be singularly similar, in a manner, to that of *Fr.* 846, the weight of Aristophanes of Byzantium replacing the weight of Aristarchus: see Chapter VIII. But Aristides (II. p. 373) and Aulus Gellius (XIII. 19, 1) will not hear of any but a Sophoclean authorship, contradicting Plato openly and to his face. Other late authors quote the line, some of them assigning it to Sophocles, some of them citing it without assignation, but none of them attributing it to Euripides. Now it is to be remarked that nowhere is the line ascribed to Euripides except in the form σοφοί τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσίῃ. We may, therefore, take that as what he wrote. What Sophocles wrote is more doubtful. While no author attributes to Sophocles, *eo nomine*, any other form of the line (except that sometimes, though I do not know whether in places where Sophocles' name is mentioned, ξυνουσίῃ is said to be substituted for συνουσίῃ), it is at the same time a fact that, of the late writers who quote without assignation, Demetrius Cydonius (*Epist.* x.) presents the reading σοφοί τύραννοι τῆ σοφῶν μετουσίῃ, and Agathangelus (in Leo Allatius' *de Georgiis*, p. 303) the reading σοφοί τύραννοι τῆ σοφῶν συνουσίῃ. It is therefore possible—the point need not delay us—that contamination has occurred and that Sophocles wrote σοφοί τύραννοι τῆ σοφῶν μετουσίῃ: a slight variation would seem more likely than a complete identity. No candid reader can fail, on the evidence, to agree that—slight variation or no variation, and whoever was the *first* author—the line is Euripidean as well as Sophoclean: those who maintain the opposite must, I think, have left themselves insufficient leisure to consider and appreciate how strong the evidence is. But, if the line be Euripidean, what play of Euripides, from which it can come, is there except the *first* edition of the *Archelaus* (see Chapters I and VIII)? It is on all fours, as regards possible *provenance*, with *Fr.* 846. And, if that fragment be internally certified, by its mention of Aegyptus, as Archelaan, so in a manner is this fragment by its mention of the converse of monarchs with the

wise : it refers, surely, to Archelaus' converse with the Twelve Kings. It follows that Aristophanes' *Heroes* was, like his *Ranae* (second edition), composed at a time when the first edition of Euripides' *Archelaus* (circa 407 B.C.) had already reached Athens, but the second edition (see Chapter VIII) had not. In this indication lies the real value of the fragment. A more uncertain, but still a probable, conclusion is that the line in Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* is based on this line, not *vice versa*. The tragedians were such imitative creatures that the theory of coincidence is almost untenable. From the living Euripides, Sophocles, I think, never borrowed : but Euripides dead was another matter. If Sophocles had been the *original* author, neither Plato nor Aristophanes would have attributed the line—even granted a minute modification—to Euripides. It looks, then, as though the *Ajax Locrus* were one of Sophocles' very last works. Athenaeus, I may observe, seems, though hesitatingly and far from expressly, to attribute (546B : see Sophocles, *Fr.* 12) the *Ajax Locrus* itself to Euripides! This was, I suppose, his own private solution of the complication. Zenobius (6, 14 : Sophocles, *Fr.* 15), aware, it may be, of a dispute, but not of its precise nature, assigns the play bluntly to *Aeschylus*.

## THE QUASI-SATYRIC

## ARCHELAUS.

## SECOND EDITION.

I speak generally of this play in Chapters II–V, and of the second edition in particular in Chapter VIII.

*Fr.* 228.

This fragment is presented as follows, ll. 1–6 by Tiberius (*De Schem. Rhet.* vol. VIII. p. 577), l. 1 and ll. 6–8 by Strabo (v. p. 221), and ll. 7 and 8 also by Strabo (VIII, p. 371), l. 1 by the author of the *Vita Decem Oratorum* (4, 14), by Plutarch (*De Proel. Am.* 4, 497 B), and by Rufinus (*Met. Ter.*, *apud* Keil, VI. p. 561, 14), ll. 1–5 by the author of the *Nili Ascensus* (printed in Dindorf's edition of Athenaeus, pp. 164 *et seq.*), ll. 2–4 by Diodorus Siculus (I. 38, 4), and l. 4 by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Αἰθίοψ, p. 47, 14), Strabo (at the former of the two above-mentioned references), the author of the *Nili Ascensus*, and Stephanus of Byzantium expressly quoting from Euripides' *Archelaus*, the author of the *Vita Decem Oratorum* from the beginning of a play by Euripides, and Tiberius, Strabo (at the latter of the two above-mentioned references), and Diodorus Siculus from Euripides, while only Plutarch and Rufinus fail to specify either play or poet : *Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ* | *Νείλου λυπὸν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίης* (ἐκ γαίης is one reading in Diodorus Siculus : Tiberius reads the kindred *εὐκαίτης* : another reading in Diodorus Siculus is *ἐκ γαίης*, which is also the reading of the author of the *Nili Ascensus*) ὕδωρ, | ὅς ἐκ μελαμβρότιοι πλγροῦται ῥόας | Αἰθιοπίδος (Tiberius, Diodorus Siculus, and Stephanus of Byzantium read Αἰθιοπίδος : the author of the *Nili Ascensus*—and not *calami lapsu*, as witness *Fr.* 300 of Aeschylus, l. 2—reads Αἰθιοπίδος) γῆς, ἡνίκ' ἄν (Tiberius, Diodorus Siculus and the author of the *Nili Ascensus* read ἡνίκ' ἄν : Stephanus of Byzantium substitutes ἡνίκα) τακῆ (Diodorus Siculus, the author of the *Nili Ascensus*, and Stephanus

of Byzantium read τακῆ: Tiberius gives τακείη) χιών | τεθριππεύοντος (Tiberius reads τεθριππεύοντος, the author of the *Nili Ascensus* τεθριππου ὄντος) ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα, (5) | ἑλθῶν ἔς (Strabo reads ἔς, Tiberius κατ') "Ἄργος ἔκησεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν | Πελασγιώτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν |, Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθιγα' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα. See Chapter VIII. In l. 2 for ἐκ γαίης there are the conjectures ἐκχέανθ' (Meineke), ἐκ χρείας (Munro), ἐν γύαις (Luzac), εὐγάης (Kock), εὐγλαγοῦς (Burges), εὐσταλῆς (Herwerden), and ἦς γαίας (Nauck). For ἐκ γαίης ὕδωρ Mekler proposed ἐπτάζῳ στόμα. In l. 3 for μελαμβρότοιο Berger suggested μελαμβώλοιο. In l. 5 for τεθριππεύοντος there are the emendations τέθριππ' ἄγοντος (F. G. Schmidt), τέθριππ' ἀνέντος (Lobeck), τέθριππ' ἑλῶντος (Burges), τέθριππ' ἔχοντος (Doederlein), and τέθριππ' ὀχοῦντος (Grotius). H. Stephanus proposed δι' αἰθέρα for κατ' αἰθέρα.

In Chapter VIII I treat generally of this fragment.

*Fr. 230.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 96, 3): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S omits Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάου (so A, M, and, originally, the first hand of S: the first hand of S has altered Ἀρχελάου into Ἀρχελάω) οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθεῖν κύματος ἄκραν | δυνάμεσθ' ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία. | κακὸν ἔχθιστον. φεύγει δ' ὄλβος. S prefixes the sign which indicates a choric passage. S continues immediately, without gap or further lemma, with *Fr.* 248 (*Flor.* 96, 4), which A and M—it is in trimeters—treat, obviously with justice, as a separate fragment of the *Archelaus*.

I mention *Fr.* 230 in Chapter IV. As it seems difficult to assign to the Twelve Kings a passage phrased as this is, I suggest that (see Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinculus*) it is a portion of an anapaestic chorus uttered by Archelaus II. before or during their entry.

*Frr. 231 and 940.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 88, 3) *Fr.* 231 thus: Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρεῖαν ἔχων; | πατέρων γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἐλπίδας δίδως γεγώς. I discuss the reading in Chapter IV.

In Chapter IV I also treat generally of this important fragment.

Lucian (*Jov. Trag.* 2, vol. 2, p. 643) presents *Fr.* 940 thus: ΑΘΗΝ. τί δ' ἔσται; πρὸς χορὸν γὰρ οἰκείων ἔρεϊς. The context shews with certainty that the line is Euripidean. I place it, in immediate sequel to *Fr.* 231, in the mouth of the Choragus of the *Archelaus*. See Chapter IV. Consult also the *Scholium* on Lucian (ed. Jacobitz, p. 242): μεμυήμεθα γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν πρὸς οἰκειῶν χορὸν ἔρεϊς.

Note that sometimes Archelaus I. speaks as Choragus proper, sometimes in his own individual character.

*Fr. 232.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 88, 5): Εὐριπίδου (so M and S: A substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάω (so A and M: S substitutes ἐν ταύτῳ, i.e. ἐν Ἀρχελάω) ἐν τοῖς τέκνοις γὰρ ἀρετῇ (so A: for ἀρετῇ M and S substitute ἡ ἀρετῇ τε) τῶν εὐγενῶν | ἐν (so M and S: A omits ἐν) ἔλαβε, κρεῖσσόν (so A: for κρεῖσσόν M and S substitute κρεῖσσων)

τ' ἐστὶ πλουσίου γάμου· | (with γάμου S closes the fragment; but A and M continue) πένης γὰρ οὐκ ἐκεῖν' ἀπώλεσεν, | τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον. In tragedy, except as a result of corruption, ἀρετὴ τῶν εὐγενῶν, instead of either ἀρετὴ τῶν εὐγενῶν or ἀρετὴ ἢ τῶν εὐγενῶν, is surely impossible. The emendations are my own. Other suggestions, which I almost take leave not to transcribe, are these (learned scholars seem, over some of these fragments, to lose their heads). In l. 2 for ἐν ἔλαβε or the simple ἔλαβε Cobet proposed διέλαμψε, G. Wolff ἔβλαστε, Nauck ἔλαμψε, Valckenaer ἐνέλαμψε, and L. Dindorf λέλαμπε. Cobet reads l. 3 as πένης γὰρ ὄν ὅδ' οὐκ ἐκεῖν' ἀπώλεσεν: Nauck prints <γένος> πένης γὰρ οὐκ ἐκεῖν' ἀπώλεσεν.

There is nothing to show definitely who is speaking; but it may well be Perdiccas II.

*Fr. 233.*

*Codex S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (29, 13): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω· σοι δ' εἶπον, ὦ παῖ, τὰς τύχας ἐκ τῶν πόνων | θηρᾶν ὄρεξ γὰρ σὸν πατέρα τιμώμενον. Bothe changed σὸν πατέρα to πατέρα σὸν: but, though this would yield a more familiar rhythm, (a) even in tragedy proper σὸν πατέρα would break no actual rule, (b) this play is quasi-Satyrical, and (c) πατέρα σὸν, if original, would almost certainly be perpetuated, *levi corruptela*, as πατέρα σου. Transpositional emendation, which should always be scrutinised with a particularly jealous eye, is seldom justified, except as a cure in cases of *deliberate* alteration of a text.

I mention this fragment in Chapter IV. Perdiccas II. is evidently speaking.

*Fr. 234.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 79, 19): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω (so A and M: S omits the lemma bodily)· πατρὸς δ' ἀνάγκη παισὶ πείθεσθαι λόγων (so M: for λόγων A and S substitute λόγῳ). The *difficilior lectio* λόγων is to be preferred: the Ionic genitive with πείθεσθαι is Euripidean (*Iphigenia in Aulide*, genuine portion, l. 726).

I mention this fragment in Chapter IV. As in the case of *Fr. 233*, Perdiccas II. is apparently speaking.

*Fr. 235.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 93, 12): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω (so A and M: S omits Ἀρχελάω)· πλουτεῖς· ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀμαθία δειλὸν θ' ἔμα. I do not understand why my emendations, ἀμαθία and θαμά, which, whether right or wrong, are at any rate obvious in the extreme, have not—so far, at least, as I am aware—been made previously.

I mention this fragment in Chapter IV. Compare *Fr. 96*, from the *Alcmena*, and *Fr. 732*, from the *Temenides*.

*Fr. 236.*

*Codex S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (29, 44): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω· σὸν μυρίοισι τὰ καλὰ γίνεται πόνοις. Menander (*Mon.* l. 176) has: ἐν μυρίοισι τὰ καλὰ γίνεται πόνοις.

The sentiment is characteristic of the play; but there is nothing to determine the speaker.

## Fr. 237 and 1052.

Fr. 237 is a fragment of three senarii. It is once given in its entirety in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (51, 4), as also in Orion's *Florilegium* (22, p. 58, 3). Lines 2 and 3 are also given, by themselves, in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (29, 32). In l. 3, as presented on the one hand by Stobaeus in the place where he gives all three lines, and as presented on the other hand by him in the place where he gives two lines only, and as presented by Orion, there is a difference of one word: in the first case the line ends with εὐδοξίην, in the other with εὐανδρίην. Stobaeus, on both occasions, quotes expressly from Euripides' *Archelaus*: Orion mentions no source whatever, but his *Florilegium* is a *florilegium* of Euripides.

Fr. 1052 (among the *Euripidis Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta*) is a fragment of nine senarii. It is given only—except that l. 3 is quoted as from Euripides by Athenaeus, xiv. p. 641 c—in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (51, 14), where it is ascribed to Euripides, but not to any play in particular. The matter of it is that of Fr. 237, and l. 7 is identical with l. 3 of Fr. 237 as given by Stobaeus in the place where he quotes two lines only, and by Orion, except that in Fr. 1052 the line in question begins with οἱ γάρ, but in Fr. 237 with ἀλλ' οἱ. Immediately before l. 7 of Fr. 1052 (= l. 3 of Fr. 237) it is possible with complete congruity to insert ll. 1 and 2 of Fr. 237.

That is what I do. The two fragments are so strangely of a piece that I can scarcely contemplate their separation. My suggestion is that the one real fragment having been, in part, triplicated in the text of Stobaeus (where such things often happen), the longer quotation was afterwards deliberately eviscerated in order not to repeat more than a trifle of the shorter quotation, that of three lines, which stood only ten passages earlier. Nothing of much interest, as regards the text of Euripides, depends on the validity or invalidity of my contention: but, as regards the text of Stobaeus, the question is not unimportant.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 51, 4): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου νεανίην γὰρ ἔνδρα χρη τολμᾶν ἀεί· | οὐδεις γὰρ ὦν ῥάθυμος εὐκλεῆς ἀνὴρ. | ἀλλ' οἱ πόνου τίκτουσι τὴν εὐδοξίην. Orion (*Flor.* 22, p. 58, 3) gives the passage thus: νεανίαν γὰρ ἔντα χρη τολμᾶν πονεῖν | οὐδεις γὰρ ὦν ἄθυμος εὐκλεῆς ἀνὴρ. | ἀλλ' οἱ πόνου τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν. Stobaeus also presents (*Flor.* 29, 32): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου): οὐδεις γὰρ ὦν ῥάθυμος εὐγενῆς ἀνὴρ. | ἀλλ' οἱ πόνου τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν. Again Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 51, 14): Εὐριπίδου· νεανίης γὰρ ἔστις ὦν (so M and S: A omits ὦν) Ἄρη στυγεῖ (so apparently A: for στυγεῖ M and S substitute στυγῆ), | κόμη, μόνον καὶ σάρκας, ἔργα δ' οὐδαμοῦ. | ὄρῃς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδὺς βίος | ὅ τ' ὄλβος ἔξωθεν τίς ἐστι πραγμάτων· | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι στέφανος οὐδ' εὐανδρία, (5) | εἰ μὴ τι καὶ τολμῶσι κινδύνου μέτα· | οἱ γὰρ πόνου τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν. | ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα, | τὸ διαβίωναι μόνον ἀεὶ θηρωμένῃ. Athenaeus presents (xiv. p. 641 c): ἔντως γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀποβλέψαντα ἔστιν εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα εἰπεῖν· ὄρῃς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδὺς βίος. In l. 2 of the passage of nine lines Halm proposed ἔργμα for ἔργα. Scholars have dealt strangely with l. 4: ἔτ' for ὅ τ' solves the whole difficulty. But Hirschig read ὅ τ' ὄλβος ὡς ἔξωθεν ἐστι πραγμάτων, F. G. Schmidt ὅ τ' ὄλβος ἔξωθεν τίθησι πραγμάτων, Wecklein ὅ τ' ὄλβος ἔξω νιν τίθησι

πραγμάτων, and Herwerden ὡς τ' ἔλβιος τίς ἐστι πραγμάτων δίχα. In l. 7 Jacobs, in the light of *Fr.* 237, proposed, as I prefer, εὐδοξίαν for εὐανδρίαν.

It is not easy to determine, in the absence of clear evidence, who is speaking.

*Fr.* 238.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 29, 14): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάου (so M: A substitutes Ἀρχελάω: S omits the name of the play) οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἡδέως ζητῶν βιοῦν | εὐκλειαν εἰσεκτήσατ', ἀλλὰ χρή πονεῖν. In l. 1, for ἡδέως ζητῶν βιοῦν (of which the βιοῦν is impossible in Greek of this type), Vitellius proposed ἡδονὰς ζητῶν βίου, Gomperz ἡδονῆς ζηλῶν βίον, Cobet ἡσυχον ζηλῶν βίον, and, at one time, Nauck ἡδέος ζήλω βίου. In l. 2 Cobet changed εὐκλειαν εἰσεκτήσατ' to εὐδοξίαν ἐκτήσατ': Nauck suggested εὐκλειαν ἐξηγέκατ' as equally possible, but also put forward (coupled with the Vitellian version of l. 1) εὐκλειαν εἴτ' ἐκτήσατ'. My emendations are simpler: the preposition of εἰσεκτήσατ' suits the particular context and ought not to be tampered with.

The fragment is evidently allied to the two preceding passages.

*Fr.* 239.

The text of this fragment demands special attention. Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 8, 13): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω· ὁ δ' ἡδύς αἰὼν ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία | οὐτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν (so A, M, and S: *codex Brux.*, the reading of which happens in this particular case to be recorded, for πόλιν substitutes γαῖαν) ὀρθώσειεν ἄν. Now in l. 1 ὁ δ' ἡδύς αἰὼν and ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία are so perfectly parallel in form that a corresponding parallelism in meaning is to be expected: but, though ἀνανδρία is a word of censure, αἰὼν is quite neutral in sense, nor—though this is a less matter—are ἡδύς and κακὴ comparable. Therefore, with but little hesitation, I destroy the parallelism of form and propose: ἔθη δισαίων' ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία. In l. 2 I can best reconcile *codices* A, M, and S, on the one hand, with *codex Brux.*, on the other, by suggesting: οὐ τοῖχον, οὐτ' ἂν πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἄν. These conclusions I arrive at as a result of inspecting the fragment by itself.

But they are in no way invalidated by external evidence, of an unusual kind, which happens to exist. A fragment of Euripides' *Erechtheus* (*Fr.* 364) so closely resembles *Fr.* 239 that, as regards text, the two passages have acted and reacted upon each other. The fragment from the *Erechtheus* consists of three senarii. All three are quoted *eo nomine* both by Stobaeus and by Orion. Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 29, 22): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S substitutes τοῦ αὐτ', *i.e.* Εὐριπίδου) Ἐρεχθεῖ· ἐκ τῶν πόνων τοι τάγάθ' αὐξεται βροτοῖς | ὁ δ' ἡδύς αἰὼν ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία | οὐτ' οἶκον οὔτε βίσιον (so A: for βίσιον M and S substitute βίσιον) οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ (so A and M: for ὠφελεῖ S gives ὠφελεῖν). This violent variation in l. 3 from the text of *Fr.* 239 shows that we are not dealing with any misplaced duplication of that fragment. Stobaeus likewise presents (*Flor.* 29, 11): Εὐριπίδου Ἐρεχθεῶς· ἐκ τῶν πόνων τοι τάγάθ' αὐξεται βροτοῖς. This line is also given by itself, without source assigned, in Alexander's *Commentary* on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (l. p. 303, 21) and in a *scholium* on Aristotle's *Ethics*



(*Anecd. Paris.* vol. 1, p. 192, 27), and occurs among Menander's monostichs (*Mon.* l. 149). Alexander's text gives: ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰγάθ' αὖζονται βροτοῖς. The Aristotelian scholiast does not differ from Stobaeus. Menander has: ἐκ τῶν πόνων γὰρ τὰγάθ' αὖζεται βροτοῖς. Orion presents (*Flor.* 7, 2, p. 51, 2) the whole three lines thus: ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· ἐκ τῶν πόνων γὰρ τὰγάθ' αὖζεται βροτοῖς· | ὁ δ' ἡδὺς ἄγων ἢ κακίστ' ἀτολίμια | οὕτ' οἶκον οὔτε γαῖαν ὀρθώσειεν ἄν. Putting Stobaeus and Orion together, I incline to conclude that the fragment of the *Erechtheus*, before it was contaminated from that of the *Archelaus*, ran: ἐκ τῶν πόνων τοὶ τὰγάθ' αὖζεται βροτοῖς· | ὁ δ' ἡδὺς αἰὼν ἢ ἄν κακοῖς τ' ἀτολίμια | οὕτ' οἶκον οὔτε βίσιον οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. When an author rewrites a passage from an earlier book of his own and uses it in a later book, then, if both versions jostle each other in the same anthology, we may look for strange results.

If that be so, we see how in the *Archelaus* ἐθη δισκίων' was completely supplanted by the graphically similar ὁ δ' ἡδὺς αἰὼν and οὐ τοῦτον by the graphically similar οὕτ' οἶκον. But scholars have not been over-ready to admit the existence of two similar passages. Cobet believed in one original passage only. So did Dindorf, who assigned it to the *Erechtheus*, ejecting *Fr.* 239 from the *Archelaus*. Hense and Nauck, on the contrary, consider that two lines from the *Archelaus* have by Stobaeus and Orion been wrongly appended to one line from the *Erechtheus*. These scholars can scarcely have given due weight to the variations of text. In l. 2 of *Fr.* 239 Valckenaer reads πόλιω ἀνορθώσειεν ἄν, Meineke πόλιω ἀπορθώσειεν ἄν.

The fragment is akin to the four previous passages.

#### *Fr.* 240.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 51, 7): Εὐριπίδῃ (so M: for this A has τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* Εὐριπίδου: S puts nothing before Ἀρχελάω) Ἀρχελάω· ἐμὲ δ' ἄρ' οὐ | μοχθεῖν δίκαιον; τίς δ' ἀμόχθητος εὐκλεής; | τίς τῶν μεγίστων δειλὸς ἂν ὠρέξατο; Grotius emended ἀμόχθητος to ἀμοχθος. Badham desired to remove l. 3 from the fragment.

Archelaus II. must, it would seem, be the speaker.

#### *Fr.* 241.

*Fr.* 241 is presented thus in a *scholium* on l. 1149 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*: ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸν κρᾶτα εἶπεν ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Ἀρχελάω· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀναστρέψαι θέλω, καὶ Ἴων τύπτων τὸν αὐτοῦ κρᾶτα. In Chapter iv. (*q.v.*) I give my reasons for reading: ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸν κρᾶτα εἶπεν ἢ τὸ κρᾶτα θέλω, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Ἀρχελάω γε ὥσδε· τὸν σὸν κρᾶτ' ἀναστρέψαι, καὶ Ἴων τύπτων τὸν αὐτοῦ κρᾶτα. Barnes, adhering otherwise to the unemended *scholium*, changed ἀναστρέψαι to ἀναστέψαι.

In Chapter iv I also treat of the fragment generally.

#### *Fr.* 242.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 54, 11): ἐν ταυτῷ (*i.e.* ἐν Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω)· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ μικρόν, εὐγενής | ἀνὴρ (so A and S: M for ἀνὴρ gives ἀνὴρ γὰρ) στρατηγῶν εὐκλεᾶ τ' ἔχων φάτιν. Stobaeus also presents (*Flor.* 88, 4): ἐν ταυτῷ (*i.e.* ἐν Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω)·

φέρει δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχὶ μικρόν (so M, S, and the second hand of A : but the first hand of A has *σ*μικρόν, not μικρόν), εὐγενῆς | ἀνὴρ στρατηγῶν εὐκλεῖα τ' ἔχων φάτιν. For ἔχει or φέρει Nauck suggests the possibility of σθένει.

Perdiccas II. seems to be speaking : see Chapter iv.

*Fr. 243.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 54, 10) : Εὐριπίδης Ἀρχελάω· ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ | κρείσσον στρατηγῶ ἠμύρου στρατεύματος. For στρατηγῶ I adopt Grotius' στρατηγῶ : other suggestions are κακάνδρου (Matthiae), πονηροῦ (Hense), σάφ' ἡγοῦ (Conington), and ταπεινοῦ (F. G. Schmidt).

Perdiccas II. is speaking : see Chapter iv.

*Fr. 244.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 51, 9) : Εὐριπίδου (so M : A substitutes τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου : S puts nothing before Ἀρχελάω) Ἀρχελάω· ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν. Orion presents (7, 3, p. 51, 6) : ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου· ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν. Nauck would prefer παῦροι to ὀλίγοι, but abstains from altering the text.

Perdiccas II. is speaking, the fragment being allied to the preceding: see Chapter iv.

*Fr. 245.*

*Codices* A and M of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (7, 5) : Εὐριπίδης Ἀρχελάω· ἔν δέ σοι μόνον προφωνῶ, μὴ πιδοῦ λείαν (so M : for μὴ πιδοῦ λείαν A gives μὴ που δειλίαν) ποτέ | ζῶν ἐκὼν ἔλθῃς παρὸν σοὶ κατθανεῖν ἔλευθέρως. Gesner emended to μὴ 'πι δουλείαν, Nauck to ἐλευθέρω.

Amintas I. appears to be speaking : see Chapter iv.

*Fr. 246.*

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 52, 4) : Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω (so, without *ι subscript*, A : M has Ἀρχελάου and S Ἀρχελα without accent : L omits the name of the play)· νεανίας τε καὶ πέντης σοφός θ' (so L : for σοφός θ' A has σοφός and M and S have σοφός τ') ἄμα· | ταῦτ' εἰς ἔν ἐλθόντ' ἄξι' ἐνθυμήσεως (so L, M, and S : for ἐνθυμήσεως A has ἐνθυμήσεων). For the form of the title in the lemma of *codex* S see my notes on *Fr.* 250.

The upbringing of Archelaus the Second's son is doubtless under discussion (*cf.* *Fr.* 249) : see Chapter iv.

*Fr. 247.*

*Codices* A and M of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (91, 16) : Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου· τί δ' οὐκ ἂν εἶη (so M : A for εἶη has ἦ) χρηστός ἔλβιος γεγώς.

It looks as if, as in *Fr.* 246, Archelaus the Second's son were being discussed (*cf.* *Fr.* 249), and as if the speaker were Archelaus himself : see Chapter iv.

## Fr. 248.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 96, 4): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω (so A and M: but S, in the place where *Fr.* 230 occurs, presents *Fr.* 248, without gap or lemma, as a mere continuation of *Fr.* 230, as to which point see my notes on *Fr.* 230 above: I rather gather, but do not know for certain, that S presents *Fr.* 248 a second time—I suppose with the same lemma as that in A and M—in the place where A and M present it). οὐκ ἔστι πενίας ἱερὸν αἰσχίστης θεοῦ. | μισῶ γὰρ ὄντως οἴτινες φρονοῦσι μὲν, | φρονοῦσι δ' οὐδενός τε χρημάτων ὑπερ. I think that my emendations render this fragment intelligible, and also that they unmask a quite brilliant piece of writing. In l. 1 Bergk changed αἰσχίστης to ἐχθίστης: F. G. Schmidt read the whole line as οὔτοι τι πενίας χειρὸν, ἐχθίστης θεᾶς, banishing indeed the θεοῦ of comedy and prose, but banishing it, as it were, with a pitch-fork. In l. 2 for οὐδενός τε Gesner read οὐδενός γε and Wakefield, followed by Nauck, οὐδὲν ὡς γε: Pflugk presented the whole line as φρονοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν χρημάτων ὑπέρτερον and F. G. Schmidt as πονοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν ὡς γε χρημάτων ὑπερ. My δῆν, equivalent to μακρὰν, is, I think, sufficiently justified by l. 736 of *Iliad* XVI: it is by no means an adverb of *duration of time* only. Musgrave wished to separate ll. 2 and 3 from l. 1.

Presumably, as in *Frr.* 246 and 247 (*cf.* *Fr.* 249) Archelaus the Second's son is the topic of conversation: see Chapter IV.

## Fr. 249.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 91, 18): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω μὴ πλούσιον θῆς· ἐνδεέστερος γὰρ ὢν | ταπεινός ἔσται· κείνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα, | πλοῦτος λαβῶν τοῦτον εὐγενῆς ἀνὴρ. The established cure—I prefer my own—for l. 3 is the change of λαβῶν into λαβών τε.

Archelaus II. is apparently being advised not to give his son, Orestes, too much money (*cf.* *Frr.* 246-248): see Chapter IV.

## Fr. 250.

*Codices* A and M of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (47, 5): τοῦ αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάω τυραννίδα ἡθῶν (so M: for ἡθῶν A gives ἡ θεῶν) β̄ νομίζεται· | τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ (so M: A agrees, except that before οὐκ it presents an erased letter) ἔχει, τᾶλλα δ' ἔχει. In l. 1 Gesner emended τυραννίδα ἡθῶν (or ἡ θεῶν) β̄ to τυραννὶς εἶναι θεῶν βίος, Gaisford to τυραννίδ' ἡ θεῶν δευτέρα: neither reading is right, that of Gaisford offending against the Stobaeian canon of complete quotation (see my edition of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*). My reading removes all difficulties. In l. 2 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' was restored by Grotius. *Codex* S of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* omits this quotation bodily, but heads the next quotation (47, 6), which, according to *codices* A and M, is from Euripides' *Aegeus*, with the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχε. This Ἀρχε is taken, and, I think, with good reason, as proof that *codex* S, accidentally omitting one of two quotations, attached the wrong lemma to the one which it did not omit (such a phenomenon appears sometimes to present itself in Stobaeus); but I am not con-

vinced that *codex S* could exhibit Ἄρχῆ for Ἀρχελάω or Ἀρχελάου, in which case the circumflex would be a mere sign of contraction. I am much inclined to read Ἄρχῆ as the Doric genitive Ἀρχελᾶ: compare Ἀρχελα (without accent) in the lemma of *codex S* to *Fr.* 246. Such a form of the title would not be altogether without a bearing on the language of the play.

There is nothing to show definitely who is speaking.

*Fr.* 251.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 62, 11): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω (so A and S: for Ἀρχελάω M has Ἀρχελάου)· κρεῖσσον γάρ τε δοῦλον οὐτ' ἐλευθερον | τρέφειν ἐν οἴκοις ἀσφαλῆς τοῖς σώφροσιν (so M: for σώφροσιν A and S have σώφροσι). Pflugk changed κρεῖσσον to κρεῖσσω. The Trincauellian reading—perhaps conjectural, but equally possibly based on some ms., itself conjecturally emended, now lost—for γάρ τε is γάρ οὔτε. Now γάρ οὔτε is scarcely a possible original for γάρ τε to have sprung from. Hence my line of emendation. For ἀεργί compare ἀμοχθί.

If my emendations are right, the fragment (*cf.* *Frr.* 246-249) seems to refer to the upbringing of the young Orestes: see Chapter iv.

*Fr.* 252.

Orion presents (*Flor.* 3, 1, p. 44, 26): ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου Εὐριπίδου· εἰ τῶν δικαίων γάρ νόμοι τ' αὐξήματα | μέγαλα φέρουσι πάντα δ' ἀνθρώποις | τὰδ' ἐστὶ χρίματ', ἦν τις εὐσεβῆ θεόν. In l. 1 Meineke proposed ἐκ τῶν δικαίων, which Nauck, who had formerly read σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, finally adopted: ἐν τῶν δικαίων is my own suggestion: both letters of the word preceding τῶν δικαίων seem to be somewhat doubtful in the *codex*. νόμοι τ' for νόμοι τ' is an emendation of Gomperz'. Meineke ended l. 2 with πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπει' αἰί, Gomperz with πάντα δ' ἀνθρώποις βρῦει: my reading is my own. Before l. 3 Meineke conjectured a lacuna: my σῆ δ' avoids this. In l. 3 Nauck wished to change θεόν to θεός.

But this fragment and *Fr.* 256 constitute a very peculiar pair, both of them being redolent of the language of the *Old Testament*, and of that of the *Psalms* in particular. My own conjecture is that Euripides was acquainted with a Greek version of the *Psalms*: such a version would no doubt have been produced long before the Septuagint translation as a whole came into existence. Now to Euripides the Jews must have figured as in large measure an *Egyptian* tribe, and I suggest that on that account he addresses himself, so to speak, to them here and there in the *Archelaus*. Moreover there was a parallel between them and the Danaids. *When Danaus came out of Egypt, the house of Inachus from a strange people, they were only doing what other sojourners in that land had done before them.* Moreover the harping throughout this tetralogy on the note of money strikes me as peculiar. Was Archelaus seeking a loan from Pharaoh's financiers? I do not know who originated the suggestion—I first heard of it at Oxford about 32 years ago—that the Βερέσχηθοι of Aristophanes are *Bereshiths* or Jews (the Book of *Genesis* opens with *Bereshith, In the beginning*).

## Fr. 253.

*Codex L* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (Meineke, vol. iv. p. 180), without lemma: ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος, μὴ λέγ' εὔ· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν | εὔ δεινὸν ἔστιν, εἰ φέρει τινὰ βλάβη. *Codices M* and *S* of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (34, 2): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω· ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος, μὴ λέγε· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν | εὔ δεινὸν ἔστιν, εἰ φέροι τινὰ βλάβη. F. G. Schmidt wished, immediately before τινὰ βλάβη, to read ἐκφέρειν ἢ καὶ φέρειν.

The speaker is left indeterminate.

## Fr. 254.

Plutarch, without even mentioning an author's name, presents (*De Audiendis Poetis*, c. 4, p. 20 D): δεῖ τῶ βελτίονι συνηγορεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐν τούτοις· πόλλ', ὧ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί. | τὸ ῥᾶστον εἶπας, αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς. And again (*De Stoicorum Repugn.* c. 34): οὐχ ἄπαξ, οὐδὲ δίς, οὐδὲ τρίς, ἀλλὰ μυριάκις ἔσται πρὸς Χρῦσιππον εἰπεῖν· τὸ ῥᾶστον εἶπας αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς. But a little before this latter quotation he has fixed the author as Euripides, writing (*De Stoicorum Repugn.* c. 33, p. 1049 F): φήσει τις ἐπαινεῖν πάλιν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου λέγοντος· εἰ θεοὶ τι δρῶσιν αἰσχροῦ, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί, καὶ τὸ ῥᾶστον εἶπας, αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς. Justin Martyr fixes the play, saying (*De Monarchia*, c. 5, p. 146): καὶ ἐν Ἀρχελάω· πόλλ', ὧ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί. For my emendations see Chapter iv. In l. 2 F. G. Schmidt proposed ἔμπας for εἶπας.

Amyntas the pretender and Archelaus II., not, as Nauck thought, Cisseus and Archelaus I., are the speakers: see Chapter iv.

## Fr. 255.

Stobaeus presents, not in his *Florilegium*, but in his *Eclogae* (1, 3, 47, p. 60, 20), without lemma: δοκεῖς τὰ θεῶν ξυνετὰ (so P: for ξυνετὰ F has σὺ ξυνετὰ) νικήσειν ποτέ | καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μακρὰν ἀπωκίσθαι (so P: for ἀπωκίσθαι F has ἀπωκεῖσθαι) βροτῶν· | ἦ δ' ἐγγύς ἔστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὄρα | ἐν χρῆ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ | ὅπότεν ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέση κακούς (5). Orion presents (*Flor.* 5, 1, p. 46, 26): ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου Εὐριπίδου· δοκεῖς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξυνετὰ νικήσειν ποτέ | καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μακρὰν ἀποκεῖσθαι βροτῶν· | ἦ δ' ἔστιν ἐγγύς, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὄρα | ἐν χρῆ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ | ὅπότεν ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέση κακούς (5). Orion's grave accent on the last syllable of ἀποκεῖσθαι (*sic*) in l. 2 deserves attention: it may be an indication of a "dependent *svarita*" in Greek. In l. 3 Grotius proposed μάκρ' for μακρὰν, Schneidewin μακρὰν for που μακρὰν: Nauck, while remarking that Schneidewin would have done better to read μακρὰν γ', follows Grotius. In l. 5 Wecklein substituted ἕως for ὅπότεν. Rightly or wrongly I much prefer my own emendations: see Chapter iv.

Amyntas the pretender is almost certainly the recipient of the censure contained in this passage. I presume that Archelaus II. is the speaker. To dramatic effect there is necessary a distinct conflict on the stage between the two. A rebuke of Amyntas by the Twelve Kings would be altogether insufficient, though I suppose that that also finds a place. I discuss the fragment generally in Chapter iv.

## Fr. 256.

Orion presents (*Flor.* 3, 2, p. 45, 2): ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος (i.e. ἐξ Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου)· μακάριος ἔστις νοῦν ἔχων τιμᾶ θεῶν | καὶ κέρδος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖται μέγα. In l. 1 Nauck would like to read θεοῦς for θεῶν: but see my notes on *Fr.* 252. In l. 2 for αὐτῷ Ranke proposed αὐτὸ, Bothe αὐτῷ. The emendation οὐδὲ πλουτοποιεῖται is my own.

Compare *Fr.* 252, which, in Orion, this fragment immediately follows. This fragment resembles the *Psalms* of David even more closely, if that be possible, than the earlier fragment.

## Fr. 257.

*Codices* M and S of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* present (20, 11): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου· πολλοὺς δ' ὁ θυμὸς ὁ μέγας ὤλεσεν βροτῶν | ἦ τ' (so M: for ἦ τ' S has ἦ τε) ἀσυνεσία, δύο κακῶ τοῖς χρωμένοις. Grotius emended ἀσυνεσία to ἀξυνεσία.

Who is speaking is uncertain.

## Fr. 258.

*Codex* S of Stobaeus' *Florilegium* presents (20, 25): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου· τῷ γὰρ βιαίῳ κἀγρίῳ τὸ μαλθακὸν | εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν τοῦ λίαν παρείλατο. Gesner changed αὐτὸν to ταυτὸν, which Nauck, in the better form ταυτὸν, rightly adopts. The Trincavellian reading—whether conjectural or taken from some ms. now unknown—for παρείλατο is παρείλετο.

We cannot say who the speaker is.

## Fr. 259.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 20, 12): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου (so A and M: instead of Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου S has only τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Εὐριπίδου)· ὀργῆ δὲ φαύλῃ πόλλ' ἔνεστ' ἀσχίμουα. | ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος (so A and M: for σοφώτερος S has σοφώτατος). | πόλλ' ἔστιν ὀργῆς ἐξ ἀπειδεύτου κακία. Of these three lines it is only the first that comes from the *Archelaus*: the second (which constitutes *Fr.* 760) is known to be from Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, while the source of the third remains undiscovered.

It is impossible to determine the speaker.

## Fr. 260.

A *scholium* on Pindar (*Pyth.* II. l. 54) presents: πειρατὰς τοὺς κατὰ πέλαγος ληστὰς λέγομεν, κυρίως δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κακουργοῦντας· παρ' ὃ δὴ καὶ ὁδοῦροὺς αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἀρχελάου· ἔπαισ' ὁδοῦροὺς λυμεῶνας, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Αἰγεῖ· πῶς δῆθ' ὁδοῦρόν (instead of ὁδοῦρόν *codex* Gotting. has ὁδοῦρῶν) ἔμοις ἐξέβης λαθῶν; Here κυρίως is clearly a mistake for κυρίους. "Robbers at sea we call *pirates*, but malefactors on the high-road *gentlemen*: and on this account Euripides in the *Archelaus* and Sophocles in the *Aegeus* actually speak of the latter as *road-wardens*, Euripides saying 'I stopped the depre-dations of road-wardens,' and Sophocles 'How camest thou forth unseen of the swarm' (I adopt ὁδοῦρῶν and σμήνος, the latter being Nauck's suggestion for ἔμοις) 'of road-wardens?'"

No doubt Archelaus II. is giving an account of his own work. He is known to have paid special attention to the Macedonian road-system.

## Fr. 261.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 62, 13): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάου· ἔσωσα δούλῃν οὔσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἤσσανες | τοῖς κρείσσοσιν φιλοῦσι δουλεύειν βροτῶν. *Codex S* prefixes the sign that indicates a choric passage. Misunderstanding the meaning, Meineke altered ἔσωσα δούλῃν οὔσαν to ἔσωσε or ἐγῶδα δούλῃν οὔσαν, F. G. Schmidt to ἔσωσε δούλῃν φῦσά μ', and Gomperz to ἐγνων σε δούλῃν οὔσαν.

Alexander L., liberator of Macedonia, is speaking: see Chapter IV. Alexander is a member of the Chorus: hence S's choric sign.

## Fr. 262.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 105, 31): Εὐριπίδου (so A and M: S omits Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάου· πάλαι σκοποῦμαι τὰς τύχας τῶν (so A, M, and S: B, the reading of which is in this instance recorded, for τῶν has τὰς τῶν) βροτῶν | ὡς εὖ μεταλλάσσοουσιν (so M: for μεταλλάσσοουσιν S has μεταλλάσσοουσιν and A μεταβάλλουσιν)· ἐς γὰρ ἂν σφαλῆ (so M and S: for σφαλῆ A has ἀσφαλῶς) | εἰς ὄρθον ἔστη χ' ὁ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίπτει (so M: for πίπτει S has πιπτει, unaccented, and A πίπτει). Orion presents (*Flor.* 8, 2, p. 52, 27): ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου Εὐριπίδου· πάλαι σκοπόμεν τὰς τύχας τῶν βροτῶν | ὡς εὖ μεταλλάσσοουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς | εἰς ὄρθον ἔστη πίπτει δ' ὁ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν. The emendations παῖ and εὐμετρ' ἀλλάσσοουσιν are my own. In l. 1 for τὰς τύχας τῶν (or τὰς τῶν) βροτῶν Hense proposed τὰς ἐφημέρων τύχας, Munro τὰς βροτῶν τύχας ὑπὸς, with ἀεὶ, or εἰκῆ, at the beginning of the next line instead of ὡς εὖ. In l. 2 this same ὡς εὖ was changed by Hense to ὡς θεοί.

If my παῖ is right (and, possibly, even if it is wrong) Archelaus II. is being addressed by one of the Twelve Kings.

## Fr. 263.

Stobaeus presents (*Flor.* 122, 7): Εὐριπίδου Ἀρχελάω· ἔστι καὶ παρὰ δάκρυσι κείμενον ἰδὺ βροτοῖς, ἔταν ἄνδρα φίλον στενάχῃ τις ἐν οἴκῳ (so A and M: for οἴκῳ S has οἴκτωι). For ἔστι Meineke proposed ἔστι τι. F. G. Schmidt wished to transfer κείμενον to a place after οἴκῳ and doubted the integrity of φίλον. I have let metre largely control my own emendations.

Where in the play this choric passage came we seem to have no means of determining.

## Fr. 264.

Stobaeus presents, not in his *Florilegium*, but in the *Eclogae* (I, 3, 35, p. 58, 17): Εὐριπίδης Ἀρχελάω· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς παρασόμεν' ὀρθῶς | τοῖς πρᾶσσοουσιν κακὸν ἦλθε. At the end of the system Nauck changed ἦλθε to ἦλθεν.

These lines read like the *clausula* of a complete play. If that is what they are, they must be, I think, intended by the Twelve Kings as a reflexion on the fate, or impending fate, as conceived by the poet, of Amyntas the pretender.

## Fr. 730.

Pollux, discounting the poetical use of πόλις in the sense of *country*, remarks that Euripides employs the word with that meaning, saying ἐν Τημενίδαις ἅπανσα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις. I deal in Chapters v and vi with the identity of the *Temenidae* and the *Archelaus*.

In Chapter IV I discuss the fragment. I will here add that it looks as though Archelaus I himself, the only Peloponnesian present, had asked Archelaus II. for news of the Peloponnesians, and as though this were the latter's answer. With what feelings, I wonder, did Euripides in Macedon, *anno* 407 B.C., pen the extremely accurate statement: ἅπανσα Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις?

## Fr. 740.

Aelian presents (*N.A.* vii. 39): ἐν δὲ τοῖς Τημενίδαις τὸν Ἡράκλειον ἄθλον ἔλαφρον κέρατα ἔχειν ὁ αὐτὸς Εὐριπίδης φησί, τὸν τρόπον τόνδε ἄδων· ἦλθεν δ' | ἐπὶ χρυσόκερων ἔλαφρον, μεγάλων | ἄθλων ἓνα δεινὸν ὑποστάς, | κατ' ἔνυκλα (for ἔνυκλα there is a *v.l.* ἐνύλων) ὀρέων ἀβάτους ἐπὶ τε | λευκῶνας ποιμένιά τ' (for ποιμένιά τ' there is a *v.l.* ποιμινιά τ') ἦθη. (5). I speak in Chapter IV of my own emendations. In l. 2 Hense proposed μεγάλων τ' for μεγάλων, in l. 3 Elmsley κίνδυνον for ἓνα δεινὸν and Hense again ὑπέστη for ὑποστάς, in l. 4 Hense yet again ἐπιβάς for ἐπὶ τε, Nauck suggesting ἐπιών, or ἐρέπων, and Wecklein ἐρίπνας, while in l. 5 for ποιμένιά τ', or ποιμινιά τ', Meineke put forward ἀποιμινιά τ', but Wecklein ποιήρ'.

In Chapter IV I treat of this passage generally.

## Fr. 861.

Achilles Tatius presents (*Isag. in Phaen.*, p. 122 E): ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης φησί· δεῖξας γὰρ ἄστρων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν | δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμεν. He also presents (*Isag. in Phaen.*, p. 140 C): κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην λέγοντα· δεῖξας γὰρ ἄστρων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν | δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμεν. In l. 2 for δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα Bergk proposed δόμους τ' ἔσωσα, Heimsoeth θρόνους τ' ἔσωσα, and F. G. Schmidt γῆν ἐξέσωσα: Nauck prints δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα. My Μήδους τ' ἔσωσα seems almost certain: see Chapter IV.

In Chapter IV I discuss the fragment generally. The speaker is Alexander I., liberator of Macedonia.

## Fr. 936.

Lucian (*Necyom.* 2, vol. 1, p. 456) presents: ΦΙΛ. Ἡράκλεις, ἐλελήθει Μένιππος ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντων κῆτ' ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναβεβίωκεν. ΜΕΝ. οὐκ· ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔμπουν Ἀίδης μ' ἐδέξατο. The context seems to shew that the trimeter is Euripidean: the form Ἀίδης points to one particular play, the *Archelaus*. See Chapter IV.

In Chapter IV I also treat of the fragment in a more general manner. Archelaus I. seems to be speaking.

Fr. 1120, otherwise *Adespota*, Fr. 372.

Olympiodorus (on Plato's *Alcib. Pr.* pp. 45 *et seq.*) states of Xerxes that φησὶν Εὐριπίδης ἔτι θάλατταν μὲν ἐπέευσζε. This statement ranks as Fr. 1120, among the *Fragmenta Dubia et Spuria*, of Euripides.



Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apollon.*, c. 28, p. 116 c) presents: ἡ δὲ Μερόπη λόγους ἀνδρώδεις προφερομένη κινεῖ τὰ θεάτρα, λέγουσα τοιαῦτα· τεθναῖσι παῖδες οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῃ βροτῶν | οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔστερήμεθ', ἀλλὰ μυρία | τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξήντησαν ὡς ἐγὼ βίον. This fragment counts as *Fr.* 454, from the *Merope*, of Euripides. Plutarch continues immediately: τούτοις γὰρ οικείως ἂν τις ταῦτα συνάψει· ποῦ γὰρ τὰ σεμνὰ κείνα; ποῦ δὲ Λυδίας | μέγας δυνάστης Κροῖσος, ἡ Ξέρξης βαρύν | ζεύξας θαλάσσης αὐχέν' Ἑλλησποντίας; | ἅπαντες Ἄιδαν ἦλθον καὶ Λάθας δόμους. This latter fragment is reckoned as *Fr.* 372 of the *Adespota Tragica*; but I contend (see Chapters II-IV) that it furnishes the text alluded to in what is called *Fr.* 1120 of those by or attributed to Euripides, that it is really by Euripides, and that it comes from his *Archelaus*. In l. 2 Wyttenbach emended βαρύν to βαθύν, and in l. 4 Bergk ἅπαντες Ἄιδαν to ἅπαντ' ἐς Ἄιδαν. Nauck prints the whole piece in ordinary tragic Attic, with Λυδίας, Ἄιδην, and Λήθης. Meineke thinks that ll. 1-3 are by Euripides and form the passage referred to by Olympiodorus, but that l. 4 is an addition from a lyrical source. Bergk agrees with him as to l. 4, but considers ll. 1-3 later than Euripides. Nauck will have nothing to do with the notion that this is the passage meant by Olympiodorus, whose evidence into the bargain he doubts. For all this see Chapters II-IV.

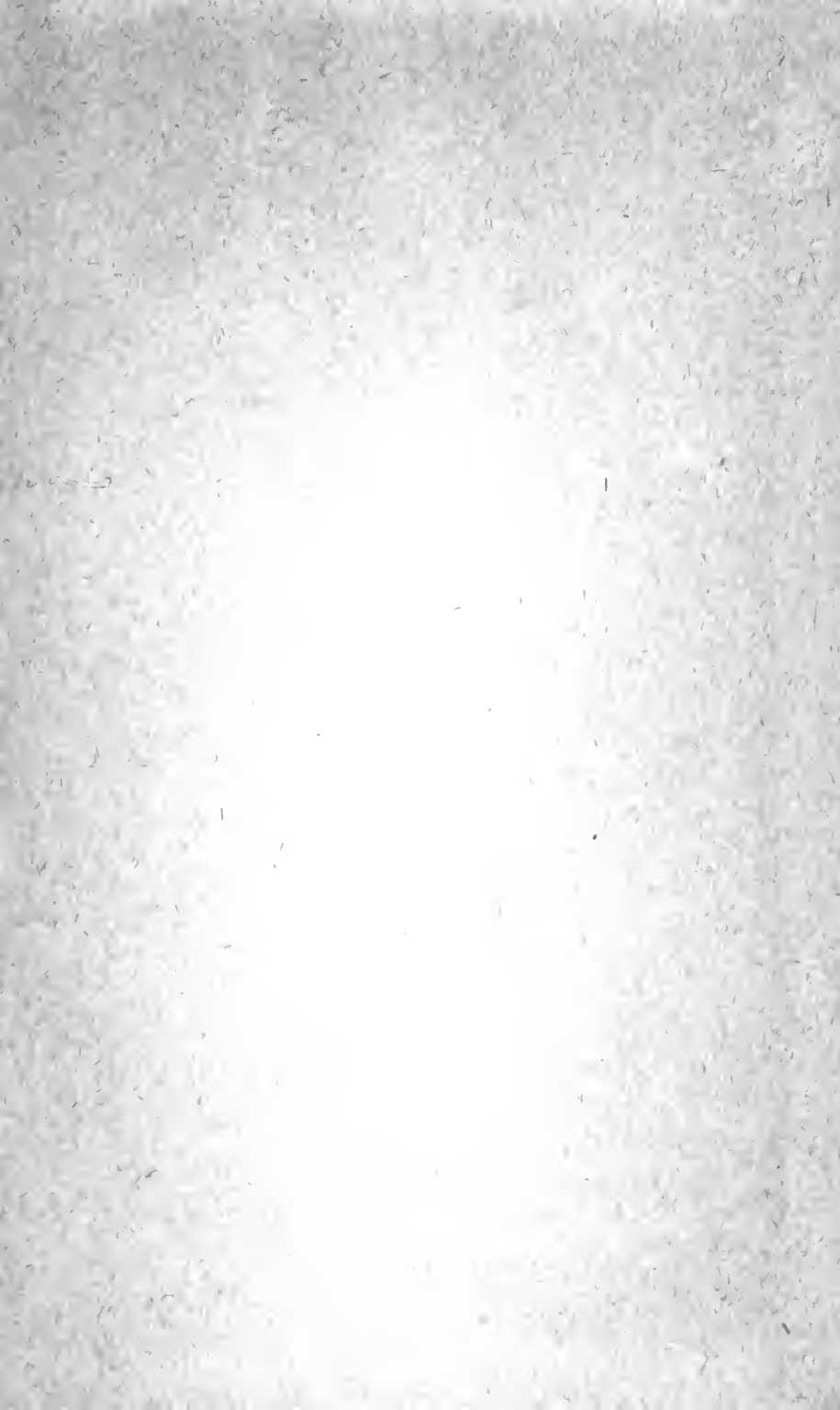
For non-textual treatment also see Chapters II-IV. I wish here to express plainly my opinion that the fragment is of great merit, quite as good, in fact, as Villon's very similar *Ballade*.



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